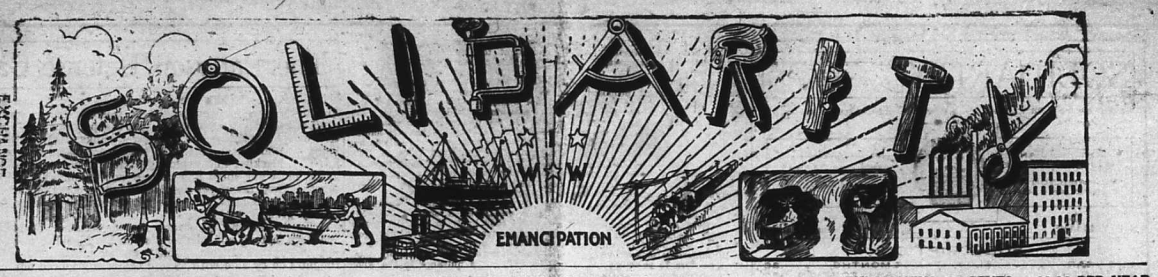
SOLIDARITY



VOLUME FIVE. WHOLE No. 234 CLEVELAND, OHIO SATURDAY JULY 4, 1914. SIX MONTHS, 50 CENTS. $1.00 PER YEAR

MAKING THE WHEAT FARMERS COME ACROSS

Methods Suggested And Used By Workers In The Kansas Harvest Fields

(Special to Solidarity.)

Fowler, Kan., June 28.

In my last letter I told how wages had jumped from $2.50 to $3.00 per day at Greensburg, as soon as it was reported that the I. W. W.'s were in town.

Leaving Greensburg on the 11th we came down to Mineola. This town had done a great deal of advertising through the so-called Commercial Club, which by the way we found was composed of three real estate sharks—R. C. Beard, R. T. McIntcer and Nate Neal. The town boasts of four real estate men, but the fourth one, Gene Williams, was frozen out. The three named had gotten together, called themselves the Commercial Club, and appointed themselves corresponding secretaries for the sole purpose of boosting their own business. As stated above, they had done a large amount of advertising, calling for 1,000 men at wages from $2.50 up. Then they had gone among the citizens of the town and raised the sum of $150, to be used so they said, in feeding and taking care of the men coming in for the harvest, broke and hungry.

Hearing of this upon our arrival, and being broke and hungry, we decided to partake of their hospitality. So we called upon Mr. Beard, who we had been informed was handling that end of it. Stating our errand, he told us to go to the reading room, and he would be down shortly and fix us up. This reading room we found they had established in a vacant store, into which they had thrown a few old magazines which had probably been lying around their homes. There was not an up-to-date one in the bunch. They also had placed three or four long tables after raising the said $150. The tables so they said were for the men to eat from, but they never put anything on them to eat.

After we had been there a short time, Mr. McIntcer came in. He asked if we were the men who had just come in; when told we were, he asked if we were willing to go out and work for our board pitching hay, etc., until harvest commenced, which he said would not be for a week or ten days. Being answered with a chorus of noes, he said any man who was not willing to work for his board ought to starve. Now, see the joke: Advertising wages of $2.50 up, beginning June 5th, getting men there and then forcing them to work for their board. And I am sorry to say, a great many of the slaves were falling for it; that is, the unorganized slaves. Oh, when will they wake up?

You ask, what became of the $150? No one seems to know, but we all know good cigars cost money. After spending the day there carrying on some propaganda we proceeded to the meeting point, Liberal, Kan., arriving there Saturday, the 13th. We found all the K. C. delegation on hand, but instead of going in quietly, as we had agreed to do, and doing our work after getting on the job with the harvest in full blast, some of the crowd entered with a brass band noise, with the result that in a few hours it was noised about that we were a bunch of I. W. W.'s

The farmers were standing pat on $2.50 per day. The harvest would not start for a week, so they could afford to stand pat for the present. Some of the crowd, including the writer, advocated going out on the job at $2.50, filling up as many jobs as possible, thus keeping the scissorbill away, then when the harvest started in earnest and men were scarce, demand our price and tie them up if we did not get it. For when the harvest was on and they saw the rain going down they would come across. But no; some of the fellows wanted to sit around the jungles, philosophize, and fight from there with nothing to fight with.

Realizing the uselessness of such tactics, six of us, fellow workers, Ruben Besson, Miller, McGraw, Douglass, (known as Sab Cat or California Slim), and the writer, came up to Fowler. Arriving here we got a line on a man named McCauley, one of the largest wheat growers in this neighborhood. He absolutely refused to pay more than $2.50. As his cutting would not start for a week, the six of us went out. We stayed with him the week, eating three squares a day. He, thinking he had a full crew, did not look for any more.

On Saturday, the 20th, we went into the field, worked that day, and Monday we were busy trying to line up the other slaves on the job. After making inquiries and learning there were no men around town to be had we were ready to act, but he, McCauley, had concluded that unless he got us shut up we would be dear at any price, so he picked out Douglas and Besson and fired them. Then the other slaves got a lesson in solidarity; for, remembering that an injury to one is an injury to all, the other four walked off leaving the job tied up and at last reports, last evening, it was still tied up. Oh, yes, he is now willing to pay $3 and not work over ten hours instead of 13 or 14, as he wanted to do.

Coming into town we were approached by a dozen farmers. Asking the wages, the reply was, $2.50. Nothing doing; $3.00, and not over 10 hours, was our demand. This took the breath from some of them. The banker of the town and the writer had quite an argument over the question, with the banker beaten on every point.

Getting our demands, Douglass, Rohen and the writer went out on one job, Miller and Besson on another, McGraw on another. After working a day and a half, a friend of the boss arrived from Yates Center. They had to make room for him, as he was a $2.50 slave and did not object to long hours. So Douglass was again singled out to be given the can. Another job put on the bum, as the other two again walked off leaving the barge idle, and it is still standing idle, and it is slow and pretty expensive work harvesting 400 or 500 acres of wheat with only one barge working, especially when you have teams hired which you have to pay for, as was the case here.

The first evening we were there, Sullivan had gone to town to get some bolts for the farmer, and incidentally to call on the dentist and get a tooth extracted. When he and Ruben quit, it made the boss so mad that when he came to settle he wanted to charge a dollar and a half for the use of the buggy by Sullivan in going to town. He had made out the check accordingly. Isn't it a joke, charging you for doing the farmer a favor? But then he had always been used to having good submissive slaves, with whom he could do as he pleased. Did he get away with the $1.50 you ask? No, but he learned a lesson he will not soon forget.

Well, we are continually carrying on agitation on the job and spreading propaganda. All of this we hope and expect will have some effect in the future, as we know we cannot wake the slaves up in a minute.

Trusting the other fellow workers along the line are meeting with success in carrying on agitation,

Yours for the One Big Union,

J. A. SULLIVAN.

At the regular business meeting, held June 23, by Local 7, Marine Transport Workers, I. W. W., New Orleans, La., it was decided that all the profits derived from the sale of the Seventh Edition of the I. W. W. song books shall be sent to the defense committee of Joe Hill the author of many of our songs, now in jail in Salt Lake City, on a trumped-up charge of murder. Also that Local 7, by this note in the press, urge all other locals to take similar action.

—H. Mattson, Sec'y.

Fellow workers and locals wishing to make remittances and communications to Local 577, I. W. W., will please address same to John E. Nordquist, Sec'y 577, 1731 Lyon St., Des Moines, Iowa.

Everyone knows the tunes. Get the words—from the new I. W. W. Song Book. Just out. Price 15 cents. Order from I. W. W. Publishing Bureau.

THE SCIZZORBILL'S DILEMMA

Well, Mirandy, I got another bunch of those pesky-go-abouts—just like the rest of 'em. They call emselves "Industrious Workers," but I don't see anything industrious about 'em, by heck! As fast as you fire one, another takes his place; you can't get rid of the pesky devils.

Consarn 'em, they put red pepper in the hired man's shoes, that made blisters on his feet, then they called him scizzorbill. I don't mind 'em calling the men folks scizzorbill, but I won't stand for 'em calling the wimmen folks scizzorines.

They wear little worlds on their coats, and they say; "there is nothing cheap about us, all we want is the earth." I don't know what kind of a cat a sab-cat is, but that is their pass word. And that Chinese cook is one of 'em, 'cause when I told him 'bout the hired man gettin' red pepper in his shoes; what do you think the heathen said? Charles no savvy SABU-CAT! That's what he said, by heck!

