

DIRECT ACTION IS LABOR'S WEAPON



DIRECT ACTION WILL GET THE GOODS

Industrial Worker

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!"

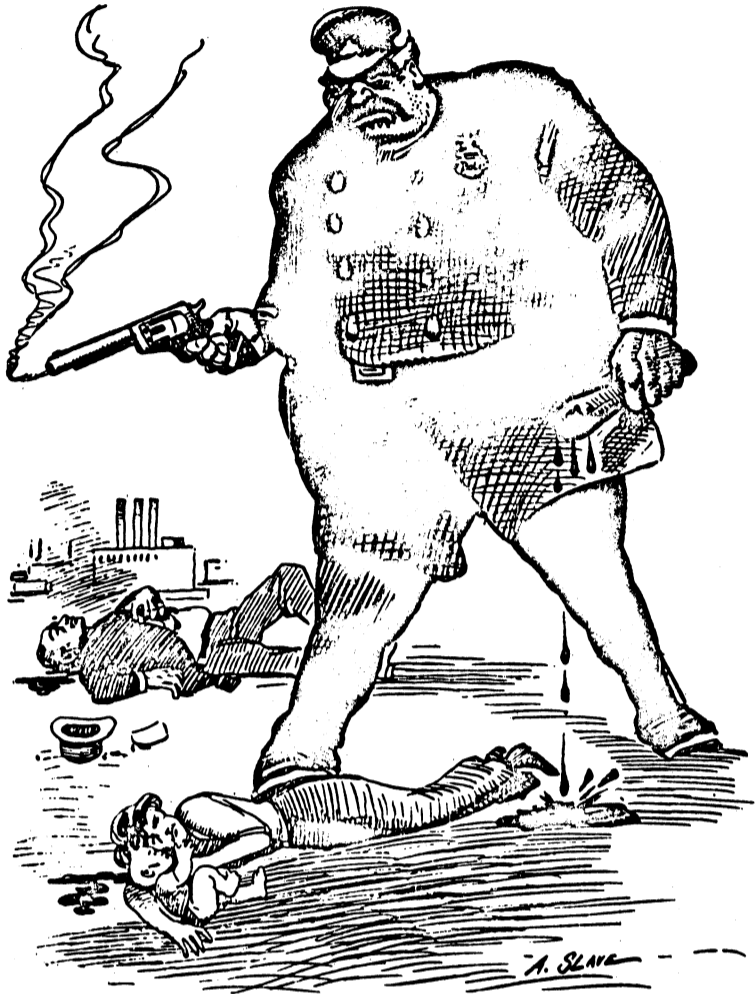
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One Dollar a Year

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THE HERO OF LAWRENCE, SAN DIEGO, LITTLE FALLS, SPOKANE, ETC.

Machine Guns at Merryville

Special dispatch to the Industrial Worker Alexandria, La., Jan. 13, 1913. Merryville is still shut down tight after more than two months on strike. There is no sign of dissonance within the ranks and the strikers are orderly. The men are more determined to win than ever before.

The Association gang is trying to create trouble. Organizers Chas. Cline and Jack Kelly have been threatened by James L. Estes, chief gunman of the American Lumber Company. Estes was one of the Burns detective witnesses against A. L. Emerson and his associates in the recent Grabow trial. All rebels should hold him personally responsible for any gunman violence.

The attempt to poison strikers by importing whiskey tintured with lime was a flat failure

during the holiday season. Another attempt to start a riot among the strikers was likewise nipped in the bud. It is alleged that Walter Miller had a hand in some of the "Diamond Dick" stunts against the fighting lumberjacks.

It is reported that the Governor of Louisiana has loaned the American Lumber Company two hundred Springfield rifles; this after this "reformer" has refused protection to the workers. The company also has two machine guns at the stockade is full of gunmen. We have many affidavits charging abuse of workers who have been fooled into Merryville.

The gun men and the scabs are drunk nearly all the time. On the night of the seventh shots were fired all over town but none of the strikers were intimidated into returning to work. All of this indicates that the Association is pre-

paring to play its old terrorizing game and all Southern and Western rebels should back the Merryville union to the limit. The strikers would feel bad if some "uncivilized" Western lumber workers were to come down and scab on them.

The company is threatening with an injunction. As the boys have not been to a circus in a long time they would like to see the strange animal, that is said to be a cross between Cincinnati Fatty and the United Trusts. It is said that the animal cannot cut lumber nor run saw-mills.

The first issue of the Southern District paper, The Lumberjack, came out on Jan 10. On with the fight against peonage and tenantry. Rush funds and provisions to Lee Lovejoy, Merryville, La., and the fight will be won.—Press Committee.

Scabs Scarce at Eugene, Ore.

Eugene, Ore., Jan. 8, 1913.—The strike on the Portland, Eugene & Eastern Railway is still on and the strikers are holding their own. The contractors are up in the air and the Southern Pacific Railroad Corporation has extended the time for the completion of their contracts for three months.

The track layers on the road have been forced to suspend operations as they are right on the heels of the incomplete grade.

The contractors have failed to hire men through the employment sharks and so are going to Portland personally to search for men who will scab for \$2.00 a day. The lack of success is illustrated by the following instance:

Last Thursday Mr. Tudor, one of the contractors, scoured the town of Portland and succeeded in the course of the day in gaining thirteen

men. He got the bunch drunk and piled them on board the train. In the six hour ride from Portland to Junction City the men sobered up somewhat and upon alighting were met by the pickets with the result that nine of them quit right there. This makes just ten workers secured out of the last 129 that have been shipped. This speaks well for the persuasive powers of the pickets in Portland and Junction City.

Since the strike was started there have been but two desertions. These two traitors are Perry Goodwin, card No. 103357, and Fred Manning, card No. 103587. Both have been expelled by order of local No. 88. Manning is said to have received a dose of direct action from some of the strikers.

Flagg and Standifer, the main contractors on the job, have twice tried to secure a compromise settlement, but the strikers are standing for their full demands.

The local is enrolling new members each day and has an excellent record since it was organized on November 7, 1912.

The strike has already had a good effect upon other railway contractors. The Willamette-Pacific had notices posted of an intended reduction but tore them all down on December 12. The winning of this strike means a quick and complete organization of all construction workers in this part of the country.

