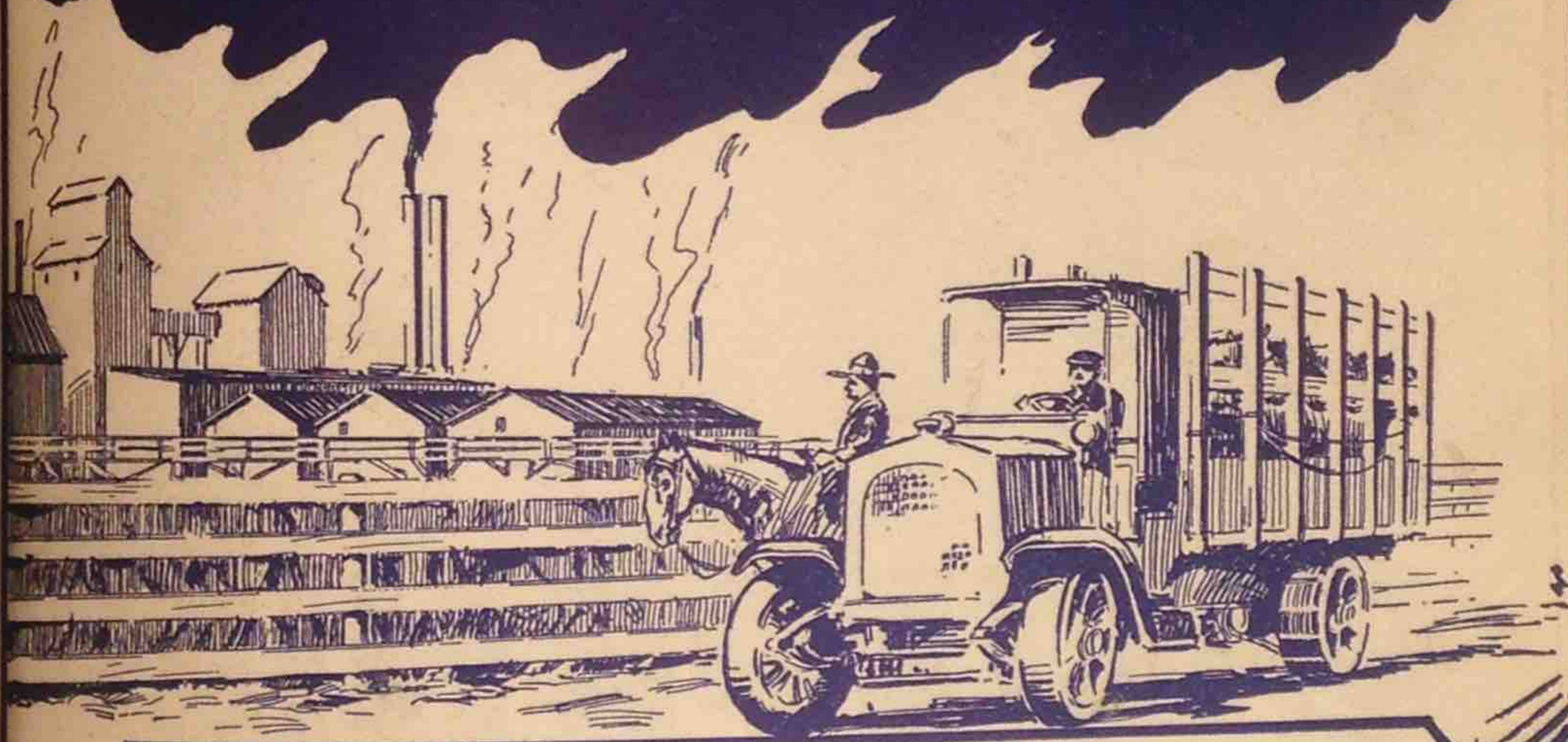


The Industrial Pioneer

An Illustrated Labor Magazine



The Packinghouse Workers' Plight

Joe Hill, a Biography

Berry Betrays N. Y. Pressmen

Class War in New Orleans

**The "Goose Step"
in Economics**

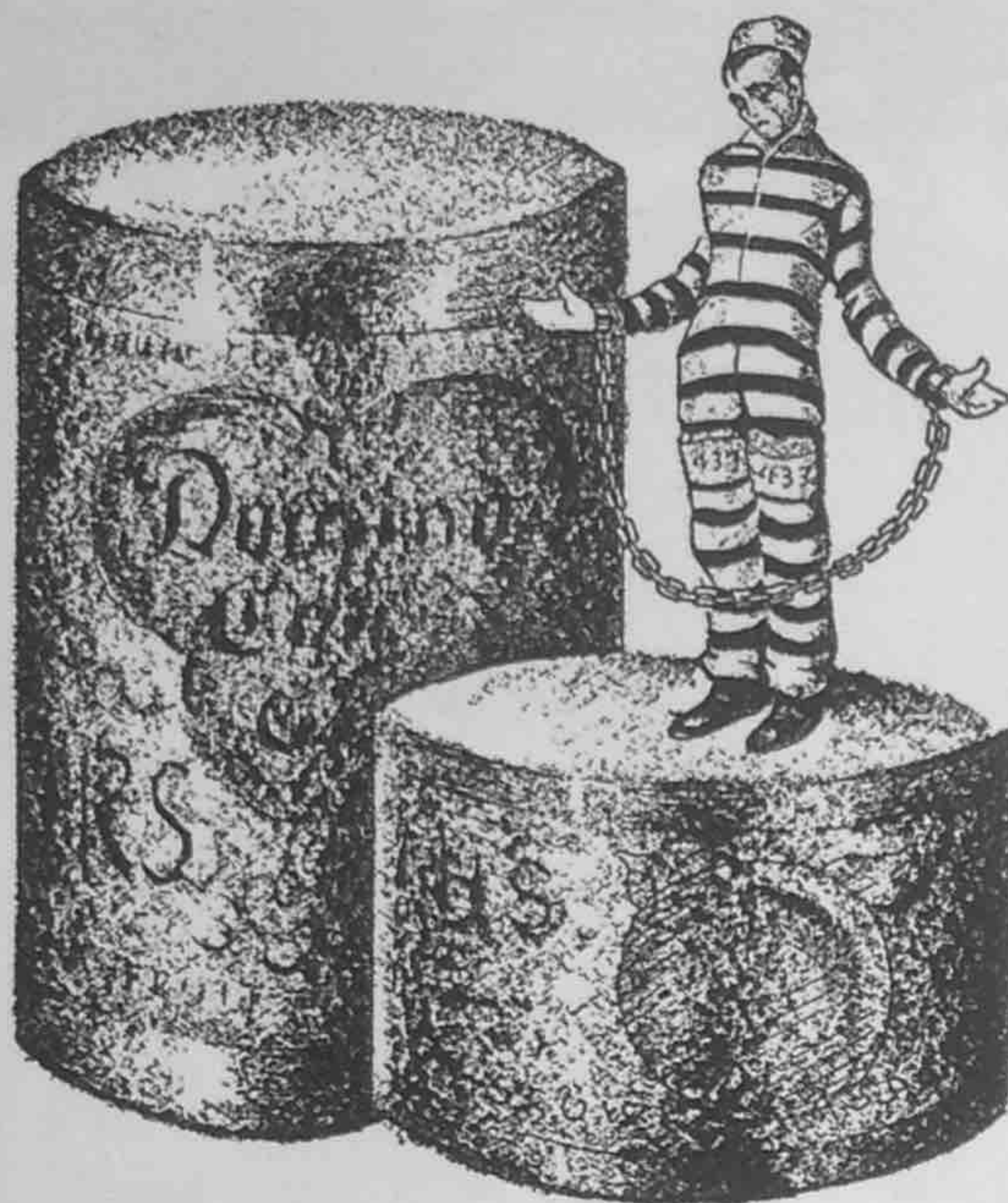
**Amnesty Day in
Minneapolis**

Poetry

Reviews

Humor

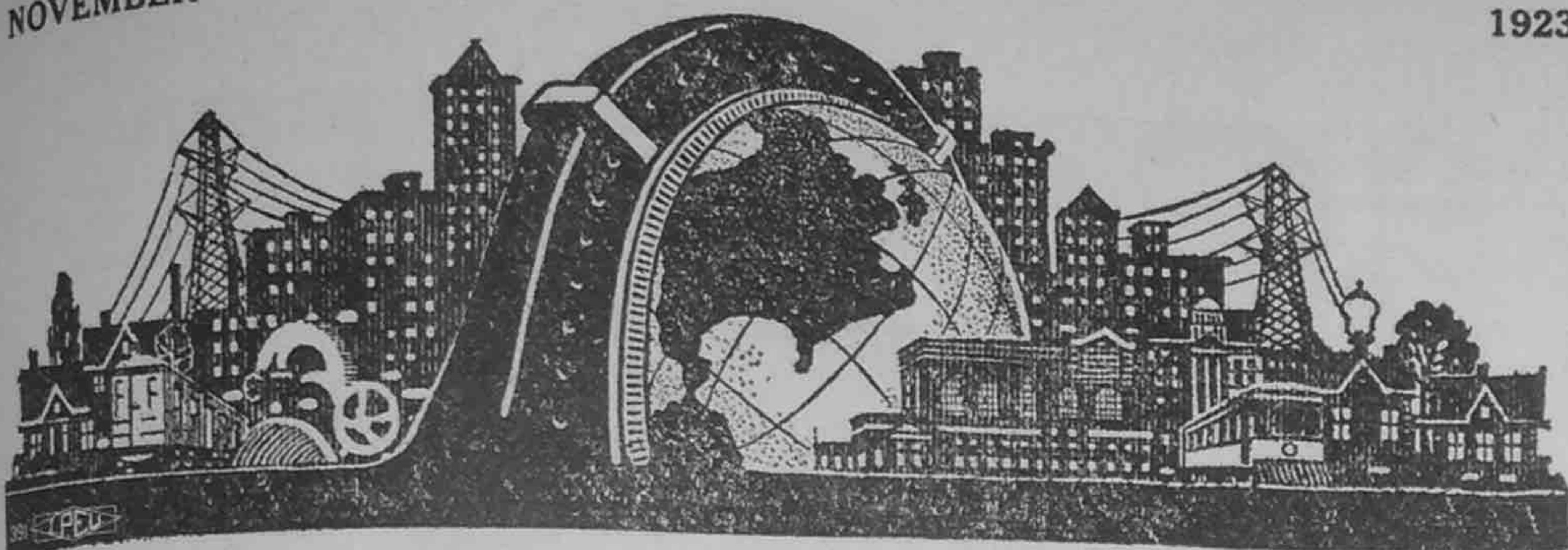
BOYCOTT



CALIFORNIA CANNED GOODS

UNTIL THE INFAMOUS CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM
LAW IS REPEALED

DON'T FORGET the Victims of the
Centralia Conspiracy Imprisoned at
Walla Walla



Vol. I.

The Industrial Pioneer

No. 7

Edited by JUSTUS EBERT

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JOE HILL

DRAWN BY RALPH CHAPLIN

(See page 23)

The Industrial Pioneer

Vol. I.

NOVEMBER, 1923

No. 7

The Packinghouse Workers' Plight

Cries Aloud for Publicity and Reform; Conditions Cause Widespread Discontent

By HENRY L. STODDARD

MEASURED by value of goods sold, the meat packing industry is the largest in the country. The next largest industries in importance are iron and steel works and rolling mills, automobiles, foundries and machine shops, flour mills and cotton goods.

In 1919 the number of people engaged in the packing industry was 196,000; ten years earlier there were only 106,000 people. Chicago engages approximately one-third of the entire number. The Big Five—Swift, Wilson, Morris, Armour and Cudahy—at present employ in the neighborhood of 40,000 men in "the metropolis of the west." This includes the clerical force as well as those doing manual labor.

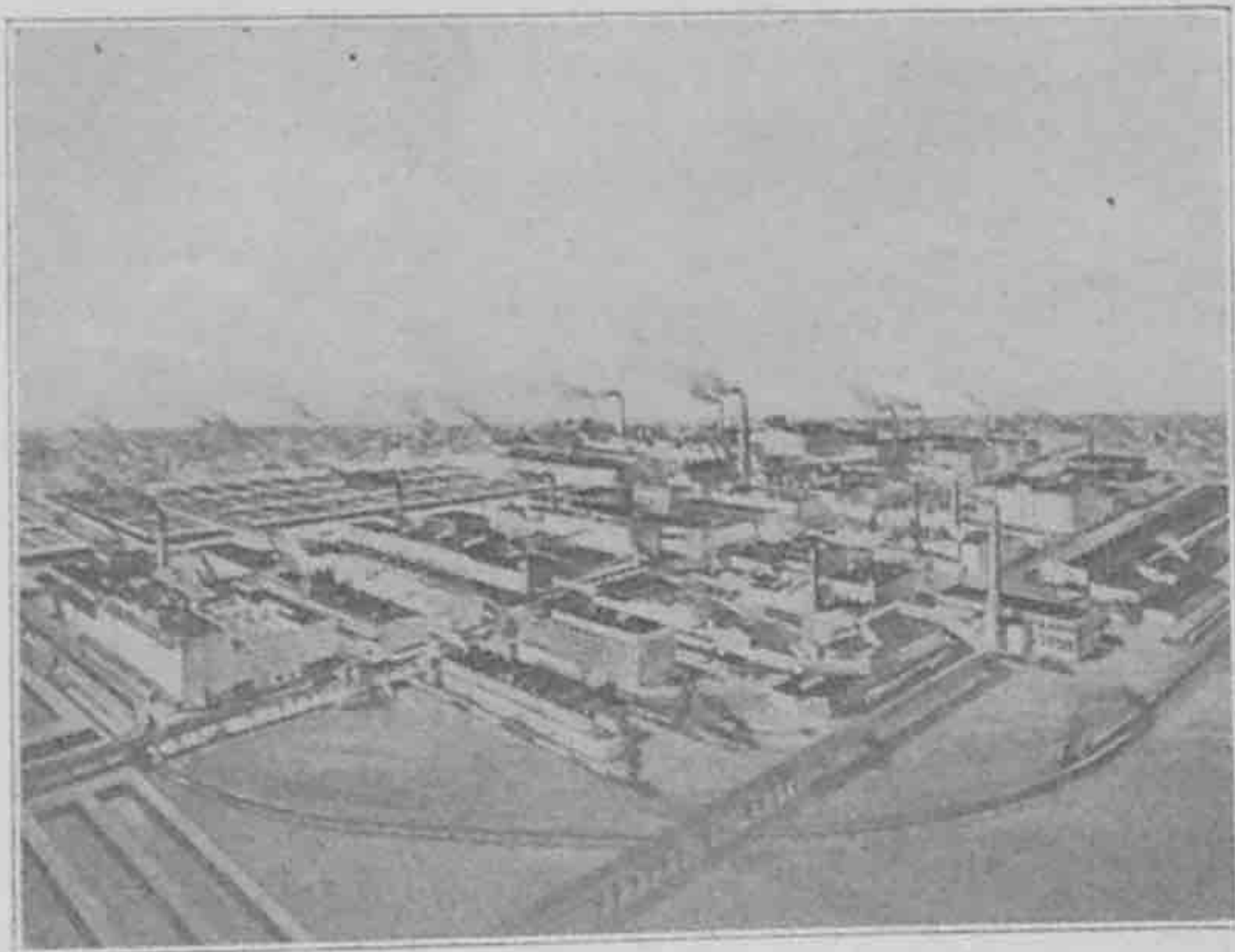
Although Illinois ranks fourth among the states having the largest number of packinghouses, it ranks first as a meat producer. And practically all of the Illinois houses are in Chicago.