Things have been goin' wrong ever since those pesky devils have been here. The nuts come off the wagons, the horses break loose at night and run away, the old engine makes soap bubbles instead of steam, and the separator breaks down every night at 6 o'clock. When I ask 'em what is the matter they tell me that, probably the place is infected with sab-cats, and the best way to get rid of 'em would be to raise the wages.

When I get 'em up early, to make up for lost time, they all start up the road and say they are going to town to get a night's lodging. They call the hash, the amalgamated remnants of a previous repast, and say they won't eat it. You can't get the best of the pesky critters, when I told 'em that money won't buy happiness; they said no, money won't buy happiness, but you can move away from misery with it.

I calc'late I'll have to raise their wages. Consarn 'em.

TILDEN COLLAR.

Look! Listen! Wanted, a thousand readers of Solidarity to get a bundle order of 25 a week, to be used as samples in a sub-getting campaign and to help free Ford and Suhr, and other prisoners of capitalism. 25 copies for 25 cents. Try your hand.

Forest Edwards, of Seattle, Wash., has been elected secretary and treasurer of Oil Workers' Industrial Union, I. W. W., Local 586, in place of A. W. Rockwell. Address all communications to Edwards, General Delivery, Drumright, Okla.

Mail intended for Local No. 577 of Des Moines, Iowa, should be addressed to Room 212, News Arcade Bldg. F. J. Picray, Secretary.

HOP PICKERS, ATTENTION

Our Demands For Season 1914

1. Ford and Suhr to be given a new trial at once and dismissed, or no hops will be picked.
2. Minimum of $1.25 per hundred pounds.
3. Free tents.
4. Free drinking water in the fields.
5. High pole men.
6. Men to help women and children lift heavy sacks into wagons.
7. One toilet for every fifty men, women and children.
8. Women's toilets to be on opposite side of camp from men's toilets.
9. Abolition of bonus graft.

Hop pickers are requested to boycott every field that does not grant all these demands before picking commences.

HOP PICKERS GENERAL STRIKE COMMITTEE.

"BURYING THE HAMMER"

A Wage Slave's Comments On Banners Carried in "Funeral" of the Late Lamented "Hammer" of Paterson, N. J.

1. "There is no prosperity in a knock." (Boost, you boob, you only work a week for $7.00.)
2. "We want a municipal water plant." (I want water! Champagne ruins digestion.)
3. "Be a booster." (Spread the fame of our fair city! County jail, rare specimen mediaeval architecture; rooms reserved for pickets.)
4. "Shop in Paterson stores." (Buy home product Silk, taffeta, Paterson weave, 99 cents a yard. You get two and one-half cents.)
4. "Watch us grow." (More mills, more looms, more women, more children, more silk, more profits, more pay (?).)
6. "I am for reciprocity." (We send New York millionaires. She sends us labor agitators.)
7. "Knock when you come in but not when you go out." (Attention, blacklisted weaver, hopping a freight.)
8. "Trade in Paterson." (Say, who do you think is going to support the grocer, the lawyer, the doctor, the judge, the minister, the undertaker?)
9. "We want 1,000 members." (Who? The Board of Trade! Why? Because we believe in One Big Union for bosses!)
10. "Bury the hammer." (Poor old woodenhead! Died of overwork and fractured skull! Iron and steel corporations send bids for successor!)
11. "Paterson for mine." (Chorus by Silk Association of America, hearing secretary's report showing $50,000,000 on hand yearly from Paterson. Scene, Waldorf Astoria; silken gowns; sparkling jewels and wine glasses; great enthusiasm.)
12. "Quit knocking and boost." (Hurrah for law-abiding Paterson! Sans the chief, get 7 years. Kill a striker, get the freedom of the town.)
13. "Shout for your home town." (Home, sweet home. Where the landlord shuts the water off when you go on strike.)
14. "Greater Paterson 1925, 300,000." (Have large families! Who'll work for the boss when you drop dead?)
15. "Smile." (You've only been out of work six months, been evicted twice, owe the grocer $60. Be happy!)
16. "I am proud to be a citizen of Paterson." (Starved, beaten, jailed, abused because I wanted more bread. I'm proud, all right.)

Fair Paterson! Populous city of the plain,
Where want and worry tease and tax my brain,
You ask of me—a poor and outraged slave,
To lay my cares within a hammer's grave!
My children hunger, yet you bid me smile.
Wait, Paterson, patience a little while,
I'll smile, I'll dance, I'll sing a merry tune,
When in my life freedom and ease have bloomed,
And every master, grafter, fraud and knave,
Are sleeping with the hammer, in the grave!

A SILK WORKER.

I. W. W. Propaganda League, Omaha, Neb., has established open headquarters in Room 303, Bromley Building. All rebels coming to Omaha please look us up, and help give our propaganda a boost.

Jan Fedlicka has lost his membership card No. 183759. Anyone finding same please return to Jan Fedlicka, 1850 Loomis St., Chicago, Ill.

Why Capitalists Want To "Get" Rangel And Cline

(Special to Solidarity.)

Over one million workers in the southwest unorganized. Did you ever stop to consider what that means to the American labor movement? To put it short it means one million men arrayed on the side of the master class. One million men from which our capitalistic masters can pick and choose able bodied slaves to take the place of the men who dare to rebel against the long hours of labor, or the miserable pittance doled out in the shape of wages.

J. M. Rangel and associates recognized this fact and they dared to go before that body of workers with the message of unionism. They said to the Mexican toilers: "Your interest is identical with that of every other toiler, your class interest is the basis upon which you must unite with every other worker in the same industry. Their cause is your cause. Their fight is your fight." A dangerous doctrine with which to inculcate the minds of men who had lived across the Rio Grande during the reign of the bloody Diaz. A dangerous doctrine, that if allowed to take root in the Latin mind, would develop and find expression in strife and struggle at an early date. Strife means interference with the huge fortunes being accumulated by the land hogs who control the State of Texas. The land hogs answered in the usual manner, they answered as they always have the argument of the agitator, by throwing him in jail. What did the master class of Texas care whether Rangel or Cline were violating a State or Federal law in attempting to cross the boundary line to assist their fellow workers in the struggle against the unbearable condition of slavery existing in Mexico?

All that the lackeys of Capitalism knew was that J. M. Rangel and Charles Cline had endangered the profits from which they were fed. For years every deputy sheriff in and around San Antonio had been waiting an opportunity to get Rangel. They have him now. They have had him and his associates for the last ten months. They will hang him; if they can get away with it. They will satisfy their lust for the agitators' blood by lapping it from the veins of Rangel and Cline as their bodies dangle at the end of the hempen noose, if you allow the noose to be pulled tight. They will hang them legally, the blind goddess of justice will hold her torch towards high heaven while it is being done. The preacher will scream a loud amen as the last breath of life flickers upon the lips of our fellow workers. The Capitalistic press will thank the judge, jury and hangman for sending the boys into the great unknown. As the earth falls upon the crude coffin supplied by the state the master class, who are responsible for this crime, will rest comfortably upon their feathered couches feeling sure that with the death of Rangel and Cline their faithful lackey Candalario Ortiz has been avenged and that the god of profit will reign in peace undisturbed by the cry of the agitator.

Fellow Workers, what are you going to do to the well laid plans of the Master class? Let them be carried through without interference, or are you once again going to upset these plans and send the boys back on the firing line to continue their propaganda amongst the million unorganized workers in the southwest? It can be done if you say so. What do we care who killed the stool pigeon Ortiz, but if the master class want to count the dead let us remind them that Juan Rincon and Silvestre Lomas are filling unmarked graves somewhere in the State of Texas and we demand that their names be called on the death roll.

They are dead; we can do nothing for them. Charles Cline and Rangel are alive; one month from today they may be dead unless you, and that means you, Mr. Reader, do something at once. Don't give us sympathy, we get lots of that from the dilettantes who infest the labor movement. Don't give us your moral support unless you send it beneath the wing of a silver eagle. We must have money. We must have $1,000 before the men go to trial. We must get it from the working class. We must get part of it from you. This sum could be raised in a few days if every reader of Solidarity would send in a small donation. If you have one dollar send that along, if you have twenty-five cents send that along and we will stop begging at once, and spend our time in preparing a defence worthy of the cause that these men represent. We could tell the master class of Texas with a feeling of confidence in our ability to make good, that they dare not hang Rangel or Cline.

Fellow Workers, will you send in one dollar to save these men? It is true they are only members of the rank and file, because of that are you going to desert them when they are in trouble. You know the answer. Every dollar that you send in will help cut the hempen noose that hangs over the head of our Fellow Workers. All communications should be sent to Victor Cravello, Room 108, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Calif.

Great Protest Demonstration

For Rangel, Cline And Other Texas Prisoners of Capitalism

Homestead Park, Pittsburg, Pa.

