

earn at their trade—not a penny more. And we take a further precaution against building up a "machine" by forbidding them more than one consecutive term of office. The union is run on an absolutely democratic basis. The rank and file are at all times in control. Our officers take our orders. We don't take theirs.

(4) Low initiation fee and dues. The former, \$2; the latter, 50 cents monthly.

(5) We don't negotiate, we don't arbitrate, we don't tie our hands by contracts. We don't ASK the employers for anything. We DEMAND as much as the power of our united numbers enables us to demand. Then when we get a little stronger we come back for more. Our goal is complete OWNERSHIP and CONTROL of the industry BY THE WORKERS in the industry, and we make no secret of it.

Can't you see that when the workers shall be organized on this basis they will be all-powerful, that they cannot help but win? Why, this is a very new union in Chicago, but wherever you see our label it means a 44-HOUR week, which five large, old-established craft unions tried to get this summer and failed.

Yes, this union is a part of the I. W. W., and, of course, from all you have read in the newspapers, you have been given the idea that the I. W. W. are a gang of tramps and criminals. Why, bless your heart, what would you expect the newspapers to say? Who owns and controls the newspapers? Workingmen? We'll say they don't. The parasites that live off workingmen own them. The I. W. W. is going to knock these parasites off the workingman's back and enforce the Biblical injunction, "He that will not work, neither shall he eat." Why

wouldn't they hate the I. W. W.? The I. W. W. is proud of their hatred. It will always strive to be worthy of it.

As a matter of fact, the Industrial Workers of the World offer the only rational and constructive program for the peaceful and bloodless transition from the present condition of misery and chaos into a new and free society in which poverty, war and wretchedness will be unknown, a society of equals and fellow workers who will build a civilization upon this old earth nobler and happier than anything the past has ever dreamed of. Don't take our word any more than you take the newspapers'. Find out for yourself. Do your own thinking. Call at any one of the I. W. W. halls and you will be supplied with pamphlets and leaflets explaining our philosophy, methods and aim. Read them, and then if you are convinced of the justice of our cause, as you will be, and you are a red blooded man or woman, join the one and only organization which can get you better things right now and prepare mankind for a glorious future.

The Chicago headquarters of Print. & Publ. Workers' Industrial Union No. 1200, I. W. W., are at 119 South Throop St. The secretary is on duty all day up to 10 o'clock at night. He will be glad to give you any information, and if you are ready to "line up," he will issue you a membership card at once. Business meetings of the union are held every first and third Sunday, 3 p.m., at 119 South Throop St. Chicago. — In New York: 115 E. 10th St., meetings every Friday night. Other branches are about to be organized in several cities throughout the country.

Fraternally,

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING WORKERS'
INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 1200, I. W. W.

The Awakening of the Negro

From Sept. 8 to 14 there was held in Washington, D. C., one of the most remarkable congresses ever held in this country. It was the congress of the "National Brotherhood of Workers of America." This is the largest body of organized Negro workers in America; 115 delegates were in attendance from all parts of the country, most of them being from the South. Delegates from the A. F. of L. were refused a seat, but 3 delegates from the I. W. W. were admitted on an equal footing. 15 of the delegates were from "The Society for the Advancement for Trade Unionism Among Negroes."

From the contents of the following resolutions, which were adopted by the convention, it is apparent that this body of colored workers have discovered their bearings and are aligning themselves with the industrial union movement.

The following are some of the resolutions adopted:

RESOLUTIONS.

It is becoming more and more apparent every day that the present form of society no longer fills the needs of mankind, based as it is on private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and of private control and management of the industries, which entails unbearable hardships for the great mass of the people, making their lives one continuous round of slavery or unemployment, suffering, privation and worry for the future, with no hope for the workers or their offspring to attain a status of freedom and economic security.

The workers are the producers of all wealth and therefore rightly should be the masters of their own destiny and of the whole world.

The present controllers of wealth production, the capitalist class, are unquestionably proving themselves incompetent to supply mankind what it needs of the necessities of life, which are more and more getting beyond our reach.

All the events of the present point to a constant aggravation of the sufferings and the social disorder springing from this private ownership and control and no doubt will result in a complete breakdown and collapse in the near future of the whole system of production and distribution.

Such a collapse will mean complete social dissolution and chaos, as witness the events in Europe, and threatens all mankind with a calamity beyond human comprehension.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that we, the colored workers of America, in convention assembled, declare that the time has come for the working class to come to the rescue of mankind, thereby also saving ourselves and our own, by organizing for the purpose of taking over the means of production and distribution, all of which are either created by ourselves or given to us as the common heritage of man, and that we prepare ourselves, through industrial organization, to take control of the industries, when capitalism is compelled to give up the attempt to run them, in order that we may continue production and distribution without interruption and thus save society from dissolution and chaos;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we hereby declare that we find that our aims and hopes and ambitions for the welfare of the human race are correctly expressed in the declaration of principles adopted and promulgated by the organization known as the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF LABOR UNIONISM AMONG NEGROES;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we now and hereby go on record as adopting the said declaration of principles, or preamble, as our own, to wit, as follows:

First: As workers, black and white, we all have one common interest, vis., the getting of more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions.

Black and white workers should combine for no other reason than that for which individual workers should combine, vis., to increase their bargaining power, which will enable them to get their demands.

Second: The history of the labor movement in America proves that the employing class recognizes no race lines. They will exploit a white man as readily as they will a black man. They will exploit women as readily as men. They will even go to the extent of coining the labor, blood and suffering of children into dollars. The introduction of women and children into the factories prove that capitalists are only concerned with profits and that they will exploit any race or class in order to make profits, whether they be black or white men, black or white women or black or white children.

Third: It is apparent that every Negro worker or non-union man is a potential scab upon white men and black union men.

Fourth: Self-interest is the only principle upon which individuals or groups will act if they are sane. Thus, it is idle and vain to hope or expect Negro workers, out of work and who receive less wages when at work than white workers, to refuse to scab upon white workers when an opportunity presents itself.

Men will always seek to improve their condition. When colored workers, as scabs, accept the wages against which white workers strike, they (the Negro workers) have definitely improved their conditions.

That is the only reason why colored workers scab upon white workers or why non-union white men scab upon white union men.

Every member, who is a part of the industrial machinery, must be organized, if labor would win its demands. Organized labor cannot afford to ignore any labor factor of production which organized capital does not ignore.

The employers can keep the black and white dogs, on account of race prejudice, fighting over a bone; the yellow capitalist dog will get away with the bone—the bone is profits. No union man's standard of living is safe so long as there is one man or woman who may be used as a scab and whose standard of living is lower.

The combination of black and white workers will be a powerful lesson to the capitalists of the solidarity of labor. It will show that labor, black and white, is conscious of its interests and power. This will serve to convert a class of workers, which has been used by the capitalist class to defeat organized labor, into an ardent, class-conscious, intelligent, militant group."

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we recommend to all the working people of our race, that they immediately make themselves acquainted more in detail with the aims, objects and methods of said organization, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF LABOR UNIONISM AMONG NEGROES, in order that we may, as speedily as possible, align ourselves with and join the industrial unions that have already organized, and help to organize new industrial unions in such industries where they do not yet exist.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we shall henceforth devote all of our energies to building up the new order of society along lines above indicated, to the exclusion of efforts hitherto expended in other directions.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

THE NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD WORKERS

OF AMERICA recognized the problem of social diseases as serious and demanding treatment and control, and realized the need for social betterment as

urgent for the removal of negative, predisposing conditions and the development of positive corrective agencies;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, in this, its annual meeting for the year 1919, WE, THE NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF WORKERS OF AMERICA do endorse and pledge co-operation in the United Public Health Service program and campaign for combating venereal disease and promoting sex education for improvement of the public health and the social conditions upon which the public health largely depends.

Done at Washington, D. C., this 10th day of September, 1919.

CLASS WAR PRISONERS

The following resolution on class war prisoners was adopted by the convention:

WHEREAS, there are in different jails and prisons throughout the country confined a thousand or more of working men and women, who have committed no crime under the sun, having been put there exclusively for the stand they have taken, in accordance with their convictions and their conscience, in the war between the classes;

WHEREAS, it is apparent that the ruling class intends to keep these innocent men and women in their prisons to the end of their respective terms, varying from 1 to 5, 10, 15, 20 or more years, in order to satisfy their fiendish hatred toward those who stand up bravely for the human rights of the worker, and in order to check the progress of our movement for industrial freedom and emancipation from wage slavery;

WHEREAS, we consider this punishment inflicted

on the Class War Prisoners as merely a brutal act of repression to further the selfish interests of the rich, an act of social injustice contrary to the best interests of the American people and all mankind;

Therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we, the colored workers of America, declare ourselves in friendship and sympathy with these our imprisoned fellow workers, and that we pledge our moral and financial support in the attempts now being made throughout the country for their liberation and promise that we as citizens and as workers shall do everything in our power to help in effecting their speedy release; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we recommend that all the papers at our disposal shall be requested to give this, our resolution, the widest possible publicity, in order that the men and women of our race throughout the country may know of this terrible injustice; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we earnestly appeal to all the organizations of our race that they adopt protest resolutions and send them to the proper authorities, and that they render all the moral and financial assistance in their power to those who are now working for the liberation of the Class War Prisoners, in order that justice may triumph, and these our fellow men and fellow women be spared further suffering.

Besides there were numerous other resolutions, on race discrimination, on peonage, on lynching, on race riots, on Mexican intervention, on the Russian blockade, on withdrawal of troops from Russia, etc., all of them full of the right proletarian spirit.

General Railway Strike of Great Britain

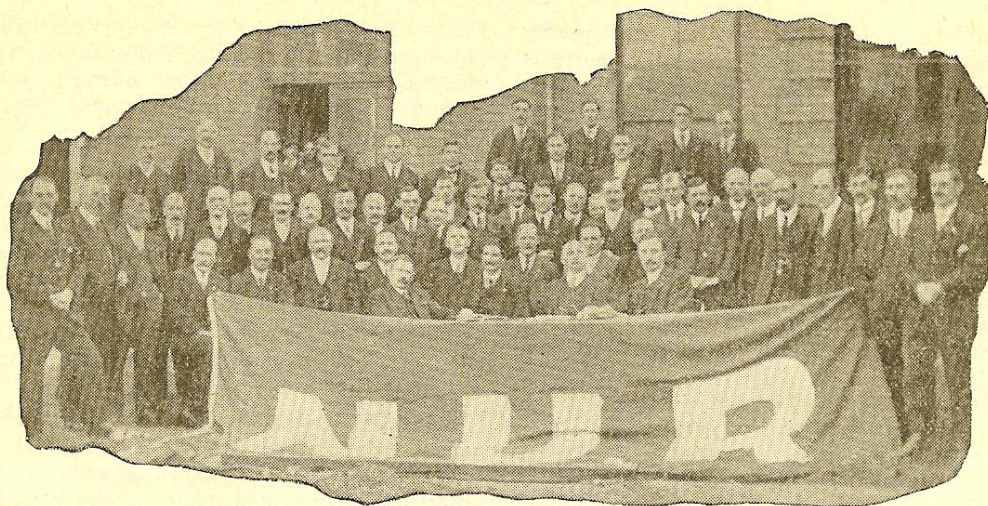
By GEO. HARDY

The greatest industrial conflict ever waged in the history of Great Britain has come to an end with a complete victory to the workingclass, not only of Great Britain, for, had this fight been lost, it would have been an inspiring victory to the whole continental Bourgeoisie, who would have attempted a reduction of wages, as the railway companies through the government did attempt a reduction of the wages of the British railwaymen. The reply, through the National Union of Railwaymen, together with the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, was a general strike.