Recently, murmurs of discontent have come out of Packingtown, as that section of Chicago in which the packinghouses are located is called. The workers there are very much dissatisfied. They complain of their hours and wages. They are not permitted to organize into labor unions. They are opposed to the Assembly plan and declare stock-sharing a loss. They want better homes and living conditions. They are anxious to have the outside world know their plight. Publicity, they believe, will help them.

News of this discontent having reached The Industrial Pioneer, Henry L. Stoddard was delegated to go to Packingtown and learn the facts. The results are given in the article that follows.

PACKINGTOWN is a highly ramified institution. It is the greatest stockyards, abattoir, smoke-house and meat refrigerating center in the world. Its financial backing is of the largest and most powerful. Its railroad terminal companies are among the most potent and profitable. And its corporations extend to many corners of the country and the globe. It is the quintessence of big capitalism. This is apparent, not only in the glamor of greatness, but also of poverty which surrounds it. In its residential fringe reside its workers. And there the evidences of low wages and long hours abound, in overcrowded living conditions and bad housing generally. There the children of its workers, who should love Packingtown best, shun it worst. They want none of the ill-requited labor that curses their progenitors.

Packingtown, or the stockyards, is one of Chicago show places. The packers have special guides to conduct visitors through their plants for the purpose of counteracting what they term "red propaganda." The visitors see only what the packers want them to see, however. Tons and tons of literature are published and distributed to the "public" in order to keep the packers in its good graces. One is accorded every courtesy when interviewing heads of the different departments. They advertise their courtesy and it advertises them. However, you are asked whom you represent, before you are accorded an interview.



PART OF PACKINGTOWN

The Assembly Plan

One can readily ascertain, when interviewing the different heads, that the packers' executives are busily engaged in keeping the workers from organizing a union of their own. For instance, let us see what the gentleman who speaks for the Assembly Plan of Representation has to say. Let us hasten to say that the Assembly Plan is the packers' alleged solution for labor troubles. There are 70 packing plants in the country that have adopted this plan.

Three

"Just how is the Assembly Plan of Representation formed?" I asked him.

"Each department elects a representative to the Assembly, which comprises sixty men besides a chairman. Thirty of these men represent the workers and the other half represents the employers."

"What qualifications must one have in order to represent the workers?"

"He must be in the employ of the company for one year" he replied.

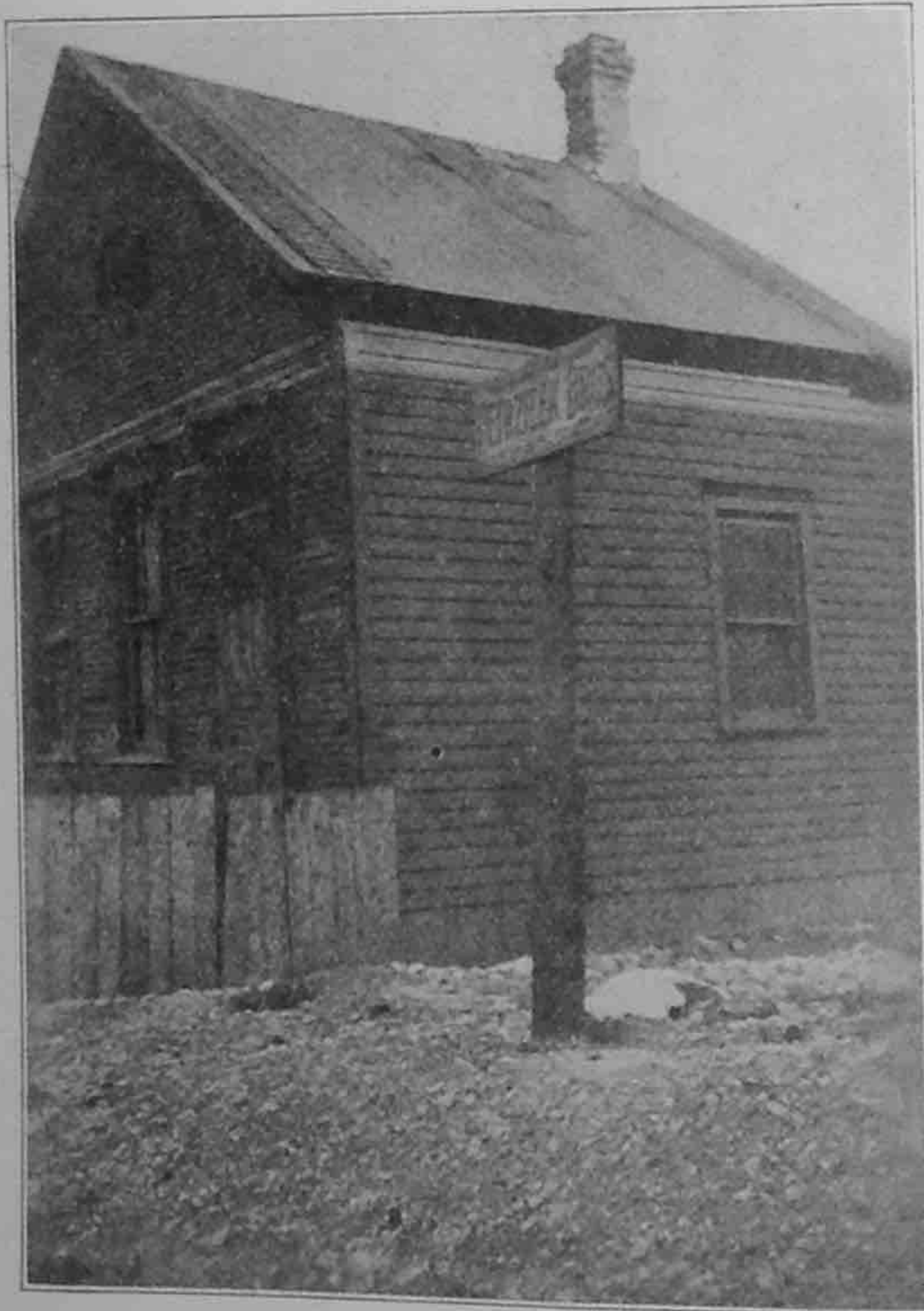
"And who represents the employers?" I asked.

"They are made up of the foremen of each department. Each department has two representatives, one for the employe and the other representing the employer. They meet once a month to take up grievances that arise among the men from meeting to meeting. They have three large committees within the assembly in order to expedite matters. Each committee has different functions. For instance, the grievance committee attempts to thresh out differences that the two representatives are unable to do in their respective departments. If the committee fails, then it is brought before the whole assembly.

Vetoing Assembly's Vote

"Before anything becomes final, however, it must have the two-thirds vote of the assembly. I don't mind telling you that we inform them from the start that we haven't turned the plant over to them."

"Let us suppose that the assembly voted for a large increase in salary; would the company abide by their decision?"



WORKERS' SHACK

Four



A CLOSE-UP OF PACKINGTOWN

"Well, if we wish we can put it to the workers via a referendum vote, and if they concur with the wishes of the assembly and we feel that we cannot meet their demands, then everything is declared status quo."

"Which means—?"

"That the same relations exist as before the assembly plan came into existence. It is up to the men, of course. If they decide to strike, we shall attempt to persuade them to return."

"Have the men obtained an increase in wages through the plan?"

"Yes, recently. But prior to that we submitted to the assembly a wish to reduce the wages. They voted favorably, and a referendum was issued to the workers who concurred in the action of the assembly. Some time later, requests came to the representatives for an increase. The grievance committee consented to an increase. The assembly then acted favorably to the employes.

"We could have given them the increase three weeks sooner."

"You wanted the workers to believe that the assembly was fighting in their behalf?"

"That's about it."

So there you are.

Assembly a Company Union

The Assembly Plan of Representation, as will be seen, is merely another name for a company union. The men who supposedly represent the workers are hard-working dependable men. The packers realize that anyone who has worked for a year continuously in the packinghouses will not do anything that will incur the wrath of their foreman, who is the representative of the employer. This fact, together with the fact that the employers have 50 per cent of the representatives looking after their welfare kills any chance of the workers obtaining a two-thirds vote in their favor.

The average worker is not fooled by the assembly plan. He will readily tell you that nothing is acted

(Continued on page thirty-three.)

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

The Great New Orleans Strike

By SIDNEY TERRY

ON the night of September 12th the colored and white longshoremen of New Orleans held a joint meeting regarding wages and working conditions. Their agreement had expired the end of August, and they had been working for a few days with no agreement. At the meeting a vote was taken and a strike declared, to take effect the next morning. All foremen were notified of the action of the meeting, and told not to hire men the next day. Not one longshoreman was working on the waterfront Tuesday September 13th.

The shipowners were electrified, no notice of the strike had been given, just a vote, and like a flash, every longshoreman on the waterfront was on strike. The bosses were frantic, they were caught unprepared. For two days they tried to get the longshoremen to go back and let their demands be arbitrated. This was refused. The longshoremen wanted their demands, and would not go back until they got them.

While the shipowners were trying to get the longshoremen to go back, five hundred cotton screwmen walked out for more wages. Conditions on the waterfront were critical, the boss had not been notified of a strike, and had no strikebreakers in readiness.

MTW Acts

Just when the bosses were going to hire scabs, the MTW of the IWW acted. Dodgers were broadcasted along the waterfront on every ship advertising a mass meeting. The meeting was held, and unanimously declared a sympathy strike with the longshoremen and screwmen, only one demand was made, the release of Class-War Prisoners.

Like a thunderbolt out of the sky came the strike call. The papers came out with big headlines, and large editorials were written denouncing the IWW for its action. But the IWW was in the fight with all the power at its command.

The IWW immediately got committees functioning, including one which got the news right



ON THE WHARF, NEW ORLEANS



NEW ORLEANS LEVEE SCENE

from the waterfront, and published it daily in bulletin form. The bulletin had a good effect, and served its purpose by counteracting the lies of the daily press.

Bulletin Makes Hit

The bulletin met with such an outburst of approval from the strikers that the press published the contents of the bulletin for three days. Everybody wanted a bulletin, there was a steady stream of workers coming to the hall for them. The number of bulletins was doubled, trebled, and then there was not enough.

A piece was published in the bulletin to the effect that the Yellow Cabs had been seen hauling strikebreakers. This met with instant denial by the road superintendent of the company, who declared he would dismiss any driver carrying strikebreakers. The superintendent used to come to the hall every day to see if any drivers had been reported to the bulletin, a few were reported, and the drivers dismissed.

A bakery advertised as supplying bread to scabs, sent a letter to the bulletin denying any such thing, also stating that they would not supply scabs with bread at a dollar a loaf. The sentiment in favor of the strikers was tremendous.

The IWW took advantage of the nervous tension of other marine workers to propagate the necessity of a general strike in the whole industry. On September 25 the teamsters took a vote, and a sympathy strike was declared. The ranks of the strikers were swelled by six hundred. Would it never stop? Craft after craft coming out and no settlement in sight. On September 26th one thousand two hundred freight handlers walked out in sympathy, followed the next day by one thousand and one hundred plate handlers. The general strike on the New Orleans waterfront was on.

Membership Increases

The press quoted the IWW as the instigators of the strike. The cap fitted. One hundred new

Five



THE REFINERY AT NEW ORLEANS

members were taken in the first three weeks of the strike. An attempt was made to get the cotton screwmen's hall for an IWW meeting, the president refused the use of the hall. The next day the white longshoremen's hall was obtained for the meeting. The meeting was a great success, each IWW speaker was greeted by terrific applause. The officials of the craft unions were powerless to stop it. Four hundred were at the first meeting, and several were turned away.

A bigger hall was needed, so the colored longshoremen's hall was obtained. This meeting was attended by eight hundred black and white strikers. The meeting will be remembered as the greatest meeting ever held with colored and white present. New Orleans was talking IWW and literature was in great demand. 200,000 pieces of literature have been distributed since the strike started. The IWW commanded the respect of all workers. An IWW card worked wonders. The card was abused to a certain extent, by irresponsible individuals, but a piece inserted in the bulletin soon stopped this.

Tied Up Solid

As this article is being written, it is the first week of October. There are about seven thousand men on strike, and there are less than three hundred strikebreakers on the waterfront. The harbor is tied up solid. Ships are laying two and three abreast. All one can see when looking up the river is ships. No crews, no longshoremen, desolated like a graveyard. "When is it going to stop?" cries the press. "When the longshoremen and screwmen get their demands," answer the strikers.

The strikers are standing solid, very few have broke ranks. The morale of the strikers is wonderful. Strikes on the New Orleans waterfront are usually very violent. This strike is almost free from violence. Violence is being condemned by the IWW both by bulletin and by word of mouth. It is severe in restraining some of the more foolish strikers from committing acts which would only harm themselves.

Agents of the steamship owners visited the reporters of all the daily papers and asked them "if they wished to make money?" Some refused, but

the majority accepted. All the reporters had to do to make money was to be at a certain place when asked by the agent. About one hundred scabs would be placed on a ship, and then the reporter would be called upon to take pictures and make a story. The "planted" story was supposed to be an example of how every ship in the harbor was being worked. The reporter got fifteen dollars a column for his story. Wishing to "make money" quick, it was an every day occurrence to see a story about a ship working cargo, covering four and five columns. The plan was uncovered a few days after it started, and was advertised both at meetings and in the daily bulletins. The solidarity of the strikers could not be broken. The costly "planting" of stories was discontinued. The grossly exaggerated statements, and the barefaced falsehoods which appeared in the daily press, did more to solidify the strikers than to weaken them.

A few days ago an injunction was applied for by the Steamship Owners' Association. The injunction went into effect immediately. A counter-injunction has been applied for by the strikers, it has been delayed for ten days, for a hearing. Several conferences have been held between the strikers and the steamship owners during the past few days, but the strikers are standing solid behind their every demand. The steamship companies have lost over four million dollars since the strike started, and are losing about one hundred thousand a day now. The strikers are standing more solidly now than they did when the strike started. Everybody who went on strike must be reinstated. All demands must be granted. The cry is, "We came out in a body, we will go back in a body".

New Orleans, La., Oct. 13.—Judge Boatner, in civil district court, today made permanent the injunction obtained by striking harbor workers against the dock board to prevent enforcement of a rule of the board barring strikers from the wharves. The court declared there was nothing unlawful in abandoning work to obtain higher wages, that the docks are public places and that "the ex-employees have the right to enter them and communicate with men at work in lawful efforts to persuade them to join their ranks in an economic struggle."

SOME IMMIGRATION FACTS

The Trade Record of the National City Bank of New York shows that of the 14,000,000 persons of foreign birth in the United States, about 5,000,000 are residents of the Upper Mississippi Valley, 5,000,000 in the Middle Atlantic States, 2,000,000 in New England, about 1,000,000 in the South, and approximately a half-million on the Pacific Coast.

* * *

Since 1830 there have been 30,000,000 arrivals in the United States. There are only 14,000,000 persons of foreign birth now remaining. What became of the other 16,000,000? Judging from these figures "the peril of immigration" is a myth.

Berry Betrays New York Pressmen

GOMPERS has been outgompered! Labor's most distinguished parasite no longer holds the record for sudden excommunication of protesting local unions. Major Berry, President of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union is the new champion excommunicator. The Major (swivel chair brigade) figuratively cut the throats of two thousand, five hundred striking pressmen of the New York local and did it while lolling in his silk pajamas on a luxuriant bed in the exclusive Waldorf-Astoria. Three o'clock in the morning!

Goaded to desperation by eighteen months of slavery, filthy pressrooms, two, and sometimes three stories underground in unventilated holes, for longer hours than Gary steel workers endured, the pressmen came up for air at the expiration of the infamous Manton Award, rendered in March, 1922.

