





# SOLIDARITY'S STRUGGLE FOR EFFICIENCY

THE latter part of August, 1909, the undersigned landed in New Castle, Pa., on an unexpected "hobo" trip from Chicago, with Fellow Worker Frank Morris. We were, as a result of a long and a broke. We found a little bunch of workers in an alley basement, folding up the current issue of a little three-column sheet called the "Free Press." There were among them several good I. W. W. rebels. The McKees Rocks and Tin Mill Workers' strikes were in full blast. The city and county officials of New Castle had been publicizing raw stunts against the strikers, and the "Free Press" was filled with rebel dope dealing with the situation.

Here we met Fellow Worker C. H. McCarty, who at once outlined a plan for starting an I. W. W. paper in New Castle. McCarty had no personal ambition in the matter. He was not a writer, or speaker, and did not aspire to "shine" as an editor. McCarty had always been his "hobby," and he saw the need of it more than ever, with the awakening spirit in the Pittsburgh district. McCarty's was an aggressive spirit, and he had won the reputation of never falling down on anything he undertook. The rebels were enthused over the proposition, and the writer, who landed a job in a printing office shortly after his arrival, decided to accompany to New Castle.

In September, 1909, plans for starting the new paper began to materialize. Some difficulty was encountered in choosing a name. Finally the promoters decided upon the one which I proposed—"SOLIDARITY." A press committee, of three each from the two I. W. W. locals, was chosen; prepaid sub cards were printed and sent out all over the county with circular letters calling for subscriptions in advance. More than 10,000 circulars, with 40,000 sub cards were mailed to addresses in our possession. The Solidarity press committee consisted of C. H. McCarty, Vincent Jacobs, Earl F. Moore, Geo. Fix, B. H. Williams, and one other, who, however did not serve. A. M. Stirtion, formerly editor of the "Wage Slave" of Hancock, Mich., was chosen editor. Although Stirtion's experience in the labor movement, outside of the Socialist Party, had not been extensive, he had a vigorous style of writing, and was not averse to taking a suggestion. McCarty was made business manager, and the undersigned was promised the position of "official typesetter," at the munificent salary of \$8 per week, with the "possibility of a raise." The business manager was expected to work without salary. Thus we were prepared for emergencies.

Returns on the sub cards amounted to some \$700 by the end of November. With this money, and a small loan of about \$200 from the Pittsburgh District Council of the I. W. W., about \$400 of type and other printing material was purchased, a space rented for the same in the "Free Press" office, and the first issue of SOLIDARITY printed on December 18, 1909. Under arrangement with the Free Press company, our press work was done by that concern, which charged us the excessive rate of \$50 per week for printing the papers through the press. This alone amounted to \$50 per month for an edition of 5,000 copies, and as we shall see presently, got us into financial difficulties. Within three weeks the paper was in danger of suspension, from lack of financial support.

Then came an unexpected rift in the clouds. The steel trust-owned officials of Lawrence county "came out" with warrants for the arrest of the undersigned, who was critically ill in the hospital at the time. The charge against both papers was, a technical violation of the Pennsylvania Publishers' Law, which required the names of all OWNERS on the editorial heading of publications. Although Solidarity's heading specified the names of "Published by the Local Unions of the I. W. W. in New Castle," giving names of editor and business manager, that was deemed insufficient. The authorities expected to put both papers out of business by pleading our ignorance of their menace to steel trust "law and order."

The Free Press hired a "comrade" lawyer, who charged them some \$30, and lost the case. The next day, March 17, 1910, the case of Solidarity came up for trial. We had previously determined to use "direct action" on the court. That is, we refused to hire an attorney, demanded the privilege of pleading our own case, and agreed to pay no fines, if convicted. The Free Press had no names on its editorial heading, and therefore the prosecution had an easier case than with Solidarity. We went directly to the matter, made no unnecessary denials, and insisted that we were acting within the law, having no reason whatever for violating the same. Our attitude and plea to the court was the same as that of the district attorney and his assistant, that they might not make good. So after the jury had been charged by "hizonor" and arose ready to confer on the case, the district prosecutor pulled off a little joke, a Pennsylvania jurisprudence, by asking the judge to compare our heading with the statute, and

inform the jury as to whether or not the two agreed. The judge complied in detail, much to our surprise, stating as his opinion that in at least two important details the heading in Solidarity was not in conformity with the statute. What could a poor jury do, in a case like this? The judge surely "knew the law," and the jury was deprived of all responsibility for the verdict of "guilty," which followed. As a sentence on March 22, we gave reasons why sentence should not be imposed, which were, of course, overruled, and each member of the Solidarity press committee, as well as Editor Stirtion, was fined \$100, with some \$30 of costs added to the case. We refused to pay, and were handed over to the sheriff and locked up in the county jail. The Free Press committee filed a motion for a new trial, which was subsequently denied.

Here, again, the energy of McCarty asserted itself. Immediately after our conviction, he insisted on having an appeal for funds prepared and sent out. The appeal asked for money, not to hire lawyers or pay fines, but TO KEEP SOLIDARITY ALIVE WHILE WE WERE IN JAIL. Thousands of these appeals were mailed before sentence was pronounced and others were made ready inside and smuggled out of the jail. Fellow Worker Grover H. Perry was given charge of the paper as business manager, and Fellow Worker H. A. Cook called to be the editor. The editor and five members of the press committee spent 92 days in the jail, after which all but one were released by the commissioners, on a plea of "pauperism" (being unable to pay fines) in due accordance with Pennsylvania law. Our jail experience was "most delightful," in marked contrast with that of the fellow workers then suffering in the Spoke, but the women of the Socialist Party and others furnished us with the finest "eats" some of us ever had. We were only locked up in a cell two or three nights, having the freedom of the corridors day and night. We were treated most courteously and kindly by the sheriff (good old Sheriff Whaley, "too humane for that job"); allowed more than our share of food, and we carried all our papers and wrote articles for the paper from the inside. We laughed and grew fat, much to the chagrin of the authorities. Meanwhile our appeal for funds had been successful, and we were joking about the Pinkerton and his "piano ad," saying we got paid double rates and more for that advertising. The paper was undoubtedly kept alive with the money sent by our faithful individuals all over the country. Fellow Worker Goff held the editorship for several weeks, until financial retrenchment became necessary, when Perry was given entire charge, and we came out of jail. DIRECT ACTION had scored another victory!

The effects of our action in the court, and going to jail rather than pay the fines, were apparent in the subsequent action. The "seditious libel" case against the Free Press. We turned the sentiment of the community against the authorities, and, with the aid of a good lawyer and a defense fund secured largely by exploiting our imprisonment, the "seditious libel" case was won for the defendants. We also saved the Free Press committee from paying their fines on the same charge as that against us. After denying the charge against us, the Free Press committee was called to court for sentence, and the judge remitted all but one fine and the costs, the "same as in the case of Solidarity." The reason we had to pay one fine and costs was that the labor Worker Jacobs had signed the bill of McCarty, and was therefore subject to having his little property levied for the court costs. But Jacobs served his time in jail, and the Solidarity case, cost the county some \$300 or \$400 more than they got back. The taxpayers got out, and the authorities left us alone after their experience.