At the outbreak of the war, the employers kept all workers at the pre-war wage as long as possible, until by pressure, they were forced to give increases, which were termed bonuses. The reason for giving money increase as a bonus is obvious, and the general strike just ended was planned and determined upon at the very beginning of the war by the employers. Equally determined were the workers, never to loose the money increase, and

to make it a permanent wage. Attempts had been made since 1917 to make a permanent wage out of all monies being received. Always the government managed to manipulate the negotiations so as to have the question left in abeyance. In February 1919 the matter was still pending.

In August 1919, on threat of strike, the government agreed to make the bonuses a permanent wage for all locomotive engineers and firemen. Having prepared to fight the railworkers since the February conference and to use Lloyd George's words spoken at a luncheon given in the Mansion House two days after the strike settlement, when he said, "As far back as last February the government realized that the crisis was coming, and under the home secretary they built up an organization to meet the situation. Taking this statement in conjunction with the settlement with the locomotive engineers and firemen one can only come to the conclusion that the attempt was made to satisfy one portion of the workers to be used against the



STRIKE COMMITTEE, HULL DISTRICT OF NATIONAL UNION OF RAILWAYMEN—IN CONTINUOUS SESSION FOR NINE DAYS

larger group, organized in the N. U. R., who also has 50 per cent of the membership of engineers and firemen.

The A. S. L. E. and F. thought more of class solidarity than the increase, that could only be temporary at best, if the government could beat the lower grades, so they threw in their lot with the section hand. Thus the strike was a complete stoppage, engineer speakers announcing from public platforms, "We cannot run our engines on a crooked rail," the implication was, they recognized the unskilled, no matter how low, just as essential to the railroad systems as the highest skilled man on the road.

The government's preparations were a fact, for as soon as the strike began at midnight, Sept. 27, began to appear motor transport by road. This could at most be temporary, as the Transport Workers' Federation has all these workers affiliated with the federation. As the days went past demands for action were demanded because each day the transport workers were becoming more enmeshed in the railway men's fight. They were refusing to handle material intended for railways all over the country, and had the strike not ended, Oct. 7 was the date, all transport delegates would have appeared in London to decide on direct action, as Bob Williams wrote, who is secretary of the federation: "We of the Transport Workers' Federation were willing and anxious to swing into line."

The above attitude did much to end this economic class struggle together with the messages of support, showing a readiness to strike in sympathy, sent in by nearly every union in all districts. The workers fully realized that if the railmen were forced to accept a reduction to pre-war levels, they also would have suffered the same fate. But, on the contrary, the government was forced from their position of reducing wages on Dec. 31, 1919, unto a position of accepting the present rates, as established wages until Sept. 30, 1920, with a minimum

of 3 dollars, and a quarter larger than their previous "definitive" offer, providing the cost of living had been reduced to 110 per cent over pre-war prices at a year hence.

At the outset of the strike the Premier issued a statement that this was engineered by "a small anarchist gang." This the workers smiled at and proved conclusively that if any anarchist gang existed it was on the side of government's conspiracy against the workers. However, we can take for granted that most districts had all their economically educated men on the strike committee, but elected by the rank and file.

The following is a sample of the resolutions passed unanimously daily, "That this mass meeting of all railway men reaffirm their previous decision to stand together until victory is assured. Believing that the solidarity of the railway men has proved beyond all doubt the justice of our cause, it also proves the inability of the present government to do any real service to the workers, at the same time it has demonstrated its class rule in the interests of those who exploit the people."

This strike was not a revolutionary attack against capitalism. It was purely a wage question. However, during the strike one would believe from the speeches made, together with the movement of troops into the large centers, that a revolution was pending but a few days. Notwithstanding all this there never was a more orderly strike. In Hull district in the large square where the mass meetings were held, speakers could be heard threatening to appeal to the soldiers if they were to be used in any way against the workers. The police were expressing their sympathy with the strikers. Daily the soldiers played football in the same square while mass meetings were in progress, having been forbidden to listen. This appeared to be one way of getting at least something that came from the platforms.

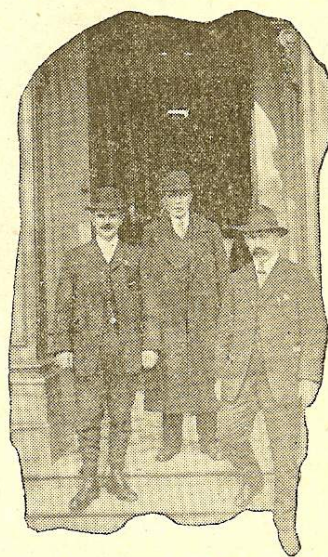
The prestige of the British government suffered a blow that it will never recover from. Lloyd George made all kinds of lying statements about "lightning strikes", etc., at the onset of the strike. He afterward told he had been "preparing since February" and that "he was not fighting trade unionism." The government also, stopped all back wages from being paid, in their endeavor to starve them into submission, all with no avail. Now, today in Great Britain industrial unionism as represented in the N. U. R. (National Union of Railwaymen) with the engineers and firemen in the sectional union throwing in their lot for the sake of their class, stands as a monumental power far greater than all the forces of the state even though they had eight months to prepare.

The same economic power, which is wielded by organized labor of Great Britain can, when it is ready, upset any government of the oppressors. This the government knows. And while we have some fine men at the helm, we have some very reactionary leaders. Fortunately, however, the district officials of the large unions have a thorough grasp of the conditions under which capitalism survives. This in the main is due to the education given out by the Central Labor College.

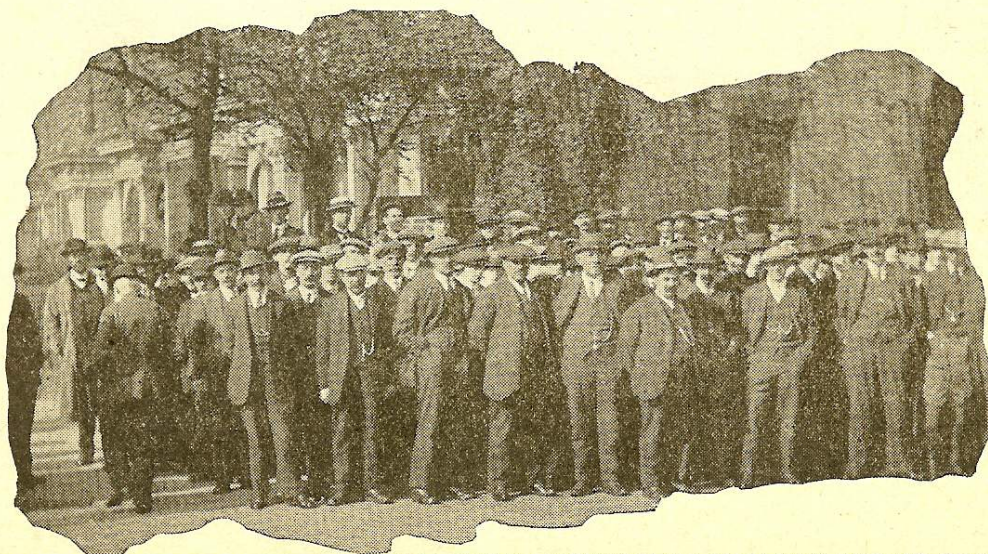
The college is an off-shoot of the Ruskin College, which, while being a labor college, were teaching bourgeois economics. A students' revolt took place, when Prof. Dennis Hird supported the students and went over to the C. L. C., which teaches materialist history and Marxian economics. The miners, railwaymen and to some extent in the large centers the A. S. E. (Amalgamated Society of Engineers) run Central Labor College classes every week. This is the back ground of the grand demonstration of solidarity given during the railstrike. Classes in the large cities are given under the auspices of the District Councils of Railwaymen. The college will answer any question sent in by any class for correc-

tion or verification. It also may be noted, the C. L. C. is owned and controlled chiefly by the above unions.

The work being carried on is, as near to the I. W. W. propaganda as can be found anywhere and not be the I. W. W. In some distant future we will emerge from our apathy towards the exploiters, and with our well trained men will have sufficient ability to man industry for ourselves. Agitation has caused the troops to be withdrawn from Russia, because it took a revolutionary character, the desire being to allay it for fear a general strike would be brought about. Today, trade unionism (trade unionism in England does not mean craft unionism) has gained prestige—the government's confidence has been shaken and the rank and file have learned they are the economic masters when they choose to act.



The Writer Leaving Argyle House, Headquarters of N. U. R., Hull, with N. U. R. Officials



GROUP OF STRIKERS OUTSIDE ARGYLE HOUSE WAITING TO SIGN THE STRIKE REGISTER



RUSSIA GIVING THE WORLD'S WORKERS A LIFT

The I. W. W. Makes Its Entry Into the Labor Movement of Germany

The weekly I. W. W. press has already published some documents about the labor movement of Germany, informing us that five important labor unions of Germany have united in the "Freie Arbeiterunion" (Independent Workers' Union) on an industrial union program. The five groups that have united are "Freie Vereinigung" (Syndicalist), "Allgemeine Bergarbeiterunion" (Miners), "Arbeiterunion" of Essen, "Deutsche Arbeiterunion" of Dusseldorf and "Allgemeine Arbeiterverband." One of these bodies had previously published a manifesto, calling on the workers to organize on the lines of The Industrial Workers of the World. A few days later we received a manifesto issued by the German seamen, informing us that they have abandoned the old International Transport Workers' Federation and formed the German Seamen's Federation on the lines of the I. W. W. program, specifically mentioning their endorsement and adhesion to the Industrial Workers of the World, and inviting the seamen of the world to join with them.

We are also in receipt of official information

that the Spartacan organization of Berlin, Germany, has come out openly with a declaration that they have abandoned the program of mass action as enunciated by them hitherto, as well as by their party friends in America and other countries, proclaiming that "the street is lost," and that they have declared themselves for industrial unions as the proper place in which to again gather their battalions, to the exclusion of parliamentary action.

This is the most important news in the annals of industrial unionism for many a day. We do not think that we overstate the significance of these events when we say that it is the turning point in the history of the European labor movement. These events, and others to follow, are bound to make a profound impression upon the workers all over Europe and set the current moving in our direction.

Moved by such considerations The Industrial Workers of the World have sent the German Fellow Workers the following message of greeting:

A GREETING FROM THE I. W. W. TO THE INDUSTRIAL UNIONISTS OF GERMANY. To the Wage Slaves of Germany! Proletarians of Germany!

Fellow Workers:

With great interest we have followed your efforts to prepare yourselves for the coming gigantic struggle with your ruling class and your blood-stained government on an industrial revolutionary basis, and with enthusiasm we greet the forming of the "Freie Arbeiter Union" (The Independent Labor Union) of Germany, in which all the revolutionary labor unionists have united on an industrial, purely proletarian basis into One Big Union.

We further greet the declaration of the Communist Party of Germany (Spartacans), that political action, parliamentarism, cannot be the means of liberating the working class, and record with satisfaction that you, the proletarians of Germany, have learned from the bath of blood which the ruling class, with the aid of the Social Democratic Noske-Guard, has made you go through, that the wronged and enslaved wage workers were not driven by the machine guns into the parliament but into the industries. There, proletarians of Germany, there is the place! The industry is the basis on which you must come together for industrial revolutionary and direct action. Only in the industrial, purely proletarian and revolutionary organizations can you increase your economic power without limit and concentrate your direct industrial action until you are invincible, without giving the blood-thirsty white guard the opportunity to shoot your bodies to pieces in the street.