A brief outline of the Manton Award is as follows. Federal Judge Martin T. Man-



UNIONIZING, A LA A. F. OF L.

ment of the intolerable conditions. But the International Major Berry was there ahead of them. Since his appearance on the scene the publishers have ignored the pressmen's negotiations. At the union's regular meeting, on Sept. 17, Berry was to appear in his official capacity. He failed to materialize. Messengers could not reach him at the palatial Waldorf. The men delivered their ultimatum to the publishers. Secure in their faith in good man Berry the publishers remained stonily silent. The strike was on. No paper except the New York Call and Jewish Forward appeared on the stands throughout the five boroughs of New York for two days.

With the loyalty of Berry the strike would have been won in twenty-four hours. But Berry assured the publishers that Philadelphia pressmen would willingly scab on their New York brothers. As yet no great number of Quakers have shown a willingness to do anything of the kind.



"THREE O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING"

ton was chosen as arbitrator by an agreement entered into secretly by Major Berry and the publishers in 1921 whereby all questions in dispute were to be submitted to one not engaged in publishing or printing. In this Award the judge ruled against the Pressmen in every contested point. The hours of the night shift were increased ten hours per week. Day work was increased 3 hours per week. The employer alone was given the right to dictate the number of men on presses.

This automatically reduced the pressmen's pay and made them subject to call for work any time night or day the employer demanded. That's that.

The sweltering pressmen looked forward to the expiration of the Award and better-



Information at local pressmen's headquarters disclosed a Berry scheme that staggers belief. Professional strike breakers were issued cards at the emergency employment bureaus of the International.

On Sunday, Sept. 1, 1923, Berry called a meeting for the purpose of addressing the men on a new contract that he had signed with the publishers. His first act was to have Local President Dave Simons and local committeemen thrown out bodily by policemen.

For thirty years the New York pressmen have adjusted their differences with the publishers as the differences arose. Thirty years without a strike when the men met the publishers man to man. Today they are the victims of Berryism, the natural product of official rule and trades division in labor unionism. Under the new contract, again entered into with the publishers by Kaiser Berry, the pressmen, will have a paltry increase in pay, but the old conditions of absolute dictatorship will still prevail in favor of the employer.

Yet the strike was not wholly lost, for two thousand five hundred pressmen are awakened to the true meaning of Industrial Solidarity as exemplified in the Industrial Workers of the World.

M. J. C.



Another Shameful Alliance

EVERYWHERE the workers turn they behold the alliance of capitalists and labor leaders against progressive unionism. This time it is the Brockton Shoe Manufacturers' Association and Baine of the Boot and Shoe Workers who have united to prevent working class development in organization and to perpetuate capitalism by so doing. They have succeeded in defeating the latest revolt against them. Some day, perhaps, a revolt will come with such completeness as to overwhelm them; who knows?

The latest news regarding this nefarious alliance is contained in the following item from a Boston paper:—

"Brockton Shoe Workers Fight Boss and 'Union'

"Eight days after the calling-off of the strike, the Brockton District Shoe Workers' Union held a meeting in Eagle Hall. It was attended by 700 members, many of whom had returned to work and rendered reports as to the fines to which they had been subjected for rebellion against the 'Boot and Shoe.' The business of the meeting was confined to a discussion of this angle of the case, and the manufacturers were scathingly denounced for collecting fines from their employes to hand over

to the union. Several stated that they had been re-employed after paying the regulation reinstatement fee of \$4.25, but were obliged to sign cards giving the employing firms the right to deduct \$2 a week from their earnings until Mr. Baine, secretary of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, got all that was coming to him. The idea of the manufacturers collecting the fines raised a howl of indignation, and furnished the 'last word' in absolute proof of what might be properly called a live and active conspiracy between the Manufacturers' Association and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union to 'fleece' the men and women who make shoes in this city."

This item should cause renewed activity in behalf of industrial unionism, for it is only by an increased understanding of industrial union principles, on the part of a greater number of workers, that the capitalist-labor leader alliance will be overthrown.

EXTRA!

December number of Industrial Pioneer will be a 64-page Christmas Amnesty Special. Same price! ORDER NOW!

EXTRA!
ORDER NOW!

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Social Conditions in South

By J. W. LEIGH

THOSE who are fortunate enough to claim the North, East or West as their homes, do not realize conditions under which Southern Labor, both white and colored, live and have their being; for, if the truth were told, the nation would rise and demand that those guilty pay the penalty before the bar of justice.

Florida, with its swamps and everglades, its convict camps, in which human beings, slender youths who, lured to this "land of sunshine and flowers" by the glaring advertisements of the various chambers of commerce, are flogged to death on account of their inability to produce more profits for the lumber companies, controlled in many instances by members of the state legislature, is a festering sore on the body politics and union legislation should be enacted to stop the outrages practiced on the unfortunates by the labor exploiters of that state.

Florida Open Shop

Florida is an open shop state, and labor unions exist in name only. Jacksonville and Tampa are literal hells in practically all industries, and woe betide the union man who has principle enough to stand up for his rights. Craft unionism, with its spies and scabs within its ranks, will soon deplete what little unionism there is in the state. Wages are low, averaging in the mills \$1 a day, and in various other industries fifty per cent lower than that paid in other sections of the country. This can be explained: many tourists visit that state, and becoming "stranded" by the high prices are obliged to accept any salary in order to again return to their native state. This is the alternative—accept what we give you or go to jail for vagrancy.

In Ku Kluxers' Home

Georgia, the home of the Ku Klux, turpentine camps and cotton, is claiming a shortage of labor, and according to the reports many are the deserted farms on which not even a negro tenant will reside; wages, low prices paid, is the true cause of the migration. A movement is on foot to replace the negroes with white families from the poverty-stricken holes of Europe, but up to the present time this ambition has not been realized as starvation with a government behind them is better than slavery in the southern states of America.

Carolinas Vie with Hell

The Carolinas are in the same condition, and the turpentine camps, manned by convicts, present a picture that would vie with hell itself for punishment. Beaten, kicked, starved, in order that the wives, daughters and concubines of the men of wealth may have the luxuries, pleasures, and all of this world at their command, the life of the turpentine worker cannot be conceived by those who have not visited this section of the United States.

Alabama, with its notorious convict leasing system, in which the state allows the unfortunates to



THE LURE

be worked in mines, insanitary to the highest degree, faces a legislative inquiry as to the mutiny in the mines near Birmingham, in which, it is said, that more than a score of convicts who refused to work until better food was provided, were beaten into insensibility by brutal guards.

New Orleans Storm Center

Louisiana, as usual, is occupying the front pages of the prostituted press this month with one of the largest strikes in the history of the South. Seven thousand workers on the river front are out, and have been joined by many more at Mobile and Gulfport, in a demand for a shorter work day, and an advance in wages.

This is refused on the ground that the interests cannot afford to pay the increase in competition with other ports. However, the steamship Minnesota has been fitted up with accommodations for seven hundred in which scabs are herded like cattle, and all that goes in the way of food and pleasure contributed free, in addition to a higher rate of wage than that demanded by the union longshoremen and screwmen.

The city of New Orleans during the latter part of September presented the appearance of an armed camp. Police with riot guns patrolled the principal streets day and night; at the head of Canal street two armored automobiles loaded with machine guns stood ready to mow down the workingman who asked for the privilege of existence and the right to educate and care for his loved ones.

Fully one hundred extra police officers were engaged for this affair, and the hours of service leng-

thened to twelve instead of eight without extra compensation; union men scabbed against each other; brothers, both blood and fraternal, were arrayed on opposite sides while spies swarmed the meetings at the various union halls—all for the paltry dollar to keep the breath of life in their worthless carcasses.

The workingman will pay for this in increased exploitation as the rich swear off their just indebtedness to the state.

And all this and more too, in order to make New Orleans the banner open shop city of the United States.

Bosses' Economic Action

Industries are closing down, many for the purpose of supplying men for the scab herders who would wreck the human family. The American Sugar Refinery last month laid off many of its men—not those without any responsibilities, but deliberately selected men with large families dependent on them, and those who were buying homes through various building and loan associations, in order that they might be forced to scab on their fellow man in order to save what little they had paid for a haven for their old age.

Not long ago a publicity campaign was put on with the slogan, "Own your own home," in which workingmen were practically forced to purchase property in order to secure a place to live; backed by the real estate agents, owners refused to rent; and, as a consequence, many thousands bought property at an advance of 100 per cent over its real value. This was done in order to hold them in case of labor trouble.

Jim Crowism Condemned

To the southerner, a colored man is a nigger, a beast of burden and one to be exploited; the Jim Crow law (segregation) is enforced in places of amusement, on street cars, and on the railroads; but, judging from the number of "negroes" with white blood in their veins, the Jim Crow law is lost sight of when passion rules his mind.

Formerly it was a crime to teach a negro to read and write; now all is changed, and the rascally southerner is using the negro's education to bring him back to a state of slavery—industrial this time, if you please. In the city of New Orleans is located a publication office which prints and circulates a monthly magazine sent free to all mill operatives in the South, counseling moderation and "sticking to the boss" who provides a place where you may earn your livelihood. Mill owners from Texas to Florida subscribe for their employes and this is mailed monthly in the hope of destroying unionism.

The publisher of this magazine at one time was an organizer for the American Federation of Labor, later a member of the I. W. W., a member of the Ku Klux Klan, and is now publishing a weekly newspaper booming a Roman Catholic candidate for governor—such is the versatility of the average southerner.

King Herod, of old; Judas Iscariot, Pontius Pi-

late, Nero, and Benedict Arnold all can wear the white robes of purity and sit on the right hand, etc., when their deeds are compared to the southern open shopper who controls press, pulpit and schools of that section of the "land of freedom" which seceded from the central government in 1860-65, and whose ancestors today are roasting in hell for their endeavor to maintain human chattel slavery.

The forefathers of the present generation sought only to enslave the black man—today all who labor for an existence are included. Truly can it be said to the worker of the South, "Unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains."

NEGRO MIGRATION COSTLY

Sherman's march to the sea cost Georgia no more than the loss that state is suffering from the migration of her Negro population, according to the Georgia Bankers' Association. The state is threatened with a loss of wealth amounting to \$27,000,000 this year. It has 46,674 vacant farm houses, 55,524 idle plows, and a labor shortage of 70,8434 persons.

INDIA GETS IWW BANK VIEWS

INDUSTRIAL Review for India," "for promoting India's industrial development and foreign trade relations," is published in English in Berlin, Germany. In its September issue, under Review of the Press, it treats of "Workers' Banks—two viewpoints." The first view is that of conservative German bankers. The second is that of the IWW, as expressed by Industrial Pioneer in the article "Labor Turns to Banking," by Alois Senfelder, Jr.

This article is reprinted in its entirety, and is credited to "the August issue of the Industrial Pioneer, a new magazine issued from 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A., an official organ of the Industrial Workers of the World, an industrial unionist organization in that country." Some advertisement, say we!!

BUILDING WORKERS GROWING

A SMALL number of building construction workers met in Chicago in July, 1920. They received a branch charter as the Chicago Branch Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330, in August of the same year. Since that time, branch charters have been issued to Omaha, Sioux City, New York, Minneapolis, Jersey City, Detroit, Milwaukee, Seattle, San Francisco, Oakland and another in Chicago; twelve in all. In this way, "330" has grown into one of the most important industrial unions within the IWW.

The monthly increase in membership in all branches is going on steadily. Calls are coming in for literature and information. A handbook on the Building Industry is being printed. Address orders to Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.



FORREST EDWARDS OPENS MEETING

Minneapolis' Big Amnesty Meetings

By FORREST EDWARDS

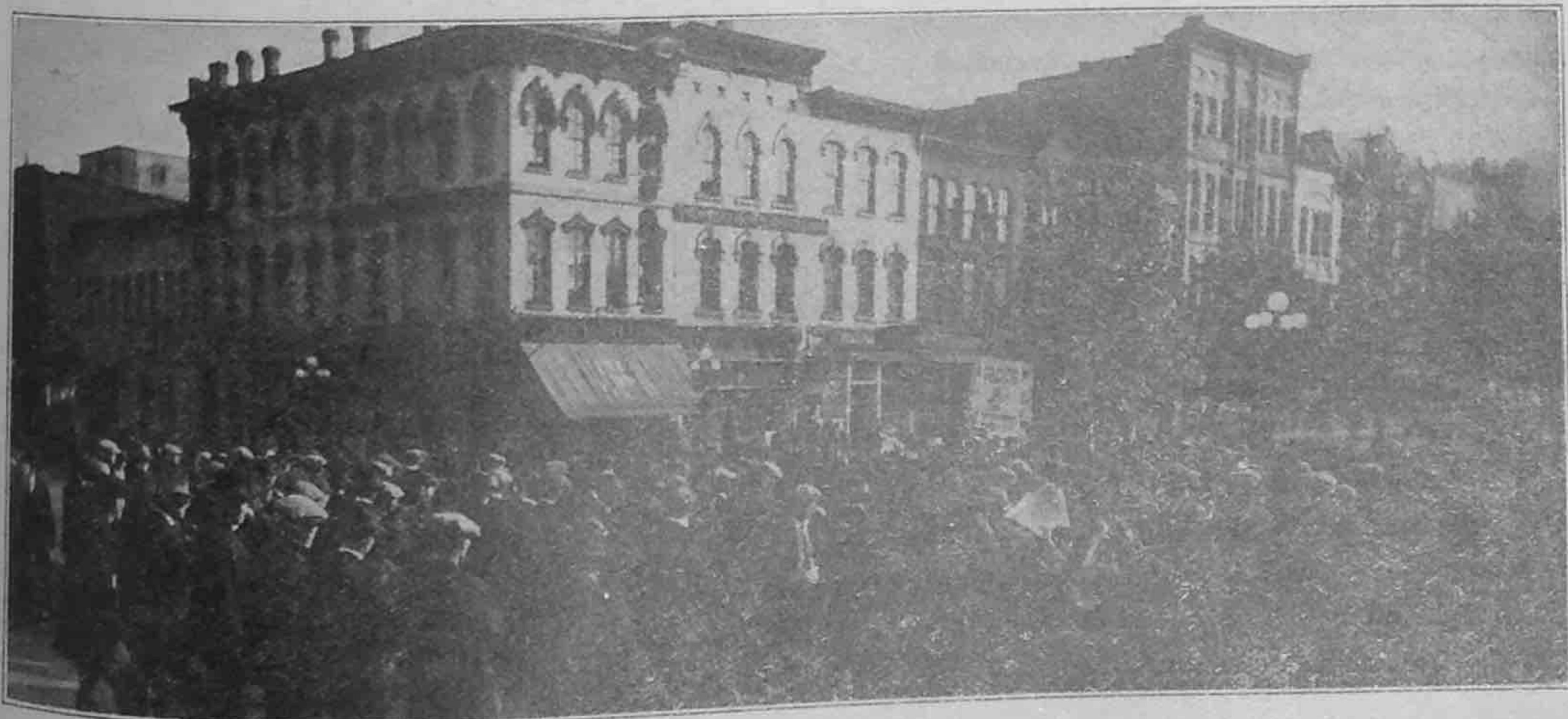
THE enthusiasm with which the working people of Minneapolis answered the call of the General Defense Committee for an Amnesty meeting at Gate-Way Park, Sunday, Oct. 7th, may be fairly judged by the photos taken of those meetings. Should we estimate the size of the audience as being 1,000 there would be many to tell us that our estimate was by far too small. So then, we submit the photos and leave the reader to judge for himself, as to the size of the assembled crowd.

Resolutions of protest against the further imprisonment of Political Prisoners were passed with a deafening roar and the chairman promptly sent them on to the President.

The speakers urged every one to work, not merely for the release of the men in prison, but for a full and complete amnesty. Nothing less will satisfy the working class, nor will it meet the issue

raised by the imprisonment of men for "the mere expression of opinion."