But, while Solidarity came out of this little ordeal with flying colors, it was only to face the two-fold ordeal of petty tyranny on the part of the Free Press gang, and of financial stringency, which compelled us to submit. At the suggestion of Fellow Worker Stirtion, I became editor of Solidarity immediately after our release from jail. McCarty resumed the business management, and I well remember the first week, I presumed to be a real editor. That is, I thought we could hire the mechanical work done, while I spent my time attending to my duties as editor. However, the first week dispelled the illusion. McCarty figured up the finances, handed me \$6 for living expenses, kept \$5 for himself, and good-humoredly announced that there was a show of \$3 in the bank. The following morning I doffed my "Sunday best," put on my work clothes, and took my place at the type case, discharging one of the typesetters. Three days a week at hard mechanical work, and the fourth day helping fold and mail papers, was the writer's portion during the remaining six months that we kept our printing material in the Free Press office. Every day I had to grind my teeth while keeping my mouth shut, at the petty annoyances and ill-concealed hostility of the Free Press "comrades." Here I learned beyond a doubt, that aspiring politicians and direct actionists have no business in the press. The Free Press got a fat thing out of Solidarity in a financial sense, but their shortsighted managers were only too anxious to cause us to go into financial difficulties. The result of our business, McCarty alone was able to stave them off for awhile.

Their opportunity, however came in Sep-

tember, 1910. The long-drawn-out tin mill strike was over, and McCarty found that he was blacklisted in New Castle. Heavily in debt after 16 months of strikes, with his wife's home 20 miles away, he was compelled to leave the office and seek employment out of town. At no time had he drawn more than \$5 a week as business manager, while my wages were from \$8 to \$10. In spite of such strenuousness, we could not keep even with rent, paper bills, and press work, and began to accumulate a small debt with the Free Press. The debt amounted to a little over \$150 by September. Then a move was made by the Free Press managers through the Socialist Party local, to shut off our credit. No other firm in town would handle our press work. We must get the money besides making a move to get our own press. A hurried call for funds netted about \$70, which was applied to the debt, and kept it from accumulating as fast as it might otherwise. This appealed the Free Press crowd to the extent that the S. P. local decided late in September to extend credit to Solidarity until the first of the year. We then issued a call for a Free Fund, and mechanical force a five cent note, and December 17 as the time when we should order our press. There was no money in sight at the time, and the press fund was not materializing to any extent. The matter of Solidarity looked desperate. But about the first of December, Fellow Worker Korn of St. Louis, came to our rescue with a loan of \$200, without interest, for an indefinite period. December 20, the date set for the press, finally set in a joke by McCarty and myself, we sent a man after a cylinder press. December 24, the S. P. local decided that no further credit for press work should be extended. Our press was on the way, but had not yet arrived. On that day we moved our stuff out of the Free Press office. We expected to miss the next issue, but the Free Press and different members of the committee on the action of the local, and told us to bring our forms down to be printed. So our issue of December 31, 1910, came out as usual. But the very next evening the Free Press emphasized its previous action, and refused all further credit. At that very hour, unbeknownst to them, our own press was being set up in our new location. The issue of January 7, 1911, was printed on the new press, and owed the Free Press about \$230, which was finally paid in November, 1912.

But, now you say, our troubles ended. Alas, no! The income during the year of the late month of January, 1911, amounted to \$151. Fellow Worker Frank Morris, who had taken the place of McCarty, and myself, drew about \$6 a week apiece for expenses. For a month rest I reduced the time of the A. F. of L. type to sometimes less than three days a week, by setting the extra type myself. Fellow Worker Horn acted as printer, and general utility man, at a wage of \$9 per week. February found us vegetating on an income of \$140, and the end seemed near. "Appalling gloom" settled over the little dump in the New Castle alley. The pessimist daunted us nevertheless issued an appeal for more press fund, with which to buy a job press and paper cutter. Pamphlets and leaflets were impossible without them. Finally, taking heart in the new contributions, McCarty's dream of a publishing bureau in connection with Solidarity, was not materializing very rapidly. But March brought us a little sunshine in the form of a loan of \$100, which was repaid the same time another favour came to our rescue in the person of Fellow Worker John A. Becker, of Sheridan, Wyo., who offered to loan us \$300 of his own money for the same purpose. He had the job press and paper cutter, on very easy terms, and began to figure on some pamphlets and other job work. Had it not been for the two loans above-mentioned, together with a few smaller ones from local unions and the general office, Solidarity's days would have been numbered three years ago. We were constantly handicapped in office work by lack of income, and with having our noses too close to the grindstone of mechanical work, to be able to do any energetic promoting, which might have brought increased income from subscriptions and literature. The thousands of leaflets supporting two papers, and the greater amount of agitation was going on in the West, naturally the Industrial Worker was given the preference. I tried hard during the winter of 1910-1911, to get out of any of the "office gloom" in Solidarity, but it must be a miracle if I have succeeded. I have only consented to write this narrative, to show our readers and supporters, the possibilities which it takes to maintain a revolutionary press. More co-operation now and in future, will relieve the "office" burdens, and inspire all the boys on the job here with renewed hope.

Following the events above recorded, we found our income somewhat improved. Pamphlets were issued in good-sized editions. Thousands of leaflets were published, and an occasional loan for pamphlet stock from the General Office of the I. W. W., helped to keep such paper bills paid. During the nearly three years in which I have had practiced the entire management as well as editorial responsibility for Solidarity and the I. W. W.

"The New Castle Free Press recently sold out of existence. After having received thousands of dollars out of existence a profitable business in advertising and job printing, after several years, and spending all the proceeds money besides constructing the plant, it failed to make a dollar. It failed to make a penny and failed to pay the overheads. This whole business was a total loss. The only thing that was left was the labor movement at large."

Publishing Bureau, I have worked on the principle of always meeting obligations when due. Seldom have we fallen down. But many a time I have passed the floor, wondering how the devil it could be possible to get through even been the order of the day. Since Solidarity started, we have secured between \$2,500 and \$3,000 in loans, the largest being \$1,000, which we obtained from the General Office of the Cleveland plant. These loans were nearly all without interest, by locals and sympathizers; and a goodly proportion of the total amount has been paid back in literature. It has taken these sums in the form of loans, together with the combined support of West, East, and Foreign, on subs, bundles, literature sales and job printing, to maintain the paper and printing plant. Yet our expenses were never as great as those of the Industrial Worker. Even with this income, which has averaged about \$500 per month during the past year, exclusive of loans, the closest possible supervision of finances has been necessary. At no time have I drawn more than \$12 a week as editor, except for one month in New Castle. The present office and mechanical force, a five cent note, and receiving \$12 a week. None of these boys has ever kicked for a raise. They understand the situation, and are only concerned about making Solidarity and the I. W. W. more powerful Bureau a power for the education of the workers.

After finances started to improve somewhat in New Castle, another handicap was placed on our growth, and that was inability to obtain efficient help, or to hold it for any length of time. No worker with a family could stand the pressure of a \$12 a week wage scale. The Puritan atmosphere of New Castle very quickly became intolerable to a "hobo" afflicted as most of them are, with the spirit of wanderlust. After training one to a tolerable state of efficiency, and making a few mistakes, he would "blow" throwing that extra work onto me, until another could be secured and "broken in," only to repeat the performance in a few months. Every summer season, especially, became a night-mare along this line.

Finally, the question of moving to a larger city, which had always been up for consideration, asserted itself as imperative. Conditions last winter seemed favorable, and after investigating Chicago and Cleveland, the latter city was chosen as the new location for our printing plant and paper. As most of our readers know, the move was made in April of this year. At the same time, we secured the services of Fellow Worker Earl F. Moore, as secretary and general sub and literature promoter, and Fellow Worker Geo. Fix as first class printer. Their work has been invaluable, and with that of Fellow Workers Horn and Glover in the mechanical department, has gone far toward solving the problem of efficiency. But expenses have materially increased, as menacing, if not more so, than ever. It can be overcome very quickly, with a little more active work for the press, on the part of locals and individual supporters. The additional amount required on our monthly income is not large, and would entail no sacrifice on the part of our readers. The monthly local should have at least one good sub hustler, and see that he keeps busy. Every local should have a live literature agent, or committee, and see that a supply of literature is always on hand for every one who needs are in the way of new literature, and help us financially to supply the same. If you have any job printing that need not be done in a hurry, send it to our occasional printer, at that time when strikes or defense are not demanding your entire attention, would also help.