Proletarians of Germany: We, the Industrial Workers of the World, stretch out our hands as brothers. Even if an ocean, a capitalist-ruled sea, lies between us, even if thousands of capitalist censors prevent us from exchanging thoughts, our thoughts are still with you. Your struggle is our struggle and your aim is our aim, the liberation of the working class from capitalist oppression.

Fellow Workers: The liberation of the Working class can only be the work of the workers themselves. If you want these words of Karl Marx to come true, it cannot be done except you organize yourselves on a proletarian basis into One Big Union so that your power may be invincible, and go to direct action, under the battle cry, "One for all and all for one!"

Industrial Workers of Germany: The ruling class of Germany will recognize that the uniting of the wage slaves on the proletarian, industrial basis is equal to a sentence of death to capitalism! For this reason, fellow workers, we dare say, that the agitation for the "Freie Arbeiter Union," and for the One Big Union will for you mean the most brutal persecution through the state power of the white guard; just as we here have had thousands of I. W. W. members murdered, lynched, beaten and persecuted and put into jail for up to twenty years in the prison hell holes of capitalist-democratic America, so will your blood-stained Scheidermann-Noske conspiracy set the blood-thirsty white cossacks on your heels.

Fellow Workers: Be brave and courageous! Think of our Russian brothers and their proletarian revolution, of the unspeakable misery of the proletariat of the whole world and that the oppressed of

the world are jubilant over your achievement. Remember that the victims of the class struggle in the dungeons of all capitalist terror states put their whole hope in you and us, and remember further the crime of the still continuing mass murders, and forget not that you are not standing alone, **WE ARE WITH YOU IN CLASS CONSCIOUS SOLIDARITY AND REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTING SPIRIT! WITH YOU FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE WORKING CLASS! WITH YOU FOR THE WORLD-REVOLUTION!**

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

United States of America.
Chicago, Illinois,

October 27, 1919.

The Story of the I. W. W.

BY HAROLD LORD VARNEY

THE VICTORY AT LAWRENCE

Chapter 10.

The Lawrence strike was fought over the price of a meagre meal. But it grew until it became a revolution.

To touch the origin of the strike we must go back to the Massachusetts legislature. In the winter of 1911 it had passed a law which forbade the working of women in the factories of Massachusetts for a period longer than 54 hours per week. To such a humanitarian step nobody could find objection. Unnoticed by the majority of the public, this law glided into effect on January 1, 1912. But the mills of Massachusetts are so systematized, that no reduction of hours can be made for any single group of workers. It was necessary to apply the new 54-hour law to men as well. Processes were speeded up so that the same output was made in the 54 hours that had previously been produced in 56 hours. For a week the cotton operatives of Lawrence quietly worked under the new system. Then they found that they had been tricked and there was an explosion. When they received the pay envelopes for their week's work they were startled to find two hours pay missing. With a rage born of despair they rushed out of the mills to strike, to riot, to revolt, to do anything that could ease the indignation that was consuming them.

Lawrence, like McKees Rocks, was a prison of polyglot slaves, 20,000 unskilled workers, gathered from every nation, speaking a jargon of guttural tongues, divided by race and religion, and in the weakness of that division, all gouged by the same master. Their misery was unutterable. They were held down helpless by one of the great impersonal titans of capital, the American Woolen Trust. They had no unions and no redress in their grievances. They were underfed, underclothed and miserably housed. And they worked and lived and supported families on an average wage of \$6 a week.

The wage reduction of the new working hours meant, for most of them, about 26 cents a week. A mere trifle it would seem. So the Woolen Trust reasoned. But that mere trifle, to a man earning \$6 a week, means so many mouthfuls of food, so much less of comfort. The 20,000 mill hands saw their families suffering because their present wage was

not enough. What would it mean when that wage was 26 cents less. Possibly there has never been a big strike in this country where so much of mute misery was flung up to exposure. Certainly the I. W. W. had never yet met it, not even in the empire of the Steel Trust. It was this terrible and undeniable poverty which gave to the Lawrence strike the proportions of a class revolution.

Five hundred unorganized Italians started the strike. There are several mills in Lawrence, built side by side in a long row, all of them branches of the big trust. The trouble started in the Wood and Washington plants. Pay envelopes in hand, the Italians started rushing down the long line of looms. In the mad rush they snatched up the picker sticks used in the mills and struck blindly at the looms as they went along. Weaves were torn, belts were cut, windows were smashed. They drove all the weavers before them as they went.

Soon these two mills were empty. Outside in the street the workers became a wild mob. They bombarded other mills in the district. They forced gates and rushed in among other workers, infecting them with the spirit of the strike. Leaving the mills empty and silent behind them—mills which a few minutes before had been alive with industry—the mill slaves rushed down the street, hooting and cheering, and gradually dispersed to their homes. This was on Friday, January 12. That same night Joe Ettor arrived in Lawrence.

It is related that Ettor was handed the telegram summoning him to Lawrence as he sat on the platform in Cooper Union, New York, listening to William D. Haywood and Morris Hillquit debate the merits of direct versus political action. Be that as it may. Ettor lost no time in rushing to the scene. Up to the time of his arrival the strike was spontaneous and un-unionized.

We noted some chapters back, that the I. W. W. had a National Industrial Union of Textile Workers. At the beginning of 1912 the strongest local in the industry was in Lawrence. A persistent propaganda had lined up several hundred unskilled workers in the Local 20 of the I. W. W. Only a small fraction of them were in good standing, however. Small as it was in comparison to the 20,000 workers, the I. W. W. local was the strongest union in the mills.

A craft union of the most highly skilled men was maintained by the U. T. W. of the American Federation of Labor. And an independent union had a few more. But the I. W. W. was a union whose structure was almost made for such a situation as the Lawrence strike. It also was rich in leadership.

Joseph J. Ettor at this time was a member of the G. E. B. of the I. W. W. He was entirely a product of the I. W. W., educated up into leadership out of the ranks. He had received his training in the hard adversities of the early western struggles.

Richard Washburn Child characterizes Ettor as follows: "Lawrence was ready for socialism in one form or the other and socialism came. It came in the form of the Industrial Workers of the World. It came, too, in the form of Ettor, a laughing boy of twenty-six or twenty-eight, an organizer of this new and different union, a born leader, a youth crying 'Excelsior' with a great power to win over, not only the rough-necked and the high-browed but some men who were neither the one nor the other."

When Ettor arrived in Lawrence he sensed his opportunity. Here was a great inchoate mass of discontent. It was groping for leadership. His experience at McKees Rocks and Bethlehem had taught him the rare knowledge of mass psychology. His training in the rough give and take of the lumber camps had hardened his faculties for just such an emergency.

The mill owners of Lawrence had not taken the Friday walkout seriously. They had refused to be alarmed when the workers stayed home on Saturday. In their calculation, the fire of enthusiasm would burn out by Monday and the workers would do as they had so often done before, come back and beg for their old jobs. But the quietness of that Sunday was too ominous.

Ettor realized that he must do two things in order to hope for victory. First, a strong organization of the strikers must be created; second, every other mill in Lawrence must be closed in a general strike. All day Sunday Ettor was a dynamo of energy. Meetings were held for every group and nationality. A strike committee was organized in which every nationality was represented. Plans were perfected for a great mass picket for the following morning. Under the spur of these ideas, the strikers rose to the occasion.

Monday came. The strikers turned out *en masse*. Thousands of other workers had joined them. Forming a great picket line they surged down Canal Street past the mills. So effective was their picketing that scarcely a worker entered the gates. From there they rushed down to the Pacific Mill, the workshop where 6,000 operatives toil. To reach this mill a bridge must be crossed. The long line of pickets reached this bridge. Shivering as they were in the snow and ice of a January morning, the strikers were suddenly drenched by a stream of ice water from a fire hose on the factory roof. In an instant they became uncontrollable.

Pushing forward, they rushed the bridge and burst

open the gates of the great mill. Inside they repeated their tactics of Friday, stampeding the workers from their looms. Others of the pickets made their way to the coal pile and began to bombard the windows and the roof of the building where the hose had been concealed. All the police reserves of the city rushed to the scene. Shots were fired and heads were broken. Thirty-six pickets were arrested, but the tactics won their object. By the evening of that day the 15th, every mill in Lawrence was tied up. There were 20,000 persons on strike.

This episode of Monday morning was the last and only act of violence by the strikers. It was provoked and justified by the fire hose of the bosses. Before a blow was struck on the part of the strikers the bosses used violence and incited them to riot. The pretext was used by Mayor Scanlan to send for the State Militia and thereafter the streets of Lawrence were patrolled by the soldiers, 1,300 strong.

The situation was now absolutely in the hands of the strikers. Victory was theirs if they would stick together with their ranks unbroken. Day after day Ettor hammered into their ears the watchword of the I. W. W., solidarity. Violence was futile. All that they needed to do in order to win was to stand with folded arms.

This solidarity was assured by the unprecedented success of the Strike Committee. This committee was the very soul of the strike. For the first time the industrial parliament idea of the I. W. W. was put into practical effect. Haywood describes the action of the Strike Committee in the following words:

"It was a wonderful strike, the most significant strike that has ever been carried on in this or any other country. Not because it was so large numerically, but because we were able to bring together so many different nationalities. And the most significant part of that strike was that it was a democracy. The strikers handled their own affairs. There was no president of the organization who looked in and said, 'Howdy do.' There were no members of an executive board. There was no one the boss could see except the strikers. The strikers had a committee of 56, representing 27 different languages. The boss would have to see all the committee in order to do any business with them. And immediately behind that committee was a substitute committee of another 56, prepared in the event of the original committee's being arrested. Every official in touch with affairs at Lawrence had a substitute selected to take his place in the event of being thrown in jail.

"All the workers in connection with the strike were picked from material that, in the mill, was regarded as worth no more than \$6 to \$7 a week. The workers did their own bookkeeping. They handled their own stores, six in number. They ran eleven soup kitchens. There were 120 investigated cases for relief. They had their own finance committee, their own relief committee. And their work was carried on in the open, with the press on hand, with all the visitors that wanted to come, the hall packed with the strikers themselves. And when this com-

mittee finally reduced itself to ten, to make arrangements with the mill owners, it was agreed before they left that they must meet the mill owners alone."

It was this committee which won the strike. The absolute democracy of the thing was its strength. Everything out in the open, no closed doors or inner circle. Experts in labor strikes and social investigators were caught by its spirit and swept from their feet. Here were illiterate workers rising to the occasion and displaying rare executive powers. Here was a strike committee meeting daily and legislating the wishes of 20,000 people. This Strike Committee was the realization of the old ideal, "the cell of a new society functioning within the shell of the old." Ettor presided over its meetings. He gave its activities an I. W. W. bent. He sustained its enthusiasms by the strength of his personality. But he was in no sense the ruler. All tactics, every decision, passed through the crucible of open discussion on the floor of the Strike Committee. Every delegate was to refer back to the nationality he represented for his instructions. And neither Ettor nor the Strike Committee could settle the strike. Settlement could only come by a mass meeting of all the 20,000.

Of course, staid and respectable "law and order" as represented by the mill owners, their foremen and agents, the small business men who were their satellites, and the politicians and office holders whom they controlled, mobilized solidly against the I. W. W. The daily newspapers showed a surprising unanimity. Scare headlines screeched daily of the unfathomable terribleness of the I. W. W. Judge Mahoney of the City Court did not hesitate to give another object lesson of the blindness of justice by sentencing the 36 strikers arrested in the riot to terms of from one to two years. In order to emphasize his zeal he held a special sitting on the very night of the day of their arrest and monotonously pronounced the sentences. Mayor Scanlan was patently with the mill owners upon every question which arose.

