

# THE LABOR HISTORY

OF THE

# HARBOR

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1911 -

ABERDEEN FREE

SPEECH FIGHTS



# Industrial Worker

VOL. 3 No. 40

One Dollar a Year

SPOKANE, WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, DEC. 28, 1911

Six Months 50c

Whole Number 144

## AGITATE—EDUCATE—ORGANIZE—FIGHT FOR THE EIGHT HOUR DAY

### WAKE UP GOVERNOR HAY.

Tacoma, Wash., Dec. 17, 1911.  
Honorable Marion E. Hay,  
Governor of the State of Washington,  
Olympia, Wash.

Sir:—  
We, the undersigned, do hereby respectfully call your attention to the lawlessness which, as we are informed, now exists and for some time past existed in Aberdeen, Chehalis county, in this state.

We herewith enclose affidavits to show that workmen who have been charged with no crime whatever have been compelled to leave said city by an irresponsible mob of brutal men armed with guns and clubs—a proceeding for which we are advised, there is no authority in law and which, we submit, is to a marked degree, against the peace and dignity of our state.

Our laws, as we are informed, provide that persons charged with a crime may be arrested and after being found guilty in the manner prescribed by law, may be punished. Such punishments, we are informed, may be fine, imprisonment, the infliction of death penalty upon the offender, and in certain cases the performance of an operation to prevent procreation.

There is no law providing that persons, guilty or innocent, desirable or undesirable may be run out of town.

Trusting that you, in the exercise of your authority as chief executive of our state, see your way clear to suppress all lawlessness and assuring you of our ability and willingness to furnish much more evidence of the character herewith enclosed, we beg to remain, respectfully yours,

ED GILBERT.  
A. J. AMOLSCH.  
MANS BECKER.

### PREFERS PRISON TO FREEDOM.

NEW YORK.—"Paddy, I've got good news for you," said Warden John S. Kennedy of Sing Sing, as he stooped before the cell of Patrick Kiernan yesterday morning. Kiernan is the oldest convict in the prison.

"You mean you're going to give me plenty of turkey?" Kiernan asked.

"Yes, I'm going to give you plenty of turkey and something else," replied the warden. "I've got a pardon for you from Governor Dix." He drew a document from his pocket and handed it to Kiernan.

The old man glanced at it curiously, then handed it back, saying:

"I don't know what I'm going to do with it. I don't know that I can use it at all. What can an old man like me do with a pardon from the only home he has? I haven't any relatives and I've no friends outside these walls. They've all died or scattered in the 25 years I've been here."

"Why, this pardon means that I'll lose my home! Still, if they make me go away from here I suppose I can get along some way."

Kiernan was sentenced to death for murder committed in Brooklyn more than a quarter of a century ago. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

Never in the quarter century he has been in the prison has Kiernan broken a rule. He has been as regular as clockwork in his duties and has been trusted as no life convict ever was trusted there before.

### Has Another Week Anyway.

"When does this pardon take effect?" asked Kiernan. "Will I have to miss the dinner today, too?"

The old man was told that he must appear before the parole board, which would meet in a week.

"Well, I'm good for a home till then," he answered.—News Item.

### WHERE DID YOU GET THAT MILLION?

(By T. Alex. Cairns).

Where did you get that million, sir?  
Out of the life blood of your slaves,  
Out of a woman's scalding tears,  
Out of the children's trembling fears,  
Out of the crimson crime of knaves—  
That's where you got that million!

Where did you get that million, sir?  
Out of the bartered shame of the street,  
Out of the poverty grim as despair,  
Out of the vagabond everywhere,  
Out of the cold and shoeless feet—  
That's where you got that million!

Where did you get that million, sir?  
Out of the fraud of the sabbie gown,  
Out of the loot of the halls of State,  
Out of the deception and greed and hate,  
Out of the cry of the millions down—  
That's where you got that million!

Every great moral teacher in history has been a heretic.



HOW THE SACRED CONSTITUTION IS UPHELD IN ABERDEEN

## THE CRIME WAVE IN SPOKANE

Spokane, Wash., Dec. 18, 1911.

The newspapers of this city are digging out the largest type they can procure to inform the "people" about the awful "tidal wave of crime, that has been sweeping over our fair city."

The jungle law is being appealed to, boiling oil, melted lead in the ears, "swift and sure justice," that will strike terror into the hearts of the evildoers, etc. All this is familiar, we have heard it before, and the evildoer, still pursues the "evil" tenor of his way. A Macedonian cry has gone up for the citizens to arm themselves, the police are useless they say, they are merely drawing their salaries, and all this in a city that has the most perfect kind of government, the commission form. Acting on this advice the good citizens are arming, and the gun dealers are having a period of "marvelous and noteworthy" prosperity, and the firearms profit patriot is resurrecting the "Business is good" signs from out of the rubbish pile, where they have been hibernating, "lo, these many moons." But if business is good for the gun dealers, it is decidedly bad for all the brood of Cockroach capitalists who have made Spokane a by-word for everything that is mean, despicable and putrescent; every working man that loves liberty, and hates slavery, and despotism, will always remember Spokane, and the little wretches responsible for the outrage and torture, inflicted on the Industrial Workers, while fighting for free speech and industrial freedom.

But now that business is bad and their duty requiring that they make it good. Moved by a spirit of "Altruism and the Golden Rule" (Los Angeles is here reminded that they have not yet acquired a patent on this) the proposition has been made that two thousand citizens arm themselves at once and bring in dead or alive, every thug, hold-up man, and burglar, that will dare attack property or persons, and that the city pay for each conviction the sum of five simeoleons. Great scheme surely! A prosperity wave will sweep over the crime wave and bury it forever in an ocean of forgetfulness. This is the "business" man's solution. He has had the floor, now let the working man's voice be heard above the din and roar of automatic pistols and sawed off shotguns, that the good pious business man

is using while "bringing in the sheaves," and incidentally the sheekles. Suppose that instead of arming two thousand "good citizens," and paying them \$5.00 for each murder they do; employ four thousand idle working men, who are on the edge of starvation in this city, pay them \$2.50 per day, arm them with three square meals, instead of guns, and send them out to detect "crime," and see the result. Within one week there would be such an exodus of labor skimmers, grafters, pimps, policemen and detectives toward the Canadian border, that the judges and lawyers would be out of a job and they would be compelled to pawn their law books, and their dignity for a square meal.

Mr. Capitalist and business man, get this down on the fly leaf of your brain. While you have an economic system that makes a commodity of human labor power, and takes from the laborer all he creates over and above enough to maintain him and if he cannot dispose of his labor power in order to live, not being the owner of his tools, you stand between him and life. But he will live despite your code of morals, and your written statutes drafted and drawn to prevent crime, and this tidal wave will ebb and flow like the tides of the ocean, influenced by the Moon of Industrial conditions when work is slack in the winter months and poverty and famine stretches its bony hand over the nation, the tide will rise, and will ebb, when the summer returns and work is more plentiful, but so long as the sea of capitalism fills the world, its ebb and flow will remain obedient to economic law.

To eliminate the cause of crime let us have socialism, a system in which the workers will be in possession of their own means of life—the machinery of production and distribution of wealth, receiving all they create by their labor—This will be Industrial Democracy or Socialism.

JOHN G. WANHOPE,  
State Organizer Socialist Party, Washington.

### BURNING WORDS.

"We don't care for your public opinion; we do not ask for your sympathy. You have failed—failed utterly to abolish poverty. All your churches, all your governments, all your institutions, all your laws have failed; you are an admitted failure, all of you. But, by heaven, we are not going to fail. We are going to abolish poverty and do it ourselves, without asking help of any except ourselves." —Tom Mann at mass meeting in Liverpool during the strike.

### BEATS PEACE ARBITRATION.

Monster labor meetings in France and Germany are, with government aid, making a most distinguished martyr of Gustave Herve, editor of the Paris paper "La Guerre Sociale." Monsieur Herve, you see, has been preaching and writing things that no government which "reduces" industrial disturbances by making bakers, barbers, stevedores and garbage men of its soldiers can afford to stand.

In truth, Monsieur Herve has got Taft, Andy Carnegie and the Hague conferees beaten to a standstill on peace propaganda, by advocating that war be killed by the soldiers going on strike. He figures it out that if the plain folks won't fight, there won't be any war, which is surely a cruel proposition to place before gun manufacturers, uniform makers, food contractors and business interests concerned in protection of holdings in foreign parts acquired by conquest or slick diplomacy. Trusts in African rubber, fine woods, wool, etc., for instance, must have stiff backing and soldiers are cheap, when the people support them.