Some few of the unmarried strikers have scattered, but as a whole remarkable solidarity has been shown, and the men are here awaiting the time when they shall return to work with all demands granted. As local 88 is taking care of the families of some of the striking workers, assistance is desired. Help to make this strike a successful one by holding meetings and forwarding the proceeds to the strike committee, care of William Stewart, sec'y Local 88, Box 47, Eugene, Oregon.

Can the A. F. of L. Fool the Lumber Workers Again?

The thirty thousand dollar campaign of the A. F. of L. to get the loggers to join their reactionary outfit is announced to start on March 1. But events show that the opening gun has already been fired—and the powder was wet. A loggers' social club was recently formed in Aberdeen, Wash., in the Grays Harbor district. It was addressed by the Commercial Club, the boxes and the pickhandle experts. After this auspicious, or rather suspicious, launching the club rapidly turned into Loggers' Local No. 1. A. J. Swartz is president organizer, delegate to the Shingle Weavers, and the whole cheese. "It is the ultimate intention to affiliate with the International organization of Shingle Weavers," says the Hoquiam Free Press, official organ of the A. F. of L. (Arthur Jensen, the rebel, is no longer editor.) The New Era, socialist paper of Aberdeen, tries to cloak the purpose of the move by saying that the organization is independent of

both the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. The two papers are published upon practically the same date. The leading articles in both papers are almost identical. In an effort to deceive, the New Era has transposed seven paragraphs in the article and by a few slight changes has given the matter a new appearance. The story that the loggers moved on their own initiative is false. In both papers is an article that is being sent out by the A. F. of L. This is the first of a series, one of which will be an attack upon the I. W. W., and another a boost of the Shingle Weavers' organization that is the decoy duck for the trapping of the loggers. Great (?) minds run in the same channel, for the following note appears on both articles: "(Editor's Note: Plans are being perfected for organizing the workers in the lumber industry. The following is the first of a series of articles that will tell about these plans. Ac-

tive work will be begun about March 1. In the meantime these articles will prepare members of organized labor for the proposed movement, as well as those of the unorganized workers, into whose hands these articles may fall.)" From certain typographical errors appearing in the articles, it is certain that they are either what is known as "bolter plate" or else the type was taken bodily from one paper to another. It demonstrates that a common purpose is back of each—it is no doubt the first few cents of that \$30,000. One paragraph deserves attention. The article states: "True, another organization is reputed to have a number of members among the workers in lumber. But it controls nothing. It has no power. Being powerless, it can do nothing but talk." This is simply a cowardly way in which they refer to the I. W. W. Our organization has

25,000 members in the lumber industry. The A. F. of L. has none, except the Shingle Weavers, and a large number of the weavers are also members of the I. W. W. The Brotherhood of Timber Worker, in the camps of the South had both the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. program put before them and they joined the latter organization. The I. W. W. has at least one man in every lumber camp in the Northwest. The A. F. of L. has none. The I. W. W. has not job control, but the A. F. of L. organization does not exist at all and no preparatory propaganda has been done. The I. W. W. is known to every logger as an organization that has fought against great odds and has never betrayed the working class. The A. F. of L. has betrayed the lumber workers on former occasions. It is a stench in the nostrils of decent loggers. It stands no chance of uniting the workers in the camps and mills. All it can do is to repeat its

treachery of the past, and, by working with the thieving employers, prevent a real union from gaining ground. Here is what the British Columbia Federationist has to say: "Coincident with the decision of the American Federation of Labor to place funds and organizers at the disposal of the Shingle Weavers' International Union and the Washington and British Columbia State Federation of Labor, for the purpose of organizing the lumber workers of the Pacific Northwest, comes an announcement from the I. W. W., in the form of a special number of the Industrial Worker (Spokane) that 'the timber workers must be organized. . . . The I. W. W. must concentrate every organizer on the Washington camps.'" "Advantage must be taken of the agitation carried on by the A. F. of L. to swing the men (Continued on page 4)

Win Demands—Fired From A. F. of L.

A hod carrier is popularly supposed to be weak in the head and strong in the back. The Hod Carriers' Union of Fresno, Cal., decided to start the New Year by approving the charge. At a Thursday night meeting, without previous agitation, they decided to demand an increase from \$4.50 to \$5.00 per day. The next morning they used direct action and the contractors gave the raise. Unfortunately these hod carriers still had a soft spot—they belonged to the American Federation of Labor and to the Fresno County Building Trades Council. Section 16 of the laws of this labor council state: "Any local union desiring any change in the wages or working hours of their craft must give 90 days notice of the same and be endorsed by a majority of the Council." The labor fakery got busy at once. The executive board of the council was called into special session. All those present voted that the hod carriers must rescind their action, go back to the lower wages, or stand expelled from the council. The Fresno Labor News, official A. F. of L. paper, said the action "set aside all semblance of business ethics in regards to employers." Just where "business ethics" affect men whose sole working asset is their ability to pack a heavy hod up a shaky ladder for many weary hours each day is not stated. Another extract from this alleged labor sheet shows how the editor's thoughts stray from the workers to the masters. The emphasis is ours. "That the Building Trades Council at their meeting Monday night will concur in the action

of the executive board goes without saying, and it is absolutely right and proper that they should, for if they permit any of their affiliated unions to raise the wages or shorten the hours over night it would not only be a rank injustice to the employing contractors, but would keep every one of the building trade crafts in one constant turmoil." The fact that 50 cents more each day means that the hodcarrier can have more food for his wife and babes, can clothe them more nearly as wealth producers should be clothed, can insure his wife of less drudgery and his children of a better education, does not interest the fakery of the Building Trades Council or the editor of the Labor News. They are too busy worrying about the contractors. These well-fed gentry have cunningly arranged for a ninety day notice of intended strikes so the employers will have plenty of time to recruit scabs. Oh, will the workers ever get wise to the Fakery of Labor? Now that the hod carriers have failed to give the boss a chance to get scabs it is predicted that the Council will import "card carrying" hod carriers to scab upon the rebellious slaves who dared to take more of their product from the labor skinning contractors. This is the A. F. of L. evolving into an industrial organization. From Australia comes the news that the Sydney Labor Parliamentarians have raised their pay an additional \$16 per week and fired 300 workers as a means of economizing. Who will dare say that there is nothing in politics?

