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B. H. WILLIAMS Managing Editor

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Some Admissions From Geo. W. Perkins

It is a custom, by this time well noted, in *Solidarity's* editorial columns, to call our readers' attention as often as possible, to the attitude, implied or expressed, of various capitalist spokesmen, regarding the labor movement. We believe this to be one of the best and most effective ways of showing our own understanding of that movement. Unless we perceive clearly the attitudes, projects, and tactics of the masters in dealing with their slaves, we shall not know how to develop the necessary counter movement, in line with the revolutionary aspirations of the working class. So, this week, *Solidarity* reproduces from the New York World an interesting article by George W. Perkins, bearing the title, "Workers' Right to Share Profits Now Recognized as Good Business." It is not our purpose in this instance to present a detailed analysis of the nature of "profit-sharing" as it manifests itself in working class experience. That has already been done in several articles in this paper, by "J. E." and others. But what we desire to call particular attention to at this time, are the very frank admissions Mr. Perkins' article. Be it known first of all, that George W. Perkins was a close and confidential associate of the late J. Pierpont Morgan, and from his varied experiences and intimate contact with the "big" members of the ruling class, is well qualified to voice their sentiments and interpret their attitudes. He has in fact been one of the closest students and staunchest advocates of the "profit-sharing" idea. In his writings and speeches, at least, Mr. Perkins, along with Judge Gary, voices the "Dr. Jekyll" "conciliatory" attitude of the steel trust, towards the workers, directly, the savage route of "Mr. Hyde." So we have the proud statements of these "Dr. Jekylls" to the effect that the steel trust now has some 150,000 "owners," including among a few big stockholders, the overwhelming number of about 149,000 of "our employees." Thus we behold "democracy" in the steel industry. But we have also seen that "Mr. Hyde" is on the job in the various subdivisions of the great industry, with several thousand spies to see that no attempt is made by any of these working class "owners" or any of the other workers, to exercise control over the "business" of "their business." Democracy in the steel industry doesn't extend beyond the newspaper articles or interviews of George W. Perkins and Elbert H. Gary. So we can for the moment dismiss this capitalist claim of "industrial democracy through profit sharing" as a hollow mockery, or a blind to deceive the working class.

Let us see, meanwhile, if we can get something more satisfactory out of Mr. Perkins' admissions. Turn to the article reproduced elsewhere, and note what Perkins says about the class struggle. He frankly admits its existence, not as having been "invented" or "stirred up" by some agitator, but as having actually grown out of industrial conditions "for the past fifty years" of "strikes, lockouts, unrest, continuous friction in the shops, punctuated by continual breakdowns of the industrial machine." Thus the "class war," Mr. Perkins contends, is not a new thing, but a very patent fact. That is admission No. 1, very significant, since most capitalist spokesmen have hitherto tried to conceal it.

This frank admission of the existence of the "class war" leads us to suspect that this mouthpiece of capitalism has something else up his sleeve. And so, jumping to the very next paragraph, we discover admission No. 2, in this sentence: "Industry cannot continue to develop upon a war basis." As a matter of "good business" the capitalists, or at least Perkins, Judge Gary, Henry Ford, and some others who share Perkins' views, would put an end to the "class war." How? By the capitalists giving over the complete control of industry to the workers? No, nor any part of that control. But by abolishing the "flat rate" of the hitherto existing, crude and unsophisticated wage slavery, which "has failed more and more to inspire a loyal interest on the part of the wage earners in the business which employs them," and substituting therefor (and the class struggle) the "benevolent sophistication" of profit sharing. Could anything be plainer, as a "reason for being" of the profit sharing scheme? Could anything present more clearly the attitude of the capitalist class towards the working class? Having held the working class to the limit on a "flat-rate" basis, and failed to extract the last pound of flesh; moreover, having met resistance that has proved itself unprofitable, and latterly has threatened to become dangerous, our masters, with an eye always to new inventions, would now resort to a more promising method of extracting profits from their victims. They would SEDM to share the profits with "their employees" in order that they themselves may enjoy still larger profits, extracted without resistance from the "loyal" and "efficient" work of contented slaves. So we find the nine big stockholders of Henry Ford's automobile plant recently gloating over a \$48,000,000 stock dividend which they "profit-sharing" employees" handed to them the past year out of the product of their toil. Ford's system is still rather crude or undeveloped, so Perkins intimates, and will doubtless be improved upon as a "good-business" proposition.