His sort of economic heresy has kept Gustave doing his editorial work in jail during the greater part of the last four years. Whenever a government minister has desired to establish a standing with the business interests for having much "backbone," he has clapped Gustave in jail. He is now inside, but somehow his idea that the way for the people to avoid war is to refuse to fight has filtered outside and a magnificent number of the folks are singing his song, "In case of war we will not march." It is wonderful how a simple little idea will sometimes take hold.—San Francisco "News."

### GETTING STRONG, MUST MOVE.

That the I. W. W. has been gaining in strength on Coos Bay, is shown by the fact the members have recently opened up a reading room in the old Socialist hall on Market avenue, near the O'Connell flats. An investigation was made yesterday by the local police as to what means the members had in the way of self support. The investigation was not very satisfactory and it is not unlikely the doors of the reading room will be closed and the members ordered out of town as "undesirables."—Evening "Herald," Marshfield, Ore.

Behind! aye, far behind! stands Craft Unionism, immersed in the muck and mire of capitalist society.

H. S. B.

### HOT TIMES IN 'FRISCO.

On last Monday, December 11th, Fellow Worker C. Smith lit in this benighted burg to deliver the message of Industrial Unionism to organized and unorganized wage slaves, who have been filled with "identiy of interest" dope, from every possible angle, peddled by wise, sane and conservative A. F. of Lites. Three meetings were held, one on the street and two well filled hall meetings. Keen interest was shown by the many questions asked and considerable literature was sold. Thursday Smith spoke before the striking shopmen at Oakland. This meeting was announced through circulars, and it was understood that Smith was to have equal time with any other speaker (there being three). Smith should at least have been given second place, being up against two head lights, First Vice President, I. A. M. and Second Vice President of Blacksmiths.

The chairman knew the I. W. W., being wise and bearing the name of Fox, was foxy by nature, and introduced Smith first, who gave a fine constructive talk, which was well received. He pointed out the necessity of organizing all in ONE BIG UNION, that those who were working and carrying union cards were doing as much if not more to aid the company to defeat them, as were the scabs who had taken their place. He was heartily applauded upon taking his seat.

Vice President Hannon of the I. A. M. being introduced, attempted to explain away what the previous speaker had said, and made a sorry mess of the job, resorting to misrepresentation and injecting the personal "poor Gompers" and comparing the structure of the I. W. W. with that of the K. of L., thus proving himself to be a knave or fool, classified the unskilled as "weak, sick men," lacking intelligence, unable to produce as much, not entitled to wage of skilled." He used his best effort (which isn't saying much) to impress upon his hearers, that Smith was a knocker, and trying to discourage them in their fight, yet not one word was said that could be so construed. He took his seat amidst thunderous silence, to be followed by the vice president of Blacksmiths.

This worthy pointed out the fact that it was the railroads that first brought forward federation by asking that each craft appoint a committee of three, to present to the governor and other officials, a protest against the enactment of certain laws affecting the interest of the railroads. They complied and saved the railroads some \$19,000,000. The railroad paid the expenses of their services. He said "This was federation number one." "Another committee went to Lincoln, Neb.; this was federation number two." "Seeing we could federate so effectively for the boss we took the cue and brought the crafts together in federation for ourselves, and presented our proposition to the company."

They considered it harmful and not the best interest of the railroads and the public. He then went on to describe the effectiveness of the sky pilot as a leader in strikes, the opening of meetings by prayer, how angelic the strikers were becoming through their great moral uplift, which was bringing the dear public to the strikers, but he neglected to tell us what effect this had on the officials of the Illinois Central. He closed with the assurance of victory in the near future. We silently passed out, feeling that Fellow Worker Smith left an impression deeper upon the mind than either of these two agents of decaying craft unionism. While waiting for a car the vice president of the blacksmiths walked up to Smith in a bluff sort of a manner and attempted to call him down and as a challenge was virtually offered from the platform this was our opportunity. We called their bluff, and offered to meet all expenses. Of course they took back water. It is evident these piccadilly artists are feeling the effect of the propaganda of the I. W. W. and will use any means that lie in their power to discourage and prevent the rank and file from getting in touch with the I. W. W. It will avail them not; we have got the goods and will deliver them. The future belongs to the working class. We have nothing to lose and a world to gain. On with organization and education for the ONE BIG UNION.

GEO. SPEED.

### CRAFT UNIONS.

Craft unionism grants a license to its membership to scab. Industrial Unionism declares, in language unmistakable, that "An injury to one is an injury to all." Craft Unionism believes it can see a harmonious relationship existing between the leech and its victim. Industrial Unionism is out to abolish the conditions that made leeches possible. Craft Unionism cries peaches in the midst of a hot-as-hell war! Industrial Unionism cries: Fight Up and at an infamous system of legalized theft.

—Exchange.



# INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Published Weekly by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World.  
BOX 2129,  
SPOKANE, WASHINGTON.



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Subscription Yearly \$1.00  
Canada, Yearly 1.50  
Subscription, Six Months .50  
Bundle Orders, Per Copy (In Canada) .02 1/2  
Bundle Orders, Per Copy (In United States) .02  
CASH MUST ACCOMPANY ALL ORDERS.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.  
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GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD.  
Jas. J. Ettor, Thos. Halcrow, F. H. Little, Francis Miller, Geo. Speed.  
Entered as second-class matter, May 21, 1910, at the Postoffice at Spokane, Wash., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

"Brothers, let's be up and doing,  
Else our motto's but a myth,  
Ills and wrongs are fast accruing.  
Let us prove us men of pith.  
Parliament's delays spell danger,  
Swifter, surer is the goal,  
When we know no man as stranger,  
Land to land, and pole to pole.  
If uniting makes us stronger,  
Who, or what can stay our course,  
When no section fighting section,  
Labour wields its solid force.  
Pride of craft has kept us sundered,  
On its cult our masters reeked;  
Still, though in the past we blundered,  
Now erectors, 'stand erect.'  
This the newer, truer message,  
This, the sweeter, nobler call,  
(Fuller life it needs must pressage),  
'Each for each, and all for all.'  
—Selected.

## "GO WEST, YOUNG MAN."

We are reminded in the Spokane daily papers that there are 10,000 men who are hungry in the town of Spokane. This is in the "wild and woolly west" where young men were urged to go and "grow up with the country." The west only extends as far as Seattle and in that burg the bread lines are flourishing and such things as charity institutions are in full swing. To go farther west means to swim to China and there is hell there also. Aberdeen is a poor place to go as wages are as low as \$1.80 a day and the "business" men have nothing else to do but carry their unsold axe handles about looking for the fellow that happens to have an idea and wishes to tell it to the other fellow. Don't forget that this is "the land of the free and the home of the brave." A hollow statue adorns the harbor in New York and the Liberty bell in Philadelphia is cracked. Prison is preferred to liberty which was proven a few days ago in New York when a man sentenced for life refused to leave the place as he said it was the only home he had. However there is hope for our class as a worm will turn and a rat will fight when driven into a corner. We are getting close to the corner when it is up to us to fight as a class and free ourselves from the clutches of the profit monger. ONE BIG UNION for all is the way to organize and after that the rest is easy.

## GOOD WORK IN THE EAST.

Good work is being done in the way of organizing in the east among the textile workers. The masters in that industry are bent on making the slaves work four looms instead of two and the I. W. W. is meeting this move by advocating the eight hour day. Its a battle royal and we hope that the members of our class will land on top. ONE BIG UNION in the textile industry would work wonders in bringing the arrogant master to time. Organizer Thompson and other speakers are urging the workers to renewed activity. If the textile workers can be forced to work at a greater speed and produce twice the amount of finished product as they have heretofore been doing, there will be an opportunity for the boss to salve his guilty conscience by handing to his starving slaves a little dol in the shape of charity. Organize and take the industries away from the boss. Who is he that HE is of more importance than thousands of workers who are dying premature deaths while hurrying to make more and ever more profits for a greedy monster that knows no bounds in his desire for more wealth? Put the brute to work. Get organized!

## PEOPLE LIVING TOO FAST.

President Taft after stowing away five dinners in one day in New York on December 21st, stated at the last dinner he was hiding away, that "the American people are living too fast."