THREE THOUSAND

MEN ON STRIKE AT FRESNO

(Special Telegram to Industrial Worker) Fresno, Cal., Jan. 11.—Three thousand construction workers on strike. Local 66 I. W. W. is now handling situation. Works paralyzed. —STRIKE COMMITTEE.

GARMENT WORKERS STRIKE

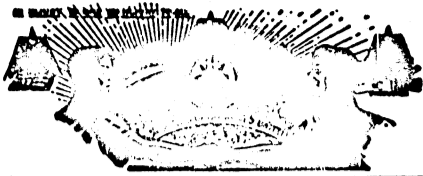
New York City is witnessing a strike that includes nearly 100,000 garment workers, with a prospect that double that number will soon be involved. The strike is under the auspices of the United Male Garment Workers of America. More than 4,000 shops are struck. The demands are for the abolition of the sub-contract system, a 20 per cent wage increase, time and a half for overtime, double time for holidays, with clean and sanitary workshops. The strikers hope to have the aid of the clothing cutters, 8,000 in all, and the department store bushelmen, numbering about 7,000. They are also anxious to have the strike extend to the workers on women's waists and to include the dressmakers' organization. A large portion of the strikers are Italian.

"One For All and All For One!"

Little Falls, N. Y., Jan. 4.—Since reports have gone out through the capitalist press that the textile strikers here have merely won "60 hours pay for 54 hours work," as the expression goes, it should be made plain that they have won a positive increase besides, varying from 5 per cent to the more highly paid workers to 16 per cent for the lowest paid. And of course it is the latter who need the biggest increase. For example, it has been figured out that the weekly income of a worker who got \$8.50 just before the strike, under the new schedules will amount to \$9.70; which will mean a great deal to those who must make every nickel count. It is true that the strikers did not get all they at first demanded. But trifling increases in wages are not the aim of revolutionary unionism; its principal purpose in strikes is to teach the workers class consciousness and to infuse into them that spirit of solidarity which is essential to the final overthrow of capitalism. In that respect the strike here was a tremendous success. For twelve long and worried weeks a few hundred workers, divided into four nationalities and with all sorts of differences in religion, customs and habits of thought, held together and emerged triumphant from a struggle in which every conceivable force was brought to bear to defeat them. Most noticeable of all is the spirit of hope they all have caught. "Things here never be same again," as they express it. They now have something to work for and look forward to, wherefore there was only hopelessness and helplessness. Pass a home on the South Side now and one will hear

a woman's voice singing "The Marseillaise" or "The International" as she goes about her housework and small boys delight to give the strikers' yell: "One for all and all for one. We'll stick together till the strike is done". Marked, too, is the sudden change in the aspect of Little Falls as a community. Where there was hostility before there is now a somewhat eager smile of friendliness. Where there were surly growls before, there is now a would be cheery greeting. Even the police, whom the workers of Little Falls will not forget for many a day, show a tendency to side up and explain they were only acting "under orders". But the textile workers of Little Falls are not fooled. They know who stood by them and with them. To illustrate: early in the strike the business and respectable element held a mass meeting to denounce the strike and the strikers. Nothing was afterward said about any boycott but the strikers instinctively knew what to do. They let the main business section severely alone and trade fell off so heavily on Main street that several business men secretly tried to induce the mill owners to settle. What buying the strikers had to do they did in their own section on the South Side or else went to the neighboring village of Herkimer. There strike of course lasted too long. But they tried to be no way to put an end to it. The strikers were desperate and showed no inclination to return to work without a single concession. A few well-meaning individuals who tried to induce them to go back, got some lessons they will remember.

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CASH MUST ACCOMPANY ALL ORDERS

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General Headquarters—307 Mortimer Building, Chicago, Illinois.
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Jas. P. Thompson General Organizer

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

P. Eastman, Jos. E. Etter, Ewald Koettgen, F. H. Little, J. M. Foss.

Entered as second-class matter, May 21, 1910, at the Postoffice at Spokane, Wash., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Easier was it to hurl the rooted mountain from its base than force the yoke of slavery upon men determined to be free—Southey.

While the I. W. W. has the correct form, methods and final aim, you will get no more from it than you put into it. To merely pay dues or hold a card will not bring results any quicker than to gain a thorough knowledge of economics and then sit down and philosophize about conditions. Organization is needed; education is needed; and, above all, action is needed. Join and get busy.

CAPITALIST COMPENSATION.

Robert L. Barker was purser on board the Titanic and worked for the White Star Company for 14 years. His pay was \$75.00 per month and meals. The work required that he carry about \$2,500 in change on each voyage. He was drowned in the Titanic disaster.

His widowed mother applied for the \$1250 due her under the British Workmen's Compensation Act. The White Star Company refused on the ground that the meals of Barker amounted to \$1.25 per day which brought the pay exactly to the point exempted by the law.

Mrs. Barker urged the case. The company advised her to seek charity. Mr. Ismay thought that would be her best course. But Mrs. Barker persisted.

The White Star Company then told Mrs. Barker that her son had \$2500 on loan from the company (money for change), and "they had no intention of claiming it from his estate," but if she continued to force the matter they might.

A better example of capitalist compensation could hardly be found.

WHAT WE HAVE IN STORE

In our next issue will be an article by Thomas McConnell, Jr., in which will be told the story of Antone Johanson's flaying of Gompers on account of his attitude in the cases of the men recently sentenced at Indianapolis. It hits the bulls-eye.

Did you know that a special train was ordered to transport the sentenced men to Leavenworth penitentiary long before the trial was finished? It looks like a raw frameup. Read our next issue.

The land question is exciting some interesting discussion and articles will appear in several future issues in which the matter will be discussed from every angle.

Andre Tridon will soon contribute an article that fills a need. He will discuss the relationship of the intellectual to the workers and the need for education on the part of both.

The editor hopes to find time to write a pamphlet on Sabotage and same will be run in installments in the "Industrial Worker."

The casual reader should get on the list at once. You who are now subscribing should watch your renewal number. Remember that Mr. Block needs to be watched. Subscribe now.