The field for I. W. W. literature is immense. This I. W. W. Publishing Bureau is the first serious attempt of the organization to specialize on the task of supplying that literature. In spite of the handicaps above outlined, we have really done considerable in the three years we have been working to that end. More than 100,000 pamphlets have been printed and distributed, besides those of other publishers handled through the Bureau. More than 1,000,000 leaflets have been scattered about the country among the slaves of all industries. Much of this literature has been placed on file in reading rooms and libraries, and read by many more workers than the number sold. The same is true of Solidarity, also. We have, I believe, more than justified our existence, and the struggle necessary to maintain it. While this narrative is necessarily incomplete, it was not intended as a minute record of events in the history of this journalistic venture. I have only tried to portray the most salient features of our struggle, and to venture in detail with the early than with the later events. The future lies before us. What it will be, we cannot say. That depends very largely upon YOU. THE STORY. If you believe this work of revolutionary education is worth while, and want to help more than you have done in the past, you will find opportunities in Solidarity, through the stormy seas of adversity, are JUST AVERAGE MEN. None is a genius. None has cared for the limelight for himself, at the expense of his fellow workers. Just "Jimmie Higginsons," workers imbued with the revolutionary purpose of helping to unite the working class for the overthrow of capitalism and the planting of a new social order. B. H. WILLIAMS.

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# CONTROLLING MIGRATORY JOBS

BY J. S. BISCAY

**W**HILE much time and valuable space is being wasted on side issues, the real concern of the organization at this time except as a band for individual rag-chewing; an occasional mention of difficulties in organization of the job out West is met with. This is usually applied to the basic industries, lumber and transportation or construction work. The term "migratory workers" has been made a catch phrase, meaning something well nigh impossible of organization. So many times has this been broached in our press that it's about time this fallacy was nailed down as a simple fact.

**IT IS NOT TRUE THAT THE MIGRATORY WORKER IS ANY HARDER TO ORGANIZE.** The Western locals have not used the proper methods to reach into the industries, that's all.

While I pause here to allow you time to sneer, if you see fit, and ask, "What the devil do you know about lumber camps or construction jobs?" I might add that I have worked in the lumber industry and railroad camps both East and West, not to mention manufacturing connected with both. Also I have had a little experience in organizing right where the "migratory workers" have been pretty thick. Now to continue.

The Western locals have failed to reach the job, in proportion to the lack of organization means used in the given industries. Taken as a whole, they have hardly touched the basic industries after years of hard propaganda at points where no lumber jack or railroad monkey toils.

Let us take the lumber industry and railroad construction employing a good percentage of the migratory workers out West in the past years. Beginning with the Pacific Northwest as far north as Prince Rupert, B. C., and ending the coast as far south as Mexico, we find lumber locals and construction and mixed locals recruiting the migratory toiler. These locals are not located in the lumber camps, except with a very few exceptions. They invariably function in the cities while the workers scatter about the outlying territory toiling on the various jobs. In the lumber industry, the main office of the capitalist in the chief railroad centres, so the locals have attempted to thrive. Did that same boss attempt to build the railroad with tracks in British Columbia while his machinery and force of toilers were employed in Seattle, the world would laugh and probably be relegated to a padded cell. But that is precisely what many locals are attempting to do—to get job control when the job is always a long way off from where the union hall and membership hold forth.

Where is the job connection between the lumber local in British Columbia, Tacoma or Bellingham and the number of camps near Little Rock and Tenino or round Bothell or Gray's Harbor? How can any or all locals hope to get job control in any section of the lumber industry when probably not a single local is making any attempt to grasp even the nearest outlying section of that industry?

Often members of nearly every I. W. W. lumber local in Washington can be found in the same camp. Each may even have credentials and take in an occasional member for the various locals. In the same camp some worker joins the Tacoma local, another the Seattle, another the Sedro-Woolley, another the Everett, etc. Instead of organization, this method brings even greater confusion. Even if that same delegate is but a very slender string that connects the camp with a local that can't reach the industry. His job depends upon his keeping his mouth shut. He does not work unless he has to. To expect a man that is down and out to do much organizing when his living is at stake, is almost too much.

Of course, there is the street oratory. But little of that lumber jack hears in a camp fifty or a hundred miles away. If he hears some of it while trying to drown his sorrows and misery by the pickle route in town, it does not reach him in the economic sense. He is not working just then and really is not as much interested as many of us used to

think. On the job you can talk job control—but you have to show him that you have some chance to get that job. He is rather shy about risking so much as already he has a hard enough time to get on. He knows no economic advantage in joining a lumber local in Seattle while he must toil along the Columbia River all winter. He sees little economic control from the distant city and his toilsome nightmare of a job is right under his nose along with his misery. In this event the town local is simply a very loosely decentralized fraternity of lumber jacks with a hall to sit in while in town for a week or so. Being absent he has practically nothing to say about the business of the local which should be his.

Well, what's to be done?

To send organizers through the camps is a very difficult thing, even if men with the required backbone could be had. It takes far more courage to travel from one hostile camp to another place than to bring spittoon and Yogi philosophy. Even if this was done and the members could be brought in, the local still would fail to function on a distant job while operating in the city where the job was not. So since the job has showed so little inclination to come to the locals in the bosses railroad centres, the locals must either go to the job or give up the attempt at gaining job control. The local must simply be moved down to the works where the migratory worker toils and the city headquarters knocked down to the size of a simple central office. No big hall is necessary and even no street agitation. Let the street agitators follow the workers until the time comes that lumbering and construction work is done under the arch light on cobble stones. Instead of a hall in town have local branches with headquarters at all the outlying points where the worker must get off the train and hike across to the camps and where he comes from the camp to the depot. This is as near as the branch could get. If Tacoma had a branch, say at Little Rock, it would get all the workers in the habit of stopping in on the way out and as they come in from the camps. This is in other strategic points. The workers finding a local so near the job that they could walk in on Sunday to get papers and read literature and transact business, would soon see the hope of getting control of the few camps near Little Rock. They would join the branch and would carry on the business of the branch. In other

towns would be other branches of the same local taking in all the territory that the local could handle. Soon the many branches would cover the whole area and all round about jobs so that wherever the lumber jack went he had to pass the I. W. W. headquarters. When a strike should become in order, each branch by virtue of its strategic position would be able to act as a picket and stop the scabs as they got off the trains. To fight such a strike would require a vast amount of expenses for police. Not only would every camp have to be watched as heretofore but every little railroad station in the lumber belt would have to be policed. No matter where the scabs were shipped from, you would catch them at the landing place before they started to pack their blankets over the trail.

After each branch recruited enough members to hold the job down within its actual reach, each camp would naturally become a sub-branch doing business that pertained with an individual camp. To preserve the control the workers in each camp would have to make every new arrival get in line, if he should happen to slip by the branch without joining. If he promised to join, those in camp would make him redeem his promise. If he quit and went into another territory he would transfer as he passed the headquarters. If there was no branch there yet organized, he would have the necessary drilling in actual business on the job to start it going.

After the job was finished the branch would either move to the nearest other point, or cease to exist. The membership of that branch would be elsewhere and under the jurisdiction of another branch of the same or another local.

The local secretary in that case would simply have a cheap office in the nearest central city. He would have to supply stamps and literature to the floating branches as it would be his duty to be in touch with them. He would also meet with a body committee, board or something like that, elected from each branch and representing the whole local. This body would elect the secretary and it would be directly controlled by the membership from the job and could act intelligently by meeting on a Sunday and be back for work for Monday morning. There could be several organizers traveling through the camps where there was sufficient members to

assure them a hearing, or meetings could be held in the village to which the workers could walk in on a Sunday afternoon or evening.