There were two meetings held that day; one at 2 P. M. and the other at 7. The afternoon meeting was a large one and its success from every angle compelled, even the most optimistic of the Committee, to feel like pessimists when their previous estimates were compared with the general results. But the evening meeting was equally as large if not larger, than the afternoon meeting. Anyway, there is no doubt in the minds of the workers here, about the injustice of keeping men in prison; a prison that is a burning hell; for the "mere expression of opinion." That something must be done about it is certain. That the best way to help get the men out of prison is to support the General Defense Committee in its "Amnesty by Christmas" campaign, was proven by the very generous collections made up at these meetings for that purpose.



RALPH CHAPLIN ADDRESSING GATHERING

San Quentin

By CLIFFORD B. ELLIS

HERE where the shadows rest 'neath prison walls

And grim decay meets grimmer solitude,
The rotting silence grips the heart it thralls
And beckons unto Death, dim-limned and nude.

Yet neither death nor silence nor decay
Can quite suppress the spirit of the race
That cries for freedom, though the shadows lay
Their gray depression on the dreamer's face.

The dreamer—who foreshadows to mankind
The longed-for freedom—man's predestined goal.
Though tyrants flourish for the nonce and bind
The body, they cannot immure the soul.

So, from these walls, the vanguard of revolt
Marches in spirit columns on and on,
Summoning the future to the grim assault
Upon the distant plains of Esdraelon.

The future is the dreamer's. From these walls
The shadows vanish when hope's tocsin rings
Its magic summons through the dreamlit halls
Where Destiny decrees the death of kings.

'Tis not in vain—the beckoning stars dispel
The transient midnight of the soul's despair;
For Liberty was nurtured in a cell:
These prison stones are Freedom's altar stair.

The Awakening

By RUDYARD KIPLING

WE have served the rich for a thousand years,
Through blood and tears and shame,
As serf and slave our manhood gave
To win them wealth and fame.

They have slain our best in their vile gold quest
By war and toil and dearth—
If blood be the price of their hoarded gains,
Good God! We have bought the earth.

There's never a war been waged
But we were the men that bled;
We've left our bones in all their lands
(Right well are they mapped out red.)
The spoils we share are the medals we wear,
While the widows and orphans wail:
Who writes the story of Empire,
Good God! writes a shameful tale.

There's never a paper published now
But tells how the worker died.
That the tale of wealth might be increased
And capital justified.
Go, count our dead by the grim pit-head,
Distorted, scorched and rent—
If blood be the price of dividends,
Good God! They are cent per cent.

Dividends, rent and interest
Chicanery, lies, and brag—
These are the gods of Empire
Their symbol—the British flag.
By guile and craft the lands that laughed
Now weep 'neath these strange gods' spell—
Yet, if blood be the price of atonement,
Good God! We have ransomed hell!

We have served the rich for a thousand years,
Sparing neither age nor sex;
White slaves in their "hives of industry"
White rats on their sinking wrecks,
By sea and by track they turn us back
From all that makes life fair—
The blood of our martyred class cries out,
Lord God! There's a debt to square.

"The Loop"

By C. B. ELLIS

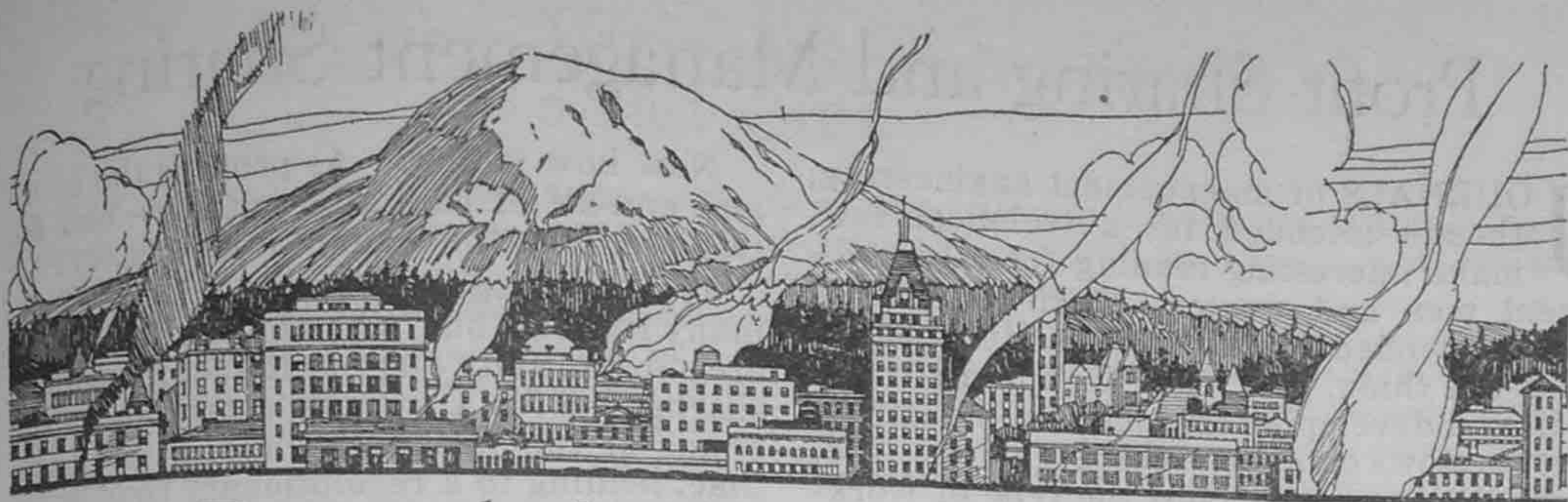
Here is the canyon depth of Life's unrest—
The rushing torrent of the heart's desire.
Thwarted and hurtled from its chosen quest
To gloom thru shadows of the city's mire.
Long sun shafts leap as from a funeral pyre
To die amid the murky walls of stone,
While from the deep abyss the devil's lyre
Rolls its deep bass, a dying people's groan.

These shapes that once were men, perhaps have
known

The symphony of dreams, the lilt of love,
The joyance of a soul unleashed, the strown
Blossoms of the free heart's treasure trove:
But thru this gulf they mingle in pell-mell,—
A city canyon and a road of hell.

Christmas Holly

Little sprig of Christmas holly,
With your berries turned red,
To make Christmas packages
And puddings look jolly,
Can you tell me
Why men turned red
Are imprisoned for their folly?
—Margaret Loring Thomas



Tacoma, the Lumber Capital of America



TACOMA is proudly proclaimed, by its Lumbermen's Club (employers' association), "The Lumber Capital of America." It is a city of 100,000 population, strung out several miles in a semi-circle along Puget Sound, with Mt. Rainier as a majestic background. Four transcontinental railroads have their terminals in Tacoma; and Pacific Ocean liners leave its docks for Australia, Japan and the Orient.

Tacoma is a great lumber manufacturing, shipping and distributing center. Its Lumbermen's Club boasts "that here is manufactured everything in Pacific Northwest forest products." It also proclaims "the remarkable raw material resources and great manufacturing capacity of Tacoma and the Tacoma district," with their largest remaining stands of merchantable timber—the large number of tremendous trees of Douglas Fir, Red Cedar and West Coast Hemlock—and their big, modern, up-to-date saw mills.

Next to lumber and timber and all their by-products, the other principal industries in Tacoma are flour and grist mills, foundry and machine works (mainly railroad), smelting, printing and publishing. During the war, shipyards were a Tacoma industry. But since the armistice, they have fallen to pieces.

Weyerhaeuser Headquarters

The St. Paul-Tacoma Lumber Co. has the biggest mill here. The Weyerhaeuser and other big interests have their headquarters here.

As indicated above, Tacoma is in the heart of a great logging country. The outlying districts are full of logging camps. As a result, Tacoma has also a transient, migratory population. Its main street, Pacific Ave., is, in certain sections, also its skid road.

Tacoma is also a breaking-up place for tows intended for the mills. There is also some coal mining in the surrounding country.

Wages are at a low ebb in "The Lumber Capital of America." They are said to be 25 to 50 cents

a day less than in other logging centers. Living conditions are also at a lower ebb than in surrounding countries. Mill wages are also reported bad. R. R. shop wages are better than those in camp and mill; although they are also bad.

Tacoma and the Tacoma district are the poorest organized territories in the state, when viewed from labor union standpoints. This accounts for its low wages and bad conditions. As becomes its reputation as "the lumber capital," Tacoma is hostile to labor unionism. Street meetings have been forbidden here for quite some time now; tho there is a let-up in this sentiment recently.

The I. W. W. has three branches in Tacoma. They are Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120, Marine Transport Workers No. 510 and Railroad Workers' No. 520. Efforts are being made to interest the mill workers in organization.

IMPERIALIST POLICY AT WORK

ACCORDING to Washington, D. C., dispatches, manufactured goods constituted nearly one-half of American exports during August, while foodstuffs prepared and unprepared constituted 22 per cent. In August, 1922, foodstuffs exported constituted 37 per cent and manufactured goods 35 per cent of the total. As in recent months crude materials for use in manufacturing in the United States made up the largest single item of August imports.

This increase in manufactured exports is illustrative of the workings of imperialist policy. The latter requires large outlets for manufactures, in exchange for raw material and cheap food. Under this policy, domestic agriculture will tend to disappear, as its products will, eventually, be imported. This is the history of England, where the imperialist policy has its origin and has long been in vogue.

READ THE I. W. W. PRESS

Profit Sharing and Management Sharing

JOURNALS of management engineering, though intended for a technical few, make interesting reading for all intelligent men and women. Their perusal is recommended to the workers in general. For one thing, they show the infinite training and developing that modern industrialism bestows on its foremost employes. And, conversely, they suggest the type of workmen that are necessary in the counter-management and administration of labor organizations; especially if the latter are ever really to be the framework of a new society.

The modern industrial machine is managed and administered by material fitted and tested by university and factory alike. Men take long courses, covering years of study and industrial experience, to fit them for places at the head of this machine; and it is not likely that labor unions headed by men of an opposite type are going to meet them without suffering some disadvantage. What is needed is not only industrial unionism, but also workmen equipped both by study and experience as officials, in a word, more comprehensive and able labor organizations and organizers to head them.

These journals are also invaluable for other things. They are reflexes of the ideas and sentiments agitating capitalists in the management and administration of industry. These reflexes reveal the fact that capitalism is fearful of its own advance; and that even in the expansion of its own basic principles it beholdeth its own destruction. No matter how cautiously it proceeds it works only to its own confuting and confounding. This is especially true of profit-sharing and its allied projects.

A recent writer, in *September Management and Administration*, declares of profit-sharing: "Better esprit-de-corps, morale and a stabilization of the working force, are what employers expect in return for the outlays involved in profit-sharing." "But," he adds, "many intelligent people feel that the employer is deluding himself with his expectations, that in the end he is stirring up more difficulty than he is now hoping to overcome."

Again he declares: "The investigation made by the writer three years ago was sponsored by a large group of manufacturers in this country. The results indicated that 'profit-sharing' is no panacea and cannot be offered as a solution of the wage problem."

Now how is this? As profit is the be-all and end-all of capitalist initiative and enterprise, why this slump in its efficacy?

The investigator above quoted finds many reasons, but, when boiled down, they are substantially due to the fact that profit-sharing instills a socialistic attitude in the minds of the workers; while, at the same time, leading to a revolutionary conclusion. The workers come to feel that profits are inseparable from their labor. This is dangerous to the theory that profits are due to management and capital. Further, and what is more important, profit-sharing leads inevitably to management-sharing. Having got the idea that profits are due to their labor the workers want to be in a position to use their labor most efficiently in their creation; and so they come to want to run things, that is, share in management. As the investigator above quoted states, "It is the worker who is intensely interested in management-sharing and industrial democracy schemes." And one big employer who favors profit-sharing, i. e., Mr. Eastman of Kodak fame, declares, "That is not evolution in industry. That smacks of revolution!" Other business men "believe it leads directly to bolshevism!"

Thus it comes that profit-sharing stands condemned. And thus it also comes that simple capitalist expedients to head off revolution become, in capitalist hands themselves, the very medium to that end. What the capitalists fail to see is that every method used to solve the relations and proportions of wages and profits only serves to open up the whole problem of capital and labor. The capitalists, in order to gull the workers, fill them with a lot of idealistic palaver, never seriously intended, such as "the partnership of capital and labor," "the industrial democracy, in which both capital and labor rule," etc., with the result that the workers take it seriously and strive to apply it, with the still further result that, in the end, the capitalists have to discredit the whole hypocritical business, to the undoing of their own robber system. For it becomes evident then, in the failure of these schemes, that capitalism has no way of expanding to the greater good of its working class adherents and that it is, accordingly, undermining its own structure. In other words, strive as it will, it is sowing the seed of its own destruction.

READ THE I. W. W. PRESS!

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

It's the Workers Who Know

By FRED L. TIFFANY

OFTEN we hear our benevolent leaders refer in an apologetic way to the dignity of Labor. They will speak of the honest toiler and the credit that should be given to those that earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, as though the latter needed defense.

In this they are not so sincere as they would like to have the masses believe, since we note that, with all their protests, there is never a hint of the wealth that belongs to the class—that is, the builders of the world's structures and the producers of the vital necessities of life, such as food and clothing and shelter. Never a hint of the knowledge that it takes to build a skyscraper for their offices; never a word about the things workers must know who build bridges for them to cross. In fact, their only aim seems to be to make the slave class proud to be slaves and to teach them that it is not worthy of any other consideration.

The worker, himself, oftentimes will say his task is easily understood and does not seem to require any knowledge, all because of the propaganda of these learned men of civilization. The worker is ever ready to own up to the intellectual superiority of the mouth-pieces of this propaganda, so imbedded and deep-rooted has been the impression.

But comparing the productive and necessary learning of the two classes in society, one can see that it takes but little knowledge to collect profits and thereby live without any useful function in society. One does not have to sit up nights and rack his brain compiling figures and constructing plans for appliances that are safe and useful for society until he has a headache when he is collecting profits.

On the other hand, when we view the modern structures in the cities, we can't help but see, if we only think, the tremendous amount of brain work of real value that it takes to make these structures safe for the use of the hundreds that will need them and will come some way or another in contact with the results of this knowledge on the part of the worker applied for their safety. How many realize that it takes knowledge to build a skyscraper that will not fall down or cave in under the tremendous load that is piled up on its floors? To transport messages hundreds of miles in the space of just a few moments, to force a train over the top of a mountain loaded to capacity, to produce the necessities of life in sufficient quantities, to supply the needs of the masses and to provide the comforts of life, these are brain-requiring jobs. In fact, it takes real brain work to do any of the useful things in this civilization and keep down the cost of effort at a minimum.

Most of us, in our insignificant way, do not begin to understand the tremendous proportions of industry and the scientific knowledge that it took to build it all. But look upon the structure and consider that a worker must be able to tell of what thickness the iron must be to withstand the use and the load it has to carry. The worker can tell even before it is built what will be the capacity of production. He must know the size of rivets, the size and thickness of the iron and the ingredients of the concrete and its thickness, the



BUILDING A CHICAGO SKYSCRAPER

number of supports and braces. All this must the working class know and many things more. They must know the effects of the weather and the effect of ageing and to figure the cost of production.

Yet the compensation of the workers is of such a meagre substance that the worker is barely able to exist from day to day. Ground down to poverty and degradation and compelled to put all his time in for a boss who controls the world by his economic power of ownership.

Think this over, fellow workers, and then assert your dignity of labor by organizing in scientific industrial unionism and compel the liberation of the class war prisoners and the allowance of decent living conditions.

On Dividing Labor Into Castes

By ALOIS SENNEFELDER, JR.