Sunday, July 5

2.30 and 7.30 P. M.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Principal Speaker

The wider the circulation of our press, the greater the power of the organization and the less danger of active workers in the struggle being victimized by the bosses. Take a lesson from modern day publicity and get busy on the sub rustling line.

Local 61, Kansas City, Mo., has moved to new headquarters at 211 East Missouri Ave. All rebels passing through Kansas City please take notice of change.—G. J. Bourg, Secy. No. 61.

If you want to do something that really counts get a bundle of Solidarity each week and advertise the general strike of Hop Pickers to force the release of our fellow workers, Ford and Suhr.

The "Woman's World" is waging a campaign against "popular songs." It wants them censored. The kind of songs referred to are those sentimental ditties of a salacious or suggestive kind. That reminds us that the workers have many songs that should be sung more lustily than ever. Songs of revolt; songs of the shops; songs of local "color;" songs of general application; songs for the South; songs for the far North; songs for the East; songs for the West. All songs of an awakening working class. You will find them—60 in number—in the new I. W. W. Song Book. Just off the press. Price 10 cents; $5 per hundred. Order now from the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau.

How about that sub you didn't get last week?

WOULD YOU SCAB ON MEN IN JAIL?

UNLESS FORD AND SUHR ARE SET FREE BY AUGUST FIRST; LET THE HOPS ROT

SOLIDARITY

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU

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UNDER THE OWNERSHIP AND JURISDICTION OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

B. H. WILLIAMS — Managing Editor

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ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER APRIL 19, 1913, AT THE POST OFFICE AT CLEVELAND, OHIO, UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
General Headquarters—Room 307—164 W. Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

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A Condition, Not A Theory

THE $44,000,000 failure of the H. B. Claflin Co. is causing a certain uneasiness, in that it is feared to be symptomatic of a trouble that may be deeper seated than appears on the surface. There is much assurance given that but little, if any, ill results will follow it; which impresses one much like whistling to keep up courage. This failure has, in addition, opened up, once more, the discussion as to exact conditions. Are "hard times" merely psychological? Have they no existence except in the minds of men anxious to see the Wilson administration overthrown? Those bumper crops are pointed to as evidence of the non-existence and non-reality of "hard times." It is claimed that these crops will reduce greatly the number of idle freight cars and create a railway congestion and industrial boom such as the world has never seen before. On the other hand it is doubted if the bumper crops "will spell prosperity." To quote James Patten, "the wheat king," further: "The Kansas, Oklahoma and Nebraska farmers are heavily in debt and will use the money received from the crops to square themselves with their bankers, leaving little, if any, margin for the purchasing of comforts." All of which makes interesting reading to those who have been led to believe that next to the plutocrats nobody was so bloated with wealth as the farmers of the West. Now, it seems, prosperity spells to them nothing more nor less than liquidation; with the bankers taking pretty nearly all their farm products. And it would appear as if the time had again arrived to write another book on "the new wealth of the new middle class." It must be "new wealth" for the "new middle class" evidently can't hold it until it gets old; it leaves their hands, ere it is created.

This farming liquidation may account for the industrial antipathy. If the bankers get their claws on that "new wealth" they will use it for their own purposes. Just now their purposes don't seem to coincide with those of Pres. Wilson. One thing is certain, viz.: that while agricultural West vibrates to bumper crops industrial East works to only two-thirds capacity, especially in the big steel and iron mills. "Bradstreets" and "Dun's Review" report increased failures for the week ending June 27, excluding those involved in the Claflin failure. All of which is significant.

Evidently capitalism in the United States is not going bughouse, President Wilson notwithstanding. There is something more than "a condition of mind" troubling it just now. As Grover Cleveland would say, "It is a condition, not a theory, that confronts us." But whether condition or theory, it remains for the working class to end capitalism via the I. W. W. program.

J. E.

Wisdom---But Not From Babes

Out of the mouth of babes comes wisdom. But even an overwrought capitalist like John Wanamaker says something sensible once in a while. He believes John D. Rockefeller, Jr., made "a mistake in forcing Pres. Wilson to send troops to Colorado." John D. Jr. certainly did for he exposed the arrogance of his class and the fallacy of the state governing society, especially industrial society. Wanamaker also said that workingmen and women "are no longer mats for rich men to wipe their feet on." You bet they are not; they have put more stamina now than ever before; thanks to industrial evolution, which forces it upon them. A big capitalist is sensible—occasionally.

Henry Ford is a charmingly naive cuss for a capitalist. He says his profit-sharing scheme is a success. It increases efficiency 20 to 30 per cent and enables men to be laid off sooner because of the unprecedented gain in factory output. The laid off men can go harvesting in Kansas. In the meanwhile Henry has taken over the unfinished Detroit hospital. This, the most likely, is done to afford his exhausted workers, who don't turn hobo, the needed rest cure. Hoboes and tramps as a question of the social problem—this is what Henry Ford offers to 20th century civilization. Oh, you Henry; how the I. W. W. would rejoice to see your tribe increase. You sure are doing some damage to present day society!—though you don't know it.

Keep your eye on the Clayton Anti-trust law. Legal experts say that labor unions exempting labor organizations are not passed, such organizations will stand outlawed under the operations of the Sherman law. Others again assert that exemption clauses are class legislation and likely to be declared unconstitutional by the courts. Labor will be damned if the law passes and damned if it doesn't. When labor organizes so as to pass its own laws, it will then be the capitalists' turn to be damned, no matter what he does.

Did the readers of Ben Legere's "Hunger," recently published in Solidarity, note the striking resemblance between Herbert Lanyon Jr., the big capitalist in the play, and John D. Rockefeller Jr.? Both are junior sons of cunning fathers; and both hold the same philosophy regarding the superiority of the capitalist class and the necessity for its domination, regardless of state or humanity. Now, Legere drew the character of Herbert Lanyon Jr., in the fall of 1913, while John D. Rockefeller Jr. gave utterance to his views, during the Colorado mine war, in the spring of 1914. To have thus anticipated Rockefeller Jr., by over six months speaks well not only of Legere's sociology, but also of the dramatic art. The latter is prophetic, which is the high mark of all genuine art and science. Attention is called to these facts for the purpose of pointing out the real value of the material published in Solidarity. Solidarity is a paper worthy of extensive working class support. Push it along.

J. E.

A Word About "Investigating Committees"

(Special to Solidarity.)
Sacramento, Cal., June 25.

Interference in the hop pickers' troubles by Police Chief White of San Francisco and Chief Peterson of Oakland has been discovered.

Investigations into the recent attempt to burn a barn on the Durst ranch exposes White and Peterson in an ugly light.

J. A. Ryan came to the Durst ranch with a recommendation from Chief White of San Francisco. He claimed and was recommended as a good man for the Durst interests. Experience with him showed that he was not much of a worker and Durst wants his hirelings above all else to produce. Therefore the night of the attempt on the barn Ryan was serving his last shift on the ranch.

Next day Billy Brackett, of Oakland, long connected with the Oakland police force shows up with a recommendation to Durst by Chief Peterson. Brackett proposed to organize a ranch police for Durst of which he was to be the well paid chief. He suggested that Durst station men of his selection at different portions of the ranch with high powered rifles. Brackett's work was bleeding raw. Durst saw the frame-up for a shake down planned from Oakland and San Francisco. He discharged Billy Brackett, who must go back to club duty in Oakland.

USE THEM

Members of the Immigration and Housing Commission of California are still working feverishly and out of all honorable season for their political masters. Pardon-convict Ford and Suhr, during the months that the case of these two men has been waiting appeal. And it is evidently about time that we stopped to look this matter of Commissions in the face, and size up the use which the working class can make of them. For the Commission as an instrument of investigation and of state capitalist reform is with us to stay for some time, and it is not likely that the "experts" engaged on such commissions will be any more free from political loot-licking than the two gentlemen who have recently made the Commission on Immigration and Housing a disgrace in California.

A recent article in Solidarity, entitled "His Master's Voice," described the antics of Carleton H. Parker, executive secretary of that commission and agent in the Wheatland case for the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations. The story, told how Parker had gone before the Ladies' Art Club and the Chamber of Commerce in Marysville—within a stone's throw of where Ford and Suhr lie in jail waiting the outcome of their appeal, and told the electorate of Yuba County how fair had been the trial in which the two men were convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Now comes another member of this "impartial" commission, George L. Bell, its legal adviser, who attacks Ford and Suhr and the Marysville-Wheatland case in the weekly Outlook. (New York) of the date of May 16th. The feature of his article is that throughout its whole length, there is not a single spirited word let such as could look itself in the face, but only a lawyer (or possibly a minister) could have "mined over" an account of the Wheatland strike and subsequent trouble, so full of the slick lies of omission and so distorted in point of view of such facts as he does recite, and only the Outlook would be guilty of publishing an article so sanctimonious and dehumanized.