Such a local would not be in Seattle, Portland, Vancouver or some other city, but scattered wherever the job existed. Its presence near and on the job would be its greatest argument to force new members to come into the union. The action of such a local would reach every member on the job and each and all would feel that they were a part of the local, something that they do not now. In case of a referendum, the majority would vote because all would have the opportunity of enlightenment and expression. The workers would have something to occupy their minds on some rainy days and holidays. Instead of getting on the job, the union would fill that aching void of a Sunday solitude of the wild camp.

This same method of organization can be applied to any migratory job whether it be lumbering, construction or harvesting.

This is not a theory that I spring, nor a doped-up plan which might work. It has worked in the I. W. W. already and as I point this fact out I don't wish any one to think that I am going to take any credit in its invention, because I am not exactly the father of the idea. The green members of the constructed local started in Lytton, B. C., in 1911, hit upon this very plan which proved a howling success so far as getting actual job control over some 500 miles of work was concerned. The older members will remember what an awful time the provincial government and capitalists, backed with boundless millions, had in getting the upper hand of the local in the strike less than a year after its birth. The local is still there, though I can't say whether the same methods are used today.

The local was organized at Lytton because I happened to be correctly informed that this was the central point of the construction job. On one side was Yale and on another Savona. These three points were then the principal stopping off places for the workers on way to the many camps. Practically all the workers came through these three places coming and going at that time. Soon we had a branch at Savona and Yale, thus bottling up the points of entrance to the job. The local maintained three headquarters with secretaries and was laying plan to follow the job with a chain of other branches as the work progressed. From four to six organizers were sent out mainly to collect the dues and drill the membership in the camps. So powerful did the local become that a raise of about 50c a day was forced within four months after its organization, without even a strike. Camps were improved and even the province was forced to send the health officer along the line. The membership swelled to nearly 8,000 in less than eight months. Nearly one-half of these were in good standing. As the workers moved from one point on the line to another, they only changed branches. The local remained a unit.

The result of this local has shown itself. Though it was itself defeated in the strike of 1912 there are many more locals scattered eastward in Canada and still pushing onward and upward despite this terrible disadvantage.

If the job could be reached among the migratory workers in Canada under the plan that I have outlined, it can be reached in Washington, Oregon, California and elsewhere. If the organization is properly centralized at the point of production—the job—there is no reason under the sun why any section of the working class cannot be organized. The expense would hardly be greater to begin with than at present. The extra expense on expansion would be taken care of by the influx of new members with their dues if the price of a hall in Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane, Bellingham, Everett and a few other points was turned into renting cheap headquarters in the villages, there would be a big start to begin with. In place of the headquarters, say in Seattle, we could maintain at least five branches in small places where rent is cheap. But figure how many more workers you would reach and what a fine chance you would give the workers to join the One Big Union. But I am preaching "centralization" of the union on the job, where it belongs. Anyway think it over and improve upon it in actual practice.

## America Leads The World In Auto Manufacture

That European auto manufacturers become periodically alarmed over what they term the "invasion" of their markets by American makers, does not seem surprising, in view of the enormous production in this country. England, for instance, the largest of the foreign producers, turns out only about 20,000 cars a year, whereas over here, one concern, the Ford, reports having made and sold 185,000 during the season closed about a month ago. The output for all American concerns has been estimated at 400,000 for the 1918 season.

Germany, in 1911, produced about 17,087 cars; in 1910, 18,113; and in 1909, 9,444. Italy is credited with having manufactured 7,906 in 1912, and 4,695 in 1911, most of which were made by the Fiat Co. Russia, which turned out 100 machines last year, 66 in 1911, and 18 in 1910, imports about \$5,000,000 worth annually.

Probably in all Europe there are not over 250,000 autos in use, as against more than 1,000,000 in the United States. The figures are incomplete, but France, according to consular reports, had 28,641 motor-cars in use on January 1 last, most of which came from England. That style of machine having become popular because of the side-car attachment. Germany, at the beginning of the year, had 57,464 autos in use, including the number in government, taxicab, and omnibus service. According to the Consul at Frankfurt-

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Deals with the labor movement of the world from a revolutionary standpoint

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on Maine, the competition of the American autos is not yet apparent in Germany. The manufacturers of that country have done their best to create a sentiment against American-made cars, and many prospective buyers are afraid of their alleged fitness. In 1912, the German tire producers exported about \$3,300,000 worth of tires.

Denmark has about 8,000 machines in service, about one-third of which are of American make. Portugal, with a population of 6,000,000, has only some 2,000 cars, and most of these are of French manufacture.

Foreign makers have not yet adopted quantity production, and they cannot see how the immense output here is going to be absorbed locally, year after year. The fact that our exports have increased from \$5,277,847 in 1908, to \$31,253,533, in the 1918 fiscal year, would appear to furnish some basis for their fears.

The working class should take a lesson from their masters. The masters spend much time, money and energy ORGANIZING TO PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS. They know from experience that organization is power. Let the workers spend as much time and energy looking after their interests as workers, and the masters will soon be at the workers' mercy. Organize in the I. W. W.

What is "Direct Action" and "Sabotage"? Send for literature.

## MR. BLOCK—He Is One of Those Cascarets.







# THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MACHINE PROCESS.

WHY 'ONE BIG UNION' IS NEEDED

BY EWALD KOETTGEN

**T**HE TEXTILE INDUSTRY, the making of cloth, is one of the oldest industries known to mankind. Its development to its present high level has been accomplished in recent years, in fact only since the advent of the power loom.

The hand loom of our grandfathers differed very little from the looms of their grandfathers or great-grandfathers.

The old hand loom was constructed almost entirely of wood and consisted of four posts standing upright, joined together by cross-pieces. In many cases the weavers made their own looms. The beam holding the warp was laid in the back of the loom and in front was another beam winding up the woven cloth.

The harness consisted of two shafts, or four at the most. The lade, holding the reed had to be pushed back and forth by the hand of the weaver.

The treadle, used to part the warp had to be operated by the feet of the weaver and the shuttle had to be thrown by hand, in fact the weaver had to sit at the loom and use both hands and feet in order to operate it. Nor was this all the weaver had to do. The thread or yarn had to be made into a warp, the warp had to be wound and had to be entered through the harness and reed, twisted or tied on. If it was Jacquard work the harness had to be made and the cards cut for the machine. The loom had to be fixed up and the warp had to be wound upon quills and after the cloth was woven, the weaver had to finish it.

The weavers in fact comprised the whole textile industry and when the cloth left the weaver it was ready to be made up into garments. The weaver was a warper, a beamer, a harness builder, a warp enterer, a twister, a loom fixer, a quill winder, a cloth picker, a finisher, etc. The weaver of old was a highly skilled mechanic and it required years of training to become efficient.

The work was carried on in their homes, and they had to work long hours and produced comparatively few yards per day.

When the weavers organized into Weavers' Unions at that time they had the whole industry organized because the weavers constituted the textile industry.

With the advent of the power-loom things began to change. The work was no longer carried on in the homes of the workers, it was done in mills built for that purpose. The work was divided and sub-divided. Some workers would do nothing but tend looms as weavers, others became winders, quill-winders, warpers, beamers, twisters, enterers, harness-builders, reed makers, loom-fixers, card-cutters, designers, cloth-pickers, finishers, cloth-examiners, spinners, etc.

The workers became mere tenders of machines.

The weaver of old was, figuratively speaking, cut into a dozen or more different parts. Instead of being the whole industry, he became only a small part of it.