THE COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

On December 17 President Taft appointed the members of the Commission on Industrial Relations, authorized by Congress. The nine men are to examine into the causes of industrial unrest.

The idea that industrial unrest can be allayed by the actions of a set of politicians in Washington is laughable. This laughter is tinged with sarcasm when one learns that the three men who are to represent the employees are Austin B. Garretson, president of the Order of Railroad Conductors; John B. Lennon, treasurer of the A. F. of L., and James O'Connell, vice-president of the A. F. of L.

Garretson is a member of the Civic Federation, and O'Connell one of the directors of the Militia of Christ. Lennon was recently defeated by the members of his craft, the journeymen tailors, as was O'Connell by the machinists.

Paul Kellog, writing in The Survey, says:

"The commission is to investigate into the causes of industrial unrest. How absurd, therefore, that there should be no one on it who has the least sympathy with, or understanding of, the new industrial unionism which is the dynamic element in the expression of that unrest."

There is no one on the entire commission who has even a smattering of economic knowledge. It is fitting that these mental incompetents were selected by the master mind of him who met the question "What is a man to do who is out of work and starving?" with the reply "God knows!"

Hail! Noble Commission! We, who are about to be investigated, salute thee!

WATCH THE WELL-FED SNEER

The National Committee for the Unemployed and the Brotherhood Welfare Association will hold a Southern Rally and National Convention for the Casual, Unskilled and Migratory Workers, at New Orleans, La., from Tuesday, Jan. 28 to Sunday, Feb. 2, 1913.

Six problems are slated for consideration and the call issued for the convention concludes with the statement that the problems must receive immediate attention so that the lives of millions of unemployed be sustained until the establishment of the Industrial Republic, in which all will receive the full product of their labor.

There will be sneers from the well-fed theorists who say that we must have class-consciousness without class hatred because it is the system that is to blame and not the capitalists. They will condemn the hobo and excuse the capitalist. Watch and see if these proletarians who form a part of the class struggle are not sneered at by Berger of the Social-Democratic Herald, and his "Man Friday," Ghent of the National Socialist.

ANY OLD LABEL WILL DO

St. Louis Labor is the official organ of the Socialist Party of St. Louis. Until December 19 it bore the label of the International Typographical Union, otherwise known as "Jimmy Lynch's Bed Bug." A specimen of the curious animal can be seen on our own editorial heading, where it appears as a special concession to ignorance. But St. Louis Labor has fallen afoul of those peculiar unionists that rule the destinies of the typographical union and has had its label withdrawn. It is still printed by craft union members, however.

We are not aware of the merits of the controversy but our knowledge of the I. T. U. leads us to believe that the St. Louis Labor is in the right. The paper is still making its appearance and is still a "union" paper. The way this feat is accomplished is by having all the matter in the paper engraved by the International Photo Engravers Union. The I. P. E. U. label appears on each separate plate.

The question now arises: Are the photo engravers scabbing upon the printers? Here is a beautiful chance for a craft union jurisdictional quarrel. The photo engravers are certainly doing the compositors' work. Yet they are well within the limits of their craft.

Is the St. Louis Labor a union or a scab paper? That is also a question that is worth discussing.

Study out the problem as best you may. So far as we can see the whole thing shows that craft unionism is a colossal joke.

IS THE A. F. OF L. THE LABOR MOVEMENT?

The American Federation of Labor is not the labor movement of America. Such a claim is ridiculous.

There is no reason why the A. F. of L. should deserve the title. It has a membership that is but a small percentage of the working class. Outside its ranks are various brotherhoods with thousands of members. Outside of its ranks are hundreds of thousands who have the proper union spirit, yet are denied the chance to join. And outside of the A. F. of L. is the growing I. W. W.

In its principles there is nothing that gives the A. F. of L. the right to be called the labor movement. It stands pledged to the perpetuation of capitalism. It is founded upon mutual interests between slaves and masters. It has no definite social aim. It in no way voices the sentiment of the aggressive minority who would overthrow capitalism, nor do its ideas appeal to the vast majority now outside of any organization. It waffles; it wavers; it hesitates; and is the cowardly and cringing personification of all that a labor movement should not be.

It did not spring into existence from the toilers themselves. The masters perpetrated it, nursed it, and foisted it upon the labor world. It was conceived, born and bred in scabbery. Its growth came through making compacts with the enemies of the toilers and scabbing upon the existing organizations at a lower wage. It has ever remained true to its early training at the hands of Marcus Hanna. Today it is mothered by the Master Class, fathered by the Civic Federation and married to the Militia of Christ.

It has nearly six score international unions, each at war with the others. The plumbers spent thousands of dollars last year to wipe out the steam fitters, and in wiping them out it bred thousands of bitter men who will take their revenge the first time the plumbers strike.

There are 27,000 local unions, each having the privilege of signing a contract with the employers to remain at work when their brother craftsmen are on strike. But that is the extent of their autonomy. They cannot strike without international consent and without notifying the employers in advance.

Many of its unions have initiation fees so large as to prohibit further membership. Many unions have closed their books altogether. Limitation of apprenticeship slams the door in the face of thousands of young men who are anxious to become members of the union. And the lack of a universal transfer card gives the lie to the claim that the A. F. of L. is the labor movement.

For thirty-three years the A. F. of L. has had its existence. For twenty-five years the United Textile Workers played at dividing the Lawrence workers into craft unions. Scabby John Golden got a couple of hundred workers together. Even these were not all in one union. Sixteen were in the Wool Sorters' Union. These highly skilled craftsmen were engaged in the task of picking the sheep dung from the fleece. Twenty-five years of organization; thousands of dollars for expense money; the powerful A. F. of L. to back him; and Golden could organize only a dung pickers union whose members remained at work with the other dung when the great Lawrence strike occurred. Truly a great labor movement!

In contrast with the A. F. of L. the I. W. W. accepts all wage workers to membership, has a universal transfer card, low dues and initiation fees, no contracts with employers and a class aim that is nothing less than the gaining of full industrial control by the producing class. It does not apologize, does not hesitate, does not compromise, but strikes direct for the goal of industrial freedom. It is the voice of the militant worker and is destined to be not only the labor movement of America and the world, but also the means of carrying on production when the wage system with all its rotten supports, including the A. F. of L., has been swept into oblivion.