In view of the efforts of these two truckilers to annihilate any chances of a new trial for Ford and Suhr, or, if the Appellate Court grants a new trial, then a change of venue from the vengeance-breathing Yuba County, it is interesting to remember the exact conditions under which these gentlemen came to be called so directly into the matter. (I understand that the Immigration and Housing Commission says that it had investigators on the Durst ranch one day after the so-called riot—which only makes worse their purposely arranged delay in publishing their report on the facts of the case.)

Yuba County, where the Ford and Suhr trial came off, is a small agricultural county largely settled by a type best described as "Missouri farmers" and is even more "remote" in mind and spirit from the year 1914 than it is geographically from the California centres of industrial life. The district Attorney, Wood, district attorney, with the help of the Burns' detectives, was torturing prisoners, holding them incommunicado, denying them the right to be brought before a magistrate, kidnapping boys, imprisoning defense witnesses, and all things were going his merry way. Even the most sensational developments, if favorable to the defense, failed to get into the news. Seven of the arrested hop pickers were too evidently slated for a "dark alley" trial and the gallows by the degenerate Stanwood, and the whole country was making the trial of help in the education and organization of the migratory workers hung in the balance.

So at this point, representatives of the importance of the Marysville-Wheatland matter, in the problem of the migratory laborer, were made by the International Workers' Defense League to Harris Weinstock, who had reported on the San Diego Free Speech fight, and was now one of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations. The problem of the migratory worker is one which comes under this commission's direct survey.

Mr. Weinstock sent a telegram to Frank Walsh, chairman of this commission advising investigation and asking that AN INVESTIGATOR BE SENT FROM THE EAST, as likely to be more free from prejudice.

To our astonishment, the next twenty-four hours saw Parker, who is not only executive secretary of the California Immigration and Housing Commission, but also teaches economics at the State University, appointed by Walsh to act both as agent for the federal commission and for his own commission.

This much, however, was accomplished. Immediately the Marysville trial flashed from obscure place to front page display, reporters from the leading dailies and news syndicates were sent to Marysville. So petty was the showing of guilt made by the prosecution, and so revolting the conditions of labor on the Durst ranch as shown in the testimony, that practically all the press was with the defense. And even when the reports were perverted we at least had the ear of the working class the state over.

It is revoltingly amusing now to remember that in our preliminary conversations with Parker; he took great care to impress upon us that he was in no way concerned with the actual trial of the hop-pickers. And although we believed that Marysville was going to prove a judicial shambles for our men, we agreed that it did not seem the province of an Industrial Commission for the government to interfere in any way, with the courts of that government. We did not know Parker and Bell, or their variety of political jobbing.

The truth seems to be that Governor Johnson, whose humanitarianism and wisdom solved the economic problem of the unemployed in California, by a brave use of the pick-handle, and who is now up for re-election had "gotten in bad" politically in Yuba County when Parker, a Johnson appointee, published his long delayed report on the conditions of the Durst ranch.

Of course, Marysville wastes no love on Durst, a skinflint always, whom they know to be the cause of all the trouble and who has gone around yapping like a bitten mongrel ever since Parker's report, making himself a nuisance to the whole countryside.

But Marysville is enraged over the publicity given to their cowardly travesty on justice in the Ford and Suhr case. This smirches their "HONOR," and what is far worse, casts a shadow on Johnson's real estate hopes, and their well-known desire for cheap labor to come in through the Bethania.

Wherefore Parker, anxious to hold on to his political job, is sent by Johnson, sedulously nursing his hopes for re-election, to tell Marysville how progressive it is, how fair, how chaste, how sanely kind in the Ford and Suhr case. He likewise makes a speech to this effect in Sacramento, the state capitol.

Later on, when interviewed, Governor Johnson, who is playing hard for the "labor vote," made complete denial of any responsibility for Parker's words—when, lo and behold—out comes the article by Parker's friend, the legal adviser of the Immigration and Housing Commission, George L. Bell in the Outlook, the unofficial organ of Governor Johnson's own Progressive Party.

In view of the above contemptible chain of events and partnership it is not astonishing that we should hear an outcry against touching any more government commissions.

Unquestionably one of the uses of commissions to a bourgeois government ever with its eye on the "vote of the masses," (and especially to that most bourgeois form of government—Progressivism) is to report and talk a thing into a state of chloroformed quiet, so that the political quack may cry "I stilled the patient's fever. Elect me again."

More than this, however, in accomplishing the petty reforms which are inevitable to the development of state capitalism, commissions and their ilk prove a boon to working class by results (not mere agitator's words) that all such reforms are expressly designed to prolong the workers' slavery. As witness paternal Germany, and the England of Lloyd-George.

And again, such commissions acting however unwillingly, as publicity agents for the I. W. W. and other revolutionary working class organizations have chances closed to us as reg. for collecting facts and getting them before a wide public. We may expect, of course, that they will fear to report, or will purposely withhold certain angles of all industrial situations, (as for instance Parker, though well aware of the facts, withheld from all publication the treatment of hop-pickers by Stanwood and the Burns' thugs.) Yet certain facts they can be trusted to detail. Because following the popular psychology which gloats over accounts of murder, rapine and arson, these grave commissions seem to get a certain sensual thrill out of details of revolting sanitary conditions, indecent overcrowding, and wages that mean babies starved in the womb, youth stunted, manhood shackled and premature decay.

But shoddy politicians like Parker and Bell, as well as Johnson their chief, may be counted upon to conceal or distort the truth, to assume a pious strut and that smug air of unctuous holiness that characterizes this rotten and hypocritical capitalist system from the Rockefeller and the "divine right" Baers down the line.

Like the rest of their pharasaic tribe they can also be relied upon to hit a man when he is down. One must expect them to bite in their world of avarice and usury.

But the gravest danger of all from such commissions, is that the workers should ever TRUST them. For even were the Parkers and Bells honest and fearless, they would be utterly powerless to overturn the economic laws underlying our present industrial world, which sacrifices men like flies. Only the workers themselves in united revolt can do that.

Meantime if we neither trust nor fear the investigating and "reforming" commission, we are in a position to boldly take possession of the facts and their publicity, and to use them for our benefit. USE THEM BY ALL MEANS USE THEM, whenever possible.

HOP PICKERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

Local 179, I. W. W. of New York City, has established a pleasant room; headquarters at 350 East 81st street. Open day and evening. All welcome. Branch 1 (English speaking) hold a business meeting every Tuesday evening.

A new edition of "The I. W. W., Its History, Structure and Methods," is now ready. This edition has been printed in a larger, clearer type, which makes it much better appearing and more easily read. Same price as former editions.

Watch For Your Number

EACH subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the paper or wrapper enclosing SOLIDARITY. For instance 233. That means your sub expires last week, and you should re new at once.
THIS IS NUMBER 234

The Paterson Defense Cases

When we, the silk workers of Paterson, N. J., were driven by hunger to terminate our strike, it was not in the spirit of surrender, but to postpone action until recuperation and re-organization would strengthen our exhausted ranks. Our employers, realizing this, and desperate from the severe losses we caused them, have by blacklist and espionage tried to cheat us of our small gains, blast our spirit and destroy our union. Yet we have held together, hopeful of yet paralyzing silk production, and vindicating our six months' sacrifices by wresting a victory from their greedy grasp.

To advise and encourage us, we secured organizers and speakers, not all silk workers, since the blacklist menaced these, but courageous, incorruptible, untiring men and women who fought side by side with us and eloquently voiced our needs.

The administration eagerly seeks outside capital to come here and drain our life blood, but the "outside agitators" were criminals in the eyes of the ruling politicians, whose campaign funds are swelled by silk manufacturers' coin.

On Feb. 25th, 1913, the opening day of the strike, P. Quinlan, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Carlo Tresca were ordered to leave at once. Standing on their rights, they refused and were arrested. The newspapers clamored for their immediate punishment. They were accused of advocating violence which was defined by one detective as "TELLING THEM STRIKERS TO STAND UP FOR THEIR RIGHTS." Indicted by a grand jury, largely composed of men intimately connected with silk production, Quinlan was then tried by a business man's jury. The first jury disagreed, but it was not difficult in the fever-heat of class feeling to secure one which convicted.

This decision, to our surprise and indignation, has been affirmed in the N. J. Supreme Court and Quinlan is now in the shadow of the penitentiary for a seven years' term. The brazen perjury of detectives who know by heart the blood-curdling words they "heard" Quinlan say, beggars description. WHEN 2500 OF US PRESENT KNOW HE NEVER SPOKE ON THE DAY IN QUESTION.