Inclined at first to ignore the strike, the general public of New England became wrought up to a pitch of hysterical intensity as the strike expanded. Before Lawrence, people did not even know what the I. W. W. was. As the strike proceeded, the revolutionary significance of the organization was driven home to all. New England is the habitat of the most traditionally conservative families in America. William Dean Howells has well characterized them as "a people through whose veins courses a thin stream of ink and ice water." The Lawrence strike precipitated a panic among them. One of the Lawrence manufacturers, addressing a gathering of Boston business men, screamed hysterically, "Gentlemen, this is no strike; this is the beginning of a revolution." Judge Gary, chairman of the Steel Trust, called one of his famous dinners of multi-millionaires to discuss the subject, and some of the pandemonium of that dinner slipped into print. A story is related of a certain large manufacturer in Lynn who sold

out all of his holdings and invested his entire fortune in United States bonds as a safeguard from the menace of revolution. The Lawrence strike became a national issue.

The Workers were equally moved. Sympathy for the strikers ran strong among them. Donations began to pour into Lawrence. The farmers from the surrounding towns began to drive in to the strike headquarters—their wagons loaded with food. Lowell donated a cow. Gifts of money poured in from Socialists and Unionists throughout the country. Haywood's influence swung the Socialist Party locals almost unanimously behind the strike. A considerable amount of money was donated by several organizations but compared with the immensity of the task this total was ridiculously small. The money spent by the bosses to defeat the strike must have been enormous. One hundred and seventy-two thousand dollars was spent for the militia alone. The I. W. W. has never paid direct strike benefits. A system was introduced in Lawrence which has been followed in all subsequent strikes. Each nationality opened up relief stations and soup kitchens. Meals were provided twice a day at these stations for the strikers and their families. At the Franco-Belgian station 1,850 rations were served twice daily; at the Italian station 3,500; at the Syrian 1,200; at the Polish 1,000; at the Lithuanian 1,200, and so forth. So steady was the income that at no time did any of the strikers go hungry. And workers who average only \$6 a week when they worked did not notice any appreciable difference between their strike rations and their accustomed diet.

Of course the "respectable" classes resented this ease with which the I. W. W. was meeting the needs of the strikers. In all previous labor struggles they had seen the strikers starved into defeat. If only they could stop the source of income of the I. W. W. perhaps they could repeat this starvation among the Lawrence strikers. Unbelievable as it may seem, there were people in New England whose class feeling was so bitter that they actually begrudged the food that the strikers ate. To stop the funds several subterfuges were resorted to. Newspapers began to feature stories about the corruption of the I. W. W. leaders. Dark hints of immense thefts of strike funds were insinuated. But it remained for a preacher of the lowly Nazarene to make the actual attack. At the very crisis of the strike the Rev. Herbert Johnson, a Boston clergyman, applied to the court and secured an injunction tying up all the strike funds in the bank. This would have been fatal had it not been forestalled. In anticipation of such a move the bulk of the funds had already been transferred to Vincent St. John in Chicago for safe keeping. To the chagrin of Johnson and the mill owners, they discovered that they had tied up an empty bank account.

The bosses made strenuous efforts to get rid of Joe Ettor. The ease with which he was controlling such a heterogeneous mass of workers was alarming. If only the strikers would use violence, if only they

would be disorderly, then an excuse would be given for a coup. But day after day the I. W. W. leaders were preaching their philosophy of passive resistance, soothing the passions of the mobs, quelling the unruly. Even safe, sane and respectable A. F. of L. strikes had never been so peaceful as this I. W. W. strike with its background of revolution.

Tired of waiting, the mill owners commenced the violence themselves. On January 19 Lawrence rang with the cry of dynamite. Dynamite had been discovered in three places, in a cemetery, in a tailorshop and in a shoe shop next door to Joe Ettor's residence. There was enough of it to blow up the whole city of Lawrence. The connection was obvious. Ettor and the I. W. W. must be preparing a dynamite plot. The incident was exploited in every newspaper in the country and feeling against the I. W. W. began to run strong. But again this dynamite story proved a boomerang in the striker's favor. Investigation disclosed a peculiar connection of a member of the Lawrence School Board, a local politician named John J. Breen, with the finding of the dynamite. Breen was arrested. The evidence against him was so palpable that he was convicted of planting the stuff and was given a heavy fine. Added significance was given to the incident by the discovery that the Dynamite Special of the Boston American had appeared on the streets of Boston announcing the affair two hours before the dynamite was discovered. The clumsiness of the frame-up made the position of Wood and the other mill owners ridiculous, even in the eyes of their own class. The I. W. W. position was immensely strengthened.

Stung to recklessness the mill owners next imported fifty gunmen from Boston who were made up to impersonate Italian strikers. Mingling in the parade of the workers these gunmen attempted to incite a riot. At one point they assailed a street car, driving out the passengers and smashing the car. The police and militia looked on without making an arrest. If the bosses thought that they could "get" Ettor by any such raw tactics they were doomed to disappointment. Ettor exposed the whole trick at the next meeting of the strikers. The gunmen disappeared.

On January 29 the first death occurred. Anna La Pizza, one of the strikers, was shot in a slight encounter with the police and died in the street. It has always been believed that she was shot by a policeman. Her shooting would be incredible otherwise. But the opportunity of her death was too good to be neglected. Ettor was charged with being accessory to the killing and was arrested. With him was arrested Arturo Giovannitti, an Italian orator and editor. They were booked for murder and held without bail.

The removal of Ettor was only a temporary inconvenience to the strike. Like every other officer, Ettor had his substitute ready. That substitute was Big Bill Haywood. Living over again all his old battles in the west, Haywood threw into this Lawrence struggle all of his splendid powers of leader-

ship. He was the foremost strike leader in America.

The delirious emotionalism which colored this entire strike is well illustrated in the story of Haywood's coming to Lawrence. The Lawrence Tribune tells it as follows:

"William D. Haywood arrived in Lawrence at 11:50 o'clock from New York City Wednesday morning and over 10,000 strikers turned out, together with three bands and two drum corps, to greet him at the North Station with a tremendous ovation.

"Long before the time when he was scheduled to arrive the strikers assembled at the depot in eager anticipation of the coming of the great labor organizer. Even at 9 o'clock there was a large crowd awaiting his arrival. Before 10 o'clock the number of strikers at the station had been greatly increased. The sidewalks on Essex Street were filled to their greatest capacities. Common Street was crowded all morning also with strikers wending their way to the Boston & Maine Station. About 10:30 o'clock the Franco-Belgian band arrived, having marched from the Franco-Belgian hall on Mason Street. This band was followed by about 200 of the Franco-Belgian element of the strikers. The band stopped in front of the postoffice and played several selections.

"The number of strikers was becoming continuously augmented and the crowd seemed to be growing restless. About 11 o'clock a parade of about 1,000 strikers came up Essex Street. In this parade were the Umberto and Bellini bands and St. Joseph's drum corps. When this contingent arrived there was great cheering. The bands played almost continuously and there was a great deal of noise. Every time that the cab train came in sight the crowds would commence cheering and the bands would play with renewed vigor.

"Shortly after 11:30 o'clock a large parade came up Common Street and joined forces with the strikers already at the station. At the head of this parade there was a sign painted on cardboard in large black letters, 'All for One.' There were many American flags carried by the strikers.

"Finally the time for the arrival of Mr. Haywood came, and when the train came in sight there was a great demonstration. When the train was approaching the crowd kept pushing up near the tracks and it looked as if someone would be run over.

"When the strikers caught sight of Haywood they went almost insane with delight and cheered incessantly while the bands and drum corps boomed out stirring selections. The scene was certainly a wild one. As Mr. Haywood came out of the car he took off his hat and waved it to the crowd. The strikers surrounded Haywood and then the parade started down Common Street. Haywood was near the head of the parade and was surrounded by thousands of howling and cheering strikers. The parade was 10,000 strong. The bands played and excitement was of the highest pitch."

As it was on the morning of Haywood's arrival so it had been and was throughout the Lawrence strike.

All of the adventurous and holiday instincts of the foreign races were played upon. The spectacular spell of pageantry sustained their enthusiasm through the long weeks of hardship. For the masses of the strikers there was the perpetual and moving excitement of parades and music. But upon the 56 men of the Strike Committee was thrown all of the grim and nerve racking intensity of responsibilities. Outwardly it would seem that the strike was a great happy-go-lucky holiday of overworked toilers. But in the taut quietude of the Strike Committee one could hear every incident of the day planned and determined. And splendidly did the Strike Committee measure up to its duties.

Haywood stepped into Ettor's place as chairman of the Strike Committee. One of the first innovations that he introduced was the moveable picket line. The law forbade pickets to loiter. But this could not deprive them of the right to walk. In the early grayness of the morning the long line of strikers would mass in front of the mills five or six thousand strong. Forming a great parade they would slowly file around the factory, a moving wall of humanity. Not a scab could enter without passing through the breeches in this line which were opened at intervals by the crack of the policeman's club. And when they saw the scabs coming, down the mile-long line would run the groan, "Boo, boo, boo." To the furtive scabs it would sound uncanny and ominous. It would be a bold scab who would face such a daily greeting. Songs were also boomed out by the moving line—the Internationale, the Marseillaise and the Red Flag. All the memories of their European traditions would be called forth when the strikers sang these songs. The little red song book of the I. W. W., which had played such a dramatic role in Spokane, appeared among the strikers. A wise Frenchman once said, "Beware of a revolution which produces its own songs." The songs of these I. W. W. strikers gave the puritanical New Englanders food for vital reflection.

A sympathy-compelling tactics which is historic in the labor struggles of Europe was employed in Lawrence shortly after Haywood's coming. Temporary homes were found for the strikers' children and they were sent away from Lawrence. Many of the men were being weakened by the spectacle of their children's hunger. If their little ones could be provided for they would gladly "rough it" themselves. Outside friends of the I. W. W. competed with each other in offering to care for these children. Under the charge of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Margaret Sanger, a party of 150 children were taken to New York and distributed to homes. Others were taken to Boston and to Barre, Vt. An interesting feature of the occurrence was presented by the offer of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, the multi-millionaire of New York, to care for some children. The class feeling of the committee was emphasized by their refusal of her help. It was to the humble but hospitable homes of Socialists and I. W. Ws. that the children were entrusted. In all, about 400 children were sent away.

In this episode again, the mill owners showed the hand of their brutality. The I. W. W. was capturing too much public sympathy. On February 24 the police assaulted a party of forty children and their escorts and parents who were waiting at the railway depot to depart for Philadelphia. Women and children were clubbed and thrust into patrol wagons. The entire party was arrested.

The brutality and illegality of such a proceeding revolted public sentiment. Even newspapers frankly hostile to the I. W. W., could not condone such an outrage. This incident also drew Senator Poindexter to Lawrence. After making an investigation he issued a statement denouncing the mill owners for their high handed and lawless attitude. Returning to Washington, Poindexter aided Congressman Victor L. Berger in securing the passage of his bill for a Congressional investigation of the Lawrence situation. The Congressional investigation was a master stroke for the strikers. Under the pitiless scrutiny of the investigators all of the sordid story of plunder and poverty was brought to light. The immense profits of the trust—the soul-deadening penury of the workers—their miserable food, their tuberculous tenement house, the nerve-killing speed of the looms—all were revealed and authenticated. Of 119 children of the strikers who were examined every one was found to be suffering from malnutrition in some form or other. Most of the children were not even wearing underclothing. The facts which were exposed were too hideous and loathsome. They jarred unpleasantly upon the peace of mind of the upholders of things-as-they-are. The I. W. W. had put its fingers upon an ulcerous social cancer in Lawrence. A great demand went up, from the ruling class themselves, that the strike be ended and the disease once more concealed.