So there you are, fellow slaves. The knout of our industrial task-masters is to be metamorphosed into the golden cart dangle just out of reach in front of the mule's nose, to tempt him to still greater exertion, while causing him to forget to kick at his master who rides behind. 'Tis a worthy scheme, this profits sharing, as evolved from the brain of a George W. Perkins. It sounds to a rebel like a utopian dream; but it at least shows the desperate straits our masters are in nowadays, in trying to deal with "this pesky labor problem." They now frankly admit defeat in one direction; and, if we may be permitted to prophesy a bit, we expect to see them soon routed from their "profit-sharing" dream as well. The class war cannot be suppressed, or flinched out of existence. It will continue to burn as brightly through One Big Union, have trained themselves for, and have actually assumed complete ownership and control of, industry.

Harvest is Key to Mining Industry

Every day through or from Denver are passing hundreds of workmen for the Kansas harvest. Instead of the spirit of meek, unthinking hopelessness that has been characteristic of the worker, the result of the harvest is a new spirit of confidence has engendered a new method of thought to which the propaganda of industrial revolt has given a meaning and an aim.

With the various physical factors intelligently aligned to take advantage of the new conditions, as they arise, the Agricultural Workers' organization, led by the I. W. W., never had a grander opportunity of becoming a militant factor in American industrialism than now.

There is more at stake in the Kansas and Dakota harvest than a great organization of harvest and migratory workers, who are migratory by reason of the fact that they are not always workers. Kansas and Dakota are this year the key to the greatest organization in the country, the United Mine Workers.

The writer at first hand has studied the general mental attitude of the Colorado miners at the present time. It is a viewpoint entirely natural, considering the conditions, the outrages through which they have passed. All illusions as to identity of interest have been dissipated; patriotism and mushy emotionalism have been washed away in the blood and buried with the charred remains of their women and children. Instead, emphasis to them has been the lesson that laws are but a gigantic conspiracy against the working class, with Baldwin-Feltz trusts and machine guns as parts of the machinery for their enslavement.

No member of the I. W. W. knows better than do the miners that they were defeated by J. D. Rockefeller, Governor Ammons, the state of Colorado, the capitalism of the United States, or the government which is the inevitable defender of that capitalism. They knew they were defeated by the other district organizations of the U. S. M. W. A., by the United States Army and children, in the hunger that is ever the world's greatest revolutionist, they have learned how faulty is their form of organization, and how incompetent it is to cope with the industrial organization of One Big Union—of capitalism against which they must fight.

Standing on the route of the Lawson-parade, held recently here in Denver, in which Justice and Law—twin prostitutes of capitalism—were on banners evoked in Lawson's defense, a veteran from the industrial battlefields of Colorado, his card in his pocket, voiced his disgust. "Oh, hell; isn't it a joke?" In the name of justice and law our women were murdered. If we want to free Lawson the miners will have to do it. There are 450,000 of us, and with solidarity it would take a week to bury the looks as if the miners would have to do it, as the only other solution offered was to wait until the socialists elected a president, if Lawson lived that long.

This fact voiced more than the revolt of one man. It was the spirit of the Colorado miners. The graves that dot the southern fields and disgrace Colorado are finding a voice of disenchantment that may seal the doom of capitalism. It was the spirit of thousands when the National Guard on Decoration Day paraded the streets of Denver, and the blood of their women and children, in the hunger that is ever the world's greatest revolutionist, they have learned how faulty is their form of organization, and how incompetent it is to cope with the industrial organization of One Big Union—of capitalism against which they must fight.

Why do not the members of the U. M. W. A., in the light of these facts, join the I. W. W. A. there is this fear on the part of the president of the U. M. W. A., is evident from his recent statements. His remarks in regard to the I. W. W., are inspired by more than a guilty conscience. The I. W. W. is not strong enough financially to put the great number of organizers necessary to bring over the top of the U. M. W. A. They may—and do—admire the philosophy of industrial unionism. But the miners are not philosophers, but workmen, thinking in terms of job. A militant guaranteeing job organization, and that alone, will supply the example and the inspiration that will overcome the conservatism of the Colorado miners, which despite the rude shaking it has received is still a factor to be considered.