We had hoped all would be dropped on the termination of the strike. After Quinlan's conviction a foreign jury was granted to the rest, since Supreme Court Judge Minturn admitted a fair trial for these people to be impossible in Paterson. Wm. D. Haywood, A. Lessig and F. S. Boyd were arrested on similar charges in the progress of the strike. Some of the charges were rejected by Judge Minturn as preposterous, others remain. The expenses of the county mitigated against further trials, but the fear of another strike and the conviction of Quinlan emboldened Prosecutor Dunn and he has called the case against Tresca for June 30th, and the others in succession.

We are determined to save these people whose only crime is loyalty to us. The multiplicity of charges against labor men and women throughout the United States spells a future when the right to speak, write, assemble, meet, strike, picket, and organize will be dead letters. We must defend every inch of what we now possess, even to the point of laying down tools in protest against a future miscarriage of justice.

But more is needed, money as well as action, and we who were heavily indebted from our strike in which we had but $60,000 to divide among 25,000 people for six months, are now handicapped by slack time. Our most aggressive brothers were blacklisted or out of work during the year.

So we are forced to again ask for funds, to adequately defend our members, and appeal to courts removed from the zone of prejudices. Will you help us? Our case lost is another link in our common chains. What can be done to our organizers can be done to yours.

The hour has struck when labor, regardless of organization, opinions or other differences, must stand together on a non-partisan basis for purposes of defense. In this spirit we appeal to you, fellow-worker. Indifference means to aid and abet the silk manufacturers in forging stronger weapons to crush our next revolt. Support means to inspire renewed courage in 25,000 workers, lend hope for a better tomorrow and extend freedom to those whose big hearts and eloquent voices are consecrated to the education, organization and emancipation of labor.

Send contributions to Paterson Silk Workers Defense Committee, 90 Market St., Paterson, N. J.

Resolutions of protest should go to Governor Fielden, Trenton, N. J., Prosecutor Michael, and Judge A. Klenert, Paterson, N. J.

REGARDING JEWISH I. W. W. PAPER

The necessity of an I. W. W. Jewish weekly paper is so great, that simultaneously, locals in different centers, have started a movement to establish such an organ without which the organizing work and agitation among the Jewish workers cannot bring any proper results.

The mere fact, that this movement started in such centres as: New York, Boston, Paterson, Providence, etc., proves that the realization of the idea—to establish a Jewish weekly is not only desirable, but also possible, with one condition of course, that is: If all the members and sympathizers of the I. W. W. will work in harmony, in order to reach this aim.

For this purpose, Branch No. 2 of Local 179, of the I. W. W. decided to call a convention on which delegates from different locals will not only agree upon the question of ways and means to secure the existence of this organ, but will also decide upon the time when, and the place where, the publication of this organ will actually be established.

We therefore suggest to all the locals of the I. W. W., to express their opinion regarding the question; where and when, shall this convention take place.

According to our opinion, the best place would be New York, because it is a centre with the greatest number of Jewish workers; the best time would be the end of July or the beginning of August.

Correspondence on this matter shall be addressed as follows:

H. Merl, for Sasha Schatzberg,
58 Ave. B, New York City.

P. S.—Locals that are not able to send delegates to the coming convention can send written recommendations on this matter at the above address. These recommendations will be forwarded to the convention for consideration.

With fraternal regard, yours,
Sasha Schatzberg,
Secretary of the Publication Committee.

Don't forget the 50,000 harvest stickers the Minneapolis locals have ready. Address Peter Johnsen, Sec'y, 232 Cedar Ave.

Local 313's "copper properties" near Redding, Calif., are badly infested with "mice" and sab cats are sorely needed. Our "colonies" are suffering and one is almost extirpated. The ravages of the "varmints" must be checked. As a "drive" may take place under the auspices of Sacramento next August, the "felines" will be within striking distance when the fun starts.—Don Buckley, Sec'y 313, Redding, Calif.

Notice to all Local Unions:—All notices of members expelled should be forwarded to the General Office for publication in the Bulletin. Do not forward notices of this kind to Solidarity, as they cannot be printed in the paper, except in special issues.
—V. St. John, General Secretary-Treasurer.

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I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade union fosters a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in this same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Johannes On The McNamara Case

On Monday evening, June 1st, under the auspices of the Young Peoples' Socialist League of Los Angeles, Anton Johanneson spoke upon the McNamara case, giving some phases of this celebrated struggle between labor and capitalism which are not familiar to the general public.

Mr. Johanneson was introduced by the young chairman, Herbert Calvert, as having long been the General Organizer of the State Building Trades Council of California, a militant branch of the working class, and as one of the fighters who know the actual battle field of labor. Mr. Johanneson's language is sometimes lurid but it has the advantage of being clear and to the point and of carrying with it the force which conviction and actual knowledge of the question in hand imparts. It will do no harm however, to remember when reading his criticism of Mr. Darrow and his laudation of Mr. Harriman, that the latter's political plans were hurled under the avalanche precipitated by the McNamara confession.

He said: I hope there are some detectives in the meeting and that they will listen very carefully and be in position to make truthful reports to their masters and thus be entitled to some extent to their blood money.

Unfortunately the reasons for the plea of guilty by the McNamaras and the story of the social war which it represented could not be told the world. They would never be told if we waited on press reports. It is not their fight; it is yours.

I will give something of the social forces about the Iron Workers. For over twenty years the power of Big Business had been hopelessly in control here and this city was known as a city of slaves. Finally some miscellaneous crafts were organized and the building trades. Even the Los Angeles crimes did not know we were in town for three months when we organized the metal workers, who were working ten hours a day for $2.60. The manufacturers received the same amount for their product as did those in San Francisco. The Baker and the Llewellyn Iron Works were in the burglar class, robbing both those who put up buildings and the working class. It cost as much to put up a building here as at San Francisco. The men here worked as long as the boss pleased and as cheap as he pleased and that was Los Angeles Industrial Freedom.

On the 18th of May the United Brewery Workers here called a strike. All the power of wealth was behind the employers. Not a man in the city of political, social or religious influence said one word in behalf of the strikers. A $5,000 bond was guaranteed the employers if they would never sign up with the union. The Brewers are an efficient organization and idealistic in their makeup. Not a brewery on the coast would send beer in here. They did not refuse, but they said they had no empty barrels. So it cost $16,000 for empty barrels and then they were filled with union beer and sent in so we organizers could have our beer. The strikers sent a communication to the M. & M. which it announced that it placed in the waste basket unread.

The 1st of June came the Machinists' strike. Not one of us thought 20 per cent. would respond. In less than three weeks all the men, union and non-union, were out and there was great enthusiasm. There was not a single man or woman who did not stand pat absolutely all the way. These people had been subjected to such horrible industrial tyranny that they rallied at the hope of wresting the power from the M. & M.

We couldn't get any lawyers. O there was Harriman and some of the Socialist lawyers, but not one other in the city would take a case until after the explosion and $5,000 had been raised and they were sure of a jack pot. Then what in the hell did they care who was guilty!

Every union man and woman in the state was assessed 25c a week. During the sixty-nine weeks of the strike this city received $7,000 a week to feed the strikers. Every striker got $7 a week.

In the middle of July the places were tied up. There were no scabs, no violence. No police, no military were necessary. Then they passed the Anti-Picketing Ordinance. This was conceived in the brain of Earl Rogers, who wound up as chief counsel for Darrow. By its terms it was unlawful for any union man or woman to speak to another on the street, on the job or in their homes. The strike committee sent Curly Crow, the faithful, the loyal, the courageous, before the City Council with Harriman. This was a Goo-goo council, elected on a platform opposed to Big Business and the Southern Pacific. That lasted until there was a struggle with the working class. Rogers argued the grave responsibility resting upon the Council of preserving the peace. Los Angeles was perfectly peaceful and the Council was party responsible for what took place later. It combined to help Big Business and the M. & M. break the strike. They reaped what they sowed.

The unions started a co-operative grocery which they announced in big red letters. The people in this city are so afraid of red letters. The middle class storekeepers saw a menace. The juries were picked later from among the small merchants. Our going into business gave them more time to do jury duty.

On the 1st of October occurred the explosion or fire. The press has never told that the Times was in large measure responsible for the death roll because the old ramshackle building had not one fire escape which complied with the requirements of the law. Great excitement and confusion reigned in the minds of the people. The strike was not called off but continued with the same degree of enthusiasm. On the 3rd of November a great parade started from Labor Temple and marched through the principal streets of the city and ended in a protest meeting of 21,000 addressed by Stitt Wilson, then Socialist candidate for governor. The audience gave the answer to Big Business in no uncertain terms. It was the spirit of solidarity. There was more hope and less fear after that and the politicians wanted to ascertain who could sell something in the way of votes.