Several conferences had already been held between the strike sub-committee and the bosses. One had been called at the behest of the governor, but had been fruitless of results. The strikers had originally walked out in order that their wages might not be reduced. Since they had joined the I. W. W. they had decided not to go back until their wages were considerably increased.

There was no hope of trapping the I. W. W. into violence. Since Haywood had come, this possibility had become still more remote. Haywood realized that the strength of the strikers lay in the menace, rather than the use, of force. Even St. John was unheeded when in his impatience at the indignities of the strikers, he wrote from Chicago that the I. W. W. should break into jail and force the state to feed them, rather than maintain a soup kitchen. Passive resistance was the watchword and, as Haywood afterwards dubbed it, "it was a strike of folded arms."

Into this deadlock of solidarity the bosses threw their last card. This was John Golden, the president of the United Textile Workers of the A. F. of L. Heralded by a blast from the bosses, Golden came to Lawrence "to settle the strike." He did settle it for the two or three hundred workers whom the

democracy of the I. W. W. had repelled. With a great eclat they went back to work at the end of the seventh week with a 5 per cent increase. But nobody else went back with them. Vainly did Golden shriek that the strike was over, "called off officially by the A. F. of L." The workers kept right on striking under the I. W. W. as though the A. F. of L. did not exist. In his mortification, Golden volunteered his services as a deputy sheriff to help put down the strike. But it still continued.

At last the bosses were willing to talk terms. A sub-committee of ten were authorized by the Strike Committee to talk to the other side. On March 12 they met in Boston and came to an agreement. Wages should be increased for all, varying from 5 per cent for the skilled men to 25 per cent for the unskilled. Overtime was to be paid as time and a half. The premium system was to be altered and the workers were to return to the mills as a union, without discrimination.

Returning to Lawrence the sub-committee submitted the agreement to the Strike Committee. The

Strike Committee submitted it to the different nationality meetings. Then all the strikers came together in a great mass meeting on the Common to finally vote in a body. It was a dramatic moment in the strike. After nine weeks of heroic endurance here stood the 20,000 strikers, their ranks solid and unbroken. Here was the true political action of the I. W. W., the political action of working class unionism, voting as members of a union rather than as citizens of a state. The great gathering stood breathless as Haywood read the agreement which announced to the workers that they were victorious.

A roll call of the races followed the reading. One by one they accepted the terms amid tumultuous applause. It was a unanimous meeting. The strike was over and the I. W. W. had won. Simultaneously, from all parts of the vast crowd, the workers lifted their voices in the last song of the Lawrence strike:

"Then raise the scarlet standard high.
Beneath its folds we'll live and die.
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the red flag flying here."

Tulsa: A Study in Oil

BY EUGENE LYONS

Another DeQuincey will some day immortalize his name by a scientific exposition of the fine art of frame-up. The field of research is fertile and as yet unexplored. It awaits the hand of a scientific aesthete to probe the art to its dregs, to classify its methods, to interpret its soul. We hold no brief for frame-up as a social weapon. We merely concede the synthesis of vigor and finesse, the harmony of the ingenious and the ingenuous, which so often characterizes the masterpieces. Now take the case of Charles Krieger.

(As the press has already informed us, the jury of Charles Krieger's case was discharged, having hopelessly been hung up after 42 hours discussion, three voting for conviction in the final count. This means a new trial. In the meantime the defendant is admitted to bail in the sum of \$2,500.)

Every work of art depends for its effect not only upon intrinsic value but to a large extent upon a suitable background. There must exist that subtle congruity between subject and setting. And Tulsa the oil capital of the Mid-Continent Belt, is excellently suited for staging a frame-up without peer. The traps and the trappings are available, the audience is appreciative, the actors are skilled, the victims are patient and long-suffering. All the ingredients of a drama - intrigue, plot and counter - are at hand and he who dares may concoct a story. Poverty stricken artists are not handicapped by their impecunious state. On the contrary, they need but demonstrate some knack for framing and patrons aplenty - oil magnates, bankers, public officials - will flock to finance their endeavors.

Tulsa fairly bristles with those contrasts and paradoxes which are conducive to *jobbing*. A bogus crime fastened upon a real man would be outrageous in an

ultra-modern community, where law has been riveted by the centuries; it would be unnecessary in a primitive community, where men kill men without the ridiculous formality of a legal sanction. But in places like Tulsa, where civilization and the pioneer go hob-nobbing in automobiles and ox-carts, frame-up is normal and chimes with the wanted scheme of things.

The city, indeed, flaunts an exterior as up-to-date as any. The broad avenues are crowded with "latest makes," and lined with opulent shops. Magnificent private and public edifices, well-dressed men and women, polite recreations - these contribute to the veneer of multi-colored modernity. The window displays are marvels for richness and piquant ostentation. The residential section is replete with charm and comfort. Every day the walls of the city are being forced outward by the phenomenal growth. From the insignificant Indian village of Tulsey to the financial center Tulsa in the short span of fifteen years'. The municipal car lines cannot keep up with the expansion of the city; so that a network of jitney buses must supplement the service. Truly a bustling industrial focus.

The reverse of the picture is no less real. Beneath the surface is a seething world that is essentially untamed pioneer, adventurous. An unscrupulous, daring underworld functions undisturbed, and pays in homage and service for the protection tendered by the overlords. Out of the busy human mass a face suddenly stands out in bold relief - a face that is all beast, hard, cruel, unrelieved by any trace of human sympathy. You listen a moment to distinguish a connected sentence: it is about oil, everlastingly oil, couched in a greasy vernacular with the profane predominating. The intellectual development is - well,

isn't. The news of the day is monotonously murderous; mere bank robberies are plebeian items jostled into some corner of the paper. "At the time we go to press only two murders have been reported," as if apropos the baseball score. The hotels are notorious resorts for gamblers and prostitutes.

Officialdom is unblushingly corrupt, and its business is conducted on what I venture to call a multiple check system: Everybody has the "goods" on somebody else in a convoluted system of intrigue rivaling the court of Louis XIV. You can buy everything — from a juror to a life. Witnesses are made to order; provided, of course, that you can pay for them. A criminal with a long, proud record, one who has served for a few of his offenses but never will serve for all of them because life is too short, can be secured to testify to a confession of guilt by a prisoner. Another can be bridled to shoulder responsibility for one crime he did not commit in order to escape punishment for all crimes he did commit. Perjury is a profession. And all this is the norm, while life flows on unperturbed. Breakfast is spiced with the morning's quota of crime stories and bribe exposes. The business man is busy pumping his oil, and leaves politics to the politicians who are dependable. Only about 7,000 bothered to vote in Tulsa County, boasting a population of approximately 130,000.

I am conscious as I write that these generalizations ring wild. No one was less ready to give them credence than I. Having come directly from New York (with all its immensity a well-behaved community, even its excesses sandpapered) the raw reality of a boom town was incredible. An old resident narrated the story of an individual known as the "man-killer," believed to be employed by the banking interests, and boasting 22 murders. I laughed tolerantly; but later was treated to corroborating anecdotes from other sources. There are those in Tulsa who will contract to "remove" any man or woman for a consideration from one hundred dollars up. One of the prominent men in the scurrilous campaign against unions and strikes is generally known to have committed murder in cold blood. To the initiated gambling and drinking is forbidden by no law.

Such is the city where Charles Krieger was tried. It took five weeks of litigation, with their panorama of blackguardism, to convince me. Tulsa's rich exterior and its corrupt, roughneck essence are both the handiwork of the same group, the oil magnates. Directly or indirectly, the overwhelming majority of people in the city and its environs depend upon the oil business for their bread and butter. The small men live by the magnanimous grace of the big men.

Government is little more than a blind for the machinations of big business. The domination is complete and well barricaded. With crookedness subsidized by wealth, every oil baron depending on the loyalty of criminal retainers, Tulsa claims distinction as the most open town in America.

The scramble for land is still in progress although the Standard Oil is rapidly concentrating control. There are Indians and poor farmers and the U. S. government to be swindled. For the enriching of a handful, thousands toil unremittingly, with never a thought of anything but the welfare of the drone. Personally I have more respect for the audacious exploiter than the meek, brow-beaten slave. All the activity in the whole section is directed from Tulsa.

Now to return to the frame-up, as exemplary of the heights to which the art, under such propitious circumstances, can be carried. It took patience as well as skill to construct the frame. Twenty-two months were consumed in the preparations, while the protagonist, Charles Krieger, waited first in the Federal Jail at Muskogee, then at the County Jail in Tulsa. Many workmen carried out the instructions of the directing genius — detectives, snitches, crooks galore. In the Muskogee Jail Charlie was not alone — with him were other members of the Industrial Workers of the World, among them Wencil Francik and J. E. Wiggins.

The very choice of Krieger as the victim attests both painstaking investigation and consummate ability on the part of the frame-wrights. The problem was to fasten responsibility for an explosion which bit a chunk off the residence of J. Edgar Pew, at Tulsa, on October 29, 1917, on an I. W. W., and to fasten it securely. Mr. Pew was at the time the executive head of the Carter Oil Company, "the pirate end of the Standard Oil," as a local lawyer characterized it. At present Carter Oil, being a bona fide Standard subsidiary, has acquired a dignified standing. At the beginning of its career, I am told by the same lawyer, it specialized on gobbling up snaps — like a vulture it descended upon those who were in a financial hole and took their property for a trifle. The choice of an I.W.W. soon narrowed down to Francik and Krieger: both of them had been in Tulsa at different periods. The final decision was probably difficult. Neither of the boys had been in town on the 29th. Neither of them had a "past." Neither of them knew or cared about Pew. It was discovered, however, that Krieger had passed through Tulsa while en route to Perry on the 25th. Besides, he had a fine personality, was talkative, and could be paraded as the brains of a plot. At any rate, he was picked by the deputies of the Standard Oil as the example.

I say "example" deliberately. Something had to be done then to stop the organization of the oil workers. From the Tulsa and Drumright headquarters the I. W. W. had been distributing thousands of pieces of literature among the workers in the petroleum fields. Whatever the effect upon the workers may have been, the effect upon the employers was immediate and manifested itself in a series of atrocities. A provident war offered the sanctimonious cloak of patriotism to the persecution visited upon thinking workers. The halls in both cities were raided and sealed without warrant. Dozens of members were apprehended without excuse. Then came

the unspeakable abomination, the tar and feather party, when 16 I. W. W.'s were kidnapped, robbed, beaten, tarred, feathered, and driven into the woods naked. Their clothes were saturated in Standard Oil and set afire. (Incidentally, the man who flogged the victims led the Tulsa delegation of National Guards to the scene of action when the miners struck on November 1.) It was therefore desirable to make an example of some agitator to complete the work.

I can hear the query: How could Krieger have committed a crime 4 days before it was committed? A problem to the neophyte, but easy to the dauntless adepts. They have recourse to vicarious guilt. Krieger must have mingled with yeggmen; he must have been sent from Arizona to explode Mr. Pew; he must have hired a couple of pals to do the job. For their assistance they must have been promised a staggering sum to be paid by the I. W. W. from a special fund created to finance dynamiting and known as the General Defense Fund.

Nothing easier: The frame-up proceeds to find conspirators for Charlie. It happens that on Nov. 4th, precisely a week after the Pew explosion, three men were having a gay time shooting the lights off the posts along the streets of Tulsa — an injudicious procedure to say the least. But they were hopelessly drunk and made a really amusing spectacle, so drunk in fact, that one of them threw a phial of nitro-glycerine at the officers who arrested them, thus endangering his own life as well as the coppers. Unfortunately, the nitro did not explode. Next morning the story was spread over the newspapers and set our artists athinking. The three men, upon sobering, gave their names as Hubert Vowels, John Hall, and J. Foster. All of them were men with a "record".