The members of the I. W. W. in Kansas are fighting not alone for better wages for the miners, but for the workers of Colorado, and the latter's organization, guided to I. W. W. principles, means a great permanent foothold in what is from an industrial union basis at present the most important of industries.

This is why, to the student of mining conditions, the victory in this state, victory in Kansas would directly and indirectly be the greatest step ever taken by the I. W. W. towards the overthrow of a social and industrial system fitted to be the nightmare of an idiot. J. A. McDONALD

Denver, Colo., June 11.

Is Democracy a Failure?

After reading and pondering over the resolution of the Minneapolis local concerning the attitude towards *Solidarity* one will raise the above question, and unless the membership as a whole will forsake the bliss of inactivity toward supporting *Solidarity* and thrust upon itself the yoke of systematic, regular and guaranteed support of its press, then it will be forced to the shameful statement that democracy in the I. W. W. is a failure.

Before proceeding further let me state that for the last five years I have served *Solidarity* as editor and manager and understand how a paper is run from the first steps taken to start one, writing it up, printing it, securing a circulation, and, mark you, how it comes to be suspended. I speak from actual experience and as you will note, I base this article upon facts.

The editor of *Solidarity* has answered the charges of Minneapolis local in his usual polite and diplomatic way. One argument, however, needs explaining, namely the one referring to the supposed larger amount of reading matter to be found in the foreign language papers of the I. W. W. This statement is far from being true as it is easier to act the part of a busy editor.

The Bohemian paper is only one-fourth the size of *Solidarity* and is issued only twice a month and yet it must put in a page of cuts, sometimes two pages of cuts.

The Polish paper (now suspended) carried about three columns of reading matter per issue because it meant a saving of from \$2 to \$3 on the linotype job. For this same reason local affairs, such as meetings, picnics, dances and the like were set up in display instead of the usual reading notice. From time to time a full page cartoon was inserted because it meant a saving as high as \$3 on the issue. Borrowed cuts right and left until I could borrow no more. All this had to be done because when there was no money to cover the expenses of filling the paper flush with reading matter it had to be filled otherwise. Considering the amount of the Polish paper it is not more reading matter than *Solidarity*, taking number for number.

The Lithuanian paper, same size as *Solidarity*, runs almost a full page of advertising matter, besides is entirely set up in 12 point type while *Solidarity* averages about three columns per issue of 12 point matter.

The Hungarian paper is probably the only exception, its size being larger than *Solidarity's*, but it carries about two columns of standing matter and we must note that its general makeup is much less compact than *Solidarity's*. (It, also, is issued only twice a month.)

Another fact to be taken into consideration is that the smallest type used by the foreign language papers is 10 point, which gives 7 1/2 lines per inch, while a good part of *Solidarity* is set in 8 point type, which gives 9 lines per inch. Taking all into consideration *Solidarity* is generous rather than stingy with reading matter. The quality of *Solidarity's* reading matter far

outdoes its quantity. Well the Minneapolis local remarks that the foreign language papers are receiving far less support. *Solidarity*, as an illustration, in April the General Office Bulletin stated that the Polish paper needed only 600 copies more circulation to be self sustaining. The locals answered by cutting off 85 copies in bundles and the Polish paper was forced to close up shop. And yet how easily could *Solidarity* have been kept up, especially now when it is more than ever needed owing to particular conditions created among the Polish people by the European war and how ridiculously easy it will be to keep *Solidarity* going if we once get rid of the "no money," "poor prospects" excuse. Justify the *Solidarity* by your own efforts. I ask you, fellow workers, when, so long as exploitation lasts, will we, workers, have money in the real sense of the term?

Of course it is not my business how you live, but I have not heard of any I. W. W. starving to death on account of the panic, evidence that we can get that dime which means life to *Solidarity*. Let us understand that the question of sustaining *Solidarity* is not a matter of a few giving much, but all giving little. The mighty ocean is made up of little drops of water. Fifty members giving \$10 apiece makes only \$500, whereas 10,000 giving a dime apiece makes \$1,000.

When *Solidarity* got that \$1,000 donation I was more sorry than glad because of the fact that we all did not do what one man did.