The deputy district attorney had the sole handling of the case. Does any one doubt he was engaged by the M. & M.? The most despicable things were resorted to. All the power of the press, public opinion and government were used in the most cowardly way against the men and women of our class. Violence! Do you suppose that bunch would stop at anything?

The grand jury indicted three men who have never been found. Burns never found anybody—not McNamara nor the McNamaras. He only found the cowards and traitors in our own ranks. There was one power they could not control and that was the power of loyalty and solidarity among us, and that is why they could not find the man with the glass eye.

A detective is the smallest thing that creeps or crawls in the universe. Forty thousand of them could dance forty years on a copper cent and they are so damned small they would never meet each other. They are a living lie. Their purpose is to inveigle the confidence of men and women and then betray them. They arrested men and women and tortured them.

In the spring of 1911, they arrested the McNamaras. It was on Saturday. Did you ever think why arrests are made on Saturday? They know the psychology of the mob. It makes a hell of a good story for the Sunday papers. The courts are not in session and everybody goes to see Jesus on Sunday.

Steffins is a clever fellow. He took me down to the beach one day. After he had fed me and we had discussed labor and philosophy and everything, he said: "Johanneson, I wish you would get indicted for murder and agree that I should make the fight on my own program. I could get plenty of money from people anxious for an expose of social conditions. You would plead not guilty and the defense would be insanity. You are insane on the labor question, you know. Under that plea we would have the right under the law to submit everything which contributed to your insanity. As a result of your suffering or class, an expose of the whole social system. It would take a year and a half and you might get hung, but it would make a h—l of a fine story."

Right after the passage of the anti-picketing ordinance a meeting was called. Three men from each union met together on Sunday. They said they could not afford money for bail and expensive lawyers. A voice was taken and all said, yes, they would do their share of picket duty and go to jail if necessary and show up the enormity of this legislation at the behest of Big Business. The first day twenty-seven were arrested. When the judge came to the case of a married man he put the bail at $25 and allowed him to go on his own recognizance. He was a good scout and he said, "I want to go to jail." The judge roared, "You can't go to jail. I'm running this court." So all the married men were turned loose and the single ones lay in jail. Next week there was another program and four or five hundred went to jail where they were kept three and a half months. Are you proud of your city? What for?

After the arrest of the McNamaras came Darrow. Poor Darrow! I say nothing about him in the spirit of hate or antagonism, but I feel that now he is a free man and the others are in cells in San Quentin, it is only fair the truth should be told as to who had the yellow streak, who got cold feet. I appreciate the awful position of Darrow. He had full power to act, full responsibility. He tried to beg off and told us to get a younger man to take the case. From coast to coast it was insisted that we employ Darrow. A terrible power was against him. $200,000 was raised but where he could have ten dollars the other side could have a thousand. He was always in doubt when he employed a man whether he was not also employed by the other side. He used the bummest judgment in employing Franklin. He was recommended by Scott, Davis and McCormick, federal district attorney of southern California. Any of his witnesses, lawyers and detectives were subject to call before the grand jury to be pumped beforehand. The other fellow had all the advantages.

Darrow is a cynic. He has no faith. He does not believe in anything; has nothing to cling to. He is a drunkard, and a dope fiend. They worked on him to create in his mind a condition in which he could see no hope and to break him down and that is what they did. We made a mistake in sending him out here to stand alone.

The 28th of November Franklin was arrested. I don't know whether he was in the employ of the district attorney for the National Erectors' Association. Circumstances may give a reasonable right to the assumption. Ten minutes before Darrow was called by telephone to the Socialist headquarters and twelve feet from Franklin when he was arrested. Seven or eight detectives popped out from different angles. If Darrow did a thing like that he was crazy. Franklin stood in a Main street saloon and pulled out $500 and turned it over to Lockwood. He had been a deputy sheriff for years. He and White had been officers under Fredericks. There was some combination.

From that hour Darrow was unable to fight a flea. He collapsed. A message came from the district attorney: "Your clients must both plead guilty or never." Steffins had been negotiating for a plea of guilty by J. B., his brother, to go free with no further prosecution by the employing class.

Thanksgiving Day, Darrow, Scott, McNutt, Davis, Steffins, a priest and a journalist—all trained minds—went to the cell of the McNamaras and said "Your case is hopelessly lost." J. B. said, "You can go to h—ll; I refuse to plead guilty." They threatened actually, "Unless you do plead guilty you will be responsible for your brother hanging also." Darrow took Steffins into another cell and the others stayed with J. B. They were all afraid of J. B. They spent seven hours working on the little fellow. He said, "I can take whatever package they hand me," and he laughed. It is lucky for the capitalist class he is in jail instead of out. I wish I was in and he out. He would not do so much talking as I do. Any union man who condemns him is a stupid, cowardly ass. He threw his bomb into the camp of the enemy which he considered vipers in the social system and responsible for much of the suffering of his class. Not a man or woman among the reformers in the country had raised a voice to equalize the load on top, to give labor an opportunity to develop strength to take that to which it is entitled. They all run away at that. Steffins has said, "Don't give labor a damn thing. Let it work its way out and take what it wants."

The Associated Press spread poison from coast to coast and thoroughly prepared any jury in any state to carry out the wishes of the Steel trust. The jury at Indianapolis had no more chance than a rat in a trap.

So far as Harriman was concerned, he was absolutely loyal and if his advice had been taken by Darrow he would not have employed Franklin.

The members of the International Ironworkers' Union got no cold feet. They are still standing and fighting absolutely all the way. It is the only organization which has been able to maintain itself against the steel trust. The sailors, the brick layers, the carpenters, the longshoremen, all have been destroyed except the Iron Workers. Many say the Iron Workers should not have done this and that. In the highest protected industry in the country 260,000 employes are worked twelve hours a day for seven days in the week for an average of $499 a year. It is not a question of whether you like dynamite or not. It is, how has the steel corporation succeeded in controlling the church and the press? The A. F. of L. has begged at Washington for remedial legislation. A million, five hundred thousand dollars has been provided to bribe senators and congressmen by the other side. There was a great howl about twenty-one being killed in the Times. Do you want an accounting of the dead? Are they willing to compare the death roll with the dead of our class, dead from their greed? They have driven from the hearts and souls of their men every bit of faith in the human race—this institution which is responsible for as many thousands of people. God! Is there any other crime to be compared with that! And they had the unlimited gall to point with their fingers of blood at Tveitmoe because he fought back!

At the time of the explosion the Iron Workers had less than 6,000 members. Now they have nearly 13,000, an eight-hour day and a minimum wage of $4.80 as compared with $2.30 then.

Indianapolis was a farce-tragedy. Judge Anderson—O, goodnight!

Darrow said to his jury in his second trial, "I know there was no murder in the heart of J. B." The mother of the McNamaras, an old lady of sixty-five, came to Darrow when he spoke before the Chamber of Commerce at Cincinnati and asked him if he advised her Joe and her Jim to plead guilty. She said, "I hope you will tell the world that my boys never told on anybody; they only plead guilty. And I have two more sons to give to the cause."

I tell you, if we had ten thousand men with the devotion and the courage of the McNamaras it would be moving day for the politicians and the preachers and all the rest of them.

Forty days before the close of the Indianapolis trial a special train to Leavenworth for ninety passengers was ordered. When the time came there were thirty-three to go to the penitentiary and ninety guards. It was a good guess by somebody in close communication with those who rendered the verdict. Every man on the jury was a farmer, removed, isolated from the labor viewpoint. And the judge saw to it that they didn't get it there. All that was said against labor was allowed to go in and that said for it was not. They paid $360 of Uncle Sam's money to bring a woman witness from the coast. After her contradictory evidence the defense asked her, "Are you sure what you have testified is true?" She said, "Why, no, of course I'm not sure." She was congratulating herself upon being able to visit her sister in Pittsburg for only $8.

There was not a howl against the McNamaras in any city in the country where labor had an efficient organization. Few asked what they had done. They all said they should have stuck it out and not have plead guilty. Not a single man in our organization condemned the McNamaras after an explanation had been made to them.

The petition for the pardon of the Iron Workers has been signed by over a million men. I am glad the International Iron Workers' Union has faced the terrible onslaught of the combined forces of the enemy and stood as it has. Its members have paid an average of $18 apiece to carry on the fight. There is no place in their union for cowards. They dare not come in. The whole matter has been no injury to the Iron Workers' Union. It has 6,000 more members than it ever had.