THE working class is being continually divided into castes and strata of various kinds. We accordingly hear of factory workers and white-collar slaves; manual workers and technicians; migratory workers and home-guards; laborers and managers; easterners and westerners; political actionists and non-political actionists; company unionists and regular unionists. And, as if this weren't enough, we recently have had another division added, namely, the producers and "the wasters." In the former division are classed all the producers of useful commodities, such as food, clothing and shelter, etc.; in the latter, the non-useful workers, such as movie makers, amusement, commercial and advertising men. It is presumed, in this division, that the producers favor revolution that will wipe out "the wasters" and that as a result the latter will be found in the ranks of the reactionists, in opposition to any change for a better society, should any attempt to inaugurate the latter be made.

Now all this division can only have one result, and that is to divide and conquer labor. When introduced by employers it serves a useful end (to them). But when made by the workers, it is of questionable value; in fact, it is absolutely detrimental to their interests, which require solidarity and not organization or disorganization according to classifications, or castes.

Wage-Earners All!

It must be apparent to all, that all workers, whether skilled or unskilled; manual or managerial; migratory, or otherwise, have one thing in common, namely, they are wage-earners, or to use a more 'high-falutin' expression, salaried employees. That is, they work at wages or salaries for the profit of others, whether individuals, firms, corporations, or combinations of capital. Further, they are all a part of the modern industrial process, and the latter is not complete without them. Strikes in which unskilled laborers have withdrawn their labor power, leave the technician high and dry. That is, his scientific research and ability are rendered useless by their economic action. And vice-versa, the unskilled workers are powerless without the co-operation of the technician. So why dignify either of them; or attempt to separate them into castes? They are all wage-earners, exploited by capitalists for profit, and necessary links in the chain of industrialism, or production and distribution. This applies as much to Steinmetz as to the humblest laborer working together with him in the plants of the General Electric Company.

Common Ground For All

It follows that since all workers are wage workers exploited by capitalists and necessary to production and distribution, that caste divisions are of no practical importance to labor organization. The latter, especially when of the industrial union type, is concerned with finding the denominator common to

them all, and organizing them accordingly. This will be found in their mutual interests as wage-earners and in their association together on the same tasks or processes. To organize them just as they work should be the aim,—all in opposition to the antagonistic interests of their exploiters, the capitalist class.

Not only are these divisions of the working class of no practical value to labor organization, but the presumptions on which they are based are untrue. Take, for instance, the belief that there is a gulf between mental and manual labor, i. e., between the common working class stiff, so-called, and the technician and scientist. One has only to recall the sympathies and activities of Steinmetz, Stuart Chase, Walter Pavalok, and other men of scientific prominence, to realize the absurdity of this delusion. One has only to recall further, Abner Woodruff, a civil engineer, whose writings have enriched the literature of the I. W. W., to know how ill-founded these presumptions are. The fact is that men of science and technology are tending to join labor in organizing and finding a way out of the nightmare, known as capitalism, that now haunts the race. This tendency should be encouraged and not derided.

Unfounded Presumptions

Take, further, the presumptions about the producers and "the wasters." There is no evidence to back the belief that the wasters, so-called, are, or will be, reactionary. Take the movie men. Many of them are organized into unions; and some of them favor the Russian revolution. In fact, the movie has been a great aid to Soviet Russia in its movement to secure American recognition. As for the amusement folks, who will deny their readiness to volunteer at entertainments for the benefit of working class organization? And who will fail to recall the Equity strike? Many advertising men, and the writer has worked 30 years among them, and consequently knows wherof he writes, realize the wastefulness of their profession, and are also organized in unions.

These men know that, with a proper reconstruction of society, they will be provided with useful outlets for their talents; that they will become teachers, lecturers, expounders, in brief, part of the educational system. Humanity will still want art, music, books, entertainment, in the new society, as at present; and it will be our delight to provide them untainted by capitalism; for social progress rather than private profit.

In conclusion, we reiterate: Organize all wage earners and salaried employees just as they work, and not according to some remote possibility that will not exist, if present tendencies persist and our program to reduce hours and change conditions, so as to provide useful employment to all willing to work, is carried out.

We should refuse to be divided and conquered.

Making Machines of Bank Clerks

MENTAL labor, like manual labor, is fast becoming machinized. As a result, the typist departments in the offices of corporations, located in modern sky-scrapers, look very much like the sewing-machine rooms in a shirtwaist factory. Rows and rows of girls sit alongside of and behind one another, transcribing from dictaphones or stenographic notes. Or else they are operating multigraphing and duplicating machines of one kind or another. And when they are through typing, or multigraphing, there are addressing, sealing, stamping, weighing, and other machines to send their epistles automatically on their way.

One firm, dealing in an office appliance, says, in an advertisement addressed to corporations employing big clerical forces: "Machines in your office are as great profit makers as those in your factory." Another concern, manufacturing an automatic typewriter, declares that with one girl operating three of their machines, corporations can save 10 salaries. Typing, duplicating, and mailing machines tend to cheaper and increased production. The result is that typists are becoming more numerous than the jobs supposed to be awaiting them.

Another revolution is also going on in the accounting rooms that are housed in lofty, tower-like buildings, the abode of banks and other great corporations. "Mechanical accounting" is the specialty of a large number of machine companies. They are making adding, calculating, tabulating, accounting and registering machines that reduce the mathematical brain work to an automatic process guided by an operator. The machines require speed and certainly of touch, rather than mental calculation in their manipulation.

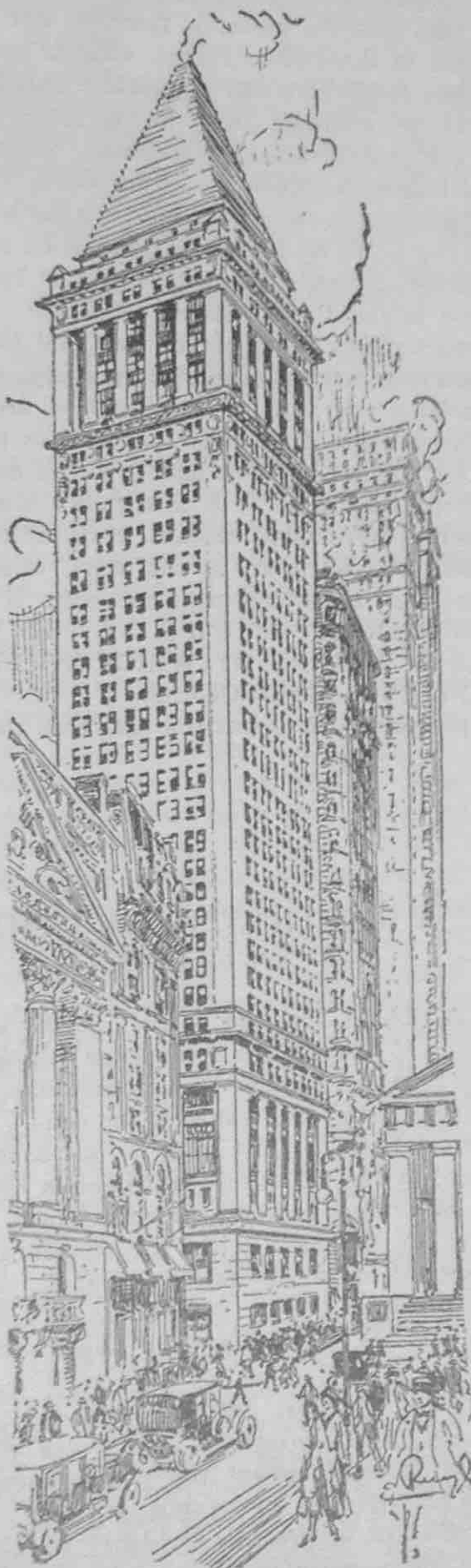
The machinizing of office work and accounting is developing much discontent, especially among bank clerks. In New York City, there have been a bank clerks' strike and threats of strikes. Agitation demanding more pay is also noticeable among them. Bank clerks feel the new regime most, as it has reduced them to a highly specialized, over-spiced and underpaid class of workers. They now feel themselves more akin to factory workers than ever before.

CAPITALISM ON DEFENSIVE

THE American Bankers' Association in Convention assembled at Atlantic City, listened to what the press is pleased to call "an attack on radicalism," but what was really a defense of capitalism, by its president, J. H. Puelicher. This last named individual glorified capitalism as "having brought to all people more comfort and greater leisure than has any other system thus far tried."

He failed to add, however, that it has also brought more war and danger of extinction to civilization than any other system thus far tried. These are little things the Puelichers overlook. The destruction of 10 million human lives in warfare means nothing to them. Nor does the coming war, with its threatened eclipse of the race. Profits is their ultimate goal, even tho the heavens fall.

No wonder they are on the defensive!



A SKYSCRAPING HIVE FULL OF BUSY BANK-CLERK BEES

The Bloody Regime of Wall Street

THAT our claim that the I. W. W. is world-wide is correct, as far as the principles of the organization are concerned, is again vindicated by a pamphlet with the above title, that has been published by the Syndicalists of Sweden (the S. A. C.) The pamphlet is written by Fellow Worker John Anderson, himself an active member of the I. W. W. up to the time that he was deported from the United States in 1919.

The fact that the writer is familiar with modern capitalism in the United States, with its conditions and Labor Movement, and the further fact that the pamphlet is published in a so far away country makes the pamphlet very interesting reading matter and it is an excellent boost for the I. W. W.

The pamphlet is devoted to showing the effectiveness of the I. W. W. form of organization and that the I. W. W. is the only real exponent of Industrial Unionism in the United States.

The writer lays stress on the fact that the I. W. W. follows the road of economic necessity, and that its principles and form of organization are therefore always up to the minute, as there is no hampering by dogmas or rules laid down by some one a hundred years ago. It is also shown that while capitalism is developing onward, craft unionism is developing backward or, at the most, is standing still; and that therefore craft unionism is out of date and **CANNOT BE USED BY THE WORKERS AS A WEAPON BY WHICH TO DEFEAT THE UNITED MASTER CLASS.**

The pamphlet brings out the fact that the I. W.

W. was not organized by any notoriety seekers who would be here today and gone tomorrow, but by class conscious workers, due to the necessity for such an organization to enable the workers to combat the one big union of the master class.

That the I. W. W., from its first day of existence, has been carrying on an uncompromising struggle against the combined forces of capitalism, and that the whole history of the I. W. W. is one full of bitter struggles, with more sacrifices than any now existing organization can show, is also made evident.

The pamphlet insists that the revolutionary principles, and effective form of organization is the cause for the masters' fear of the I. W. W., and for the bitter onslaught on the organization. The I. W. W., further insists the writer, has survived this persecution, due to the sound teachings of the organization, but has not only survived but today is stronger than ever, and when everything else is cast aside as useless the I. W. W. stands alone as the only hope for the working class and the only danger for the master class.

This pamphlet reveals the history of the I. W. W., with all its bitter struggles and all the sacrifices that have been made by the I. W. W., too many to mention in this brief review. It shows what the organization stands for, its aims and objects, and that the real rebels in America are found in the I. W. W., and nowhere else.

What does this pamphlet show, if not that the I. W. W. is world-wide?

— Card No. 451235.

A Vibrationist in Print

(A Review by 794514)

DR. ABRAMS, inventor of the Electronic Reactions of Abrams has made some tall claims in his time, but he must be a modest man, withal, for he never claimed to resurrect the dead.

Nevertheless this is just what he has done. The oscilliclast, or the vibrations prevalent in his office, or some other strange and occult machinery has revived out of the high school magazines and the inner pages of country newspapers, out of their predestined peaceful graves, a shabbiest collection of indecent and ragged corpses than Gabriel will ever see.

The Doctor, namely, has written a book, called "The Diary of A Physician." It starts with the well know anecdote about the young doctor who diagnoses his first case wrong, but saves the patient's life nevertheless, by pressing so heavily on his stethoscope in his nervousness, that he breaks the hitherto unobserved abscess between the fellow's ribs.

It contains the overworked yarn of the medical student who conceals the paper containing the proof of a crime in an incision in his arm.

It ends with the burlesque of the union doctor who has his patient well cut open when the six o'clock whistle blows, and the doctor works no overtime.

There are a few other odds and ends of old stuff in this book—whatever in blazes it is, it certainly is NOT a diary. Neither is it humorous, in spite of an evident conviction to that effect by the author and some really valorous attempts on the part of Gropper, a good cartoonist, to make it funny.

The one good thing that can be said about the miserable publication, aside from this, is that it is also not propaganda for the Abrams theories of medicine.

[Publisher, Modern Press Corporation, New York City.]

December Industrial Pioneer, 64 pages, Special Christmas Amnesty issue. Same price. Do your bit for the political prisoners. Get subscribers. Increase bundle orders. Push circulation.

The "Goose Step" in Economics

A Review of Watkins' "Labor Problems"

By CLIFFORD B. ELLIS

IF exhaustive and painstaking labor could produce a great work Prof. Gordon S. Watkins of the chair of economics of the University of Illinois would have accomplished it in "An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems." The work is not without value to the student of conditions in industry. The careful training of the scholar is in evidence throughout the work and sustains the interest. The accumulation of data shows sound learning and discrimination in an effort to state the problems and their causation fairly and justly. It is only in his conclusions that the professor falls down; and herein is exemplified the sterility of intellectual effort trammelled by social and economic convention. Labor problems are not a subject for dry, academic, conventional treatment. They are the problems of the people—the struggling, sweating masses whose relations are too complex to be measured by rule and line and who will blunder to their destined goal of liberty in spite of all the schools.

In Good (?) Company

If Professor Watkins has been guilty of the error of non sequitur, he may take comfort from the fact that he has great company. Herbert Spencer, in the original edition of his "Social Statics," and John Tyndall, in his famous "Belfast Address" were victims of the same logical inconsistency. The economic indicia of the times point straight to the abyss which neither the capitalist nor his academic spokesman dares face; and out of that gulf rises, militant and terrible, like the genius of the fisherman's bottle in the "Arabian Nights," the frowning face of an awakening working class, intent upon world industrial dominion.

Rotund Phrases No Mental Substitute

"Fundamentally," says Prof. Watkins, "the motivating force of all social progress is the instinctive desire of the human race to achieve political, social and economic freedom."

Just here is the elementary fault of the entire work, an academic devotion to rotund phrases rather than clear-cut and accurate analysis: for political and social concepts are not instinctive, they are of late development in human relationships, and mere "desire" is not a "motivating force." Desire may and does exist eternally latent in the human complexes, both social and individual; yet all too often desire expends itself in idle dreams. Economic impulsion, however, is a force, the fundamental, elementary force which produces all secondary social and political phenomena. Men may indulge idle desire in all sorts of conditions from prosperity down to extreme poverty, and die with desire unsatisfied and unattempted; but let economic necessity lay its gaunt hand upon the dreamer and even the most phlegmatic awakens to action. Had the professor not been under economic duress to ignore the law of economic determinism or at least to



slight it as being the key used by radicals to unlock the mysteries of bourgeois idealism, he would not have repeated this confused method of dealing with the splendid material at his command and would not have landed in an intellectual bog.

Some Enlightened Glimpses

It is, indeed, strange that the professor, who has so accurately and ably traced the history of colonial immigration with its sordid tales of the "redemption-er" and the "soul-driver," could ignore this law of human progress. He quotes Prof. John R. Commons as saying that half the colonial immigrants landed as indentured servants. Driven by want, these free men and women of England and the Continent embraced long periods of slavery as a means of ultimate escape. "Political and social freedom" was not the prospect of the indentured servant. Their economic condition shaped the destinies of America, social and political. Of this reflex Professor Watkins gives a brief but very enlightening glimpse. It ought to satisfy the pessimist whose inverted vision harks back to the good old days that, perhaps, there is a hiatus in his data.

"Immorality of women servants and the system of kidnapping and selling young boys," says Watkins, "being sufficient evidence of the demoralizing influence of the entire system."