Solidarity is complaining on account of not receiving all the news items. News does not happen in the editors' rooms, it must be sent in from where it happens and it happens in the workshop (and would be truer) the members are on this point I will mention the fact that during its last period of publication, covering a term of 19 months the Polish paper did not receive one single news item from the English speaking locals, with all the talk of solidarity as it is, deserves to be kept in the defense cases, only in two instances did the committee in charge keep us informed of the state of affairs, they were the Schaefer committee and the Ford and Suhr committee. When news happens send it to *Solidarity* and the foreign papers will take care of it.

While I do not wish to judge the merits of the other English papers that were published, the fact that they have gone out of existence (whosever's fault it was), and that *Solidarity* has outlived them, does not this fact prove that *Solidarity* has a view point of managing, editing and general service, answering the needs and demands of organization? This being true, then it follows that *Solidarity* is the paper upon which to concentrate all our moral and financial support to keep it in existence. With all the talk of solidarity as it is, deserves to be kept in the defense cases, only in two instances did the committee in charge keep us informed of the state of affairs, they were the Schaefer committee and the Ford and Suhr committee. When news happens send it to *Solidarity* and the foreign papers will take care of it.

No, fellow worker, there was no reason to shrug your shoulders and say "it can't be done." Just consider this fact: The Polish section of the Socialist Party has a membership of 23,000, and 200 members, and yet it is a fact that there are rich bourgeoisie in the political parties, because the rich bourgeoisie does not join the movement to give money to it. This paper only recently called for a meeting that in order to keep going they must give money to cover its weekly deficit of \$70 to insure its existence. In less than six weeks over 900 members pledged from 5 cents a week to a dollar per month. If 2,300 Polish members can keep a daily paper, why can't 10,000 I. W. W.'s keep one? *Solidarity* is connected with this let me add that a good number of the Polish socialists condemn the editorial policy, yet they have hastened to sustain the paper, acting on the principle that an editor is only an editor, but a paper is a paper and must be kept in the field at any cost. We can afford to lose an editor but we cannot afford to lose a paper.

Fellow Worker Williams hit the nail on the head when he stated that despite its poverty the membership can always raise money for strikes, defense funds and the like, while it cannot or does not follow suit in respect to its press. Our editor calls it indifference. Why this indifference? It is easily explained. Our membership is educated as to the meaning and value of a strike and of defending imprisoned rebels and is trained to give money for that purpose. It is not so with the value and meaning of its press. The members must understand that *Solidarity* always and ever is waging a strike against capitalism's most careful ally, ignorance; that *Solidarity*, always and ever, fought the working class in and out of jail; that *Solidarity* in its five years of existence has trained a good number of members into speakers, writers, organizers and what is more important, into constructive builders up of the One Big Union, that *Solidarity* more than any other factor is responsible for the propaganda efforts from a propaganda committee to a propaganda of the principles of industrial unionism as it really is and their practical application to economic conditions as they are; that *Solidarity* has done us a great service by helping to eliminate the ignorance in our internal and external organizations in this strain much longer. A study of *Solidarity* for its five years will prove my contention that it is chiefly due to her efforts that the I. W. W. today is not a side issue of something or somebody, but a full fledged working class organization, standing on its own feet, fighting the battles of the working class and winning them without much outside help and sometimes despite that help. The I. W. W. has arrived at that stage of its internal development where its membership must be educated as to the necessity of following its press and training in the means and methods of that support. This can be done easily in a number of ways. One way is that those knowing how to do it bring the matter up in the locals and insist and if need be force action. Another way and sure to give good results is to use the circuit speakers for that purpose. For instance, when Gurley Flynn or Thompson arrives in town for a lecture a meeting of the members only should be held and addressed by the speakers upon the subject of the press.

It is indeed deplorable that after five years of useful service to the organization, *Solidarity* must do its own boosting. Let those who know what a paper means and what it is to keep it up get busy and relieve the editor of an unwelcome task. In each issue of *Solidarity* there should appear at least one booster article. Believe me, it is easier to act the part of a busy editor supporting the press. It took me four hours to write this article, but only five minutes to mail a dime to *Solidarity*, only a second to give another dime in a collection for our organ. Recently some members in the I. W. W. used up one hour in talk about supporting *Solidarity*, but only five minutes were required to pledge one dollar a week toward aiding *Solidarity* until she is out of danger. You see it is easier to act than to talk, so let us act!