Now that we have discovered who the "people" are we can proceed on sure ground. Taft must mean by "The American People" those of his ilk who are capable of stowing under their belts in one day five huge and choice meals. He surely could not have referred to the 10,000 hungry men in Spokane which the Spokane daily papers tell of and surely he could not mean the 10,000,000 tramps that roam this land of Freedom! where we have freedom of Speech! Press! and Public assembly! He surely could not have been referring to the

great army of wage slaves who work steadily year in and year out and are always in debt to the profit monger. He surely could not have meant the millions of women and children that toil long and hard in the cotton slave pens only to die premature deaths. We agree with Taft if the "people" he refers to are the parasites who live in luxury from the toil of others, that the "people" are truly living too fast. They are living so fast that those whom they live from are not living at all. Taft only knows one class. He has never associated or worked with any other class and therefore the man can not speak of something he is ignorant of. His every action has been in connection with the profit monger. While Taft's class is living too fast, our class is suffering from economic conditions that can only be cured by the class that is suffering. We say that to organize into ONE BIG UNION whereby an injury to one is an injury to all, is the means to the end and until we do this we will have to take all the oppression that is forced on us. Remember we did not say two unions or 121 unions fighting each other as we find in the A. F. of L., but ONE union of wage workers. Get that!

## CONDUCTORS ACT AS SPY.

A fellow worker who traveled to Aberdeen from Tono, Wash., recently to attend a Socialist Finnish ball, tells in the "Coal Digger" that the conductor on the train arriving at the border of Chehalis county, made a thorough search for I. W. W. members. When the conductor was laughed at by the passengers he got off the following: "No member of the I. W. W. is allowed to reach Aberdeen."

No doubt this fellow is a member of the Order of Railway Conductors. With trade unions in Aberdeen offering their services to the sluggers in case the I. W. W. gets gay, the Socialist party condemning our tactics in Aberdeen and saying they have no sympathy with our movement, union conductors acting as spies for the master class, to say the least we have a bunch of cringing cowards flying under the banner of the labor movement that little is to be expected from when the issue is drawn and its up to the workers to be men or long tailed rats.

## WHERE WE STAND?

Under the caption, "Where We Stand" the "New Era," a Socialist party publication printed in Aberdeen, takes up the greater part of its space in condemning both the I. W. W. and the capitalists of Aberdeen. We are reminded in this lengthy article in the following language, why we should obey the capitalist laws:

"Whenever we shall obtain control of the legislative machinery of the government we will exact obedience to our laws, working class laws, upon precisely the same grounds upon which we now yield obedience to the capitalist laws."

As all laws are based on property rights and to protect one class against another, we are assured that we are not to have freedom when the Socialists get a power by their political route. We may expect capitalism to still reign and we can expect the axe handles and the gun, the slugger and the spy just the same as we have now.

Instead of telling us what they are going to do in this lengthy article we are told of what the "demands" are. One is a pension when the slave has worked honestly for 40 years for the master. Here is the "demand" as published in the "New Era":

"We demand honorable retirement on proper pension after forty years of honest, faithful service, or when injured in the line of duty."

As the whole life of a wage slave is nothing near the 40 year mark, this "demand" will not bother the capitalists and there is little danger of getting deported for such silly dribble. The whole list of the demands are about as strong as this one for old age pensions. We can assure the editor of the "New Era" that he is perfectly safe as well as any member of the Socialist party that subscribes to all these silly "demands," and as we have been informed by the capitalist press of Aberdeen as well as the slugging mayor, that if we do not like the laws we can change them in Aberdeen with the ballot and as the Socialist party of Aberdeen has told us the same thing, we are overjoyed beyond expression at the valuable information. It is rapidly beginning to look as if one bunch will make the "demands" in this glorious land of freedom and another bunch will put them into force. The article in question is a contemptible attack on the I. W. W. at a time when all workers should be united for a common cause. The sluggers of Aberdeen should be overjoyed at the article in question. Its a cheap method of trying to build up a lot of political slush at the expense of the fighting members of the working class. Some people will not be sure of a class struggle until some capitalist slugger kicks their teeth out. Any one who harbors the delusion that the capitalist class will grant their "demands" unless there is FORCE enough to MAKE them, are about fit subjects for the buy-house.

## SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

The Taylor system of "Scientific Management" has found its way into England. It has already been the means of laying off a great number of men in the government works and in other industries. The English workmen intend to fight it tooth and toenail. There are not enough idle men in the world today and millionaires are not being made fast enough from the toil of slaves, so this "scientific management" promises to see that there are many more in the bread line and those who are the masters may have the pleasure of heaping up ever more and more profits. So long as there is one rich man in the country and one man, woman or child out of work that desires to work, then we are working too many hours and for too small pay. So long as a man can be found idle that belongs to the ranks of labor, just so long should we keep on fighting for the shorter work day. Labor produces all wealth and the man that wishes to do it all in one day so that he can get in the bread line the next day, is a fit subject for the house of mental derangement. Keep fighting for the shorter work day and for the sake of all wage workers, let us get an organization we can fight with. Away with divisions of labor and up with the ONE BIG UNION.

## TRANSLATED NEWS

### INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF SYNDICALIST MOVEMENT.

Russia—The syndical movement of Moscow, the center of Russian commerce and industry, is on the point of dying. This unfortunate fact is not astonishing. Every day new persecution and repression is directed against the labor organization of this town. The unions of bookkeepers and tea workers having been dissolved, the Moscow papers now announce that the unions of tailors and tailoresses, and that of the furriers have been dissolved. Those three unions, which recently united in a syndicate of the clothier trade, have existed over seven years, had over 900 members and were the most active unions of the town. In fact that was their undoing! They had a bureau of legal advice, a registry office where places were found for workers free of charge, a library and a reading room and meeting room where numerous public and trade meetings were held. They had made arrangements for the winter to hold gratis lessons and lectures. All this activity was far from pleasing to the Czarist authorities, hostile to all progress, or to the large employers who saw in this growing syndicate a dangerous weapon in the hands of their workers—formerly docile slaves turned into conscious working men. Once this had been recognized by the masters the fate of the union was sealed.

The Progress of Revolutionary Syndicalism in America—The press of the Industrial Workers of the World speaks of the progress made by their organization. The I. W. W. is becoming a power in the land. In the Southwest the lumberjacks organized in the Brotherhood of the Timber Workers are locked out because they prefer affiliation with the I. W. W. instead of the more conservative A. F. of L. In the northwest (British Columbia) Joseph Biscay, the I. W. W. organizer, was kidnapped and illegally locked up to prevent the railroad construction workers from organizing. Despite it all over 3,000 have joined the I. W. W. In California 100 I. W. W. members are wanted for propaganda, organizing, literature salesmen, etc. A hall has been opened at Auburn, Cal., large enough to hold 250 people. In the metal districts controlled by the Western Federation of Miners, the I. W. W. influence is growing and is a power against the A. F. of L. influence of reaction. In Kansas City, the authorities have been defeated in a free speech fight with the I. W. W. The outlook is decidedly encouraging for the I. W. W.

Persecution of the Revolutionary Unions in Bohemia—The first of May number of the revolutionary syndicalist paper "Hornické Listy," the organ of the Czech miners, contained an article entitled "Thieves," criticising the present basis of property. The number was published and distributed without difficulties. Six weeks later, however, it was confiscated, a search was made to find the manuscript and the name of the author. The editor, Draxl, was prosecuted. He was acquitted by the jury recently, which decided that the sentiments of the honest Austrians had not been wounded by the attacks of the "Hornické Listy" against property.

Forms of Organization of Trade Unions—In an article in "Brand," the organ of the Swedish socialist and syndicalist movement, John Anderson deals in numbers of November 11 and 18 with the forms of organization of labor. It is not the form, says he, which plays the chief role, but the spirit and tactics of the movement which give the character to the fight against capitalism. Nevertheless the forms can in many cases play an accessory role, and therefore it is necessary to find the most efficient form of organization. The author deals specially with the two forms of organization: trade union and local federation. The trade unions, says he, are of more value than the guilds of old times, but the struggle is constantly becoming more and more general and involving more and more industries. For that reason a local federation may be useful. Capitalism is no longer organized on the same basis as at the beginning of the labor movement. Formerly the workers were face to face with the individual employer, the owner of the factory; at present the enemy calls itself COMPANY LIMITED, TRUST, and the great capitalists have shares in various industries at the same time. Sometimes the employers recover the loss of a strike by increasing the price of the products of some other industry. In this way workers are led to generalize the fight in various industries simultaneously, and local federations acquire great value. Sometimes the employers make the fight general by declaring a lockout in other industries besides that in which the strike takes place. This happened in Sweden in 1908 and 1909 when in Norway 3,000 miners were on strike for some months; to break the resistance the employers declared a lockout of 3,400 workers in other industries which had nothing to do with the strike. As the employers unite more and more, so the workers must do, in a single organization without distinction of trade. The trade union often cultivated professional pride leading to the birth of a labor aristocracy which considered itself above lower trades. But the local union of all workers strengthens the spirit of solidarity. There not only the interests of one trade but of all trades are discussed, which leads to unity and solidarity in the fight against the common enemy—capitalism.