ENGLISH NOTES

(By A. B. Elsbury)

We have just had the spectacle here of ten thousand coming out in behalf of one unknown and unpopular man and, which is more usual, being betrayed in a scandalous fashion by that lieutenant of the master class—their "leaders."

The strike is one of the most hopeful signs given so far by the workers in England. The fact that it was called and carried out against the advice of the leaders, who even refused the men their own strike pay, makes the affair an all the better example of solidarity.

The strike was called on account of an engine driver on the North Eastern Railway, Nicol Knox by name, having been reduced in position and pay because of a conviction for drunkenness at the local Newcastle police court. Of course the company's side of the case appeared first in the press and their reports inferred, but did not actually state, that Knox was a driver of a passenger train and that his drunken habits would have been a danger to the community. The case looked black against the men though, like thousands of others, I knew that any strike called by the workers must have the right on its side. Bodies of workers having dependants on them will only cease work when their conditions of toil have become almost unbearable to them.

Then came the men's side. Knox did not drive a passenger train. Knox had borne an unblemished name for the 37 years in which he had been in the service. Knox had been reported drunk 30 hours before his turn of duty came on. Drivers were inspected before going on duty and last, but not least, it was denied that Knox was drunk at all.

The men came out with the demand for the reinstatement of Knox and for the principle that all workers had the right to do anything they wished during their own time.

This principle was overthrown as soon as the officials got hold of the strings and was replaced with the plea that Knox was wrongfully convicted.

Conference after conference was arranged between the union officials and the company and the Home Secretary ordered that the Knox case be retried in court, sending a London magistrate for the purpose. Result: Knox was totally innocent of the charge of drunkenness and was granted a Free Pardon (for not being drunk!) On the heels of this retrial a final conference was held between the union officials and the company, and this resulted in the said officials calling the strike off. The terms of settlement were that Knox was to be reinstated, but the men were to pay to the company a fine of a week's wages!

Grand total of this result at solidarity: Loss of a week's wages (no strike pay having been given); the presentation to the company of \$50,000, and the solemn promise never to do the same again.

From our point of view the only good feature of the strike was the spirit which prompted it. This in itself shows that the men are waking.

THE FARMHAND AND THE FARMER.

By Albin Braida.

The land question is a serious one. The phase that now concerns the I. W. W. is contained in the question "Can the tenant-farmer be accepted to membership?"

There are three classes in the agricultural districts: The landlord, the tenants and the wage workers. In some places there are only the land owners and the workers. We have big corporations in California, such as the Italian Swiss Colony and the California Wine Association, employing thousands of workers.

These workers receive a maximum wage of \$35.00 a month; the most of them get but \$25; some as low as \$20.00. They work from dawn to dark. Those who are employed by the tenant farmers get the same wages. Most of these workers are unmarried. They cannot afford a wife. Those who are unfortunate enough to have wives and children have a very hard time. Generally the husband works in the field, his wife doing the cooking for the whole force, while the children are rolling in the dirt around the house.

All the tenants employ workers. Where there are three bosses in a vegetable garden, or on a farm, there can be found that many workers employed by them the year around, and three times that many during the harvest season. No matter how poor the tenants may be, nor how much they can do, they all depend upon the wage workers to carry on the farm work.

These farm workers are disgusted with their miserable conditions. It is not ignorance that keeps them from uniting. They would organize today if they had a union to back them at the beginning.

The tenant-farmers cannot be organized in the I. W. W. because they employ wage workers, and because they are the satellites of the big land owners. The big farmer, the small farmer and the tenants, all keep the workers down to the starvation point with low wages.

This miserable life makes many workers become tenants. Then, when they are small farmers, they must compete with the big farmer with modern machinery, and pay heavy railroad rates in order to bring their produce to the cities.

With a militant industrial organization in the agricultural district, organizing the wage workers employed by both large and small farmers, the workers would gain better conditions while the lot of the tenant-farmer would become harder and harder. The betterment of the workers' condition would eliminate the desire to become tenant-farmers and would put many half-dead farmers out of business. The large farmer with modern machinery on the one side, and the organization of all agricultural workers on the other, would make class conscious proletarians of most of the tenant-farmers.

The industrial organization would also compel the farmers to adopt up-to-date methods and would make them unite in corporations to meet the demands of the workers.

The small tenants are mostly ex-proletarians who thought they could suck someone else's milk by buying, or renting, a farm, but they found instead that the real estate shark had sucked their's. Some are old farmers who have not tried, on account of economic weakness, to use new farm appliances. To keep themselves up they must squeeze the workers as much as possible. They know they cannot fight the big land owners and they sometimes offer their services to the "higher-ups" as "scissor bills". Lacking the manhood to fight their real enemy, their wrath is vomited upon the rebellious workers.

An industrial organization of the workers is the only method by which the tenant-farmer can be eliminated.

To reach the workers on the farm is not so difficult as some think. The towns in the agricultural districts are full of these workers all winter. In the summer they are in town every Sunday and on holidays. It is easy to talk to them by holding meetings and by starting local industrial unions in the towns. This would bring the workers together so the message of One Big Union could be given. It would also create that militant minority so necessary to awaken the backward slaves.

Farm workers can practice sabotage easier than the workers in other industries. They need not fear the police. During a strike they can do almost any damage to the employers' property without risking the jail. By forcing the issue on the economic field the farm workers can be revolutionized and organized in the militant I. W. W., thus preparing a fertile soil for the labor wars that lead to industrial freedom.

The syndicalists in Italy have met the land question successfully. In the 1912 report of the labor department of the Italian government the commission stated that the best paid farm workers in Italy are those of the Parma agricultural district. These form the most revolutionary syndicalist element in Italy. They have fought the powerful land owners' association, known as the "Associazione dell' Agraria."

The same report states that were all the workers in Italy like those of the Parma region it would be impossible to keep the land out of their hands, as the government could not prevent them from rendering it unprofitable through sabotage. A few years ago conditions in Italy were as complicated as they are here now.

By forcing the I. W. W. forward among the farm workers our present complications will disappear and the natural development of the agricultural workers' industrial union will fit the workers for the task of carrying on farm production when capitalism is overthrown.