Between sustaining *Solidarity* and the ultimate aim of our organization, the I. W. W., we have an inseparable connection. We aim to possess the machinery of production. *Solidarity* already has a part of that machinery. She has the machinery of producing printing. If *Solidarity* goes down we lose that little machinery we already possess. We therefore urge you, in a small way our ultimate aim is being across with the dime.

Knowing as I do, that some members, really few in numbers, suffer from a chronic inclination to ferret out the bad and only the bad points of any proposition, of these I ask but one favor, so to speak, in your own minds, you have to take out *Solidarity*, and found nothing good in it and hung its skeleton out in the backyard and threw empty tomato cans at it for good measure, read this article over again and you will surely find at least one good reason to come across with your dime. W. A. ZIELINSKI

Secretary Nef of the A. W. O. writes (June 22, 1914) to fall in line. Local 522 of the I. W. W. in Fresno, Calif. has raised its initiation to \$2, to take effect June 29. Ditto, Local 66 of Fresno, Calif. has raised its initiation to \$2. Taking all into consideration *Solidarity* is generous rather than stingy with reading matter. The quality of *Solidarity's* reading matter far

outdoes its quantity. Well the Minneapolis local remarks that the foreign language papers are receiving far less support. *Solidarity*, as an illustration, in April the General Office Bulletin stated that the Polish paper needed only 600 copies more circulation to be self sustaining. The locals answered by cutting off 85 copies in bundles and the Polish paper was forced to close up shop. And yet how easily could *Solidarity* have been kept up, especially now when it is more than ever needed owing to particular conditions created among the Polish people by the European war and how ridiculously easy it will be to keep *Solidarity* going if we once get rid of the "no money," "poor prospects" excuse. Justify the *Solidarity* by your own efforts. I ask you, fellow workers, when, so long as exploitation lasts, will we, workers, have money in the real sense of the term?

Pushing The Fight—Other News And Views

The Navy League is pushing its fight for a bigger fleet. What's the matter with the working class pushing its fight for bigger wages and a bigger life?

"Business is picking up," say the commercial agencies. "The I. W. W. is picking up," say we. That's more important.

Dr. E. E. Pratt, chief of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, declares United States lumber bankers for world's business. We won't doubt it. Banking is no so systematized and mechanized as to prevent the development of bankers. This is one of the advantages of capitalism—it nips individual ability in the bud.

"Billion bushel wheat crop now looked for"—Headline. The bigger the crop the bigger the wheat—and, logically, the bigger the wages. At least, so reasons the Agricultural Workers' Union of the I. W. W., and, in order to give its logic more than a theoretical soundness—

"Gompers fears nation will be dragged into war," says newspaper report. What we fear is that he, as president of the A. F. of L., will make an attempt to drag it out. Such an action will be against the "associated" of all kinds.

Asks one workman of another: "If war is hell, what the hell do you want to go to war for?" That's what we'd like to know.

"It is a mistake to suppose that capital is all owned by rich men," says Wm. H. Taft. No doubt, Bill, you're right; it's all owned by poor men. The stunts are full of poor capitalists.

The big capitalists of Wall Street subscribed \$25,000 as a banquet for the campaign in aid of a \$50,000,000 naval appropriation. The main argument was that the navy would be their New York skyscrapers would be hit and destroyed first. Of course, "our" capitalists are ideologists—patriots—lovers of humanity—of the first water. They will give \$25,000 for the country, or give \$25,000 that it may be induced to spend \$500,000,000 to save their skyscrapers.

"Monroe doctrine hampers credit," says Frank Vanhook, president of the National City Bank. That settles it away with the doctrine; away with any tradition that stands in the way of capitalist development abroad; for the sooner that we get rid of it, the sooner the sooner will we have internationalism—a real "America for Americans."

Did you notice that last week Solidarity's...

Workers' Right to Share Profits Now Recognized as Good Business

George W. Perkins, in the New York Times...

The impossible is happening. Labor and capital are joining hands. The thing which everybody has wanted and few have attained is being rapidly becoming an actual fact in American life. Quietly and almost unobserved by the general public, a great change has begun. It is the change from competition to co-operation, from profit-making to profit-sharing from industrial war and the hope of conquest to peace and the assurance of prosperity.