The working class itself must pass judgment upon its members. They and they alone must govern their own affairs.

G. K.

The Real Issue In Colorado

By Harry F. Ward, In "Christian Advocate"

Secretary Methodist Federation for Social Service; Professor of Social Service in Boston University School of Theology.

All is now quiet in Colorado—as long as the United States troops are in control. This is due, not simply to their superior force, but to their even-handed justice. The report of the operators are nullifying this justice by the smuggling in of individual strike breakers is ominous. If justice be not maintained, no amount of soldiery will prevent outbreaks. On the other hand, the removal of United States troops means the renewal of civil war—the bankruptcy of the State, financial and moral. The fundamental reason for this hopeless situation is the attitude of the mine owners. The United Mine Workers stand ready to submit their grievances to a fair arbitration. The operators insist that there is nothing to arbitrate, and decline to enter any conference where the miners are represented, even though the question of the recognition of the union were waived. The responsibility for the continuance of the situation, therefore, rests clearly upon the operators. They accept it, even claim virtue for it, and appeal to the country to support them.

One Side

The appeal of their spokesman is as follows:

"Surely no thinking man can ask, much less expect, that we will abandon our own employees and the cause of the workers of the entire country because violence and wholesale slaughter has been brought about by an element which has come to regard itself as above and beyond the reach of the law."

The plea is, "We will have nothing to do with these men because they are bad citizens." They committed no crime, their leaders counseled revolution."

The indictment stands. The strikers did brutally intimidate strike breakers, they did organize armed bands to destroy life and kill. They did fearfully violate the usages of civilized warfare, and in these atrocities there is no defense. But any and all of these acts have been duplicated by forces under the control of the operators. No brutalities committed by the workers surpass those committed upon them by the "gunmen." If the atrocities of the strikers are an adequate reason for refusing their leaders any recognition, then the atrocities of the "gunmen" in the pay of the operators, with machinery bought and constructed by the operators, are an adequate reason for refusing them any recognition.

The Claim of the Strike Leaders.

The graver matter remains. The strike leaders did issue proclamations calling upon the strikers to arm and resist the forces of the State. This was an open declaration of organized rebellion, a serious matter for any group of men. The public claim of the strike leaders to the historic right of rebellion after they had for months endeavored to restrain violence, is based upon the destruction of their tent homes by the forces of the state and by those illegally acting under the authority of the state. These acts, they insist, were a violation of all the rights and guarantees of citizenship. If this appeal to force, this action "above and beyond" the law, is to put the United Mine Workers beyond the pale of consideration by thinking men, then where do the operators stand? Months before they made the same appeal. They imported armed men and machine guns from another state in distinct violation of the laws of Colorado. They put themselves "above and beyond" the laws of the state. There is this difference: the mine workers' exercise of the right of rebellion is after their homes have been destroyed, the operators' exercise of that right is before any violence has been committed against their property and became the direct incite and promoter of the later rebellion of the workers. As a last resort, the strike leaders took refuge in revolution and openly appealed to the judgment of public opinion to justify the validity of their act, willing to abide the consequences. As a first resort, the mine owners superseded the powers of the state without notice to anybody, confident that they had sufficient control of the machinery of the state to evade the consequences.

Law and Order (?)

Since the appeal of the operators for justification is to the rightful regard of a law-abiding, law and order, it is well to know what kind of law and order had been observed by the coal operators in Colorado. Since the strike did the state in rado. Since the strike did the state is "whether the state, or failing the state, the nation shall make good the constitutional guarantee of law and order." It is well to ask how they have assisted the state to make good these constitutional guarantees. This tale is written in the official records of the state, of investigating committees and of the Federal Grand Jury. In all of these the companies are charged with continuously and contemptuously violating the laws made to secure honesty and safety in coal mining. Five out of the seven original demands of the strikers are guaranteed by the laws of Colorado, some of them for over twelve years. These laws were passed in the face of bitter opposition by the coal companies, and they have been both evaded and defied. Not all of them were violated by any of the companies, but they have all of them been violated by the operators as a group. It is only recently that the more progressive of the companies have observed these laws. Now all of them are willing to "grant these conditions required by law."

The regard of the coal operators for constitutional guarantees is written all through the political and industrial history of Colorado. In order to control the conditions of coal mining, they have acquired political domination in the coal districts. They have created a private principality within the state. Like the barons of old, they have controlled the highways leading into their domain. They have administered the high justice, the middle and the low. Their appointees have been judge, jury and executioner. As for constitutional guarantees, they voted whom they pleased and convicted whom they desired. The state makes it unlawful for an employer to prohibit his employees from joining a labor organization. In many coal camps "the sentence of the camp marshal to any man suspected of belonging to a union is, 'Down the canon for you.'" This is the kind of law and order that the coal companies have been teaching to ignorant, hot-blooded immigrants while they were peaceably at work. If these strikers have now lost all respect for law and order, one reason is because they have for years been taught in a bitter school. If now the "mine workers" are to be refused all consideration because they are an element which has come to regard itself as above and beyond the reach of the law," then by the same token the same sentence falls upon the operators.

The State Steps In.

The part of the state in breaking down the respect of the strike leaders for law and order cannot be overlooked. Absolute power superseding all civil rights was assumed by the commander of the militia, a hot-tempered oculist. Instead of enforcing law and order, he broke down all law and order under the plea of military necessity. A military commission arrested people and impris-

(Continued on Page Four)

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GUST HILL,
P. O. Box 511,
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THE I. L. A. DISCREDITED IN PHILA.

I. W. W. Destroyers Fail. A. F. of L. Would Prevent Strikes

(Special to Solidarity) Philadelphia, Pa.

The International Longshoremen's Association, which attempted to do business in this port last year is now dead. The I. L. A. was brought to this city by the employers of labor to kill the new-born Marine Transport Workers' Union which had beaten the employing stevedores and threatened through the parent body, the I. W. W., to take charge of the organization work in this city.

Several strikes were being conducted by the I. W. W., and from appearances an industrial upheaval was imminent. Sentiment was being rapidly developed favorable to this new union. The employers were apprehensive. The presidents of the Chamber of Commerce, the Boards of Trade and other organizations of the employing class, in interviews and statements issued to the press, told of the prosperity of the workers of this city, and the impossibility of the I. W. W.'s getting a foothold in Philadelphia.

The wage workers of this city were so prosperous the employers had to tell them of it, while they from all quarters were clamoring for more wages. More pay was heeded then and is now. Unrest has not subsided, but with thousands out of employment has cooled the ardor of the wage workers.

Something had to be done and that in a hurry, if the I. W. W. was to be prevented from getting a foothold in this city. Did not the stone masons and laborers, the silk dyers, and the longshoremen, under the direction of the I. W. W., win their strikes and were they not working in several industries to organize and make conditions better? This bunch must be broken up, said the mouthpiece of the employers. How to succeed in breaking up the I. W. W. was a question, but as in other matters, there was supposed to be a way.

While I am not aware of any agreement entered into between the employers and the A. F. of L., the appearance of the I. L. A. was suspicious. They came, heralded by the press with glaring headlines stating that a great battle for supremacy was to be fought, and that the I. W. W. was an anarchistic organization and must be rooted out of the city of Brotherly Love. They were welcomed by the employers, who looked upon them as their saviors. Officialdom of the local A. F. of L. went into the game with the boss to drive us out of town.

While the fight apparently was to drive us off the water front, the real fight was to drive us out of this city. So the A. F. of L. sacrificed whatever principle it had and lined up with the enemy to fight the new union.

The I. L. A. has since passed to the great beyond. Dead in its own excrement. Dead after being kicked by those who made suckers of its members. Discredited even by its own bunch, who are now looking for the Marine Transport Workers to again take them into its fold. The organizers who promised so much failed to show up in time of need. Moral and financial support was lacking. The war chest failed to work. Beaten and no job. Where, oh, where, was Dempsey? Gone on a vacation. Dempsey, who came here with the I. L. A. "for the benefit of the boss," where was he? Not to be found. Dempsey, in answer to a question by the employing stevedore, said: "Why, we came here for the benefit of your health. Your partner is sick and confined to his bed on account of strikes by the I. W. W.; and we came here to prevent strikes." Such is the caliber of snakes in the labor movement.

If there was not a working agreement between the A. F. of L. and the employers, and their acts were accidental, then they are the champion American Federated Labor Suckers.

The Marine Transport Workers, I. W. W., are still very much alive and maintaining job control—stronger now in spite of hard times and the tricks of the boss. We are not organized to gag ourselves and prevent strikes; in fact we are in the game to make the employer come through with more of the necessary coin. We are not interested so much in his health or purse as we are in the size of our pay envelope. We are here to fight at every opportune moment and if the employers become sick all the worse for them. The new union has come to stay; the old has gone, buried in disgrace.