INTERNATIONAL GREETINGS.

At a meeting of the I. W. W. local in Adelaide, South Australia, held on Dec. 4 the following resolution was carried unanimously and ordered sent to the Industrial Worker for publication:

"That this meeting congratulates fellow workers J. J. Etter, A. Giovannitti, and J. H. Caruso, on their class conscious attitude inside and outside the prison and we heartily congratulate the assassination at the behest of the capitalists of America. We also view with pleasure the world wide expression of working class solidarity on their behalf."

At a meeting of the Australian Administration of the I. W. W. held on Nov. 30 a somewhat similar resolution was passed, congratulating the fellow workers on their escape from murder in the name of "law and order."

These international greetings are forwarded by H. S. Clarke, assistant general secretary-treasurer of the Australian Administration, Wakefield St., Adelaide, South Australia

THE GAME IS UP.

Dedicated to the A. F. of L.

A little bunco now and then
Is relished by the best of men;
But after thirty years of it,
It really is high time to quit.

PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W.

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 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 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 has interests in common with their employers.

Their 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 everyday 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.

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Frisco Tailors Double-Crossed!

By Thomas McConnell, Jr.

There are between five and six hundred unorganized women in the tailoring trade in San Francisco.

They stand as a menace to the labor organizations in the trade. They have been used against the unions for a long time.

The organized tailors recently decided to make a big effort to get these women into their organizations, instead of leaving them as a club in the hands of the bosses.

Some tailors say that these women stand as a menace to the very life of the unions.

The unions presented to the employers demands for a closed-shop agreement, and higher pay for busheimsen and their women helpers.

Mr. Schlessenger, manager of the Emporium, the largest department store west of Chicago, at once came forward as the leader of the bosses. He was for the open shop. He has been a leader in the open shop movement in California for a long time. He is one of the greatest enemies of organized labor in the West. His immense store, employing more than 2,000 people, is open from cellar to roof, excepting a handful of union teamsters and retail delivery drivers.

Mr. Schlessenger is not merely in a defensive position against union labor. He is an aggressive, a belligerent, a tireless enemy of union labor.

He at once took the front of the bosses' association against the tailors. He acted as spokesman for the bosses. He said, "pooh, pooh," to the tailors.

Mr. Schlessenger was one of those who devised the scheme of putting pickets before the doors of "fair" employers to say:

"This store is unfair to the employers' association."

Mr. Schlessenger fought the tailors every inch of the way. He sent his pickets, as leaders of the bosses, to compete with the union pickets in front of scab stores, to shout "fair to the employers."

The tailors placed a few pickets before Mr. Schlessenger's store, which covers almost a whole square block. This was very funny. It must have appeared very humorous to Mr. Schlessenger to see two or three little men trying to beat him by raising their thin voices before his great castle of steel and stone.

And after a while the tailors saw the absurdity of this method. They went to P. H. McCarthy and asked for aid. It was a week or more before Christmas, and the tailors thought that a boycott by all of the working people in San Francisco would take many a dollar from the Emporium, and bring Mr. Schlessenger to his knees.

McCarthy agreed to bring the help of the Building Trades Council to the tailors.

He was in favor, it was said, of putting all the force of the labor movement against Schlessenger.

The tailors went to the Labor Council and asked for a boycott against the Emporium.

Now the Labor Council some time ago adopted a resolution to the effect that every boycott should be regarded as a general strike.

This has been miserably disregarded since its passage. In nearly every boycott the other unions stuck to the job.

The "leaders" sat up when the tailors asked for a boycott against the Emporium.

They wanted no general strike. They began to back, to fill, to duck and dodge.

Mr. Schlessenger, seeing the situation, and knowing that a boycott would take thousands of dollars away from him in Christmas week, took a hand in the game. He gave the boys "a good stall." He offered to arbitrate.

It was admitted by all sane men that a boycott on the Emporium, coming at the height of the Christmas rush, would keep thousands out of the big till. The unions claim 60,000 membership. One half of this number, spending but a piece in the Emporium, would amount to \$30,000. But more than one half of the union people buy their Christmas presents in the Emporium, toys and so forth, and spend more than \$1 apiece. To say that the Emporium takes \$89,000 from union people and their friends and

sympathizers during Christmas time, is a sound estimate.

The tailors kept crying: "Now or never. Do it now." And the boys did it—nit.

Having been told of Schlessenger's arbitration scheme, McCarthy, McLaughlin and McDonald proposed to talk with him. From the office of the Labor Council, McCarthy called Schlessenger on the phone one night, and Schlessenger invited the committee to call at once at his residence.

McCarthy, McLaughlin, McDonald and some representatives of the tailors, instead of considering reasons why the Emporium should be boycotted, as was the purpose of their meeting, went off to Schlessenger's house.

Schlessenger said that he was willing to grant the wages and the hours demanded by the tailors, but would not agree "to become an organizer for the union, and force people to join it."

In other words, he, in behalf of the bosses, wanted to cling to the mob of unorganized women which was menacing the life of the union.

He knew, of course, as well as the tailors knew, that the organizing of the women was a fundamental issue on the worker's side.

He knew that the tailors could never agree to waive the closed-shop demand.

He knew that the tailors were not idiots.

But Mr. Schlessenger's scheme looked good to McLaughlin and McCarthy. And the executive committee of the Labor Council, in the hands of McLaughlin and his men, voted in favor of arbitration.

The tailors in the Council spoke firmly against Mr. Schlessenger's scheme. They pointed out the deep significance of the closed-shop demand, which Schlessenger flouted. They told of the unorganized women who were a club in the hands of the bosses.

The tailors' organizations had laughed at Schlessenger's scheme. They had closed their doors to it in contempt.

Yes, they actually closed their doors to all who wanted to talk arbitration.

And the gang that was fighting the fight of Schlessenger made capital of the fact that the tailors closed their doors to Schlessenger's guff. They said that the tailors would not listen to reason.

McCarthy turned on the tailors. He said that they had turned down a good proposition and that he would have nothing more to do with them.

Exit McCarthy and his support.