The Industrial Revolution

In tracing the economic history of the colonies and the emergence of labor problems in England, the work does not vary much from the usual order of such works. The industrial revolution which followed the introduction of steam, the disappearance of handicraft and the early phases of mercantile and manufacturing capitalism are given a brief summary ending with the statement that the factory system of the United States was born with the con-

stitution in 1787, when the first cotton factory was built at Beverly, Mass. The last traces of the manorial system disappeared and laissez-faire or free competition in industry was introduced to usher in the new era of capitalism.

The work gives a very clear and succinct review of the development of machine production from its earlier stages to the vast integration of capital represented by such institutions as the United States Steel Corporation with its 268,000 employes, its \$1,000,000,000 capitalization, and its total assets of \$2,430,000,000. Professor Watkins summarizes this process of integration very significantly for the worker in the final paragraph, thus:

Industrial Integration

"Integration of industry results in (1) a widening of the breach between the owners of industry and the wage-earners; (2) increasing power of resistance to labor organizations and their demands for desirable standards of wages, hours, and conditions of labor, and (3) powerful influence over politicians and legislatures, which makes possible the defeat of progressive legislation designed to aid wage-earners and consumers." There is further information along this line in the chapter on employers' associations and their activities. Quoting the Commission on Industrial Relations, the paragraph concludes: "Almost without exception, the employees of the large corporations are unorganized as a result of the active and aggressive nonunion policy of the corporation managements. Furthermore, the labor policy of the large corporations almost invariably determines the labor policy of the entire industry."

Usual Conventional Inability

In discussing the nature of wages and labor power, the professor displays the usual conventional inability to see the woods for the trees. He confounds the laborer and labor power and uses them as interchangeable and synonymous terms. He seeks to inject into the traffic in labor power a human element. "Unlike a commodity," he says, "labor is not a passive thing. The essential fact about labor is that it is human. Labor power is inseparable from the personality of the laborer, and that personality is a complex of instincts, impulses, passions and motives. Labor resists an unfavorable market whenever it is possible." Yes, professor, but it is never possible. You evidently forgot that only on the preceding page (Page 93) you had said, "Labor cannot wait. The great mass of unskilled workers possess no surplus that permits holding out for a more favorable market." And in so far as the human element is concerned the laborer may paraphrase your statement that labor is human with the statement that cattle are bovine. They, too, have personality with "complexes of instincts, impulses, passions and motives," but they reach the stockyards just the same and by an impulsion no more drastic than the hunger and want that drive the worker to the factory where the slaughter is only more prolonged and cruel. When you speak in terms of idealism, you are not talking economics,

professor. Your emotional stresses should not be used in dealing with the Garyfied steel trust, but rather reserve them for blank verse. Mr. Gary's ilk buys labor power as a commodity and even now demands an increase in immigration to cheapen the commodity.

Falling Foul of Marx

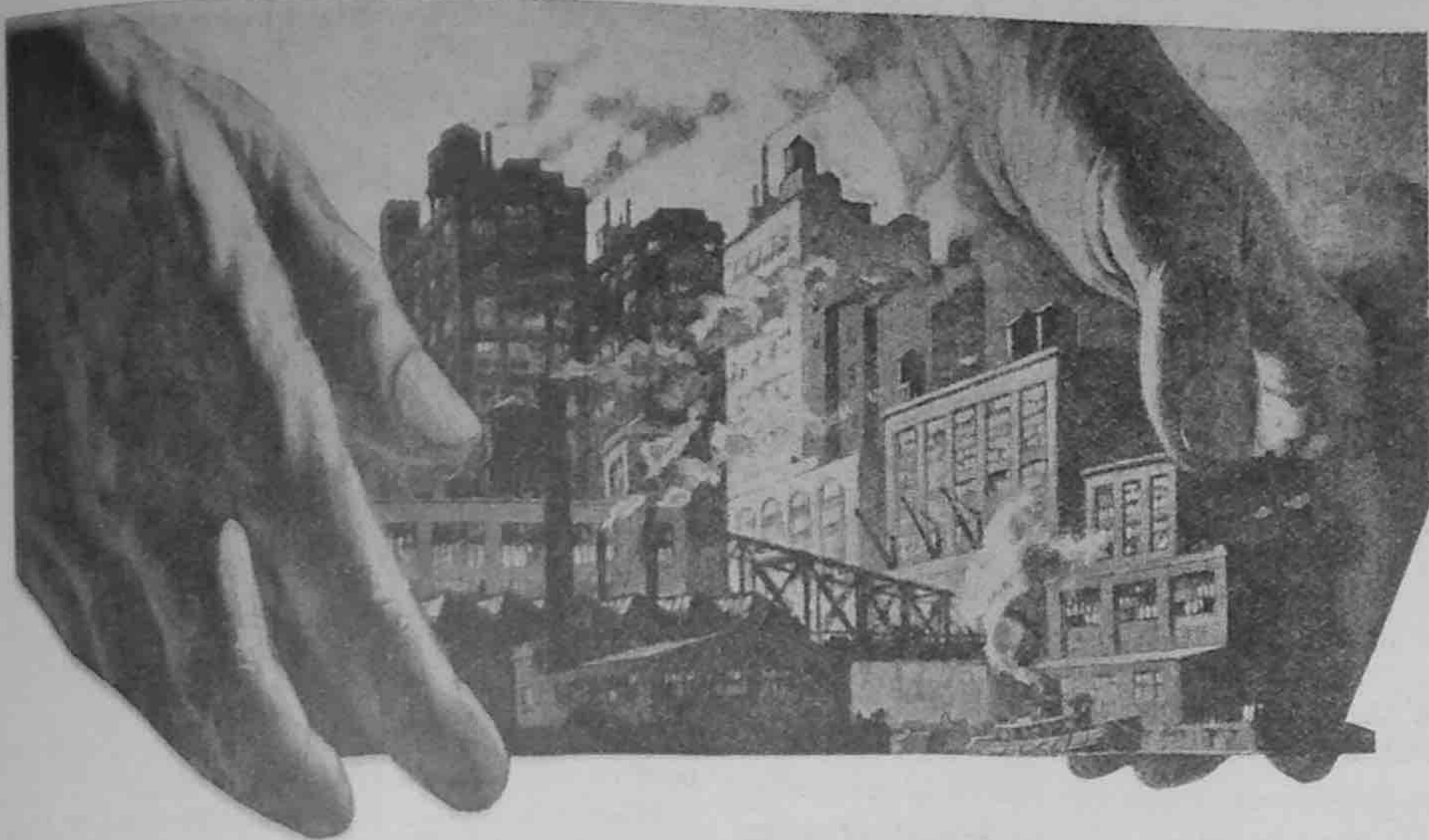
In dealing with the Marxian theories of value and surplus value, the professor is equally unfortunate. Of course, he denies their validity. Economists retained by capitalist-controlled universities would deny the laws of physics and mathematics if they interfered with the vested rights of capital. "The Marxian theory of value," says Watkins, "disregards the fact (!) that value is governed by competitive forces, that is, supply and demand." Let us take water, for example. The supply is unlimited; the demand universal. The demand is just as great ten miles from Lake Michigan for instance, as at the beach and the supply is attainable to anyone at any distance by walking the intervening distance. What then determines the value of this water, the supply or the walk? Or, if it is piped to the consumer in unlimited supply, what again determines the value, the unlimited supply, or the labor involved in the piping? Even a college professor ought to be able to answer this.

Idealism versus Economics

The problem of women in industry is treated at some length. Professor Watkins recognizes all the evils just as he does those of child labor but his inability to see labor power as a commodity again interferes with his vision and causes him again and again to pit idealistic desiderata against the workings of merciless economic law. Although elsewhere in his work he has recognized that the advance of the machine process displaces skill and supplants it with cheaper and still cheaper labor power, regardless of ideal and ethical considerations, first, unskilled males, then women and finally children, Professor Watkins persists in his "personality" viewpoint and makes the usual idealistic recommendations to remedy the evil. He thinks the conditions should be relieved by (1) the voluntary action of the employer, (2) the interference of the state, and (3) unionization and collective bargaining on the part of the women themselves.

The Subordination to Industrialism

It is difficult to restrain contempt for such puerile reasoning as this. The professor has shown elsewhere in the work that he recognizes the preponderating influence of industrialism over the political state (in his criticism of capitalist integration) and yet he recommends that the "tail wag the dog." The tendency of this age is pronouncedly toward the subordination of the political to the industrial functions of the ruling classes, and there is not likely to be any reversal. If voluntary action of the employer were his desire, he is precluded from exercising his discretion by the same inexorable economic law of competition. He must maintain competition with the most selfish and inconsiderate employers of labor and these latter determine the conditions



The Strong Hands of Labor

Directed by its own ingenuous brain, the strong hands of Labor create all the wonders of industry, only to enable scheming capitalists to stick these wonders, in the form of stocks and bonds, into their private vaults, there to manipulate them as their own personal profit prescribes.

But there are signs that the workers are awakening to the folly of their course. They are revolting against the trade union leaders who would fain bind them to its continuation. They are opposing company unions and distrusting employers' plans presumably formulated and inaugurated for the workers' benefit. They are demanding a share in the management of their own creations and are arousing capitalist fears by their growing interest in industrial democracy. Labor, as the capitalist threat of dictatorship proclaims, is stirring. It perceives dimly indeed, its own; and clamors for it.

Spread the light! Spread the light!!

of the labor market. The third recommendation is practical and will be attended to in due time by the workers themselves. When it is rightly accomplished, there will be no need of the other two.

In the conclusions drawn from the data presented, the work is full of inconsistencies. The statement is made that "Strong organizations of employers and employees are indispensable to successful collective bargaining." This is followed by a vigorous endorsement of the prevailing trade agreement or contract as practiced by the craft unions, a practice which renders them weak and futile by pitting them as disintegrated factions against the integrated masses of capital. Yet the professor has some glimmerings of the trend of the times in the following:

Some Sane Glimmerings

"Labor organizations are the result of definite, ascertainable causes which operate in the economic and political life of the nation," and again, "Un-

ionism is an attempt to co-relate the workers' organized power with the changing structure of society," and "Labor has endeavored to co-ordinate its power with the increasing concentration of power in the hands of organized capital."

And yet Professor Watkins displays no conception of the completed form of unionism in industrial organization. He speaks of the only exponent of this progressive form of organization, the I. W. W., in a manner which shows that he has no idea of its scope and purposes. The very bitterness with which this organization is hated and the manner in which it is persecuted by the vested interests of integrated capital should have shown the professor the effectiveness of its plan, and the tenacity with which it has survived it all should have proven to him that it is the true industrial reflex of the age.

The work is summed up in the final chapter with certain "General Principles of Procedure" for the

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Steel Drive's Good Results

INTEREST in the drive of Metal-Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440, IWW among the steel workers continues unabated. So great was the interest during September that '440' placed five organizers in the field and credentialed 25 new delegates. Connections were made with 10 new cities, three new charters for branches were received and three branches were reorganized. A Central District, with Cleveland as headquarters, was also organized. "440" has also distributed over 250,000 pieces of literature (of which there is a great demand), in six different languages. It is pushing the IWW press, securing hundreds of subscribers among new members and interested steel workers. Thus far, Solidaridad, the Spanish organ, has got the largest proportion. Special issues of Industrial Solidarity and Industrial Worker have

solution of the problems. These consist of eight general propositions of which the first two are sufficient for illustration: "(1) recognition of the common interests of employers and employes; (2) protection of the well-being of wage-earners, managers, investors and consumers in the production and distribution of wealth." This scarcely requires comment. It is but restating the problems in different form; it is not a solution nor means of solution, for it is precisely what bourgeois idealists have been striving to do, lo, all these many years; and striving, too, in the face of inexorable economic and biological law. The sheep have no interests in common with the wolves; the workers have no interests in common with their exploiters. Think of safeguarding the well-being of investors, consumers and wage-earners at the same time. The investor's dividends are drawn from effective exploitation of both wage-earner and consumer and every degree of intensive gouging has been capitalized into some form of debenture and sold to other investors until the efficiency of a manager is determined by the skill and acumen he displays in devising new and original methods of further exploiting the consumer or pressing down the sweated wage of the worker. The well-being of the investor is the hardship of the consumer and the worker. The consumer, too, is placed in the position of profiting by the sweat-shop and the exploited labor of women and children. Common well-being, indeed!

Come, come, professor, you really are not serious. Had the well-being of the children of toil been well looked after you and your profession would not now be the recipients of comfortable salaries drawn from endowment funds which, in turn, are wrung from the sweat and weariness of mothers and the anaemia of children who feed the factory Moloch in endless sacrifices.

["An Introduction to Labor Problems," by Gordon S. Watkins, Ph. D.; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.]

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also been distributed where most advantageous. "440" now prints its monthly bulletin, instead of mimeographing it, as formerly. A copy of its first (October) issue was mailed to every individual member in the union. All bulletins, special and regular, are not only mailed to individual members of "440," but also to all the branches and organizations in the IWW. "Publicity" is the motto of "440."

The financial income of "440" has tripled as a result of the steel drive. The October Bulletin publishes an honor roll of contributions from 17 different steel centers. Appeals for financial aid have been addressed to 8,000 persons. The financial problems of "440" have been solved for September and October.

"440" has also sent out 2,000 letters to prospective members asking them to join.

Much cumulative benefit is expected in the future from "440's" publicity work. An organizer is going to make a trip to Atlantic coast cities to awaken further interest in the steel drive there.

On Nov. 5th, "440" will hold a convention at Cleveland, Ohio, to lay out an Eastern campaign. It is expected that this Cleveland convention will surpass the Toledo conference both in attendance and results.

CONVERTING THE SWEDES

INDUSTRIARBETAREN (Industrial Worker), is the latest projected addition to the IWW press. It will be printed in Swedish and appear for the first time with a Christmas or New Year's number. It is being published by the Scandinavian League for IWW Propaganda, Albert Stone, Secy., 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

There is now an annual Swedish immigration to the U. S. of about 20,000 persons; and Industriarbetaren is going to be printed for the purpose of winning them over to IWW ideals and organization. The Swedes are quite numerous in the building industry and many of them are staunch upholders of the ideal of industrial democracy, as exemplified in the teachings of the IWW. It is hoped to add to the numbers of the latter.

Considerable interest is shown in the new publication in points as wide apart as Sweden, Brooklyn, Seattle, Minneapolis, Chicago and Canada. The plan is to raise enough funds in advance to pay for the first few issues and thereby secure enough receipts to cover expenditures afterwards.

Scandinavians are requested to get behind INDUSTRIARBETAREN.

**READ THE I. W. W. PRESS!
INDUSTRIAL WORKER
INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY
INDUSTRIAL PIONEER**

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



ORGANIZING, NOT MOURNING—LUMBERJACKS COMMEMORATE JOE HILL'S DEATH IN THE JOE HILL SPIRIT

Joe Hill, a Biography

By RALPH CHAPLIN

JOE HILL'S funeral took place in Chicago in 1915. Fellow workers who attended this funeral—historical in the annals of the labor movement—will remember the amazement and horror with which good citizens contemplated the magnitude of the event. As a rule when persons prominent in public life pass away, persons distinguished and honored by the capitalist system for services rendered, their funeral services are impressive also, but only after a perfunctory and formal fashion. Other distinguished and honored persons assemble to pay homage to their departed fellow. Curious crowds look on with more or less indifference, the hearts of very few are really touched and the affair is soon forgotten.

But when the bullet-riddled body of Labor's Songster was placed at rest the outpouring of the people was spontaneous and unprecedented and the grief truly genuine. The funeral procession itself was miles in length and it took hundreds of men and women to carry the furred banners and the floral offerings. It seemed that the entire working population of Chicago had turned out for the occasion. The streets were black with spectators and all traffic was suspended.