The allusions to the recent conflicts in Scandinavian countries make the article very interesting.

## "LAW AND ORDER."

Ever since (and before for that matter) the McNamara brothers "confessed," "Law and Order" has been shrieked from one point of the world's compass to the other by the capitalist class and its hireling editors, politicians, gunmen and labor leaders and has been belted out into the universe by its priests, preachers and professors until one might be led to suppose that this aggregation of race-plunderers, women-wreckers and child-murderers, were really grieved to the innermost recesses of their inmost hearts and shocked from the circumference to the center of their immortal souls at the crime committed in the "City of Angels" by the militant Christian, James B. McNamara. To hear them tell it, capitalist society is the very incarnation of law and its order is based on eternal justice itself.

To hear them tell it, even though done by one brought up in the "only true faith," to send twenty-one scabs, union and otherwise, to their death on wings of dynamite, was a crime so fiendish as to merit the damnation of all mankind and to call for the most merciless punishment, yet the plutocracy to save itself a few dirty dollars compromised with this "red-handed assassin" and, as soon as the compromise was effected the Panderbund immediately began, as per orders, the campaign to justify it in the eyes of the world. When one looks at this so-called trial of the McNamara brothers, that tragic farce where the star actors were Treason and Hypocrisy, he beholds "Law and Order" glorified and in all the naked splendor. "Law and Order?" What is capitalist "Law and Order?" Let us see, let us take off the white robes and silver helmets of the Pharisees of the Panderbund, let us go still farther and tear away the veil from before the holy of holies of capitalism, with eyes unclouded by superstition, and we shall see that the capitalist system is the bloodiest the most savage, the most merciless, the most dehumanizing form of slavery the race has ever known.

Look at it, this "society" that is so horror-stricken over the deed of James B. McNamara, look at it killing on its railroads over 10,000 people a year and maiming nearly a 100,000 more; look at it literally slaughtering other thousands in its steel and iron mills; look into the great forests it has stolen from the commonwealth and from one end to the other of them. You will see as cruel a system of peonage, maintained by as low a class of gunmen as ever murdered for wages, as was ever devised on earth; look at the pinched and pallid faces of the children herded in its cotton mills and sweatshops, being murdered, not by quick and painless dynamite, but by the slow and torturing process of starvation; look at the vast and ever-increasing army of girl victims murdered annually for a landlord's profit in its houses of prostitution; look at its prisons, as gruesome as those of Bokhara, where crimes are committed against the imprisoned that would make an Apache blush with shame; look at the thousands of men, the vast majority of whom are nothing but boys, seized on the "public" highways for the crime of being jobless by its sheriffs and constables and forced by lash and hound to build the roads of a nation that boasts itself "the richest of ancient or modern times," look into the jungle it calls "the machinery of justice," and everywhere you will see the slinking form of that half-human half-wolf thing it calls a detective and everywhere a gunman's gorilla-like face sneering over a black-robed judge's shoulder, down a rifle barrel at all who dare resist the degradation and dehumanization of the race; look at the holocaust of the 300 miners at Cherry and of the 150 girls in New York City and a thousand places elsewhere and behold how capitalist society "abhors" murder; look at it, in a single generation, reducing 500,000 men to tramps and 10,000,000 more to hoboes; look at it, dripping with blood and reeking with corruption, and tell me if capitalist "Law and Order" is other than plunder, rapine and murder organized and reduced to a science?

I challenge the Panderbund to answer and show it to be otherwise.

## COVINGTON HALL.

### WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

(By W. R. W.)

Come, Workers of the World, Unite!  
For Freedom firmly stand;  
The foes who long have scourged you  
Are now a stricken band;  
In vain shall bloody hirelings  
Take up the robbers' sword,  
To fight for empty glory—  
Their deeds shall be abhorred!  
Then, Workers of the World, Unite!  
Unite to free yourselves!

Grim Tyrants sit in purple,  
Drunk with the blood of Slaves,  
While Toilers with their children  
Are thrust in Pauper graves.  
The giant limbs of Freedom  
Are bound with rusty chains,  
While Greed and Exploitation  
Enjoy their fiendish gains.  
Then, Workers of the World, Revolt!  
Revolt from Slavery!

Despair not, faithful Comrades,  
Though hostile foes are strong,  
Their ranks are surely breaking  
Before your battle song;  
The Dawn is slowly coming  
To end the long dark night,  
The mists of Doubt are lifting,  
The Truth is shining bright.  
Then, Workers of the World, Unite!  
And strike for Liberty!

The only labor laws that have ever been enacted were passed in the union and made constitutional upon the job.



## TO GRAFT ON HOBOES.

San Diego, Cal., Dec. 14, 1911.

At the present time our friends, the capitalists, and their hirlings, are working on a project, the object of which is to furnish employment for the wintering bird, called the "hobo," in sunny California, by our friend the millionaire tramp. The scheme is this: Those hypocrits who have so long denied the truth that there is not enough work for everybody in the country now openly acknowledge that there is not, and all at once they develop pity (nit) for the unemployed, and are advocating county farms, on which to place everybody who is "broke." Those kid glove gentlemen say, "We will furnish them work and build bunkhouses (better known as hog pens) and feed them on Swift, Armour and Co., giving them as low wages and working them as many hours as possible, and as hard as possible, cultivating the country so we can sell the land which is not worth a dam now, but after we have skinned the "hobo," will be worth five or six hundred dollars per acre. You see, we can easily do that, as these free born Americans and a few others will not rebel so long as they have a hog pen and a bowl of soup in the winter. It will pay, especially when it is done under the guise of "charity." Now, Mr. Hobo, if you have any kind of upper story on your carcass, then ask yourself if you were born to cultivate the land for other people to live in luxury while you do the work and live as described above. They say there is not enough work to go around, so do we, but we have a better way to make the work go around, not by putting you in hog pens and feeding you on stuff a rich man's poodle dog would refuse to eat, and work you to death besides. We would do it by getting you organized into one big union, and instead of working ten or twelve hours a day for your master, we would refuse to work more than six or eight hours and the result would be that your master would have to hire more men to get the work done. Let me show you. Suppose that a big factory is working day and night, with two crews; a thousand men start work in the morning at six o'clock and work ten hours, with one hour off for dinner, making eleven hours; then another thousand men start work at six o'clock in the evening and work ten hours more, with one hour for lunch, making twenty-two hours—nearly a day. Now, if you cut the hours down to eight hours a day, then you have only sixteen hours work in that factory with two thousand men, and in order to get the same work done the boss would have to hire another thousand men to make the full day. Three times eight is twenty-four. You see, there would be a thousand hoboes less in the highways and byways and a thousand more workers in the factory. Apply this method to all shops and factories and you will have no hoboes left to be taken care of by that bunch of bloodsuckers. Now, make your choice. If you do not join ONE BIG UNION to solve the problem of unemployment, then the kid glove capitalist will have his own way, until you are good and ready to adopt OUR way. Now, make up your mind and don't be slow about it, either, for you may be sorry when it is too late. Kick in "bo," into the ONE BIG UNION, and we will have some fun with those kid glove parasites. ONE UNION—ONE LABEL—ONE ENEMY.

Press Committee, Local 13, I. W. W.  
ALBERT PETZEN.

## A METHOD OF ORGANIZING.

December 16, 1911.

The I. W. W. is a rank and file organization. The growth of the I. W. W. depends upon the activity of the rank and file, not on some individual. The success of the I. W. W. depends upon the ability of the I. W. W. to educate its members to the principle of Industrial Unionism, to an understanding of this position in society as slaves, to a realization of the fact that there are classes in society and consequently a class struggle, and that the only way that these things can be overcome is by a class line-up into ONE BIG UNION so that we can stand together as a class, fight as a class, and by class solidarity put an end to the class struggle which means the overthrow of capitalism.