The nitro led to an investigation which in turn led to a probable discovery that these men were responsible for blowing the safe at Midland Valley station two days before their arrest: a felony punishable under the Oklahoma law with fifty years' imprisonment. It also laid them under suspicion for the Pew blow-up a felony punishable with ten year' imprisonment. However, they were let off with several day's imprisonment while the detective kept an eye on them.

Meanwhile Krieger reposed easily at Muskogee jail. He had met Vowels once, casually, at the jail. He had never met Foster. In June, 1918, a Federal indictment was returned against these two and Krieger, charging them with conspiracy to obstruct recruiting, the specific overt act being the dynamiting of the oil man's residence. In other words, our artists had found conspirators for Charlie. John Hall was at this time in Leavenworth for robbing a post office. Vowels writing confidentially to Hall complains that he doesn't even know this fellow Krieger that they're hooking him up with. "The Pew outfit is jobbing me," he weeps. "Me interfering with recruiting when I want so much to go into the army." But it is a fact, he is linked with an I. W. W. in a plot to aid Germany by killing one of the nation's props, to wit, Mr. Pew.

The indictment was soon dropped. Instead a criminal charge was lodged against Krieger only, the "Information" mentioning the same Vowels, Hall and a third, Walter Benson, as the men hired by Charlie to do the job. And Vowels himself testified to the effect that he knew Krieger had hired Hall, who in turn hired him. What happened to make Vowels talk? At the trial he admitted that he was testifying on the understanding that Pew would keep him out of jail. From the testimony of John Hall, brought from Leavenworth, it may be surmised that Pew made a similiar offer to him which he was strong enough to resist "It's against my principles to frame the kid," he said to Pew when the latter made his offers. Both Hall and Benson testify that they had never seen or heard of Krieger before they met him in the Federal jail.

It is obvious from the revelations made in court that the three supposed hirelings of the I. W. W. had a hand in the Midland Valley safe affair. And that the Pew gang has the goods on them in this matter. It was probably this that provided the "weight" needed to make Vowels swear to a far-fetched story. It was probably this, furthermore, that constituted the threat held over the heads of Hall and Benson. There is nothing the least bit strange about the fact that a criminal assumes responsibility for a small crime (with a promise of immunity) to escape prosecution for a big crime.

Our frame-up experts are doing very well. Vowels alone, however, is kind of weak-kneed. He must get a prop. George Harper is sought out. He is in every respect a remarkable subdivision of the human species: a criminal from his boyhood days, he served several long terms in different jails. In an attempt to escape from the scene of a bank robbery he was shot and one leg had to be amputated. Rendered dependent by this accident, he turned snitch, was for some time a Pinkerton detective, strike-breaker, etc. — With such a record he was welcomed by the Standard Oil. He was placed in Krieger's cell for appearances' sake, and returned with a "confession," thus supporting the testimony of Vowels. Why even a guilty man should "insist on telling his troubles," (as Harper testifies) to the one-legged, repulsive creature is inexplicable.

This was the evidence, on which the great state of Oklahoma, represented by the Carter Oil Company, asked the imprisonment of the I. W. W. member. In addition there was a white-slaver, a boot-legger, etc., who testified against Krieger, but they were incidental, thrown in for dignity. With Harper as a prominent figure they needed a few respectables to balance the case: In summing up for the state, Flint Moss grew eloquent in praise of the snitch. He declared himself ready at any time to "lockstep with old peg-leg," but God save him from the I. W. W.'s. The evidence in the case was barely noticed, but the jury was treated to a Decoration Day speech instead.

But oil is still king in Tulsa.....

Isolation at Leavenworth

BY CHARLES PLAHN

Much has been said about the treatment of the I. W. W. prisoners at Leavenworth. As I was one of the bunch that was thrown into the black hole on April 14th, 1919, and later placed in permanent "Isolation," with six others, I will try to explain just what "Isolation" is.

Isolation was established a few years ago in the Federal Prison, according to the old timers, for the purpose of segregating the degenerates from the other inmates, but now it is being used for a punishment place.

The building in which the isolation prisoners are kept is about 60x100 feet, the front being the office of the Deputy Warden, and the package room, where all packages are searched, before distribution among the prisoners. The rear of this building downstairs is the hole into which men are thrown for violating rules. There are 14 cells for this purpose, seven on each side of an eight-foot hallway. At the time of writing this article, six of these cells are occupied by men permanently isolated. The rest are commonly known to the inmates as "dry cells," or the hole.

In this hole men are kept from three days up to ten or twelve days on bread and water. In each cell there is a very small window thru which the fresh air enters. This window is covered with a very heavy screen to prevent anyone on the outside from passing anything in to the prisoners. These cells are 8x22 and about 12 feet high. The bars of the door of the cells are also covered with heavy screens except on three of these cells. These three cells are used when men are "strung up", as we call it, that is, chained to the bars during working hours and in some cases longer.

According to some of the old timers, men have been chained to the bars for days, being let down just long enough to answer nature's calls. When a prisoner is "put on dry", it means that his diet will consist of bread and water, about eight ounces of bread every twenty-four hours. There is no bed in these cells. There is nothing in the cell but a toilet and a wash bowl, a cup and a towel. In the evening there is a board, 3x6 ft. handed in with two thin blankets. This is the bed while "on dry."

When a prisoner is reported by a guard, or a stool pigeon, the deputy sends what is known as a "court call." This court is held every morning at 8:30, regularly and also during the day when guards take a prisoner from his work direct to the deputy.

The deputy reads the charge, whatever it may be, and then usually says, "Well, what have you to say?" and if one is innocent, he usually denies the charge. In my experience with "courts calls," the deputy always expressed himself in this manner.

"Well, I don't want to do you any injustice. I will investigate this case. Put him in isolation," meaning "on dry" from five to eight days. Before going on dry the guard in charge and his slugger, McNeal,

a colored trustee in isolation, make the prisoner take off all his clothes. The clothes are then carefully searched for tobacco, as no tobacco is permitted while "on dry." Then the prisoner is given a pair of overalls and jumper with the buttons cut off, so that when there are two or more men in one cell, they cannot cut off the buttons and use them to play checkers.

One is never told upon entering these dry cells how long he will be kept there, but the deputy comes around almost every day and looks in and asks, "Well, are you ready to do the right thing?" This meaning to become a stool or a snitch, for him. This is one way the deputy has of "getting" the men on dry; for if one refuses to do the "right thing," as he calls it, he usually gets from five to eight days for minor offences.

In the spring of 1919 the food became so bad that there was a strong resentment shown by all inmates. The food was so bad and there was so little of it that many nights after a hard day's work, one could not sleep for hunger. So, early in April there were two food riots. The last one, on Sunday April 13th, at supper time. That night all there was to eat was sandy raisins and two slices of dry bread.

The mess hall seats about 1200 men and they all started shouting, "I'm hungry," or "Give us something to eat," to which there was no response. Plates were then thrown on the floor and a general rough house prevailed for at least 15 or 20 minutes when finally we were marched to our cells, without anything to eat.

The next morning the deputy sent his runner for Jack Walsh, Bert Lorton, Edward Hamilton, Jack Jarvis, George Yager, Carl Ahlteen, William Weyh and myself, all members of the I. W. W. and one soldier, Robert McCurry, who by the way was an I.W.W. at heart and a mighty fine fellow. We were all charged by the deputy with inciting to riot in the mess hall the previous evening. I was also charged with throwing cups at the deputy for which he took one hundred days of my good time. We also were reduced to third grade, which takes away all privileges, such as writing, with the exception of one letter a month, library privileges, in fact all the minor comforts that first grade men have. We were all thrown in the "hole" as previously described, and were held for six days on bread and water.

Ahlteen and Weyh were released at this time, simply because there was not room for them in isolation and were permitted to go back to the big yard, but the rest of us were taken upstairs to permanent isolation, where we were given regular diet again and put to work, breaking rock about three hours per day.

There were about 12 other prisoners up-stairs who had been segregated as degenerates or for refusing to work. Among these were two white slavers who

were the principal witnesses against Pete Pieri who was recently convicted on the frame-up charge by these two, in order that they might get a parole on the strength of their testimony.

Now we were kept here away from all the rest of the boys and all obstacles possible were placed in our way so as to keep us continually "in bad" to justify the action of the deputy. McNeal, the chief stool and slugger kept very busy, and many times we were forced into the hole for practically nothing. The guard in charge in the daytime is about eighty years old and has followed this work, according to his own statement, for twenty-five years and he seemed to delight in riding the wobblies whether on orders or otherwise, but he managed to keep some of us "on dry" all the time. Hamilton, being sickly, was thrown into the hole on several occasions for trying to get medical attention, the guard refusing to call up the hospital, thus forcing Hamilton to use the only means available, namely starting a "battleship," or making noise enough to draw the attention of the captain or someone else outside.

Now I could go on and write about the various

cases indefinitely, but I think this much will give the reader some idea of just what it means to be "isolated." There are many isolated prisoners who go insane and are removed to Washington, D. C. to a government sanitarium.

Now I wish to call the readers attention to the fact that Bert Lorton, Jack Walsh, Edward Hamilton, of the Chicago case, and Caesar Tabif and Pete De Bernardi of the Sacramento case, and George Yager, a conscientious objector, are all still in permanent isolation. The first three mentioned are all serving ten years each and were sentenced to isolation by the Deputy Warden, L. J. Fletcher, for the rest of their time. All of these boys can receive letters, books, fruits, etc., but their writing privileges are limited.

Write these boys and tell your friends what they are going through. Try to raise bonds for them as well as for the rest of the boys. Imagine yourself in their places. They fought for you. Will you do the same for them? On with the drive for the release of all Class War Prisoners.

The I. W. W. in the Prison Camps

BY ONE OF THEM

Fort Douglas, Utah, September 16, 1919.
Mr. Wm. D. Haywood,
Secretary, General Defense Committee,
Chicago, Ill.
Fellow Worker:—

Will take up the interned portion of camp first. These fellow workers were interned as enemy aliens. No charges of law violations were necessary. Some have been here for over two years. They are limited to two letters and four postal cards per month. They cannot receive money or packages without special permission of War Department. Discipline has been very strict. They were put on bread and water for long periods of time for singing or complaining of conditions and abuses. The sentry walking post shot several (crippled two for life) for singing wobbly songs. The authorities here justified the shooting by saying the prisoners were rushing the fence. This is an absolute falsehood. The prisoners who were shot were occupying the barracks now occupied by us — the military prisoners — and were shot while standing on that side of the barracks opposite to the outside of the compound. Also, favoritism has been shown by the authorities, the aristocratic internes getting decidedly the best of the deal. In at least three instances, the working-class element has been placed on bread and water for refusing to feed and to do the work incidental to cleaning barracks, etc., for the aristocracy.

The interned aliens, like us, are allowed ration money, it varies every month, amounting to from forty-five to fifty-five cents per day, per men. Seventy five per cent of this ration is drawn from the Prison Commissary, twenty-five per cent is spent in Salt

Lake stores for fruit, green vegetables, etc., The prison commissary handles only staples, such as sugar, canned-goods, rice, coffee, beans, beef, etc. We receive only one forced ration: corned beef; all other food is ordered in any quantity desired, within the ration allowance.

They are allowed a certain issue of clothes:— 2 pairs of shoes per year, 6 suits of overalls, 3 pairs corduroy pants, besides underwear and socks. Clothes are issued fairly regularly.