So well did the tailors in the council oppose the recommendation of the executive board, so plainly did they show that they could not permit the bosses to hold between five and six hundred unorganized women, that the delegates rejected the report of the executive committee. The delegates instructed the committee to bring in a report in favor of a boycott.

Then up rose Michael Casey in the midst of his tried and trusty men. He wanted to answer some of the talk about "pulling out the retail delivery drivers."

No member of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters would quit handling Emporium goods, said Casey. This was not advice, he said, but an order from a member of the executive board of the teamsters' international. He was against a general strike. His union had agreements with the draymen, which they must observe.

Meanwhile the days went by, and Christmas drew nearer. Mr. Schlessenger's tills jingled merrily. Thousands of dollars went over his counters. And if he did not laugh up his sleeve over the deal that the tailors were getting, he had no sense of humor.

The rest of the tale is worth but a few words. It's the old story. Christmas is several weeks gone, and the Emporium is still without a boycott.

Each week the boys framed a new stall. They are still dickering with Schlessenger. They convinced the delegates that the matter could be adjusted without involving other unions.

They have the situation well in hand.

THE TRUTH IS MARCHING ON.

By Jack Kelly.

Mine eyes have seen the misery of John Kirby's lumber camps
Where they dole out to the workers little round time checks or stamps;
Where the sturdy honest toilers with despair upon their face,
Crushed and sickened with the struggle, are disposed to leave the place.
But the Industrial Workers of the World took up their fight
And those groping in the darkness now behold a gleam of light.
And amid the gloom and darkness soon will break the light of dawn,
As the voice of labor thunders and the truth is marching on.

I have seen the wretched peons in their dirty little shacks,
With faces worn and haggard and with aching bending backs,
In their discontent and squalor they present a surly mood.
Exploited of their earnings, living off the cheapest food.
I have seen their wives and children clothed in cheapest calico
While the winter storms are raging and the icy northwinds blow.
But the hosts of toil will free them and their eyes will see the dawn,
For Justice cries to heaven and the truth is marching on.

Solidarity and the "INDUSTRIAL WORKER" can be had in combination for \$1.50 per year. Canada and foreign, \$2.

ALWAYS ON THE JOB.

Albert V. Roe is in jail again. This happens so often that it is no longer news. Roe is in Honolulu right now.

His agitation has been the means of bringing many new members into the I. W. W. and the authorities there made the same mistake they did here. They put him in jail. Al has been in pretty nearly every jail in America and they were always glad to let him out. He is a rebel inside as well as out.

The real reason Roe was pinched was because he is an agitator. The charge he was picked up on is pushing his bike along the sidewalk instead of the street. Shortly after Roe was handed \$5 and costs, which he never pays, there was a strike in jail for better grub and better treatment. The strikers won and the capitalist press blames it all on to Roe.

Roe is already out and is agitating among the free slaves who don't eat regularly instead of among the prisoner slaves who have their meals brought to them. He says the prime need in the Hawaiian Islands is literature in several different languages, the most important one being Chinese. The Chinese in Honolulu did not seem to think that the Vancouver paper "Self Conscience" was revolutionary enough.

A Korean local has been formed and the slaves are strong for the One Big Union.

WE WANT TO KNOW!

All former members of locals in Aberdeen, Hoquiam, and Raymond, Wash., will please communicate with Frank R. Schiele, Secty. N. I. U. F. L. W., 211 Occidental Ave., Seattle, Wash.

This is important. Give full address when writing.

TOBACCO WORKERS TO ORGANIZE.

In Tampa, Fla., the I. W. W. has commenced publication of the "Industrial Laborer" in Spanish. The constitution and all I. W. W. literature will be translated into that language. The large number of Cubans, Italians, Spaniards and Latin speaking people in that section make the step necessary.

There is already a tobacco workers organization of the I. W. W. in Ybor City and the organizers hope to reach all of the 14,000 workers in the tobacco industry of Tampa.

The A. F. of L. has about 2,000 members where formerly practically all were enr. It is the old story of craft union treachery, deceit and failure. All those who dropped out are unionists in principle and can be reached by the I. W. W. Even those in the A. F. of L. are dissatisfied with conditions.

Local 102 appeals to all rebels to help them financially so they may organize in Florida and make that an entering wedge to unite the workers of Cuba and Porto Rico. Order a bundle of the papers and also send an evidence of your cooperation to Luis Garcia, Sec. Local 102, I. W. W., Ybor City, Tampa, Fla.

MEN WANTED AT GARY, INDIANA.

An effort is being made to organize the thousands of slaves in the steel mills of Gary, Indiana. This is the psychological time for this move. Owing to the war in the far east, thousands of men have left Gary and employment can be secured without trouble. All agitators who are willing to go to work in the mills at Gary should head this way at once, secure employment, agitate and as soon as one is fired get another on the job. Sow the seeds of discontent and prepare to duplicate the whipping given the steel trust in McKees Rocks in 1909.

On to Gary all unemployed rebels.

Yours for Industrial Unionism,
VINCENT ST. JOHN,
Gen. Secretary-Treasurer.

DIRECT ACTION MAKES NOBLE BOSSES.

By Caroling Nelson.

There are some people who say nothing can be done by direct action. But the mere talk of it makes the boss sit up and take notice. Here in the East the bosses have been literally and shamelessly skinning the workers for years. Importing them from the backwards country of Europe and then pressing them down and down, and hiring spies to watch them until a Russian has been created in the industries here, such as we don't know of in the West. Now comes the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey and raises wages of 225 women. It declares that a woman can't live for less and that it is done with the loftiest motive. This same corporation has raised the minimum wages of men to \$10.50, with the same lofty motive.

Again Vincent Astor ordered a general increase in wages of the employes on his Rhinebeck and New York estates. The Pullman Company in Chicago wired throughout the coun-

try that every man in its employ would receive an increase in wages for Christmas.

"Our men have not attempted to use force or oppression to get more money. They have been content to wait the action of the company," said John Runnells, president of the company. "We look to be rewarded ourselves in the increased loyalty of our men," he added.

One of our speakers in New York the other day told that never had anybody ever heard of an employer voluntarily raise wages. We can't say that any more!