How do you propose to do this? Some tell us by joining the union of our class. Well, that is true. But how are you going to get the fellows into this union? I submit the following as a possible method, a method that can no doubt be improved upon, but will do for a starter.

We state in the start of this article that the I. W. W. is a "rank and file" organization. Now we will suppose that we were going to organize a "water works ditch" of three miles in length; some of our men are in the ditch working; let us get as many more on our men there as we can; let us concentrate our forces towards the ditch, say for three or four weeks before we start out to sign up the fellows; kick about everything; say that we ought to organize into a union; let some of our men say that we can't join into the A. F. of L. because they won't have us; another say what the A. F. of L. stands for; another suggest that we send in for an I. W. W. organizer; another ask how many of you fellows will join if an organizer comes out here; another suggest that we make a list of all who are willing to join; then get the organizer out there with proper credentials, such as a list for names, books and stamps; take the list of names that this fellow worker has and put it in your pocket; take the name list (or blank) and go to the first man and tell him who you are and that you have been SENT FOR to come and organize that ditch, "now how about you fellows?" "Well if I thought you could get these other fellows I would join." "Well, if I get a majority are you willing to come in?" "Yes." "Well I will take your name down here then." Pass on to the next. He joins; the next; he

is an I. W. W. man; he signs the list also and is marked joined on the list. And let me state here that every prospective member, together with those who join on the job, also the old members, sign the list so that when you have reached the end of the ditch you have a long list of names. You can now go to the first man, show him the list and get him to join without a doubt.

These men who are working there should have a lot of leaflets to scatter unknown to anyone.

We will assume that we have organized the ditch, the next move is to get a good speaker, one who can "deliver the goods" to speak to these men; in fact the circuit now pending on the Pacific coast will be a good thing for that purpose. It will enable us to keep all good first class speakers on the move so that they may not be killed off by staying too long in one place. The circuit will function as purely an educational movement. The organizing must be done by the rank and file. Hoping that the above suggestion will develop into a reality with whatever amendments that are necessary to cause the workers to line up in ONE BIG UNION.

T. R. EDWARDS.

## BOSS DOES I. W. W. A FAVOR.

The Citizens Alliance have used Cripple Creek tactics, let us answer them by using Goldfield tactics. If the capitalists class keep on driving our speakers from the streets they will do us a great favor; they will put us to organizing on the job where we belong.

Our proposition is to build up a powerful union in the Grays Harbor country and win free speech at the same time.

Let the 500 volunteers become I. W. W. organizers! Just think of it! How long would it take 500 men to organize the Grays Harbor district? The loggers and lumberjacks are aroused and are in the right tempo to get into the ONE BIG UNION—should one approach them at this time in the proper manner. The special POLICY thugs have paved the way in the best manner possible for a rapid and complete organization of the slaves in the vicinity of Aberdeen. They could have done nothing better for our cause providing it is correctly taken advantage of. Let some of the I. W. W. men get their blankets and get jobs in and about Aberdeen—especially logging camps and saw mills. Let other I. W. W. men become magazine agents, book agents, get a job of some Seven Day Adventist Book company, the boss will smile when he sees you peddling this dope. Let the general headquarters loan the Aberdeen local 5,000 dues stamps and books and flood the camps with leaflets. The secretary could have his office in some residence district.

Remember the I. W. W. is not a political or military organization, but is a militant Industrial organization. We haven't much power on the street, but in the industries we are all powerful; hit the boss in the pocket-book, use direct action in the true sense of the word. Free speech fights before we are organized is indirect action. Hit the nail square on the head once and see if it won't go in better.

We realize that great good has been accomplished by free speech demonstrations. It is educational, it drives the truth home to any man or woman that we are denied our constitutional rights in face of the fact that fakers, sky pilots, etc., can speak where we are denied this privilege. Any one with a wee bit of gray matter can see the cause and realize the effect on the public (which is good), and also see the effect on the I. W. W. which is good from an educational point of view. And so far as the I. W. W. is to suffer and abuse itself—this sort of tactics has about served its purpose. When no more good can be got out of a thing by hammering it on one side turn it over and hammer on the other side.

What we want is constructive organization and not destructive to the very cream of our great movement, which are the ones that get it on the bread and water methods. And again in keeps every local scraped clean of every dollar that can be spared, thus holding back constructive work in a good many locals and different industries.

Now remember we are not condemning free speech fights! We are only reasoning and putting forth our ideas, for education is only acquired by experience and the exchange of ideas which will reveal facts and result in concrete work.

We have mentioned herein the good of free speech demonstrations and they are only of value to us when it is demonstrated by the capitalists class that we will have to fight for our rights and win in order to get them. Now we will ask, haven't they already made this demonstration in Aberdeen, Wash.?

Remember this act on the part of the master class is the most valuable to us, and remember we are about to spend all the money we can rake and scrape to send men to jail to lower them lower than they are, to wreck the cream of the world's foremost work and retard a movement that should advance by leaps and bounds. We will admit that this is not valuable but is destructive. We say, be a Napoleon in the field if we are going to fight! And fight when we have the power and confidence of winning without going through a horrible siege which is called a submissive fight. Why? The word submissive should be an insult to the I. W. W.

Use this money we are about to spend on bread and water (lots of water with the city pressure behind it) toward building up the organization in Grays Harbor, while we have the forces and means to do it with. Organize at the source of production, not on bread and water, use free speech on the job! It makes no great difference so far as good constructive work is concerned whether we speak on the streets or not. Organize the wage slave not the bourgeois, the street moocher and the

saloon soak.

Organize the man that works for wages for the sake of existing. Lets practice what we preach! In recruiting for members don't be in too big a hurry to tell him that you are going to overthrow the capitalist system and emancipate ourselves from wage slavery. He might tell you that he is a Catholic and will not believe in the new doctrine. Don't tell him about the red flag, it might shock his dignity as a good American citizen and the PATRIOTISM would get up his neck and he would tell you that it was a labor union he wanted to join and did not some deep concocted anarchistic plan to overthrow the government, etc.

Talk simply ONE BIG UNION to them, depending of course on the man at hand, as to how to talk to him, but a good many of us should use more judgment. Let the man that wants to find out the ideal and final aims of the I. W. W. from books, of men that can explain the matter more satisfactory and probably knows more about it than you or I do—make it a practice to go into scientific details of economics at regular propaganda meetings. Should you get hold of a freak that don't like this part of the union let him get out.

Now here is an opportunity to organize a big union and better the conditions of the workers in the Grays Harbor country and with free speech!

This hot air on the street corner has gone far enough, let us use some of our DIRECT ACTION TACTICS.

The economic power of the working class is stronger than dynamite. Let us organize the power of the wealth producers.

Now, Mr. Soapbox Orator, don't throw this aside with a sneer, but think and act in the interest of our organization. Forward! March! On to Aberdeen!

EDWARD HASTING.  
JOHN PANCNER.  
Press Committee Local 435.

## BROTHERHOOD OF TIMBER WORKERS

Dear Brothers:—

During our absence from the southern and southwestern parts of the state a howl has gone up from the enemy that the Brotherhood of Timber Workers is on the decline and will soon be dead. It would be a loss of time to argue with any reasonable minded, sane man that this is untrue. We simply denounce the report as absolutely false and in keeping with all the other undermining and cowardly acts of these arrogant "know-alls" to stifle the growth and retard the progress of our order. Their past history of mud slinging and misrepresentation ought to be sufficient to convince any thoughtful man that these men will stoop to anything to weaken our forces. The only surprise to us is that men who claim to be the only men in the South who have sense enough to control the business and political interests of the state, and at whose shrine they say the laboring man must worship, would continue to wage such a foolish and nonsensical warfare against the sacred, Godgiven right of the unfortunate, poverty-stricken masses to unite themselves in an order for their mutual protection and benefit. The only argument they have is that they have the right to starve these poor people into subjection, and this they know to be against all reason and against all moral laws and laws of common brotherhood. They are wrong and they know it. They have no argument and they know it. They are fighting a right that is protected by the laws and constitution of our state and they know it. They have nobody fooled but themselves and they know that, too. Hence, their only hope is to continue their cruel and barbaric methods of starvation and abuse, and to circulate false reports and weaken the faith of the membership in this great move.

Now, we know it is hard for some of the members to hold out against such barbaric treatment and stand firmly by their right, and we know that such strenuous times are calculated to shake the faith of many and force them to believe anything that promises immediate relief. But we wish to warn the members against the false rumors of these enemies. Don't believe it. Don't talk it. Don't even hear it!