A small barracks is set aside for a hospital. A medical officer visits one every day. Serious cases are moved to the main hospital of the post. Numerous deaths have occurred, principally from tuberculosis and influenza. Quite a few of the tuberculosis cases were inmates of sanitariums at the time of their arrest. At present there are three in the main hospital: one tuberculosis case, one kidney disease, and one afflicted by some disease the name of which, apparently a secret, I have been unable to ascertain. A dozen or more have been removed to insane asylums, could not withstand the strain during the war, as irresponsible guards were apt to let the idea of shooting an enemy become an actuality. On the whole, medical attention was appallingly inadequate.

The main body of the internes is made up of migratory workers. Construction workers and loggers being in the majority. I think it is safe to say 90 percent were wage-earners. Of this 90 percent, a large number are union men, I. W. W.s, A. F. of L., and a few from the Independent Miner's Union from Alaska. It is extremely doubtful if there is a German agent in the bunch. I think all fellow workers

among the internes are entitled to all possible help. They were interned not because they were enemy aliens but because they were I. W. W.s. At present their treatment is not so vicious, but their long confinement is ruining their health.

Our treatment here is about the same, except that we are military prisoners. We are allowed to write six letters per month. Up to two weeks ago, no radical papers were allowed in the compound. Now we are supposed to receive any papers permitted to be mailed. Several radical papers have come thru, but no wobbly papers.

We are composed of religious and political objecters to war. Convicted by court-martial for refusing to become soldiers. Refused to work at the Fort Leavenworth Disciplinary Barracks, put in solitary and isolation for periods ranging from two to six months. We were moved here June 20th, to be isolated from other military prisoners as the War Department didn't want our ideas and example to spread to the rest of the army. We got along fine here for over two months. Then the Commandant, because we refused to work, put us on bread and water for fourteen days besides confiscating \$102.00 of our mess money. Two days previously, one of our men, for wanting shoes, was put in the guard house, a vile place without sanitation or ventilation. They wanted us to help discipline him by feeding him bread and water. We refused to do this and our Steward was placed in the guard house also. After being confined, he was brutally beaten by Sergeant Brundt who hit him so hard that he broke his hand on the steward's head. The next day we were all put on bread and water and the two men in the guard house were put back with us.

The bread issued us was noxious. At least 40 percent of it was unfit for consumption. It was pink and green with mold. The medical officers took as high as half of it out, but it was not replaced, so we did not get what the regulations call for: 18 oz., per day.

Several men's time has expired since Sept. 18th., they are still here. The Commandant cancelled all their good time for refusing to work. It now appears that the War Department sent us here with the intention of exempting us from work, except that we take care of our quarters, cook our own food, etc., which we have done since our arrival. So, the Commandant quite recently changed his reason for cancelling the good time: He says now, "it was for conspiracy", but what kind of a "conspiracy" he will not divulge.

Below is a list of fellow members in the military part of the compound. All card numbers are not available.

Sander Maki, member of I. U. No. 800, Crosby Minn. Arrested at Crosby, June 7, 1917, for failure to register. Sentenced August 1, 1917 to eight months Mankato County Jail. After expiration of sentence, re-arrested and sent to Camp Dodge, Iowa. Court-

martialled and sentenced to be shot. Sentence commuted by War Department to twenty years imprisonment. Further reduced in March, 1919, to three years. Not a Citizen of the United States. A Finlander.

W. Sandberg, member of I. U. No. 300. Address: 3027 Sheridan Ave., N. Minneapolis, Minn. Arrested July 20th, 1917, Minneapolis, Minn., for failure to register. Sentenced October 10, 1917 to eleven months Crow Wing County Jail. Released on bail pending appeal, October 20, 1917. Re-arrested April 4, 1918, charged with failure to return questionnaire, bound over to October term of court. Released on bail April 24th, 1918. Re-arrested May 20, 1918 and turned over to military authorities on a so-called indictment dated April 29, 1918. Tried by courts-martial for technical desertion — 58th article of War. Sentence of twenty years approved July 15, 1918. Sentence reduced to three years April 1919.

Albert Stangeland, member I. U. No. 400, card No. 198167. Address: 1931 N. Hancock Street, Chicago, Ill. Drafted. Placed in confinement at Camp Jackson, S. C., Aug., 9, 1918. Court-martial sentence of fifty years approved September 17, 1918. Charge: disobedience of orders — 64th article of War. Sentence reduced to five years on April 1919.

Louis J. Gergots, member I. U. No. 1000. Address: 645 Alter Street, Hazelton, Pa. Drafted by Local Board No. 31, Philadelphia, Pa., August 24th, 1918. Sent to Camp Lee, Va. Placed in confinement Aug., 31, 1918, for disobedience of orders — 64th article of War. Court-martialled October 14th, 1918. Sentence of twenty-five years approved. Sentence reduced to three years, April 1919. Only support of widowed mother.

Allen (Clyde) Wilson, member of I. U. No. 573. Card No. 244703. Arrested June 6, 1917 at Rockford Ill. for failure to register. Sentenced July 5, 1917 to one year, "Chicago House of Correction." Time expired May 6, 1918. Held by Department of Justice until May 11, 1918. Turned over to military authorities and placed in the guard-house, Fort Sheridan, Ill. Transferred to guard house at Camp Grant, Ill., May 27, 1918. Court-martialled July 1, 1918, for disobedience of orders — 64th article of War. Sentence of twenty-five years approved. Sentence reduced May, 1919, to five years. Illegal induction.

Roy Dempsey, member of I. U. No. 573. Card No. 200940. Same case as Allen Wilson's in all details, except that, sentence was reduced March, 1919, to four years.

Robert S. Cage, members I. U. No. 573. Arrested June 2, 1918, Milwaukee, Wis. Turned over to military authorities, June 9, 1918. Placed in guard house Fort Sheridan, Ill. Transferred to guard house at Camp Grant, Ill., about July 1, 1918. Court-martialled October 8, 1918, for disobedience of orders and desertion — 64 article and 58th articles of War. Sentence of twenty-five years approved. Sentence reduced to three years June 1919. Had registered and filled out questionnaire, desertion charge is only technicality.

Nickola La Casale, Hungarian Mixed Local No. 53, Philadelphia, Pa. Court-martialed October 18, 1918. Fort Oglethorpe, Ga., for disobedience of orders. Sentenced to be shot. Sentence disapproved January 7, 1919, and changed to twenty years imprisonment. Sentence reduced to three years some time this summer.

Alfred Burmeister, G. R. U. Drafted June 27th, 1918. Arrived in Camp June 30th., placed in the guard house July 1st for disobedience of orders. Court-martialed August 22nd, 1918, sentenced to fifty years, approved, Reduced to five years about March or April 1919.

Regarding treatment while at Camp and Fort Leavenworth, would advise you to get in touch with Theo. Lunde, President of the American Industrial Company, Chicago, Ill. His son is here, an objector, and his father, Theo. Lunde, more than any other individual has continuously fought to better conditions and secure our release. He has and will be glad to furnish you all details regarding "C. O's" as we are called. I know it is unusual to expect help from such quarters, but I think Lunde is similiar to Bross Lloyd.

There are also some fellow members in the military prison on Alcatraz Island, San Francisco. Two that I know of were transferred there shortly after we were transferred here. One of them. Eric Ostrum would be glad to furnish complete details. Walter Hirshberg of Pittsburg, Pa., is a fellow worker sentenced by court-martial to the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga.

We are allowed to receive packages here, although our visiting privilege has been taken from us. One fellow prisoner has a brother in Salt Lake who is not allowed to see him.

Would like some of our papers as it has been over two years since we have seen any.

Below is a list of interned fellow workers with available card numbers, also notes as to whether they are to be deported, repatriated, or neither:

M. A. Thompson, 246199, I. U. No. 500.
 F. Herman, I. U. No. 500.
 F. Helt, 145675, G. R. U.
 — Kaesemeyer, G. R. U.
 — Bickert, 327905, No. 400.
 J. Bauer, 201764, No. 400.
 J. Hoffman, I. U. No. 700.
 C. Woyland, 53100, I. U. No. 500.
 F. Zupan I. U. No. 500.
 J. Carr, 203053, I. U. No. 500.
 — Pierog, 53916, No. 500.
 — Hetzel, G. R. U.
 G. Miller, I. U. No. 500.
 — Fisher, I. U. No. 800, (repatriated).
 P. Seidler, I. U. No. 573.
 R. Smith, Alaska Member.
 F. Jacobs, 327811, I. U. No. 400.
 — Struber, 394985, I. U. No. 400.
 R. Kerner, 295673, I. U. No. 500.

A. Eder, I. U. No. 573.
 P. Bussert, 230104, G. R. U. (Repatriated).
 P. Monday, 200733, G. R. U.
 W. Kircher, I. U. No. 500, (Repatriated).
 F. Scheneider, 249222, I. U. No. 400.
 — Kadjin, I. U. No. 500.
 H. Gehrig, I. U. No. 700.
 — Wageman, I. U. No. 500. (Repatriation).
 — Kosa, G. R. U.
 H. Miller, Alaska member.
 — Koloch, 252942, I. U. No. 500.
 — Kohler, G. R. U.
 R. Kiefer, I. U. No. 400.

The last four above named, received deportation warrants. Two of them signed for repatriation, the other two object to deportation. Attorney Christensen of Salt Lake is supposed to handle the cases. Do not know what has been done.

Remainder of the foregoing list are:

— Allman, I. U. No. 573, (Repatriated).
 C. Schoenberger, 347331, I. U. No. 500.
 T. Stolke, G. R. U. (Repatriated).
 — Rushman, 311745, I. U. No. 573 (Repat.).
 — Miller, I. U. No. 400.
 — Arnold, I. U. No. 500.

Any information I have overlooked or is needed I will be glad to try to furnish.

I had heard that Cully was deported. Received a letter from him while he was being held in Cook County Jail, after he finished his time in the Bridewell. He was a fearless rebel and made himself feared by the exploiters at Rockford. Give Fred Nelson best wishes from Wilson and myself.

We certainly are glad to hear of the favorable condition of the O. B. U., and as our activities are now confined to "well wishing" we wish the organization continued success and a favorable outcome of the trials soon to come up in the courts. Each of the Fellow Workers send their best wishes to all. Will close for this time.

Yours for THE ONE BIG UNION,

ONE OF THEM.

RED-HOT PATRIOTISM

The story of how "social climbers," "100 per cent boys" and "society parasites" attached themselves to war charity work and stole or squandered millions of dollars contributed for the benefit of war sufferers, was told by Assistant District Attorney Kilroe, in a report on his investigation of 534 "war charity" organizations.

The investigation, he said, disclosed actual thefts of more than \$3,000,000 in one year and waste of several more millions for "expenses" and resulted in the closing of 384 of the organizations. Of the 150 others investigated all were found by Mr. Kilroe to have "some vicious method of collection, disbursement, accounting and administration."

The I. W. W. Handbook

The handbook of the I. W. W., written by Justus Ebert, is now finished and in the hands of its printer. It is the most comprehensive book ever issued by the organization. Its six chapters cover more phases of the I. W. W. than any other I. W. W. book ever published. There is no long, tedious exposition, but brief paragraphs, all related and developed together. Many subjects treated can be quoted independently. Each and every chapter can be printed in smaller pamphlet size, if so desired.

The handbook bears the title, "The A. B. C. of the I. W. W. What It Is. What It Has Done. What It Aims To Do." This will indicate the character of the book, which is written not so much for the high brow and the revolutionists, as the average uninformed workingman and student. Do you wish to explain to some workers why the I. W. W. exists? Then get him to read the first chapter entitled, "The Background of the I. W. W." Do you want him to see how the I. W. W. was evolved, not made? Then induce him to read chapter two, entitled "The Forerunners of the I. W. W." And so on. Each and every chapter tells something of the reason for the I. W. W., its predecessors, history, principles and forms of organization, achievements, economic and political ideals, influences, etc., etc.