The public has had but an inkling of the change. The newspapers have been "hitting the high spots." They have devoted page after page to Mr. Ford's rather dramatic experiment. They have elaborated on the social plan inaugurated by the Dennison Manufacturing Company of Framingham, Mass., by which the workers may eventually get a control of the plant. Every move about which a fascinating personal story could be made has been played up with artistic finesse. I have no criticism to make of this. But while these glowing stories have been capturing the public imagination, changes of infinitely greater social importance have been taking place.

These changes do not represent any individual's enthusiasms and idealisms. They represent a movement far more important than that. They have been worked out as a business policy by the broadest and most practical business minds in the business world and indicate the direction the business world is taking. It is not a matter of course, nor from impulsive humanitarianism, but from a clear recognition of the needs of industry, makes the step all the more significant.

daily's subs made a new record? Now is the time—"the good old summer time" in which to do it. Send for a little Green Book, start right in on the prospects are fine.

The fact that the United States Steel Corporation has 141,686 stockholders, is not a sign of its significance. The number of names, but not of power on the part of the small stockholders. A multitude of names, there are only a few real owners. Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan, Geo. Baker, etc., own and control the essential bonds and stocks, so that, despite large numbers, they rule and profit the most. Figures never lie, but liars sometimes figure.

Chairman Gary of the steel trust declares that "the captain of industry is the man who is in the saddle once more, the European scourge has put Wall Street in the federal saddle once more." By buying control of the United States Industrial Alcohol Co. the Standard Oil Co. group of capitalists has taken control of the synthetic fuel-making corporation; the alcohol company having a practical monopoly of the synthetic fuel-making process. This is used for fuel purposes in automobiles, and has been in enormous demand recently from the powder companies, as it is used in the manufacture of smokeless powder. The company makes alcohol from molasses and potatoes. The Standard Oil Company, which will probably be merged with the Standard Oil Company, is expected to show how thoroughly the law dissolves trusts and monopolies.

Says a New York newspaper reporter: "Members of the police force who have had military training in the Sixty-ninth Regiment, American Legion, 100 West 25th Street, for drill with rifles, was announced that a captain from the Sixty-ninth Regiment, from Governor's Island by Major General Wood to take charge of the military training of the police force, companies with 102 men each, with a sergeant and three other sergeants for each, and to put them through a course of military training." "This no doubt is one of the behest of Wall Street magnates. Last year, says Frank Vanhook, president of the National City Bank, that settles it away with the doctrine; away with any tradition that stands in the way of capitalist development abroad; for the sooner that we get rid of it, the sooner the sooner will we have internationalism—a real "America for Americans."

Did you notice that last week Solidarity's...

stand why that loyalty has vanished. The answer is found in the very things which made industry on a large scale possible—universal education and intercommunication. Without these modern industries could not exist. To oppose the tariff, high or low, as the main cause of industrial growth or industrial stagnation is the loosest kind of talk. Free trade could be instituted tomorrow and no intelligent man would expect to see a single so-called trust go out of business. These trusts have no other business than printing press and electricity and they could continue a single day. These forces, which have made it possible for all the world to get acquainted with all the world, have made a large part of the world's business. It has also revolutionized the relation of man to his work. The man of "Master and Slave" later, it was "Master and Man" a very different relation, although the mastery was still on one side. Finally they became "Employer and Employee," and the laborer had risen to the position of a contractor. With the worker was a struggle on the part of the worker for something more than a mere living.

He struck at first for a "raise," on the theory that \$2.25 a day was more desirable than \$2. If he got it he struck again. You couldn't blame him. Three dollars a day was better yet. Soon the product of education and intercommunication began to get into his mind. He was no longer in his position in a different light. He began to demand his full share and to see that his wages were \$2 or \$3 a day—did not represent that. How could it represent that when he had no other relation between him and his employer except the wages contract? There seemed to be no other method except to make the wages higher. Right or wrong, society was reaping what it had sown in universal education and intercommunication.