The Grand Lodge Officers are working as hard as they ever did for your good. Our territory is growing larger all the time and we are compelled to go to other parts and superintend the work. Hence we can not remain in one district and watch the enemy. We are forced to depend upon the members to keep up the work and stand by their own interests, and we believe they will do it. Let each member resolve to stand as a safe-guard to the Brotherhood of Timber Workers and do his part. If trouble arises notify this office and one of your Grand Lodge officers will come to your assistance.

Public sentiment is coming our way every day. The governor has promised us protection, and we have every reason to believe the next legislature will pass laws that will forever put an end to the struggle we are now undergoing. Hold to what you have. Keep up the fight and the victory is ours.

GRAND LODGE OFFICERS,  
Brotherhood of Timber Workers.

## ANTICIPATORY.

First tired shop girl—Oh, my, won't I be glad when this Christmas rush is over!

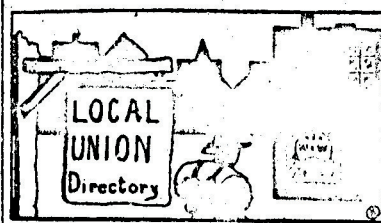
Second tired shop girl—Same here! We'll both be fired and can rest—"Life."

## THE CHRISTMAS SPIRIT.

Hokus—Do you expect to spend a pleasant Christmas?

Pokus—I ought to. That's about all I have left to spend.—Woman's Home Companion.

With one foot in the grave it doesn't take a wage slave long to "get there with both feet."



Under this head, local unions may have their cards printed and carried continuously for one year. Rate \$5.00 per year.

Local No. 13, San Diego, Cal., meets every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 p. m. Hall and reading room at 805 H street.

R. THOMPSON, Secretary.  
P. O. Box 312, San Diego, Cal.

Local 84, I. W. W., St. Louis, Mo., open headquarters, 1214 Franklin avenue. Business meeting every Friday, 8 p. m.

M. ROBERTSON, Secretary.

Spokane locals have business meeting every Monday at 7 p. m. Open air meetings whenever weather permits. Hall and reading room 203 Front avenue. Address all communications, orders for song books and money orders to Secy. Spokane Locals, I. W. W.

No. 61—Kansas City, Mo., meets every Friday at 8 p. m. Headquarters 606 Southwest Boulevard. Thomas Doyle, Secy., 211 Mo. ave.

Local 85—Branch 2 (English), Chicago, Ill., meets every Friday night at 183 West Madison street, near Fifth avenue. President, Wilbur M. Wolfe; recording and corresponding secretary, Karl Rathje, 881 La Salle avenue; financial secretary, Tillie Meyer, 612 N. State street.

Local No. 380, I. W. W., Tacoma, meets every Sunday at 11 a. m. Address all communications to Sec., Local Union No. 380, 110 South 14th street, Tacoma, Wash.

Portland I. W. W. headquarters and free reading room at 309 Davis street. Business meetings every Sunday at 2 p. m. Stereopticon views and lectures every Sunday at 8 p. m.

Locals Nos. 64 and 137, Minneapolis, Minn., meet every Friday night, 8 p. m.

Swedish Branch No. 2 meets every Sunday afternoon, 2:30 p. m., at room 3, Webb block, 10 Third Street S. All members are requested to attend. Working class papers of all languages on file.

All communications addressed to  
SECRETARY JOINT LOCALS.

Local 66, I. W. W., Fresno Cal. Headquarters reading room at 657 I street. Meetings every Thursday, 8 p. m.; Sundays, 3 p. m. Reading room open at all hours.  
W. F. LITTLE, Sec., Box 209.

Local 179, I. W. W., New York City, has headquarters at 212 East 12th street. Business meetings every Wednesday evening. Lecture Sunday evenings.

JANE A. ROULSTON, Sec'y.  
128 State St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

## PORTUGUESE I. W. W. ELECTS.

At a meeting of Portuguese branch, local No. 157, I. W. W., held December 17 with Diogo Pamplona as chairman, the regular election of officers was held when the 1912 board was named. A committee was appointed to arrange for the initiation of the officers, in Phelan's Hall, in the near future. The following officers were elected:

Secretary—A. Cunha.  
Corresponding Secretary—A. P. Simmons.  
Executive Committee—A. P. Simmons, A. Cunha, D. Pamplona, M. P. Simmons, M. S. Mancado, M. F. Quresma, J. Augusto, L. Brown, M. F. Souza, G. Machado.  
Delegates—A. P. Simmons, D. Pamplona.  
Press Committee—A. Cunha, M. S. Mancado, J. Augusto.  
Collector—J. Augusto.  
Librarian—A. P. Simmons.  
A. P. SIMMONS, Secretary.  
Box 535, New Bedford, Mass.

## ENDORSES SEATTLE'S ACTION.

At our last meeting of December 14, we highly endorsed the idea of the Seattle special business meeting and moved and seconded that "The General Headquarters take charge of the Aberdeen Free Speech Fight." Yours for Industrial Freedom.

A. J. WILSON,  
Secretary No. 439, Brawley, Cal.

## LOCAL 435 IS ACTIVE.

Loggers and Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 435 of Marshfield, Ore., is right on the job. This young and thriving local maintains a free reading room, free baggage room and a free employment office. During the winter months the following lectures and discussions will take place in the I. W. W. hall every Saturday and Sunday evenings:

Craft Unionism vs. Industrial Unionism.  
History of American Labor Movement.  
The General Strike.  
History, Form of Organization, Tactics and Ideal of the I. W. W.  
Difference Between Anarchy, Socialism, Industrial Unionism, Single Tax and Syndicalism.  
Also discussion on Social Science and Economics.

The headquarters is situated at the corner of Market and Second streets, Marshfield, Ore. All wage workers are welcome.



## NOTICE TO ALL LOCALS.

All locals in debt to the "Industrial Worker" will receive a statement of their indebtedness (if any) immediately following this issue of the "Worker."

Locals not promptly settling their long standing accounts with the "Worker" will have their bundle order discontinued. As the "Worker" management wishes to begin the New Year with a clean slate, we urge an immediate settlement of all outstanding bills.—Editor "Worker."

Martin Olson sends in \$1.60 from Clarks Forks, Ida., for subs and bundle order. Martin is right on the job all the time.

Fred Parsons sends in \$2.25 for subs from Vancouver, B. C.

J. Freeman sends \$2.50 for subs from Victoria, B. C., and pays for regular weekly bundle order of 150 in advance.

W. E. Clarke sends \$3.50 for subs from Roseburg, Ore.

Verne Carrel, secretary No. 26, Denver, sends \$3.00 for prepaid cards.

David Coutts sends \$3.00 for subs and prepaid cards from Omaha, Neb.

Fellow Worker Morris Levine donates \$5.00 for prepaid cards to be sent to Loggers Union at Marshfield, Ore. Fellow Worker Levine is after the loggers.

J. P. Haven sends \$1.50 from Marysville, Cal., \$1.00 renewal of his sub, 35¢ donation and balance for literature.

C. Nelson of Vancouver, B. C., sends \$1.50 for subs.

## TO ALL LOCALS.

Fellow Workers:—

We beg to notify you that of the two editions, a total of 30,000 copies of Fellow Worker Wm. D. Haywood's "General Strike," we now have about 4,000 copies left on hand. We have been selling them at \$3.00 a hundred, having sold so far about 16,000 copies, the other 10,000 were sent out as sample copies to every local of the W. F. of M., the Brewery Workers, United Mine Workers of America, the American Flint Glass Workers, etc., from whom we received a considerable number of orders, especially so of the U. M. W. of A.

We are now contemplating publishing editions in various languages, besides a new edition of 20,000 copies in English.

Therefore we have reduced the price on the English edition that we have on hand from \$3.00 a hundred to \$2.50 a hundred.

The Italian edition sells at five cents a copy; \$3.00 a hundred; \$20.00 a thousand.

Hoping soon to hear favorably from you, with best wishes and salutations, I am, yours for Industrial Freedom.

CHARLES LINFANTE,

Sec.-Treas. Buccaforti Defense Committee.

P. S.—We expect the appeal for a new trial for Fellow Worker Buccaforti to come up in a very short time. From all indications we expect to be successful in our efforts to secure the Fellow Worker's freedom.

## PAMPHLETS IN SWEDISH.

"Missery," an anti-military pamphlet by E. Hikanson, 5 cents.