Figures are tiresome things, when given in big tables. There are statistics in the I. W. W. handbook that are so presented as to do away with the tired feeling that generally accompanies the reading of such matter. Wealth concentration, labor organization, farm ownership, tenancy and labor, trusts, financial control, prices, wages, immigration, malnutrition, physical deterioration, poverty, war—these are a few of the subjects in whose elucidation figures are employed.

Railroad workers, agricultural workers, miners and metal workers, lumber jacks, transport workers, printers, textile workers, will find that the I. W. W. handbook contains matters of special interest to them. Railroad workers will find the Plumb plan paralleled in almost every particular in the Italian railroad workers' plan of 1910. Textile workers will find that the I. W. W. woolen workers are already informing themselves about the technology of the textile industry and preparing to take the latter over. The lumber jacks will learn the extent of capitalist concentration in the ownership of timberlands. The trade unionism of the typographical industry is used as a horrible example of A. F. of L. organization. So is the International Association of Machinists, Longshoremens and others. The "industrial union tendencies" of the A. F. of L. are exposed. In brief, all the workers in the basic and leading industries will find their industries touched upon, or explained in the I. W. W. handbook.

Job delegate systems, shop organization, shop committees, local and industrial branches, district councils, industrial unions, the one big union administration, and the world-wide character of the I. W. W. are not overlooked. Nor is the present number of the industrial unions and the present membership of the I. W. W. These are all brought up to date.

The I. W. W. and the Negro, the I. W. W. and the Brain Worker, the I. W. W. and the League of Nations, the I. W. W. and the Farmer, the I. W. W. and Immigration, the I. W. W. and World-Industry—these are a few of the topics succinctly handled in "The A. B. C. of the I. W. W."

Its a book that you'll want to read and pass on to others to read. Price and date of publication will be announced later.

WHO CONTROLS THE ARMY?

Before me lies a photo of a regiment of soldiers from Camp Merritt just disembarking from a train on the steamship piers in Hoboken, N. J., for the purpose of acting as strikebreakers.

The striking longshoremens and steamship clerks are asking for a little more pay, shorter hours and better conditions—a little more happiness in thousands of workers' homes. And now the workers who produce all wealth are to be crushed by the military.

The owners of the trusts who neither toil nor spin, but only exploit the workers, they also control the military. Slaves in army and navy, don't you notice this? Slaves in industry, don't you understand this?

Join the army of the Industrial Workers of the World in the struggle for freedom.—John Korpi.

"EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW"

Milwaukee, Wis., Oct. 18.—Declaring that a confessed I. W. W. had no standing in the courts of the United States, Civil Judge A. J. Hedging today set aside a verdict which had been rendered by a jury in favor of a member of that organization. The man was J. H. Lane, a Finn, who was awarded \$150 last week by a jury in a suit against Gust Psihogios for assault and battery.

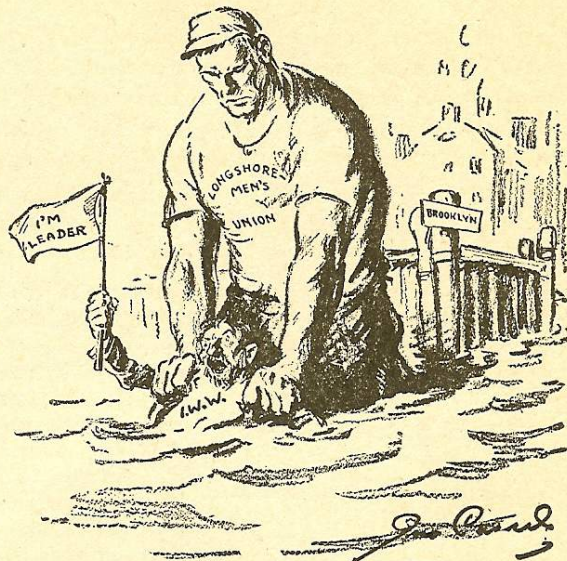
COMPULSORY LOYALTY

There were more than 370,000 trials by court-martial of American soldiers during the war, Secretary Baker informed the senate in response to a resolution of Senator Borah of Idaho asking for the facts of trials of soldiers. Mr. Baker said that 22,000 cases were heard by general courts-martial and the remainder by special or summary courts.

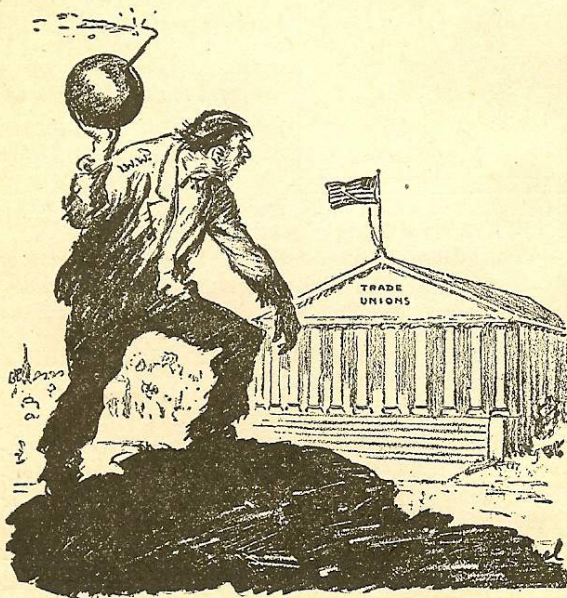
I. W. W. in the World of Cartoons



"OUT OF THE WAY! I'M THE LEADER!"
—New York Tribune.

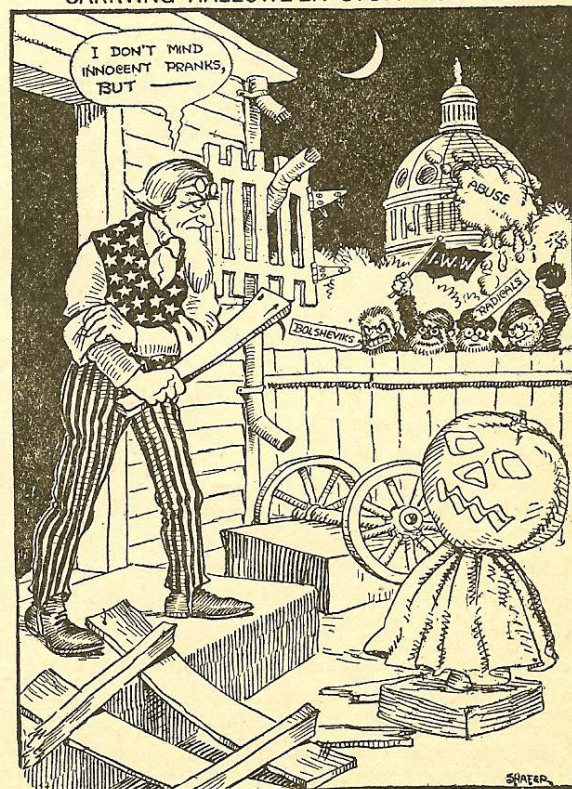


"LIKE HELL YOU ARE!"
—New York Tribune.

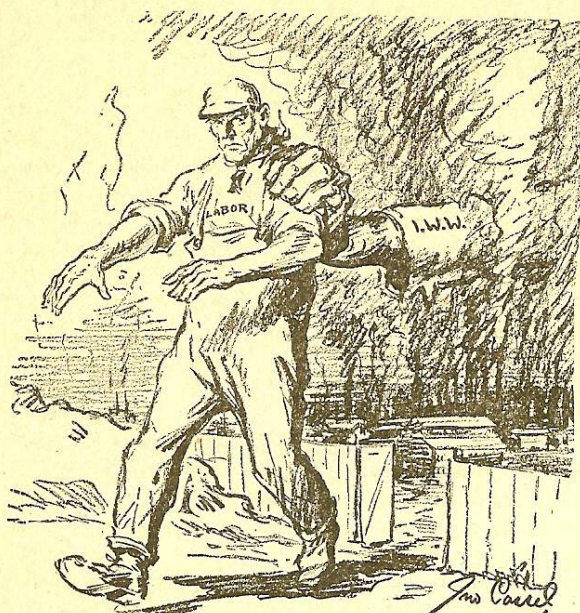


"THE RED MENACE"
—J. H. Cassel in New York Tribune.

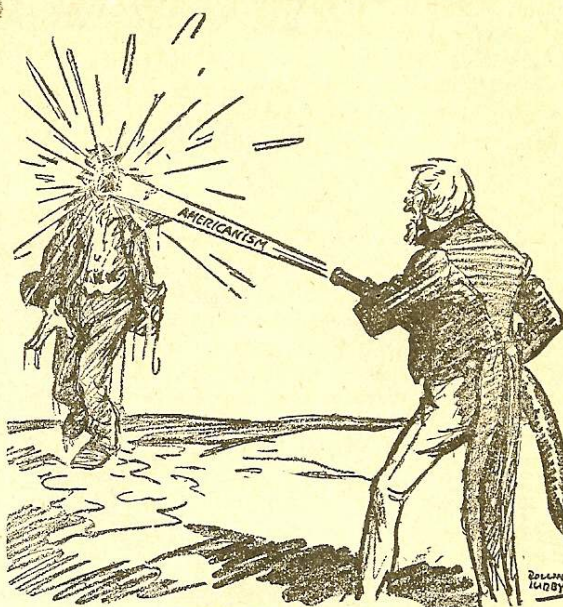
CARRYING HALLOWE'EN STUFF TOO FAR



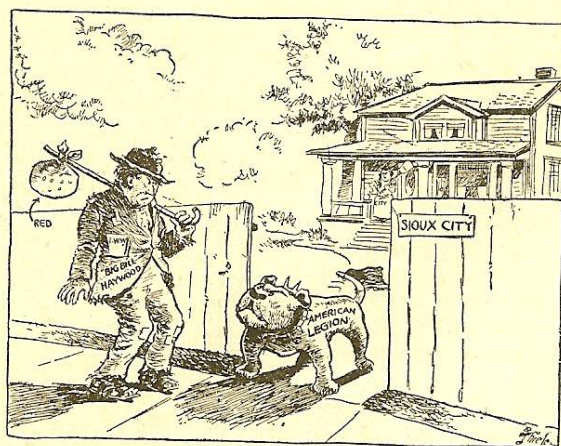
—Cincinnati Post.



"THE WALK(?)OUT"
—New York Tribune.



"COOLING HIM OFF"
—Rollin Kirby in New York World.



"MOVE ON!"
(As they would have liked to have it)
—Sioux City Tribune.

NOT SO BAD

L. W. I. U. No. 500 initiated 9,700 members during the past eight months, up to September 30th, with the last month far ahead in every way of any previous month. Considering the number of times, and the very thoro going manner in which the organization has been "crushed," this is not a bad record and the most encouraging part of it all is that there is a noticeable upward tendency in the number of initiations and the amount of dues collected.

LUMBER WORKERS GREET CLASS WAR PRISONERS

GREETINGS:

We, the delegates of the Spokane District Convention of 500, now in session at St. Regis, Montana, send our heartfelt greetings to all Class War Prisoners of the World.

We have successfully held an I. W. W. convention in spite of the masters' hostilities and opened an I. W. W. hall through our powerful organization, and soon we hope to swing the masters' bastiles open and let our Champions of Freedom out to breathe the air of a new dawn.