Naturally the good citizens were astonished,—the more so because Joe Hill was a common migratory worker who, far from being respectable, had been

shot to death as a felon by the respectable, distinguished and honored authorities of the State of Utah. How could people be expected to understand?

What Kind of Man Is This?

While the endless throngs of workers were pouring into the undertaking rooms of the West Side Auditorium to pay their last respects to the mortal remains of Joe Hill, one of Chicago's biggest newspapers asked editorially and with genuine surprise, "What kind of man is this whose death is celebrated with songs of revolt and who has at his bier more mourners than any prince or potentate?"

The "Songs of Rebellion" were Joe Hill's own songs—the valiant, deathless and unconquerable part of him that continued to live and to battle after the body had crumbled to dust. And such songs they are! As coarse as home-spun and as fine as silk; full of lilting laughter and keen-edged satire; full of fine rage and finer tenderness; simple, forceful and sublime songs; songs of and for the worker, written in the only language he can understand and set to the music of Joe Hill's own heart.

It is not generally known that Joe Hill was on his way to Chicago when he got into the trouble in Utah that cost him his life. Little did he, or anyone else dream that when Joe Hill started on this journey he would reach his destination in a white casket case covered with carnations and draped with

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red ribbons. But such is the case. Joe Hill had been in Chicago on a previous occasion, in 1903, shortly after his arrival in the United States. It was here that he earned the stake which first enabled him to travel on to California—and to his destiny.

Born in Sweden

Joe Hill's full name is Joseph Hillstrom. He was born in 1882 in the little town of Jevla, Sweden, in the province of Gestrückland. His education was no better and no worse than that of other boys in his neighborhood. He went to the public schools until he was sixteen. Only Joe Hill must have been different. He was a born rebel and a born artist. The passion of his life, apart from the revolution, was for poetry, music and drawing. And it isn't fair to say, "apart from the revolution" either, for Joe Hill's work in these lines was a part—and a big part—of his fight against capitalism. Even in prison just before his execution he wrote the words and music for such songs as, "Workers of the World Awaken," and "Don't Take My Papa Away From Me." The cover designs as they are now used were taken from his own drawings made in the death cell. Joe Hill had a considerable talent for drawing and whiled away many tedious hours in prison sketching objects of his interest or his imagination.

Joe Hill learned to speak English while working on the boats between Sweden and England. He improved his knowledge by studying English grammar at the YMCA night school in Gottenburg. Before becoming a sailor he had worked as a fireman on the National Railroads of Sweden.

Death of Mother

Joe Hill left his native country because of the death of his mother. Just what this tragic event meant to him no one perhaps will ever know. He is said to have inherited his talent from her and to have loved her greatly. This circumstance and the innate restlessness of his Viking blood brought him to the city of New York in the spring of 1902. At this time he was a tall and eager-faced lad of twenty summers. No doubt he had heard much of America, the land of freedom and opportunity. He was broke and a stranger. His only acquaintance was his cousin, John Holland, who had journeyed with him from Sweden. The two worked at odd jobs wherever employment could be found. Joe Hill even worked for two weeks as a porter in a Bowery saloon. Naturally he didn't like the strange new world in which he found himself. Perhaps he thought that by some mischance he had struck the wrong part of the fabled land of opportunity—that by going a little further west everything would be different. At all events, after having slaved in New York for a year, Joe Hill and his cousin left New York for Chicago. Here the adventure was repeated all over again. Odd jobs, hard thankless labor and constant uncertainty. Eight weeks of this was all they could stand. A two week job in a machine shop on the North side gave Joe a twenty dollar stake. With this the two boys again started westward. By this time they had learned to travel further on their money. After many adventures the

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pair finally met in San Pedro, California. Here they lived for a little more than three years camping or "batching it" in their own shack. Joe Hill made friends from the beginning. Most of his work was done on the longshore. There were other jobs, too, but he seems to have liked the longshore best. The call of the sea troubled Joe Hill's Viking blood now and then. When he could stand it no longer he would ship out on a boat to Honolulu, Alaska or the west coast ports.

His Best Friend

The best friend Joe Hill had in San Pedro was a man named Macon in charge of a mission at 331 Beacon Street. This Mr. Macon liked Joe and was very good to him. There is no doubt but Joe Hill appreciated Mr. Macon's friendship and reciprocated it, but it was the piano that was the chief attraction. Joe was a brilliant pianist and enjoyed greatly playing both for his own amusement and the entertainment of his friends. But Joe used the mission piano for another purpose. He would strum out well known tunes lightly with his nimble fingers, improvising new words as he went along. Every one within hearing distance would come under the spell of the humor of his parodies and his ineffectuous smile as he worked them out a verse at a time. The idea of saving these little skits or writing them down never seemed to have entered Joe Hill's head. He just dashed them off on the spur of the moment and then proceeded to forget them. But the people who heard them could not forget.

Joe Hill was well liked in San Pedro. The longshoremen with whom he worked liked him because he was the first man on the job to speak out to the boss when conditions were not right. Oftentimes he was the last to leave the job when a strike was on but he always brought the crew off when he left. This was before he joined the IWW. He had all the requirements of a first class agitator and had already studied dozens of books on the labor movement.

Lover of World-Music

In the shack where he and his cousin lived he was equally popular. According to John Holland, Joe knew "all the music in the world and could play any civilized musical instrument." He was also an adept in the art of oriental cooking and could prepare Chinese dishes to delight the most exacting visitor. He could use chop sticks like a native. When times were good the latch-string was always out; when times were hard it was always out anyhow. Frequently he would give away to a passing stranger the last mouthful of rice in the little shack, many times himself going without in order to do so.

Writes Casey Jones

The Southern Pacific strike came along about this time and it was this strike that made Joe Hill famous as a song writer. Casey Jones, as it appears in the little red song book, had been strummed out on the mission piano to the hilarious delight of a few striking railroad men who were present. The strikers urged him to write down the words and to have them printed on a card to be sold for the

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

benefit of the striking railroad men. This was done and Joe Hill's version of Casey Jones became immediately famous in the west. Migratory workers and strikers carried it to the far corners of the land. But Joe Hill immediately proceeded to forget it as he had the others. He was greatly surprised when a theatrical troupe hit town shortly afterwards which used his song as one of their chief features.

Joins I. W. W.

Among those who had heard the song was Fellow Worker Miller, at that time secretary of the San Pedro local. Fellow Worker Miller made it his business to look up the author of Casey Jones and to invite him to become a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. Both Joe and his cousin were glad to join. They became active without delay. This was in 1910. Joe never transferred from the San Pedro local. He wore his first button on his breast at the time he was cremated in Chicago.

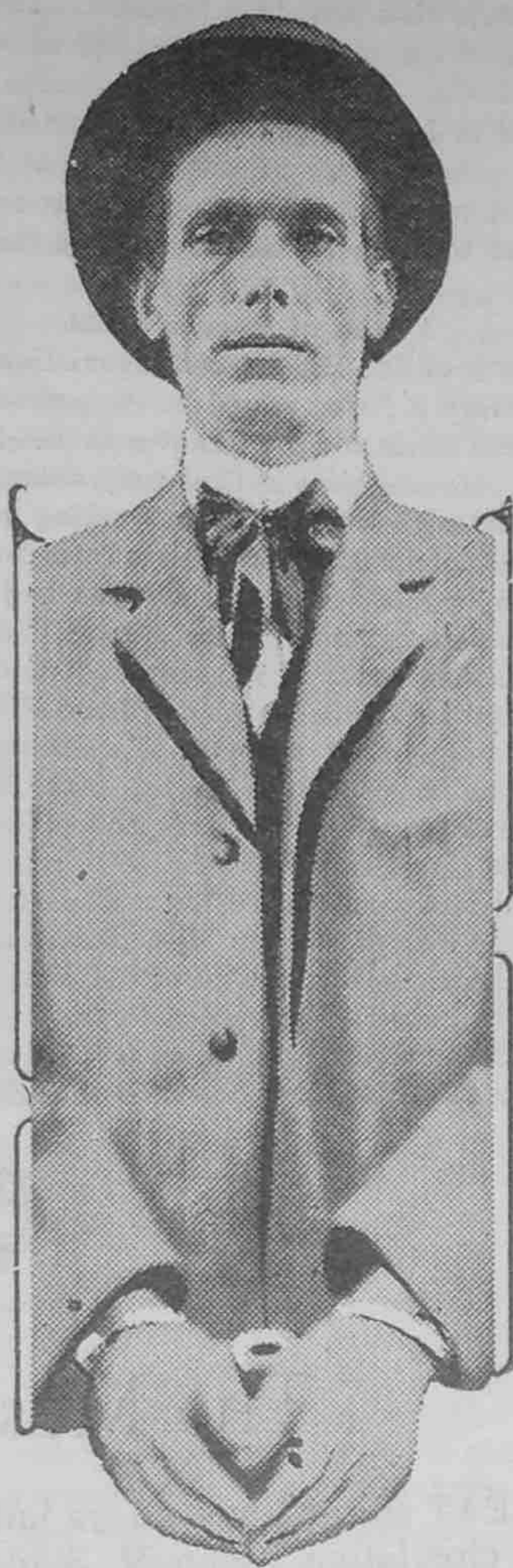
Joe Hill became popular in the IWW at once, not only as a song writer and entertainer but also as a rebel. It was in the IWW that he found his fullest and freest expression. He was intensely active at all times, working unceasingly either on the job or at home writing poems. His mind was never idle a moment. Even during the rest hour he would dream away for a little while and then jot down his inspiration in lines and verses as they came to him. These he would polish up at night until he got them to suit him.

Not A Rounder

Unlike his cousin and many of his friends Joe Hill was not a man of the world. Many times Holland would say, "Come on, Joe, let's go and have a good time." The invariable answer was, "Can't do it; too busy." Holland said he always found Joe busily engaged in writing verses when he returned home—no matter how late the hour. Joe had a way of twisting the hair on his forehead as he leaned over the lamp-lit table puzzling out the rhymes for his songs. Joe was always very courteous to girls and women but he never went out of his way to seek the company of the fair sex. Arturo Giovanitti, in one of his best and least known works, a drama founded on the case of Joe Hill, brings out a very plausible theory that the IWW song writer permitted himself to be executed rather than betray the honor of a woman. If Joe Hill ever met the right woman he would be the kind of man to do this very thing. It is unlikely now that anyone will ever know the truth. The bullet wound, in his hand that led to his arrest and conviction is still a mystery. Joe Hill carried the secret of it to his grave. Giovanitti's masterful drama is a valuable contribution to the literature of the IWW and the world. It could be used to good advantage for the defense by fellow workers all over the country. It is infinitely superior to any drama the IWW or other revolutionary organizations in America have yet produced.

Never An Idler

But Joe Hill, as far as can be known was not a ladies' man and he never had a "steady girl" in all



JOE HILL

his life. If he loved at all it was not a light love by any means. He would care for a woman as he did everything else, intensely and with all his heart.

Joe Hill was never an idler. He worked hard and wrote and labored for the organization incessantly. He is a man who never smoked in his life nor drank intoxicating liquor. His record in the IWW was splendid. He kept his dues paid up and was one of the very first to urge carrying organization propaganda from the soap box to the job. He was in the Fresno and San Diego free speech fights. At the battle of Tia Juana he was shot through the leg by a Mexican regular and only reached the border after the greatest of difficulties.

Joe Hill lived in San Pedro over three years all told. He finally left there to come to Chicago, for what purpose no one knows. While on his way, for some reason or other, he wanted to go to Los Angeles. It seems his purpose in doing this was to locate an old boyhood friend whom rumor had placed

in that city, sick, and in a hospital. This friend's name was West, or Westergren. He also had been born in Jevla. Joe was however unable to locate his friend in Los Angeles. So he started again for Chicago. On his way he stopped off at Salt Lake City. His purpose, as he stated to his cousin in a letter, was to see a distant relative by the name of Mohn.

Victim of Copper Trust

The story of Joe Hill's arrest, conviction and execution before a firing squad in the penitentiary in Salt Lake City is too well known to need recounting here. He had been in Utah only about a month, most of which time he had been working and organizing in Bingham Canyon. His efforts for the organization in this notorious slave pen had won him the implacable enmity of the Copper Trust. His murder was instigated by the same red-handed bunch of industrial highbinders that murdered Frank Little—and for the same reason. His execution took place at sunrise on November the 11th, 1915. He was game to the last and gave the order for the volley that caused his death.

Joe Hill never mentioned his cousin at the trial, possibly for fear of causing his arrest as an accomplice in the alleged crime. Holland was active at this time in the strike at Prince Rupert—a member of the strike committee there, in fact. Joe claimed he had no relatives alive but it is thought he had

a brother in Sweden. His father and mother were both dead before he left for America.

Not Guilty

Joe Hill sent a note to his old friend, Charles Rutberg, mate of a steamer on which he used to work. "I am not guilty," is what it said. This is at present the verdict of the entire world. There is no doubt at all that Joe Hill was the victim of a capitalist frame-up.

His body was cremated at Graceland cemetery in Chicago. The ashes were sent to IWW branches in all parts of the world. This was done in keeping with his last wish that flowers might grow where the ashes fell. So much for his body. But his songs have gained a wider audience than any similar songs written in any language. These songs are being sung by more workers today than ever before. They are rebel songs, true songs still warm with the blood of the brave young heart that was torn with lead of the Copper Trust executioners in 1915.

His last words were these, "Don't mourn for me; organize." I wonder if it is true that "we never forget"?

[Next month, *Industrial Pioneer* will publish the correspondence that passed between Joe Hill and Sam Murray, at the time of his imprisonment at Salt Lake City. This includes a cartoon by Joe Hill. This correspondence gives a further insight into the character of the rebel song writer.]



The Most Vital Questions

A GREAT editor is nowadays judged by his circulation. John M. Siddall was apparently the greatest of them all. His, *The American Magazine*, circulated 2,000,000 copies monthly. This is a huge figure; even when judged by modern standards. Siddall, recently deceased, is said to have owed his success to an idea which his magazine exploited. The idea was that:

"People are more interested in themselves than in anything else in the world. That personal problems mean more to the average man or woman than social or community problems. That the question, 'How to make a living' is more vital than the question, 'How to regulate the railroads'."

No doubt this is a very vital idea. Or how else can 2,000,000 copies of a magazine be sold that has it as a basis? These results show that making a living in this

country is a big problem. Many deny it. But Siddall's armies of readers prove the contrary.

However, the idea, in its successful demonstration, also accounts for the lack of interest in social questions generally. How can "a people," compelled to make a living primarily, find time to consider other matters? Such a consideration involves freedom from mental worry and also leisure for study. Neither of these are available today.

Organize to get economic security and leisure! Organize to secure a broader outlook on life! Organize for opportunities to study and solve social problems!

* * *

The 64-page special Christmas Amnesty issue of December *Industrial Pioneer* will be an extra striking one. Good for rustling in subs and pushing circulation. Get next to it.

Wool, Man's First Fiber

The following article is taken from an interesting and highly educational little book called "Wool, the World's Comforter." In this book, to quote the introduction, "is one of the most complete brief treatises on wool ever attempted." It has rare merit; the author is one of those gifted writers who know just how many words are necessary and who use neither less nor more. He has taken what might be considered a prosaic subject and woven a romantic story about a fabric which is much used but really little known. His knowledge of wool and woolen goods is profound, his historical and geographical references authentic, his work of looking up data thoroughly done, and the result is a well-written, pleasingly-presented volume which must be read in its entirety to be fully appreciated.