The old unions, as represented by the American Federation of Labor in this country did not keep pace with this development of industry. Instead of organizing all the workers working in a textile mill or mills in a given locality into one big union of textile workers, they organized them into small unions of weavers, warpers, loom-fixers, twisters, harness-builders, card-cutters, reed-makers, designers, spinners, slashers, wool-sorters, etc., etc.

Each of these little unions would consider itself distinct and separate from all the others, making contracts with their employers, regardless of the other workers working for the same employer. This division was carried on still further. Silk weavers' unions, for instance, would not take in cotton, woolen, tapestry, passamentary weavers, etc., or vice versa.

A weaver was not allowed to become a fixer, a twister, a warper, etc. The result was that when one craft had to strike to maintain their standard or improve on it all the other workers would stay at work and thereby help the boss defeat their fellow workers on strike. For instance, when the weavers struck the loom-fixers, winders, warpers, twisters, carders, spinners, sorters, engineers, firemen, etc., would stay at work, having been organized separately and taught that their interests were different from the others. The employers were not slow to take advantage of this state of affairs. Wages were reduced gradually, one craft at a time. More work was forced on to the workers. For instance, a weaver who was operating one loom containing 18 inches of cloth was compelled to run two looms. First only on plain work, after a while he was given two looms on fancy. When this had become general he was compelled to take two looms each containing 36 inches of cloth, then two looms containing 64 inches and even 72 inches. Then the number of looms was increased to three, then to four, etc.

The winders fared just as bad. They were compelled to tend to two sides instead of one, then to three sides, then the machines were made larger. All the other crafts got the same.

The production of silk ribbon the 24-foot double decker loom is the order of the day. In the cotton mill it is common for a weaver to operate from 12 to 24 looms and in the woolen weavers have been known to operate on fancy. All the machinery was run at a much higher rate of speed.

The increase in the productivity of the textile workers has been tremendous. Skill has been eliminated to a great extent. Women and children have entered the mills in large numbers and today we find that about 60 or 70 per cent of all the employees in the textile industry are women and children.

The once skilled textile workers have become the most abject slaves, mere appendages to machines. The wages paid are lower than in any other industry and the profits made by the bosses are tremendous.

We are forced to ask: What are the reasons for this state of affairs? Are the textile workers unwilling to fight to get and maintain a higher standard of living? The answer must be NO.

They have fought many a noble battle, but they were always defeated by their own fellow workers, mostly with union cards in their pocket. The sole reason for their low standard is that they have clung to an old and out-of-date form of unionism and the false teachings of these organizations.

To organize weavers' unions, carders' unions, wool-sorters' unions, spinners' unions, slashers' unions, loom-fixers' unions, twisters' unions, etc., at this period of development, each of these organizations with the employer, independent of all the others, is nothing but criminal. The false teaching of these out-of-date unions that "The interest of Capital and Labor is identical" has contributed a large part to the present miserable conditions of the textile workers.

The teaching that the interests of the bosses and the workers are the same, seems logical to a group of workers who were trained in the old unions. Take a group of loom-fixers for instance. They make an agreement with the employer whereby they get an increase in wages. This increase does not come out of the profits of the boss. He reduces the wages of a group of workers who are numerically much larger than the fixers, the weavers, for instance. Out of this reduction he pays the advance of the loom-fixers. The amount gained by the employer from the reduction forced on the weavers is greater than the increase granted the fixers and this establishes the proof in the minds of the workers "that the interest of capital and labor is identical." Did not the boss, as well as the loom-fixers, gain by the bargain?

This fosters animosity among the workers, kills the class spirit and prevents solidarity, so necessary to working-class emancipation. The old form of unionism and their false teachings must go if the textile workers ever wish to better their condition.

Solidarity and unity of action must be established and it can never be done by dividing the workers up into small groups, all fighting one another.

The form of organization and principles advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World must take the place of the old craft unions as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

The I. W. W. claims that all workers working in a textile mill are necessary to operate that mill and that their interests are the same. They all have one common enemy, the boss.

The I. W. W. claims that the engineer, fireman, carpenter, machinist, etc., while working in a textile mill are textile workers and must belong to the same union together with every other worker working in that mill. If any one is to change the job to any other industry, they would be given free transfer cards to the union in that industry. For instance: If the engineer changes his job from a textile mill to a brewery he would be transferred to the brewery workers' union, because then he would be a brewery worker.

All workers working in a shop or mill should meet together in their shop meetings to discuss affairs relative to that particular shop or mill. All workers employed, engineers, firemen, carpenters, machinists, loom-fixers, warpers, weavers, winders, twisters, beamers, spinners, carders, slashers, quill-winders, blockers, cloth-pickers, dyers and helpers, finishers, designers, harness-builders, reed makers, in short every worker employed in any capacity, must take part in the shop meeting and be a member of the same union.

Each shop or mill must have a shop committee representing as near as possible all the various departments.

This shop committee acts as the representative of the workers. Any worker who has any grievance with the employer reports it to the shop committee and if the shop committee fails to get justice for the worker, they call a meeting of all the workers in the shop or mill.

The workers decide what shall be done and if a strike is declared all the workers strike together, making it almost impossible for the boss to get his mill under operation with one mill or shop must elect delegates to a central committee.

The delegates from each mill must report to this central committee all about the conditions in their respective mills. The action taken in the central committee must be reported back by the delegates to their respective mills. Thus the workers are always kept in close touch with one another and informed what is going on in the various mills. This form of organization creates a feeling of solidarity and enables the workers to act as a unit in any mill or all mills together if found necessary. This constitutes the Local Union of Textile Workers, embracing all the textile workers in a locality.

The work of organization must go further than a locality, however, because the mill-owners have organized themselves and own mills in various parts of the country. If the workers in a locality strike, the employers transfer their orders to one of their other mills in another part of the country until the workers are compelled to return to work through starvation.

The workers must be in close touch with the workers in all parts of the country in order to close down all the mills of an employer in any part of the country in case of a strike, if found necessary.

This can only be done by combining all the Local Unions of Textile Workers into a National Industrial Union of Textile Workers and in turn affiliate the National Union with other National Unions of Textile Workers in other countries, thus establishing local, national and international solidarity.

The aim of the textile workers must not be merely a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. Who is to determine what constitutes a fair day's wage or a fair day's work? The mill-owners consider that anything is fair that they can get the workers to work for.

The aim must be the control of industry,

and the slogan must be:

"To the workers all they produce."

The battle cry must be:

"An injury to one worker is an injury to all workers."

The basic matter is only a question of power. The workers will never get more than they have the power to make the boss give. The only power that workers have is their power to stop industry at any time they see fit. This can only be done through a strong organization, embracing all the workers.

A mill where there is no organization the boss is the absolute master. Whatever he says will be the law of that mill. He will determine what wages the workers shall receive, how long they shall work, under what condition they shall work, how the work shall be distributed, who shall be employed or discharged and so on. When the workers organize they will demand that they will have something to say as to what the wages shall be, how the work shall be distributed, what the sanitary conditions shall be, whether or not a worker shall be discharged or kept on, what the hours of labor shall be, etc. The workers, when they organize, the more power they will assume. Whatever power the workers assume is taken away from the bosses and makes them so much weaker. This holds good in all industries.

Through close compact organization the workers can gain any demand by using direct action. For instance, the textile workers can get the eight-hour day by organizing in the I. W. W. When they get a good percentage organized take a vote in the organization and set the date when they want the eight-hour day. Then that date comes, every textile worker, leave the mill when they have worked eight hours.

If this is done all over the country at the same time, there is no power on earth to compel the workers to work longer than eight hours. United action will get the workers anything they want. Organization, as advocated by the I. W. W., makes this possible.

Class unionism as advocated by the United Textile Workers, A. F. of L. never.