"Contract, Away With Them," by A. Jensen, 5 cents.

"The General Strike," by A. Jensen, 5 cents.

"Syndicalism Versus Social Democracy," by A. Jensen, 10 cents.

"Don't Play the Ballot Box Game," by A. Jensen, 5 cents.

The Revolutionists' Song Book, 10 cents.

"The Victim of the Jesus Cult," by V. Schöber, 40 cents.

"What Is Religion?" by R. Ingersol, 10 cents.

A leaflet, "God Is Dead," 35 cents per hundred.

"Revolt," a monthly paper devoted to industrial unionism, Modern School and individual freedom, 5 cents a copy or 3 cents when more than ten are ordered. Twenty-five per cent commission on all orders. An order should be paid for in advance. Address John Hellerstedt, Minneapolis, Minn.

All locals should cut this list out and keep it, as it may not appear again.

## REAL UNIONISM.

In time of a strike the scab is induced to take the place of the striking union man. Generally these fellows are shipped in from some city other than the one in which the strike is on. If the railroad employes would refuse to run trains carrying strike breakers, it would greatly strengthen the cause of the strikers.—San Diego Herald.

There is mail at the I. W. W. headquarters in Stockton, Cal., for Victor Jonson, Victor Vogl and Robert O'Brien. Address Henri Roberts, Financial Secretary, No. 73, I. W. W., 236 South California street, Stockton, Cal.

P. S.—Send all communications and contributions to Headquarters, 110 South 14th St., Tacoma, Wash.



## To Help Us Grow

### For Three Dollars Four Sub Cards

If you are interested in spreading the propaganda of Industrial Unionism; if you wish to see The Industrial Worker grow; purchase four yearly subscription cards for three dollars. If you are not a subscriber, sell three of the cards at a dollar apiece, and you will have your own subscription free. If you are already a subscriber, sell the four cards, which will net you one dollar, or 25 per cent commission.

**We Must Have the Subs  
Lend Us a Hand**

### I. W. W. Song Books

10c each, \$5.00 per hundred, \$35.00 per thousand.

Cash must accompany all orders. Make all orders payable to Sec'y I. W. W., 203 Front ave., Spokane, Wash.

### INDUSTRIAL UNION LEAFLETS.

"Two Kinds of Unionism," by Edward Hammett.

"Union Scabs and Others," by Oscar Ameringer.

"Getting Recognition," by A. M. Storton.

4 page leaflets, 20c per 100; \$1.50 per 1,000.

"Eleven Blind Leaders," by B. H. Williams.

32 page pamphlet. Price, 5c.

Pamphlets in Foreign Languages—"Why Strikes Are Lost," by W. E. Trautmann, in Lithuanian. Price, 10 cents a copy; 25 per cent off on orders of 100 or more. In Italian—"Report of the I. W. W. to Paris International Congress."

STICKERS! PASTE 'EM!  
50 cents per thousand.

### REMEMBER JAMES KELLY COLE.

A book has been printed which contains some of the writings and poems of James Kelly Cole. It is an 85-page book. Single copy, 25c; discount to Locals.

Address VINCENT ST. JOHN,  
518 Cambridge Bldg., 55 5th Ave., Chicago.

## "Solidarity"

A weekly revolutionary working class paper, published by the Local Unions of New Castle, Pa.

Yearly..... \$1.00

Six Months..... .50

Canada and Foreign..... \$1.50

Bundle Orders, per copy..... .01

Address all communications for publication to B. H. WILLIAMS, Editor; all remittances to the manager, C. H. MCCARTHY.

Address P. O. Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

## The Industrial Union

Published Weekly by the Industrial Workers of Phoenix, Ariz.

An Exponent of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism. Printed in Spanish.

Subscription, \$1.00 per Year; 50c 6 Months.

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## The Industrialist

Official Organ of the Industrial League, the British Section of the Industrial Workers of the World

American Subscription Rates:

Year, 50 cents; Six months, 25 cents.

Published Monthly.

Address all communications to Leslie Boyne, 1 Union St., Union Square, Islington, London N., Eng.

## The Agitator

A Worker's Semi-Monthly

Advocate of the Modern School INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

Yearly, \$1 Quarterly, 25c. Sample Free

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Lakebay, Washington

## "La Vie Ouvriere"

Bi-Monthly Syndicalist Review

Appearing the 5th and 20th of each month.

Subscription Rates:

Foreign, 1 year, \$2.50; 6 months, \$1.25; 3 months, 75c.

Address all correspondence to Pierre Monette, Editor, 96 Quai Jemmapes, Paris.

# THE McNAMARA STORM

## COMMENTS AT THE OPEN FORUM.

Chicago, December 10, 1911.

(By Voltairine de Cleyre).

The psychologized storm provoked by the admission of guilt on the part of the McNamara brothers has set all manner of human nature dancing naked in the limelight—and for the most part it has been a very sorry exhibition, though some expressions have come from quarters least expected, revealing qualities higher than I supposed resided there. I take pleasure in recognizing this in the case of two men, on whom as public characters, or rather on their public work, I have set no very great value. For years I have regarded John Mitchell as a timid conservative, and a weakling; but in this crisis he has spoken as a humane being. Oh, with so much more humanity than Socialist Congressman Berger, who wants "the limit of the law" or that insect-man, the Socialist mayor of Butte, who added his voice to the mob yelling "coward." Asked to pronounce himself as to the punishment due the McNamaras, John Mitchell answered with gentleness, I may say CHRISTIAN, dignity: "I have nothing to say about their punishment; it is not for me to punish."

The other man is Morris Hillquit, a socialist of the most legal variety, opposed to terrorism in all its forms. Yet in the very article opposing it, Hillquit says: "I am not at all inclined to join in the general chorus of indignation against them, or in the savage demands for their blood. I know they are victims of the class war, just as much as the men who perished by their crime."

In the midst of the foaming, raging cry of "Hang! hang! Not high enough, nor quick enough! Limit of the Law," and all the rest of the ferocity with which men of capital and men of labor are disgracing themselves, those two have maintained their humanity—John Mitchell and Morris Hillquit—and to their everlasting honor!

As to Samuel Gompers, the reports have been so confusing, and his charges of misquotation have been so vehement, that it is impossible for me to form an estimate of his attitude; in one report, he is quoted as saying, "I am not a hound, I AM NOT A HOUND; I do not seek human life in punishment for any crime." So that at least relieves him from blood-thirst; and as to other unworthy utterances attributed to him, I prefer to give him the benefit of the doubt, since he says he has been misrepresented.

But the voice that sounded with the thrill of an Evangel was the voice of Lincoln Steffens, in his article of December 4th—a voice drowned it is true from every side with sneer and blame and misunderstanding. And indeed it was very naive of him to think that, the judge, the prosecuting attorney, and their owners, the capitalists, could be capable of that great act of moral generosity he seems to have expected from them, that they could be touched by any higher motive than the preservation of municipal loaves and fishes, than "wisdom and the saving of money," than the miserable motive of keeping men alive rather than hanging them, in order to torture confessions out of them; very naive to think he could help to stop the war between capital and labor. Oh very naive, indeed; but none the less splendid for that.

To come to the consideration of the thing itself, I reiterate what I said a week ago: "The main question this case puts to the world for its answer is, What are the causes which make men of good feelings, kindly and sympathetic men, as those who knew them say these brothers are—as Clarence Darrow says they are, as Lincoln Steffens says they are—what are the causes which make men like these come to the conclusion that destructive attacks upon property (personally I do not believe they ever meant to take any one's life) are justifiable, that the ONLY means by which workingmen can better their conditions here and now?"

This is the question the Times' victims died to put before the world, the question whose discussion the McNamara brothers are buying from it with years of prison life.

I am aware that any number of theories are current. I know that some persons have jumped to the conclusion that these men were not really union men at all, but merely agents in the employ of a concern, or concerns, rivaling the National Erectors' Association; that the thousands of dollars which it is assumed (quite without any definite knowledge) were spent in committing acts of violence by these two men, were furnished by capitalists at war with each other.

I admit that this may be POSSIBLE.

On the other hand, I am aware there is a newspaper theory, possibly a government theory, that there was a bloodthirsty conspiracy by all the heads of union labor, etc. I admit that this may be POSSIBLE.

But with all respect to the people whose minds MUST work in devious ways to discover a crooked path over which events may have proceeded, my own opinion is that while those theories are possible they are extremely improbable.