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THE HISTORY OF THE WORKERS' SHARE

Written From a Workingman's Standpoint By FRANCIS MILLER, Woolen Weaver

CHAPTER NINE THE WORKERS' SHARE

And what of the workers? Are they sharing this prosperity? The statement in the introduction of this history that "the textile workers are miserably underpaid, and the working conditions are bad," only tells half of the story. To that must be added, child labor, occupational diseases, and the abnormally high death rate of the textile workers.

The textile workers have been in a continual struggle against lowering of wages, speeding up of machinery, and other devices of the mill owners to increase their profits. Most of their revolts were doomed to failure, owing to the army of unemployed created by improved machinery and the large number of immigrants pouring into the centers of the mill owners. It will not be a surprise to many to learn that most textile centers have a larger proportion of foreign-born inhabitants than metropolitan cities like New York and Chicago. The Thirtieth Census gives the percentage of native whites in the following cities: Chicago, 20.4; Philadelphia, 37.7; Paterson, 22.6; Lowell, 19.5; Woonsocket, 20.0; Fall River, 13.3; New Bedford, 19.4; Holyoke, 18.5; Lawrence, 12.6.

The mill owners pitted nationality against nationality in their struggles. Against the native workers, he pitted the Irish and German workers; against the Irish and German workers, he pitted the French-Canadians and the Polish; against the Polish, the Italian, Portuguese, Greeks, Armenians, Turks, and Chinese. The only difference being that the struggle varied at different times and places.

The average number of wage-workers employed, and wages paid in the following branches of the textile industry, are shown in the 1909-1910 Census. Carpet, rug workers, 35,307; wages, \$15,036,000; yearly average, \$469,000. Cotton, 378,885; wages, \$132,250,000; yearly average, \$350,000. Hosiery, 129,275; wages, \$44,740,000; yearly average, \$346,000. Knit goods, 99,437; wages, \$38,570,000; yearly average, \$389,000. Loom and warping, 108,276; wages, \$72,427,000; yearly average, \$420,000.

These low wages are both the cause and result of child labor. The children must work to enable the adults to live. Here is the life story of a family of textile workers: When the father and his only wage earner he can support a wife and children on \$1.00 a week in his young manhood, he and his little ones are in constant distress from lack of nourishing food, clothing and simple comforts. He is fairly comfortable for a few brief years in the middle life, when his children, between fourteen and twenty years of age, are in the mill, and his income increases the family capacity. In later years, when his earning capacity has diminished or ended, he is in a pitiable condition, with his family scattered, and with nothing saved from his scanty wages. All along the way he has met with accident, sickness, and unemployment. The only slack work shut-downs, strikes and lock-outs. He has never lived!

The One Bright European Spot

The one big event in current history of interest to both capital and labor is the English situation. This is THE one bright spot, from the workingman's standpoint, in the dark page of Europe. It reflects a labor revolt of greater proportions and greater significance. "England's fate," says David Lloyd George, new Minister of War Munitions, in a supplicating speech to the organized longshoremen of Liverpool, rests in the hands of labor. Elsewhere, where socialism was supposed to exist, the bulwark against reaction, the mailed fist of Mars, the war god, has crushed the working class and converted it into a force of murder and oppression, directed mainly against itself and its posterity.

Not so in England. There, with dogged suifleness and tenacity, labor refuses to be crushed or driven. "The government," cries out Thomas, labor member of parliament, "will not get what it wants by putting a pistol at labor's head." Others cry out that any attempt to convert labor by enlisting trade unionism, would merely retard the output of munitions, and probably lead to a revolt on the part of labor which would "be reflected in the trenches across the sea." Competed to take part in a war that is being waged to protect and promote the master capitalist, class that has always exploited and oppressed it, the English working class is asserting itself, ON THE JOB, and WITHOUT STRIKING, in a manner that must inspire labor everywhere as to its own inherent importance in national and international affairs. The English working class is no more that labor has only to unite and fold its arms in idleness to render impotent the greatest force that can be brought to bear against it. As England shows, LABOR HAS ONLY TO SLACKEN WORK to make employers tremble and to decide the outcome of battles. It is when labor succumbs to disunity and division, and in ignorance of its own economic powers, permits its own degradation and enervation, that labor is defeated and made to suffer ignominy. When conscious of its economic power, and united—as a class in accordance with that consciousness—labor is invincible. There is nothing that labor cannot win, for on its brain and brawn—on its ability, skill and muscle—social progress and the fate of world-

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