What is this "noble" spirit that has come over the bosses? Why, our talk and doings of direct actions. We have here in our hands a weapon so powerful that the mere brandishing of it in the face of the master, makes him nobly (?) raise wages. Let us keep at it. The masters will do anything rather than get off our back. Direct action can give us all the reforms we need without being indebted to any politician.

WHOLESALE PARDONS EXPOSE VICIOUS JAIL SYSTEM.

Gov. George W. Donaghey of Arkansas, recently liberated 360 convicts as the only means of breaking up a vicious system of peonage within the penitentiary. The prisoners were farmed out to the railway contractors who in turn sold them to the Rock Island and the Iron Mountain roads.

Justices were working with the contractors and sentenced men upon every possible occasion. The men were treated with incredible cruelty. Some were shot down for refusing to work when sick. All were ill-fed, flogged and worked to the limit of human endurance.

The sentences of some men were long although their crimes were minor ones. Two men received 36 years and 18 years respectively, for having forged an order for nine quarts of whiskey. The first died in the penitentiary before a pardon could reach him.

The prison system of nearly every state is as bad, though most of them are well covered from view. These revelations should make every rebel work harder to end this insane social system and usher in a state of society where peonage and jails will be but an unpleasant memory of a by gone age.

THE PARCEL POST FAKE.

The parcel post is a fake in the interest of the express companies. Within the limits of large cities it gives inferior service. The only place where it is superior in point of service is in small cities and on rural free delivery routes. This is a class of business that the express companies will not handle because it means a loss. But we might remark that the parcel post is well adapted to the sending of a ham, a slab of bacon, or similar provisions to the striking timber workers. Try it out by rushing provisions to Lee Lovejoy, Merryville, La.

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CAN THE A. F. OF L. FOOL THE LOGGERS AGAIN?

(Continued from page 1)

into the Salvation Army of the labor movement.

To be blunt, the article is untrue. Preparations for the special lumber workers' issue were made some time ago. A similar special issue was run about twelve months ago. Unlike the \$30,000 that comes from the A. F. of L., which will no doubt be supplemented by a larger sum from the employers as in Montana when the A. F. of L. betrayed the lumber workers, the money for the special number of the "Worker" was sent in by the men in the camps, in 25 and 50 cent pieces, and these men distributed many thousands of copies.

The shoe is on the other foot. We heard nothing about the A. F. of L. organizing the lumber workers until the B. T. W. joined the I. W. W. and results began to show. In the past it was the same. The A. F. of L. appeared on the scene to disrupt those who had united, and the employers were ever on the side of the A. F. of L. and against the other organizations.

The idea that the I. W. W. wants to take advantage of the agitation of the A. F. of L. is absurd. The A. F. of L. has done absolutely no agitation in the camps of Washington, Oregon and Idaho. They dare not go into Montana. Even had they done agitation, the I. W. W. could take no advantage of it. We are not organized on the basis of "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work." We do not stand for mutual interests between Weyerhaeuser and the slaves he employs at a starvation wage. We do not stand for one section of the workers scabbing upon another. No! We could not use that kind of agitation to advantage.

And who is the principal man selected, not by the loggers but by others, to do the organization work? It is George Heatherton, former executive board member of the Western Federation of Miners. It looks like Harry Orchard's pal has a hand in the game. If the condition of the miners in Butte is any sign to judge by, we can expect to see the loggers bound hand and foot and handed over to the lumber trust. Just as the W. F. of M. officials have handed the miners over to the copper trust.

The great A. F. of L., the powerful A. F. of L., the militant A. F. of L., with 33 years of organizing has not a logger in its ranks. It looks as though they were very much concerned regarding the welfare of the men in the woods.

Loggers! When you organize you must organize right. What value is an organization unless it takes in all employed in the industry? It is nothing. What is a loggers union that fails to include Idaho, Montana, the Great Lakes region and the immense Southern belt? It is worse than useless. Of what use is an organization that allows one set of men to remain at work when another set are on strike? Such an organization is the A. F. of L.

Wake up! Find which organization strikes the most terror to the thieving employers and that will be the one that best represents your interests. Find the union that is agitating in the lumber camps all over the nation and in British Columbia. Your choice should be the I. W. W., the organization that has done more agitating and educating in the lumber camps within the past seven years than the A. F. of L. has done in 33 years.

Write to Frank R. Schiele, Secretary of the National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers, 211 Occidental Ave., Seattle, Wash. He will send full particulars about how to aid in organizing the workers of the camps and mills into One Big Union.

NEW YORK HOTEL STRIKE.

The new and militant hotel and restaurant workers' organization, the International Hotel Workers, is conducting a strike in New York City. They are pulling out additional workers each day.

The method used is to walk into the center of the large dining rooms and let out a blast from a huge whistle such as is used by the police. Numbers of waiters and other workers quit upon this signal.

Alex Lupu was given thirty days recently because of his activity in the strike. The charge was disorderly conduct. Lupu turned his whistle loose among the elite of society in one of the largest hotels. The shrill call to action sent cold shivers down the backs of the never sweats.

It is said that negro waiters will be brought in to take the strikers' places but as the I. H. W. U. accepts the negro to membership without restriction this effort does not dampen the spirit of the strikers. Besides, in Washington, D. C. in a recent strike, the negroes who were imported to break the strike all joined the union when they heard of its principles.

The I. H. W. U. is a direct action, industrial organization.

CAMP DELEGATES' COLUMN.

Ed Nolan, camp delegate on the Los Angeles aqueduct suggests that a column be set aside for the exchange of ideas between camp delegates. While there could be no assurance of a regular amount of space for that purpose it will be well for something of the kind to be done.

Camp delegates should give the methods they have used with success. Be brief. Don't theorize—that's all editors are good for.

Nolan says: "If you can't talk, make signs. That's what we do on the aqueduct. Here's a sample. 'You are welcome in the One Big Union. Line Up!' We always have an ante fund. That's an easy way to spell literature." Let's hear from the other camp delegates.

According to reports a company of the 12th U. S. Infantry is guarding the Mexican border at Calexico, Cal. Five of the noble protectors of Morgan's country are said to be loading bales of cotton at a low wage. The soldiers are not on furlough but have their captains permission to scab upon the many men who are packing their blankets in search for a job. Patriotism appeals to the noblest instincts in man!



Continued Next Week