The employers will dispute every inch of ground. They will fight hard to maintain control of industry. The workers, when they work for the workers in their fight for control of industry may vary greatly. Any weapons which will give the workers the desired result, the workers are justified in using. If the boss refuses to deal with a committee elected by the workers, a good move is to stop all work but stay in the mill and constitute themselves as one big committee of all the workers. Whenever this has been tried, it has been found very effective. The boss has always called for a committee, because he is very sensitive about having his whole place stop working.

Even if the boss is willing to receive a committee it is a good idea to stop the whole mill; this helps the boss to make up his mind quickly. To strike in the mill without leaving the mill is better. This has been tried, it has been found very effective. The boss has always called for a committee, because he is very sensitive about having his whole place stop working.

When all the most important industries have reached this point, the working class will be the dominant class and refuse to be slaves any longer. They will run the industries for the benefit of the workers and establish a new society where there are no masters and no slaves. We often hear the question asked: How shall this new society be constructed? While the details must depend upon future development of industry, we are safe to say that it will be constructed along industrial lines instead of geographical or political lines. The means of production, distribution, transportation and the land must be owned jointly by the workers. The political state with its geographical demarcation will disappear and the industrial state will take its place. The workers working in an industry will be the rulers, or laws if you wish to call it that for that industry. These are the only ones qualified to do so, being the only ones who have any intricate knowledge of that industry.

Their representatives will be workers who are thoroughly familiar with the industry and are elected by all the workers working in that particular industry. For instance: The textile workers will elect representatives from among their own ranks. These representatives will be the administrative body for the textile industry, taking the place of the state representative as we know them now in the political state. All the other industries will do the same and combined will constitute the nation, thus establishing a new society, an industrial democracy.

## Tests to be Made on Pre-cooling of Products

Tests are to be made in various cities of the United States of the principle of refrigeration controlled by the Intermittent Vacuum Pre-Cooling Corporation. A demonstration was made Monday to engineers and cold storage interests with a car at Shipley Docks in Brooklyn.

Five years ago, after many tests, the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific adopted the system known as the Sprague-Edison, controlled by the Intermittent Vacuum Pre-Cooling Co. The railroads erected two plants in California, one in the north at Sacramento, and one with a pre-cooling capacity of twenty cars at a time and the other at Colton, near Los Angeles, with a thirty-car capacity. The investment in these plants represents a million and a quarter of dollars. The Frisco also employs the system.

The system enables the grower to pack ripe produce and to ship it to distances exceeding three thousand miles, with the surety that it will arrive at the market in perfectly sound condition eliminating all loss

from rot to produce while in transit. Dead ripe strawberries shipped in California have been delivered in good condition in Boston.

Under the old system of refrigeration it required twenty-four to forty-eight hours to cool a car. The new process, which operates on the vacuum principle, needs from two and a half to four hours. The hot air is drawn away by powerful vacuum and pure cold air is drawn in. There is great saving in the cost of icing for the bunkers. The railroads gain enormously in car efficiency, which is increased at moderate estimate from 20 to 25 per cent.

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# MARINE TRANSPORTATION

SOME FACTS AND FIGURES DEALING WITH THIS VITAL INDUSTRY



## Haymarket Memories

A Chant for Parsons, Spies, Engel, Fischer and Ling.

When comes each year, returning true,  
The memoried day November's central decade bears,  
In thrill our hearts leap high to name them o'er—  
The names that Labor made immortal there;  
Those names that from the clock of storied time  
And monumental destiny, HAYMARKET toll;  
The names that gleamed beneath the lightning flash  
Of martyrdom upon that scaffold bleak;  
The names that date earth's latest dawn  
In this new world of Gold's enthroned domain;  
The names our modern Memnon greets today  
The newborn sun withal,—the ensanguined sun  
That glows from rising splendid ranks  
Of rebels red in symbol of one crimson tide—  
The human, cordial tide  
Of Class-embounded brotherhood!

Again we gather strong in solemn joy,  
To grieve our dead,—the undying dead in whom we live!  
Again we give acclaim  
Unto the fallen brave—Fallen, indeed,  
In life's brief while, but risen thence  
A tower of might that shall outlast  
Time's latest syllable—

"We are the birds before the storm," they cried  
From out the gibbet's settling gloom;  
And from those few faint pinions  
What a brood that breaths today the storm!  
O hearken to the million beating wings  
That now from out the lowering clouds  
Engulfing all the mammoned continent  
Resound in whirlwinds of unconquerable rebellion!  
The sulken, stifled sigh of Labor on the cross  
Uplifted in Chicago's Calvary,  
Has grown into a world-tornado NOW,  
Rocking every throne to imminent wreck  
In gilded Christendom!

"Go, call your hangman!"  
Thus, unto the court, cried August Spies,  
"Truth crucified in Socrates, in Christ,  
In Bruno, Huss and Galileo, LIVES—  
Still lives. They have preceded us upon"  
The path, and we are ready now to follow!"

The generation passed since Spies inspired  
Gave voice to dying that imbruted force  
That makes behind the Law, has seen  
The peaked and hungered files of fellow-men  
In Free America, fulfilled  
To multi-million marchers, while  
Grim Captain Starve commands.

And still the red plague sweeps astat—  
The plague of poverty and unpaid toil,  
Vaster and yet more vast the winds of War  
Are marshalling the ranks;  
But vaster, too, the insistent surge of rising rebels;  
Deeper, too, the impelling, swelling urge  
Of want enroused; and, over all,  
In one full diapason grand, O hear  
The magic slogan international:—  
Unite, O working class of every clime!  
With one great Union, strike! O strike  
The shackles from the limbs of Toil,  
With folded arms, the whole round workers world  
At bay, forever blast the reign of blighting Capital!

Already swift declines unto its close  
The age of Mammon, palsied, leprous, old.  
The age of Man, the marvel Age,  
In majesty of Universal labor's brotherhood,  
Is signalling the dawn. The east  
Is crimson with the coming day!  
Workers, arise! In every land wave-lages  
Now prone in chains, your chains must fall  
When Toil, awake to its own power,  
Stands forth, erect once more and master of its own  
Through all the new-born world,  
The realm, unlimited, of human liberty!

—WILLIAM McDEVITT.

**T**HE large mass of the Marine Transport Workers have no conception whatsoever of the tremendous forces they are battling against, and as a result their efforts to combat the exploiters look like the puerile experiments of mere boys. If they knew what they are up against, they would not pay another cent to the old craft unions. But neither would they remain unorganized another day.

Read carefully the following facts and figures; try to grasp their immensity and to form a conception of the tremendous strength of the powers that hold you down. These data gathered for the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION OF MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS by "John D." a signature guaranteeing their correctness, are part of a pamphlet soon to be issued by us under the title, "The Marine Transport Workers and Their Conditions—Their Social Redemption Through Organization."

The Atlantic Ocean traffic is divided between The International Mercantile Marine Co. (the shipping trust), and the Hamburg-American Line, which corporations have a mutual understanding regarding the entire business of the ocean.

The first named company has a capital of \$50,000,000 common stock, \$50,000,000 preferred stock, and also has outstanding \$32,744,000 in bonds. It owns the "White Star" line, "The American Transport Line," "The Dominion Line," and the "Leyland Line." The company is controlled by J. P. MORGAN, next to Rockefeller the biggest capitalist in the United States. Associated with him as prominent directors are C. W. PERRINS, head of the International Harvester Trust, and F. A. B. WIDENER, who owns practically all the street car lines in Philadelphia. We have to do with the kings of American finance.

The Hamburg-American Steamship Co. was capitalized at 125 million marks for years, but recently increased its capital by an additional \$7,500,000, proceeds of which will be used for extensions and improvements of the company's service fleets and in partial preparation for the Panama Canal trade. This company owns 481 steamers of an aggregate gross tonnage of 1,306,819, of which vessels 192 are common steamers with a gross tonnage of 1,258,811, the balance being river steamers, tugs, lighters, etc. It operates regular lines between Hamburg and New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Newport News, New Orleans, Galveston, Mexico, West Indies, South America, South Africa, China, India, Japan, etc.