J. J. McKELVEY.

The Real Issue In Colorado

(Continued From Page Three.)

oned them for hours, weeks, and months, denied them attorneys, the right of habeas corpus, and communication with friends. Some of these prisoners claim even to have been tortured. The Russian police have little to teach these militia officers inflated with their new-found power. Had they subjected to this treatment people of their own social standing, the state would be split in half with bloody rebellion. Beside the recital of their acts, the justification for the Boston Tea Party and the war of the Revolution seems trivial. To cap the climax of the revocation of its own constitutional guarantees, the state violated its own law by enrolling in the militia the hired "gunmen" from another state, made one of them an officer and even left him in command of the Ludlow camp months after an officially sanctioned investigating committee had warned the state that he was an unfit man, that he had sworn to "get the leaders of the strikers and destroy the camp," and that his retention invited disasters. The horrors of Ludlow are due to this man, who had no right to be in the service of the state, but the responsibility for them rests upon the state itself.

Anarchy vs. Anarchy

Behind the anarchy and revolution of the strikers then, as an underlying cause, we have the older anarchy of "big business," controlling, defying and undermining the state until the state itself breaks down and revokes its own constitutional guarantees. THIS RAISES THE REAL ISSUE. IS THERE ANY POWER BIGGER THAN PRIVATE BUSINESS; ARE THE NECESSITIES OF LIFE, AND THE STATE, TO BE CONTROLLED AND ADMINISTERED FOR THE INTERESTS OF A FEW, OR IS THERE TO BE PUBLIC CONTROL FOR PUBLIC WELFARE?

The Right to Work

The same issue appears in another form in the second reason offered by the operators to justify their attitude. They tell us they are fighting in behalf of their own employees and in behalf of all the workers of the country for a great principle. This is the right of every man to work for whom he pleases and as he pleases. Of course the attempt of the union to intimidate or compel non-union men must be prevented. But in this case there is official record of intimidation and compulsion used by the employers against union men, in the effort to destroy the union. They have persistently endeavored to maintain a closed shop. For this attitude they have no more justification than the union has in its endeavor to maintain a closed shop. Some of the operators believe in the theory of collective bargaining, but decline to have any dealings with the United Mine Workers, an organization whose conduct in the trade agreements of seventeen other states and in the Conciliation Board in the anthracite region, where there is not a closed shop, has commended itself to operators, economists and the public. Indeed, through this organization, more public good has resulted than is apparent from any organization of coal operators. Others of the operators deny the principle of collective bargaining at all. They insist that coal mining is a private undertaking, to be carried on as the employer shall dictate. This is the root of the matter. The principle for which these operators are really fighting is not the right of every man to work for whom he pleases and as he pleases, but their right to work such men as they please under such conditions as they alone deem best. They desire to be industrial despots, high-minded and benevolent, but still despots. They propose to run the coal mines as they please, without interference either by organized labor or by the state. They will not admit that coal mining is either a joint undertaking or a public concern.

Here is the fundamental cause of the Colorado situation: IT IS THE ATTEMPT TO MAINTAIN INDUSTRIAL ABSOLUTISM WHICH HAS BROKEN DOWN THE DEMOCRACY OF THE STATE AND NECESSITATES THE MILITARY DESPOTISM TO ENFORCE IT.

A Conflict of Principles

The real conflict in Colorado is a conflict of principles. The trade union is the first expression of the democratic principle in industry. When it is refused any recognition by those who would maintain autocracy, there is turbulent upheaval, even as in the history of government. Collective bargaining through trade agreements between organized labor and organized capital is only a partial expression of the democratic principle, but it yields better results than the benevolent despotism of good men. Men of intelligence ought to perceive that the natural end of the despotic control of industry is at hand. For thirty years the Colorado coal operators have been trying to maintain this idea. Four times they have brought in strike breakers, each time of lower intelligence and lower standards of living, willing to work as they dictated. Each time these strike breakers have become the strikers of the next outbreak, each time they have become more of a menace to the life of the state. From what section of the earth will they get their next supply of passive workers?

It is only an evasion of the issue to urge that organized labor itself would set up another despotism. It will unless checked. For it is human nature to get drunk with new-found power. But the check is present in the fact that trade agreements are worked out before the public eye. There is the restraining force of public opinion in the background. The path of democracy has its difficulties, but it leads to more democracy.

Here again we face the real issue. What are the rights and powers of all the people in the conduct of industry? This issue may be postponed, but it cannot be ultimately avoided. The principle of democracy will have to be carried to the last conclusion. Some day we must operate public necessities directly for the public good. The Colorado situation forces the issue. It emphasizes the breakdown of the private control of industry by capital. It raises the question whether joint control by capital and labor is not more difficult to establish than complete public control.

CONDITIONS IN THE "WORKMAN'S PARADISE"

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Things here are rather mixed, the prospects for militant industrialism being none too good just now. As the Arbitration Act makes it possible for the employers to form a union of fifteen men, register it under the Act and obtain an award, thus governing the conditions under which perhaps thousands of men will have to work, the workers just now are turning to political action via the social Democratic party, for the purpose of amending the act, so as to make legalised scabbery impossible. Following on the recent unsuccessful strike, the position is that in the mining, transport and cargo handling industries, a minority union, composed of scabs, has decided the conditions of labor, and as these "arbitration" unions are controlled by the employers conditions of labor now are worse than ever they were. Of course, when the strike was over the strikers gained control of the scab unions, but the agreements entered into by these unions, and registered as awards of the Arbitration Court still stand. This is an example of the "beneficial" result of the Arbitration Act. Needless to say the pure and simple political actionists are using this fact as an argument that strikes are no use, and that the "vote's the thing." I heard one recently tell his audience that they should vote for the "Co-operative Commonwealth." In consequence of the present situation, the respectable unionists are keeping very quiet and are showing no disposition to rebel, but in contrast to this it may be said that right throughout N. Z. there is a spirit of revolt springing up. The boss, in his wisdom, is blacklisting ex-strikers in the towns, forcing them to go to the country for work, and as most of these victimized men are I. W. W. men and rebels, it follows that the gospel of revolt is reaching places where it was formerly unheard of.

Another attempt to consolidate the labor forces is to be made in July, when a conference called by the United Federation of Labor is to be held, and an attempt made to reconcile the two warring actions of labor. There is a section of the unions which is composed of workers, who at the last conference did not support the idea of a national federation, as they were still imbued with craft ideas, and supported the Arbitration Act. The use of the Arbitration Act during the strike as a protector of scabbery, has had an awakening effect on these unions, and it is expected that they will be more ready to support a move for federation this year than they were last year.

For all that the new organization will not be an industrial union but just a federation loosely put together, with probably a semi-rebellious object, and perhaps will make provision for the formation of industrial departments some time in the future. However, the move is a good one, as it will promote the idea of solidarity, which as the development of capitalism proceeds, will be a great help in forming real industrial unions.

A peculiar feature of industrial development here is shown in the latest move of the Farmers union, a body which is bitterly anti-union, and which nobly assisted the boss to break the late strike. The Canterbury branch of this union has started out to eliminate the middleman, by buying all farming requirements direct, and supplying them to its members. It also proposes to establish a scheme for supplying farm products direct to the consumers, through the agency of the workers' unions, the object of this move being also to eliminate the stock dealer, the agent, and the retailer. Thus we have the evolution of capitalism going on even in little New Zealand.

It is unpleasant to have to record that the strike caused the break up of the few I. W. W. locals in N. Z., and the suspension of their paper, but it is less unpleasant to announce that the locals are in process of reformation, and that the paper will be issued again at an early date. All over N. Z. there are scattered I. W. W. men, and they are spreading the gospel of revolt. This work will bear fruit in the future.

H. E. Holland, the editor of the "Naoriland Worker," the official organ of the United Federation of Labor, has been sentenced to jail for twelve months, on a charge of seditious language during the strike. He advised the sailors from H. M. S. Psyche not to fire on the strikers if ordered to do so, and so he is in jail. Other strikers are serving sentences on various charges, such as rioting, etc.

The Social Democratic party is very active, and is likely to win seats at the next election. It recently ran candidates for seats on the different municipal councils, and polled very well. As it will probably make some arrangement with the Liberal party at the coming election, it is almost certain to send some men to the talk shop. Then we shall see what it can do for us. I will write of the political situation more fully later, as this letter is rather long already.

With regards to all rebels.

Yours for freedom,
SYD. KINGSFORD.

*This is not intended to be funny. Perhaps I should have said anti-labor. S. K.

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