The socialistic press, in accordance with an old time policy of putting the blame on the enemy, and especially the "Appeal to Reason," notably through Eugene Debs and one of its ridiculous figures, Mr. Geo. Shoaf, who worked up a fake disappearance last summer to the disgust of every sensible reader, put forward the notion that General Otis had blown up his own building. And while I thought that was a bare possibility, it sounded the height of improbability to me. And so do these other theories.

I have never been a member of a union, because my occupation is one which doesn't call for it. I have often regretted it; but this week

I have been glad—glad my voice was my own and free, owing no allegiance to any association whose interests would be my gag. For all that I have no inside knowledge, however, I judge from outside observation of them that certain elements of human nature work in them precisely as they do in all associations.

**HUMAN NATURE IN GENERAL IS VERY QUICK TO LET SOME ONE ELSE STAND IN THE BREACH.** Most people believe in force; ALL governmentals do. It's only a question of applying it. Unionists believe in force, non-unionists believe in force, scabs believe in force, capitalists believe in force, judges and hangmen believe in force, and a good many Anarchists believe in force. Furthermore, they believe in force USED SUCCESSFULLY. But not all of these, not anything like all of those, want to use force themselves; they want some one else to use it for them; they are charmed when it is used successfully; but when it fails, they are horrified and terrified! And they lift up their voices on high, howling, Vae Victis, Vae Victis!

Now I think that people in unions, as out of them, are very ready to let active and able people fight their battles for them, without inquiring very much about how it's done. I don't suppose it ever came into many of the ironworkers' heads to consider the work of the officers at all. They paid their dues, elected representatives because they thought them able, and thought no more about it. But these men who were able, why had they come to the conclusion that they must fight in such a way?

I have tried to think it out, and I have concluded so:—

These were men who were familiar with the lives of iron workers. They were not like those of us who sit in houses, and work over ledgers, or library shelves, or cloth, or cookery, who cry over a burnt finger or a sprained joint, who know little or nothing of the risks of mining, machine shops, steel manufacture, and structural work. Those who work at such employment, or mix constantly with those who do, acquire a recklessness toward life, WHICH IS THE SPIRITUAL TOLL HUMANITY MUST PAY FOR THE IRON TRIUMPHS OF ITS IRON CIVILIZATION.

I understand that the average life of a structural ironworker at his trade is ten years. Try to understand what that means—the fallen, the crushed, the mangled, the maimed and lamed, the highway outcasts, the poorhouse remnants—the Dead. Try to understand what feeling that engenders in the breast of him who lives with it, sees it, feels it.

And then, putting aside all the spy theories for the moment, put this to yourself as one of the possible explanations. Put it to yourself that YOU are one who saw all these murders, committed by society in its utter indifference as to how it accomplishes its iron triumphs so they are accomplished; that you have the spirit of recklessness in yourself—that great, that dauntless spirit which is one of the highest qualities of human nature, that whereby it has dared and done, hurled itself against the impossible, from the pygmy conjured the giant; put it that you considered yourself a soldier in a guerilla warfare upon a merciless devourer of human lives; that you took your own life in your hands and struck; that (as often happens in war) you overshot your mark and struck your own side; that you were caught by the enemy; that you resisted till you saw resistance was useless; both for yourself and those for whom you believed yourself to be fighting; that you opened your mouth at last and said, "Yes, I did it,"—and no more. (These men have said no more). And then that you heard the "hang" cry going up from your own side louder yet than from your enemy's; that you knew there were hypocrites among them who were shouting "treason" not because you had fought but because you were caught; that to the others, the honest ones, you knew you could never, NEVER, explain; that you were going down to a living grave; to pass within the ring of stone forever, utterly, utterly un-understood! Put that to yourself as one of the possibilities of this case, and then—be silent, till you have certain knowledge to curse upon.

As for the rest, I wish that every one might read the editorial in the Chicago "Daily Socialist" of December 5th. It surged out of a man's heart, I like it; it gives the lie to all this hypocritical cant of the common press about the "Times" victims. Who cries vengeance for the criminals who killed the workers in the Cherry Mine? or the Johnstown and Austin floods? Or the victims of the 1907 Panic, which Wharton Barker, the banker, tells us was connived in by Theodore Roosevelt? Who now are the criminals responsible for the 200 miners buried alive at this moment at Briceville? Every day they murder more, calmly and cold-bloodedly, than died in the "Times" disaster. And let them cease their hypocrisy. And let our people hurl back at them their own cry: "Murder is murder." Let them understand who are the fundamental criminals, and what is the fundamental crime. Let them ask not indeed for vengeance, but the abolition of this scheme of property; right for some in what belongs to us all, whereby we are brought to this horrible war, and driven to conclude that there is no way of getting any meager portion of what is ours but by violence.

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Industrial Worker**

## SALVATION ARMY GRAFT.

December 15, 1911.

Editor "Industrial Worker."

Some time ago when a boy I was a member of the Salvation Army in Danville, Ill. They had a band of about 15 pieces and I played a trombone. The adjutant whose name was Williamson was married and had seven children. None of them worked at all but wore the best of clothes, living in a 9-room house. They even kept a servant as his wife and daughter were too stuck up to do their own housework. All this was paid for from the collections taken up on the streets and in the hall and from donations from the merchants.

We would all go out on the street corner and play in the band to get the crowd and he would get as high as \$20.00 in one evening which he put in his pocket and we got "salvation" for our trouble.

This adjutant was laying up with one of the members, a girl of 16. He was seen with her several times, so they watched him and he was caught in the act of seducing her by a man named Updike, an engineer on the Big Four railroad. After that most of the members left and started the Volunteers of America. But many of them were faithful and remained with the army, going out on the street with him while he preached and prayed and took in the dollars, at the same time living in adultery.

He paid this girl \$3.00 just to stay in town so he could get to see her. Her home was in the country.

The army would get all the clothes and stuff they could collect which they said was for the poor people but they sold all they could and pocketed the money.

Two brothers in the army got into a quarrel over religion and one stabbed the other. Fine religion.

Before Christmas they collected about \$300, which the donors were made to believe was to be spent for a dinner for the poor people. They had the dinner all right, but all the food was donated and the money all went into the adjutants pocket.

I could tell you a great deal more, but perhaps this will be enough. I am a great deal wiser now, no more religious dope for mine. I am for the I. W. W. heart and soul. Yours for the revolution,

ROY DECKER,  
Orville, Ca.

## BORE FROM WITHIN?

Within craft unions we are told to bore; To form an apple from a rotten core; Yet boring till we find ourselves outside, We will have built a hole—but nothing more.

O. U. GIMLET.  
(Walker C. Smith).

## RAMBLING.

On the Southern Railway to New Orleans, Eating cornbread and turnip greens High Jinks in the Jungles!

Seven camp fires on the right of way, Oyster roast down Berwick bay. High Jinks in the Jungles!

Down in the jungles by the river bank, Railroad crossing and a water tank. High Jinks in the Jungles!

Where the "main stem" crosses the H. & T. C. On the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe. High Jinks in the Jungles!

Isleta Junction on the Rio Grande, A thousand miles from the Promised Land. High Jinks in the Jungles!

Riding the rods on a "red-ball" freight, Over due at the Golden Gate. High Jinks in the Jungles!

Shasta route up to the Sound, Didn't miss a meal or lose a pound. High Jinks in the Jungles!

Two bucks and a squaw riding the "blind," "Hobo" a dangling along behind. High Jinks in the Jungles!

Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, Railroad shack has a horrible gall. High Jinks in the Jungles!

In the I. C. yards taking a flop, Chased down the track by railroad cop. High Jinks in the Jungles!

Inside ride via the "Big Four," Feet hanging out Pullman side door. High Jinks in the Jungles!

Down to New York on the Erie road, All over the country have I hoboed. High Jinks in the Jungles!

MILLARD.

## CHEER UP, YOU WON'T LAST LONG

The average life of a poor man is 28 years. The average life of a wealthy man is from 55 to 56 years.

Nearly all the victims of tuberculosis are poor.

Tuberculosis is a very rare disease among the wealthy.

Infant mortality among the poor is about 54 per cent.

Infant mortality among the wealthy is only 6 per cent.

After all, there is one consolation in being poor—your chance to suffer for very many years is not great—"Coal Digger."

## I. W. W. PREAMBLE

### WHAT WE BELIEVE.

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 the millions of 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 trades unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the 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.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution.

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