The Hamburg-American line at the present time has no fewer than 21 ships under construction, in which are included two passenger and express-freight steamers of 21,500 tons gross register.

Dividends in the last 15 years have been large, running as high as 11 per cent. In 1912 its earnings were \$32,234,111 marks. It keeps a surplus of 1,019,452 marks on

hand for "emergencies," that is for strikes, etc.

The big business of the PACIFIC OCEAN will be divided between the Hamburg-American and the Pacific Mail Steamship companies. The latter corporation operates a fleet of 18 steamers, with a total of nearly 100,000 registered tons capacity. The company operates from San Francisco to Hawaiian, Philippine and Asiatic ports. It has a capital stock of \$20,000,000, of which stock to the amount of \$11,050,000 is owned by the Southern Pacific Co., a Harriman property.

Herr Ballin, the leading figure in the Hamburg-American Line, is supposed to represent the ROTHSCHILDS, the richest family in the world, while in the Pacific Mail Co., Judge Robert S. Lovett looks after the interests of JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER and the estate of the late E. H. HARRIMAN, the greatest railroad executive of the day.

Thus we find that the Atlantic Ocean is controlled by Morgan, and the Pacific Ocean by the Rockefellers-Harriman interests. Of course there are independent concerns sailing and carrying freights on both bodies of water, but at all times the men whose names are mentioned above control and dominate the situation.

The same interests are the masters of the trade on the great lakes, from Buffalo up to the Soo Locks and Duluth. As an instance of how the Morgan-Rockefeller combine, which controls the U. S. Steel Corporation, the steel trust, with its capitalization of over ONE BILLION DOLLARS, dominates the lake business, its shipments of ore alone from the Lake Superior region in 1912 amounted to 24,331,837 tons, which was equal to 50.46 per cent of all the shipments from that region the year stated.

The U. S. Steel Corporation owns and operates docks, piers, etc. of a tonnage of 263,034 gross tons. In 1912 a total of 9,370,970 gross tons were handled on its various docks.

The corporation also owns 208 steamers and barges. Furthermore, to show the intimate inter-connection of industries, we may mention in passing that the same corporation owns 1,203 locomotives, 47,543 cars and operates 3,515 miles of railroad track. It has in sight 1,200,000,000 tons of iron ore.

It now has over 240,000 employees on its payroll. Its assets amount to \$1,775,609,109. It generally carries about \$75,000,000 FOR ANY EMERGENCY. Dividends paid by the corporation since 1891 have averaged \$50,000,000 yearly on its preferred and common stocks. It requires something besides strike funds to fight such enemies. It requires enlightened MEN, bound together by INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION in unbroken SOLIDARITY and using DIRECT ACTION.

The business of the Long Island Sound is under the control of the Morgan-Rockefeller combination through their control of the New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R., the Fall River Line and the New London Route. All of these properties act in concert through verbal agreements or "gentlemen's agreements," as they are called in Wall Street, and the capitalizations

of all three concerns run well up into the millions, that of the New Haven alone footing up a total of \$250,000,000.

As far as the Hudson River traffic is concerned, CHAS. W. MORSE, the former ice king and ex-convict, operates the Hudson Navigation Co., while a so-called opposition company, the Manhattan Line, has a route running between New York and Albany. Morse has the backing of interests friendly to the Morgan syndicate of capitalists and so, no matter which way you ship your goods up the Hudson River, either Morgan or Vanderbilt gets your money. Perhaps it is well to bear in mind at the same time that J. P. Morgan is a big stockholder in the New York Central R. R., and also in the West Shore R. R., which is controlled by the Vanderbilts and which operates its lines on the west side of the river.

If this flashlight on the capitalist organization of the Marine Transport Industry does not open the eyes of the Marine Transport Workers, we do not know what will.

The average marine transport worker turns his wrath on the bullying underlings with whom he comes in contact. He curses silently the stevedore boss, the shipping master, the steward, the chief engineer, etc. He forgets that these often enough contemptible underlings can keep their jobs only by saying orders from above. There is a whole pyramid pressing on the workers who are at the bottom. The mean underlings only transmit the pressure. At the top of the pyramid are the Morgan-situated Rockefellers-Harriman-Rothschild crowd, who dominate the world.

Need anything further be said to prove the futility and impotency of craft unionism? Do you not understand that those on top of the pyramid only smile at such childishness? But they will not smile at you any longer when you have organized industrially as we are telling you to do. Nor should you forget how closely interwoven the Marine Transport Industry is with the net-work of other industries. If you have the least reasoning power, you will then also see how necessary it is for the workers to be in ONE BIG UNION, the I. W. W.

What do you think will ultimately become of us if we fail to join hands? Get into the I. W. W. immediately. It is the only power with any prospect of victory for the workers.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION OF MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS, I. W. W.

C. L. FILIGNO,  
National Sec'y-Treas., 214 West St., New York.

The crowning glory of the Socialist Party will prove to have been its dissemination of the idea of sabotage as a conscious weapon of the revolutionary working class. This was an unintentional piece of propaganda on the part of the S. P. Its intention was to put a stop to this "ethically unjustifiable" doctrine, which very few workers had heard of as a theory of the labor movement, until their attention was riveted upon it through the agitation over the famous "Section Six."

## THE REAL WHITE SLAVER



# RALLY TO THE DEFENSE

## Bloody Wheatland

(Continued from Page One)

and Beardon. They say the strike occurred because the men have no killing. They say that Dick Ford, when assaulted and discharged by Beardon, "quit" and left the ranch, the strike would have been broken. What matters to these broken-horned of thirst, indeed and in modest conditions? The workers are guilty. They struck and it became necessary to disperse them. Therefore, although they, the workers were unarmed and unarmed with their women and children, because a set of drunken deputies, who even had whisky in their pockets on the field, fired upon them, the workers must pay a dose to the galloves.

To vindicate and establish this theory an army of Burns men have been turned loose. They took one Swedish lad, Alfred Nelson, carried him around the country through six jails, finally beat him brutally in a public hotel in the city of Haines. One of these Burns thugs is now under a sentence of a year in jail and \$1,000 fine for this act.

These same Burns men arrested Dr. D. Suh's wife and son. He was confined like a beast in the refrigerator of a box freight car. These Burns men poked him with clubs and bars to keep him awake. He was taken to Los Angeles and tortured in that city. There they carried him to Fresno for further torture. He was taken to San Francisco, thence to Oakland. Here for four days three shifts of Burns men tortured him by keeping him awake. In order that no marks should show on his person, they rolled long spools of paper and thrust the sharp points into his eyes and ears. On the fourth day his tired head dropped. He was placed in a three-foot latticed cell so that he could not be easily tortured in his cell without danger from his fists. He went crazy, signing a confession and the judges of Yuba and Sutter counties and the district attorneys thereof have tried to make it impossible for him to even swear out a warrant for his torture.

Mrs. Suh's wife was questioned when she first visited her husband. Edward B. Stanwood, the present district attorney of Yuba county, has had more than a score of men arrested. He has kept them for months in jails as wretchedly treated. These Burns men have been permitted to enter their cells and see every other man there. They then to confessions. Men say they have been brought before Stanwood himself, and when they told the truth about their actions these Burns men have called them "God damned liars." Stanwood has set by. Again and again Stanwood has referred to take any action concerning the gathering of arms, concerning the actions of the Burns men. He has refused to put charges against these men until compelled to do so by writs of habeas corpus.

There were a band of men, all of them armed, many of them drunken, who charged a peaceful meeting endangering the lives of women and children. Stanwood says it was because of a conspiracy among the workers that anybody was killed. None of the workers had arms. All the deputies had pistols and rifles.

In the city of Marysville, where the trials will take place the newspapers constantly refer to the men in jail as fiends. The judge is the lifelong friend of the dead Maxwell and everybody knew the sheriff and the other deputies. The public ally every time. Judge Billings. The acts of the Burns men are excused as necessary. To cinch the whole thing the courts have refused a change of venue. The whole

community fears that this case should be tried by a jury not involved directly in the facts. Under the same law the next strike can be broken in the same way. The drunkards Burns or other men will be used. If only these two workers had been killed they would have been charged with murder. It is only handy and incidental to the movement of the bosses that two of their own were involved, whose deaths are their friends. The case is the same necessary to disperse them. Therefore, although they, the workers were unarmed and unarmed with their women and children, because a set of drunken deputies, who even had whisky in their pockets on the field, fired upon them, the workers must pay a dose to the galloves.

## The Texas Cases

(Continued from Page One.)

eleven who have still to be tried are now in jail at San Antonio. Their trial is expected to take place in January, 1914. Class and racial feeling notoriously runs high in Texas, and the prejudice against the Mexicans, whom many of Texas' would-be aristocrats regard as the lowest of the low, has been increased incalculably by the fighting across the border. The Mexicans who feel that it originally belongs to them, and who are conducting an energetic campaign on the prisoners' behalf and has forwarded them to the United States defense. In Los Angeles there arose, two Mexicans, Juan Rincon and another, who for some time were active in the defense fund, with seventeen names, many of which are well known, on the committee. Fanned this committee should be sent to Victor Covello, financial secretary, P. O. Box 1823, Los Angeles. As yet it has sent only \$75 to the lawyers for the defense, but it has raised \$1,000 to its credit with the German American bank, and is making, as actively as possible, for the campaign.

Numerous protest meetings have been held in Los Angeles, and it is believed that the committee will render substantial aid. In San Antonio there is a similar defense committee, of which an Alaman is secretary. Beyond all doubt there will have to be expensive appeals and much work must be done. On the other hand, thanks to the immensity of the times and the immense number of defecting labor now in the hands there is some difficulty in collecting the very considerable sum which will be needed. Somehow, however, it must be got, for we cannot have good workers being taken to prison, or strangled on the gallows, for what, at the utmost, is technical manslaughter. The lawyers, under circumstances of the most aggravating type, such as a conflict of the king's interests with the naturally begot. To stand indifferent on such an issue would be to connive at the perpetration of a series of murders, wherein the Chicago Architects were held guilty of constructive murder, although it is known that none of them had anything to do with the throwing of the bomb. To prevent what would be a similarly hideous crime we are making all our agitation with power, and to assist that agitation we ask from "Solidarity" and other labor papers throughout the world all the publicity they can give us.

Naturally the plutocratic press made a tremendous sensation of the San Antonio case. In reading their articles, the reader would have supposed that our comrades, seeking their liberty to return to their native country and play their part in the struggle for freedom and economic liberty in its fullest sense, were about to plunge all Texas into the fundamental form, the protest sent to the Governor by a large number of Mexicans who held a meeting at San Marcos was the signal for further sensation.

Our imprisoned comrades believe firmly that the struggle for "Lans and Liberty" represents, in its most fundamental form, the struggle of the disinherited throughout the world. For more than seven years J. M. Beardon, one of the prisoners, has been in the very front rank of this great conflict; three times has he been wounded in battle and has suffered two terms of imprisonment, one in Mexico City and the other for eighteen months in the U. S. penitentiary at Leavenworth, having been convicted of violation of the neutrality laws. Nevertheless all those who knew him during his imprisonment, and who have spoken of him in the highest terms, for while absolutely unassuming and other for other men, he is regarded as incapable of fear. The present writer never knew Beardon, a student of economic liberty for the world, and he held his position in "Regeneration's" office,

where we would gladly have retained him indefinitely and made his way to Texas with much difficulty and hardship. His one conviction was that his place was with the workers in Mexico, and a similar conviction moved his comrades to free him. Juan Rincon himself, little more than a boy but a highly intelligent one, died the Texas case of the strike, lingering long from a shot wound in the stomach, and with his pitiful appeals for work cordily ignored. Such is the case of our imprisoned comrades for whose defense we should, as far as possible, see to it that the writer considers that to overstate is a weakness, should be said, it seems to us here in Los Angeles, to all workers and to all with whom a sense of justice still exists. It should be clear that these men, with the exception of Rincon, in every method, are not criminals but of that heroic type which acts through others, only talk. It should be clear that it is the proper and pious thing to stand by them; and, indeed, the only sensible thing to do, since a movement that does not stand by its most ardent champions when they fall into the enemy's hands becomes immediately a mere rope of sand. It should be clear that these men, face to face with bitter prejudice and ignorant of the language of their own country, in which they must stand trial, are badly in need of help.

These Texas cases are included in those for which the I. W. W. has formed an International Workers' Defense League, whose headquarters address is P. O. Box 1286, Los Angeles, Cal. It is now conducting an energetic campaign on the prisoners' behalf and has forwarded them to the United States defense. In Los Angeles there arose, two Mexicans, Juan Rincon and another, who for some time were active in the defense fund, with seventeen names, many of which are well known, on the committee. Fanned this committee should be sent to Victor Covello, financial secretary, P. O. Box 1823, Los Angeles. As yet it has sent only \$75 to the lawyers for the defense, but it has raised \$1,000 to its credit with the German American bank, and is making, as actively as possible, for the campaign.

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Local 579, I. W. W., Cincinnati, Ohio, meets every Wednesday evening at Central Turner Hall. All slaves coming to Cincinnati are welcome to our meetings. Address all communications to Max Volkmann, Secretary, 1572 Ambushier street.

Ed. Lind, Henry Kaufman, or anyone working in the grading case of the Consolidated Lumber Co. of Elk Woods, California, on November 1910, please communicate with Frank Johnson, County Infirmary, Box 6, Spangle, Wash.

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## From The Seat of the Revolution :: The Michigan Miners

In spite of all silence and the report that the I. W. W. is dead and a thing of the past, especially in the Southern District, you have read an account of the Western Lumber Workers' Association calling a special convention for the purpose of DISCUSSING the advisability of improving the working conditions for the lumberjacks. The question of shorter work days, more sanitary conditions was the main question ever known, and on the same grounds that Mexico is fighting today for "land and liberty" (Come on ye rebels and let us organize all the workers and educate them so that when the conflict does come we will be able to save the race.

(By Louis Mella)  
A "Mid the once pine-clad hills of Northern Michigan, the copper miners of Calumet and the adjoining districts are waging an economic struggle, a social war as it were, in their endeavor to gain an eight-hour day. They have succeeded in organizing; what the mine owners, however, have not succeeded in doing is to organize all the workers and educate them so that when the conflict does come we will be able to save the race.

It means that much labor will be required at New Orleans, and it means that the lumberjacks will have the option on two jobs, an investigation of the White Pine lumber, and it is the main reason for calling the convention of the lumberjacks.

Will the following fellow workers please communicate with their father said respectively, who are anxious to hear from them: W. Cyril Hopkin to Mr. W. Hopkin, 789 High Street, Arden, Melbourne, Australia; and W. B. Davis to Mrs. W. P. Everett, Jr., 4008 Freest St. New Orleans, La.

Now with the proper efforts on the part of agitators and the Southern District the lumberjacks can make the Operators' Association, and it is with the assistance of all floating rebels drifting into the South it seems that the lumberjacks will be able to make some gains and establish an eight-hour day.

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I. W. W. Press  
THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE  
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