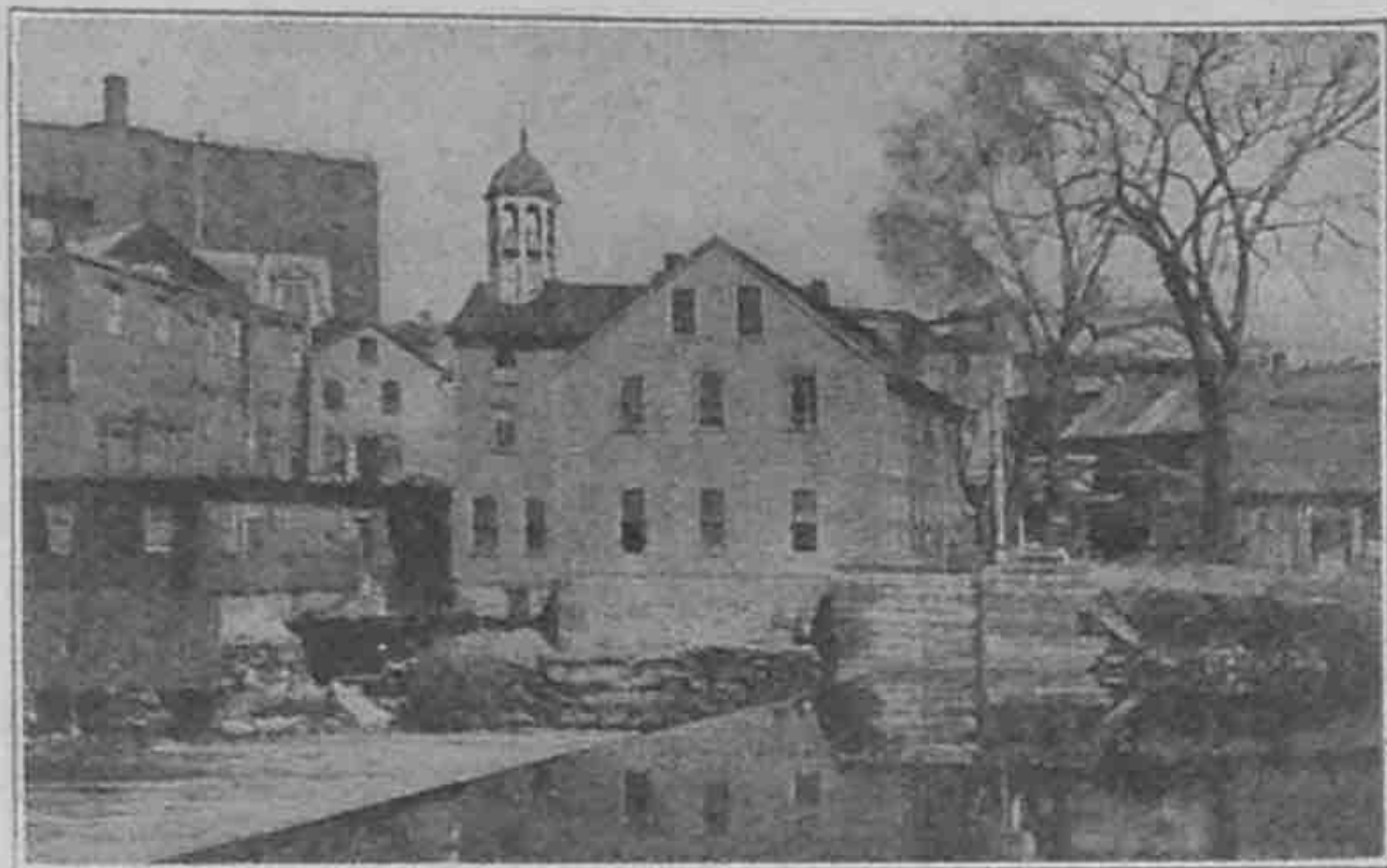
In addition to the history of wool and woolen textile manufacturing, the book contains a dictionary of woolen fabrics, and, taken as a whole, is a work of tremendous interest to workers in general and can be highly recommended to textile workers in particular. Its hundred pages abound with information which textile workers especially can use to great advantage. [Written by W. D. Darby. Published by Dry Goods Economist, New York City.]

It is probable that wool was the first fiber used by man for clothing. It is certain that wool shares with flax the distinction of being the most ancient of the textile fibers; but the origin of both of them goes so far back into prehistoric times that it is impossible to say which came first. In the beginning men used skins to clothe their bodies, and sheepskins no doubt were widely used for this purpose by primitive peoples. As far as we know, the pastoral stage has always preceded the agricultural stage in the development of civilization. Men lived nomadic lives and counted their wealth in flocks and herds for ages before they began to settle down and cultivate the earth. And unquestionably the wooly skins of sheep that died or were killed for food must have been deemed especially suitable for clothing.

Just when men first began to shear off the wool and to spin and weave it into cloth is another matter. They must have done it centuries before the dawn of recorded history; because the very earliest legends make reference to the fleeces of sheep, and sheep originally did not possess the wooly fleece we so inevitably associate with them now. Sheep in the beginning were covered with hair, and the wool was merely a slight down next the skin. Apparently it occurred to some prehistoric shepherd that sheep could be made to grow more of this wool by special breeding; and as a result of this experiment the wooly sheep was produced. It is very likely that the impetus to develop a wooly sheep came from previous experiments in spinning and weaving the fiber. That the production of wool for its own sake goes back to the most ancient times we may infer from such early myths as that of Jason and the Golden Fleece.

The Antiquity of Wool

Some idea of the antiquity of wool as a textile fiber may be gleaned from the fact that when the ruins of villages inhabited by the Swiss Lake Dwellers, in the Stone Age, were uncovered in 1853-54, fabrics made of wool were found there, and bodies wrapped in plaited woolen cloth have been found in the barrows of the early Britons. If we assume, as we plausibly may, that wool was used as a textile at a correspondingly early stage in the civilization



HISTORIC SLATER MILL, RHODE ISLAND

of Asia, we can trace it back to the very childhood of mankind.

It is assumed that primitive men made woolen cloth by felting the wool before the arts of spinning and weaving were discovered. There is no means of knowing that they did this, except by analogy with primitive peoples of our time, such as the Polynesians, who make cloth from vegetable fibers in this way. But the pulpy nature of vegetable fibers may have suggested such a method of treatment as an alternative to the more laborious work of spinning and weaving, and it is to be doubted if woolen cloth was first made in such a manner.

It is much more likely that the art of weaving, in its most elementary form, was practised long before men abandoned the use of animal skins for clothing, or perhaps before they even adopted clothing at all. No doubt it began with the first crude attempts of primitive women to weave twigs into some kind of object, with no other idea probably, than a mere childish curiosity as to what the result would be, or an equally childish desire to keep their hands employed during the long hours when the men were away on the chase.

A Bright Idea

After they had succeeded in making baskets and similar articles, it probably occurred to some bright cave-woman that clothing might be made by weaving some soft material like wool. To do this it would be necessary to twist tufts of wool into long

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strands. Thus we have the beginning of weaving. And as the strands of wool were not stiff like twigs, it would be necessary to have a certain number of them stretched taut between poles or something in order to weave the fabric. Thus we had the first loom.

All this is surmise, of course, but it is probable that the arts of spinning and weaving began in some such way. When we come to the earliest mythological and historical records we find the arts of spinning and weaving mentioned so frequently as to suggest that they had been in existence for long ages and had been developed to a fairly advanced stage. The Egyptians attribute the invention of weaving to the goddess Isis, and they themselves were generally credited by other ancient peoples with having been the inventors of weaving. This, however, was largely due to the deep impression made by Egyptian civilization on the ancient world, particularly the Greeks. It is more probable that the Egyptians developed the art of weaving to a higher degree than any other people, for they were excellent craftsmen, and that they borrowed some of their best ideas, as was their custom, from the Assyrians.

Babylonians Unsurpassed Weavers

Later, Babylon became the great center of the woolen cloth trade, and its people are said by Tertullian to have surpassed all other people in weaving, just as the people of Tyre surpassed all others in the art of dyeing. Still later the trade supremacy passed to Carthage.

It would be interesting to know whether these ancient trading nations had anything remotely approaching the beginnings of a factory system. We consider it likely that they had. The surpassing skill of the Egyptian and Babylonian weavers is convincing proof that they were highly trained craftsmen, and it is altogether likely that they were slaves employed in numbers by wealthy merchants. It is probable that they were housed under one roof by their masters, with women and children who did the picking, carding and spinning, and thus constituted what might be called a factory in embryo. Among pastoral peoples, such as the Greeks and Hebrews, the spinning and weaving were done in the home, and women of the highest rank busied themselves with making clothing for their households.

Both systems seemed to have existed in ancient Rome. The Roman matrons of the patrician class were very industrious women and proud of their skill in spinning and weaving. On their great estates they maintained large numbers of male and female slaves, some of whom they instructed in the textile arts, so that every estate had a sort of private textile factory which supplied clothing for the family and its servants. There was also in Rome and other cities of the empire a class of professional weavers, called *textores*, who in some cases, perhaps, were freedmen and practiced their craft independently, although in most cases they were probably slaves.

Twenty-eight

Romans Not Great Textilers

It is not apparent, however, that the Romans developed to any great extent the textile arts; the important centers of the textile industry continued to be in Asia and North Africa, although in the declining years of the Roman Empire there were considerable textile manufactures in Constantinople and other Greek cities. During the early centuries of the Christian era the finest woolen stuffs were made in Bagdad, Damascus and other cities of the Saracenic Empire, while the barbarians were overrunning Europe, extinguishing the torch of civilization which the Romans had kindled.

In the textile arts, as in all other respects, this torch was re-kindled by Venice, Florence and the other great cities of the Italian Renaissance. Venice it was that brought woolen manufacture back to Europe. Even before this time, it is true, there was a flourishing woolen industry in Spain. The industry had been introduced there at a very early age by the Carthaginians, and was re-introduced in the 8th century by the Saracens, who were noted for the production of beautiful fabrics. But Moorish Spain was only geographically a part of Europe, it was really a part of the Saracenic Empire, and it did not serve as a carrier of the textile arts to other European countries. In the Middle Ages, Barcelona had become the seat of an important woolen industry and its products were far famed, but after the discovery of the New World, the attention of the Spaniards was turned to gold, and the more prosaic textile industries began to decline.

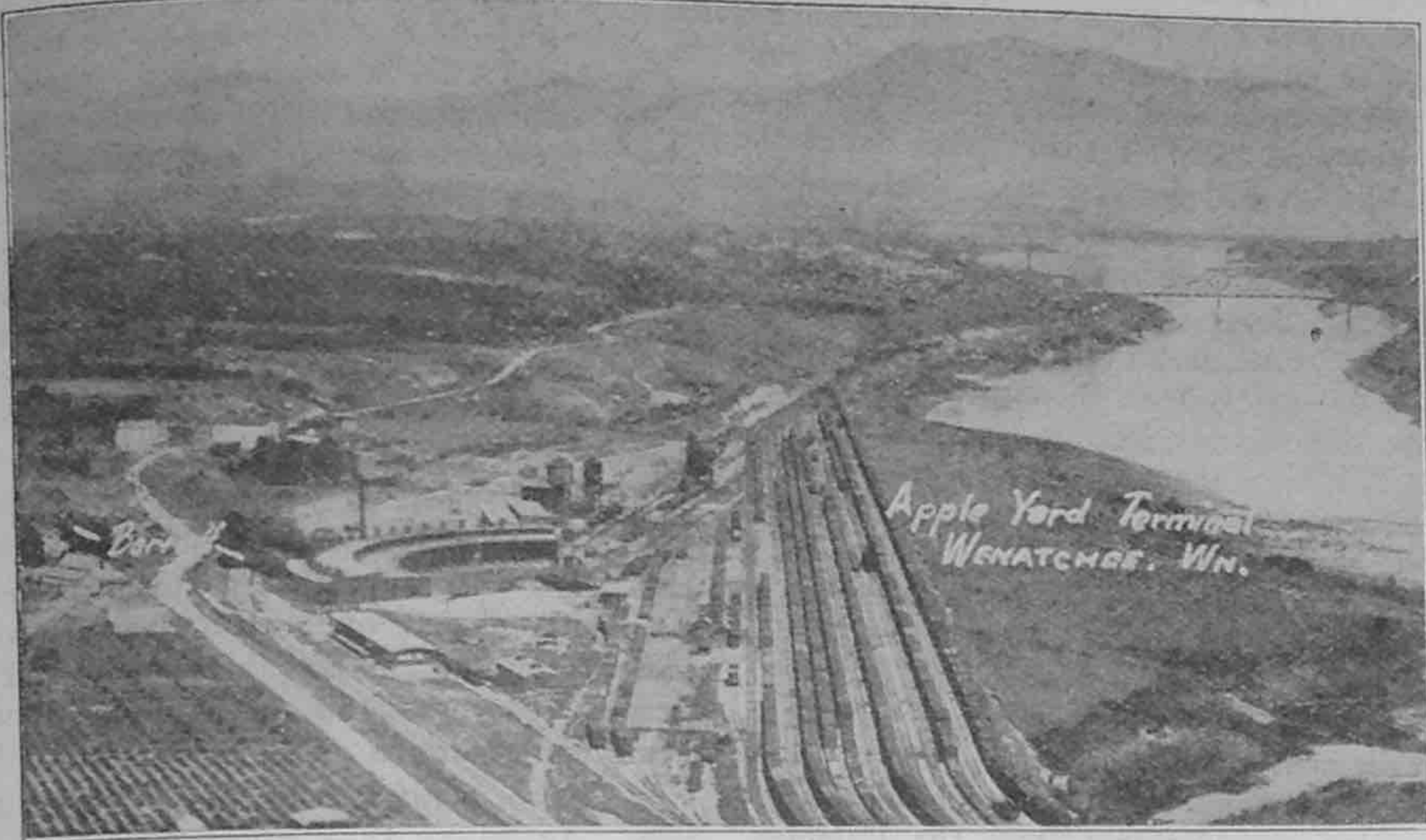
In Venice, Florence, Padua and other Italian cities, however, the woolen industry flourished apace. Venice imported weavers from Constantinople and the cities of the Levant, and became not only a great woolen manufacturing center, but a great cloth market. Villani, in his "History of Florence," says that in the year 1340 there were over two hundred wool manufacturing establishments there supporting about 30,000 people.

Medieval Guild System

In the medieval Italian cities they had the guild system, which was more a development of the household craft than of the primitive factory system. Instead of slaves working for a master, the weavers of the Middle Ages were independent craftsmen, who were very proud of their skill and put on considerable airs. A master weaver conducted his business in his own home, with the aid of his family and apprentices and he had his yarn spun for him by women and children either on his own premises or in their own homes. An apprentice could rise to the dignity of a master weaver on his own account after he had served a certain number of years and passed the tests of the guild, which were very strict. This system, with variations, continued until the beginning of the industrial revolution.

From Italy, the woolen industry spread to the Netherlands, where it is said to have been established about the year 960 or 961. For centuries the industry flourished in Flanders, Brabant and Hain-

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



IN THE WASHINGTON APPLE COUNTRY

ault, and supplied most of Europe with clothing. Bruges was the great woolen market until the 16th century, when it began to be eclipsed by the rise of Antwerp. Ghent and Louvain also were important manufacturing cities. In the 14th century the woolen industry of the Netherlands began to decline and the religious persecution of the 16th century practically ruined the industry. In the 16th and 17th centuries the chief manufacturing centers were Leyden, Haarlem and Amsterdam. France, owing perhaps to continued wars, was very late in taking up woolen manufacture, being content to get her supplies from the Netherlands. It was not until the reign of Henry of Navarre that the industry began to be developed in an important way. Subsequently, the province of Languedoc, particularly the city of Nismes, became famous for fine woolen cloths.

Romans Teach English

In England, the Romans are supposed to have taught the Britons how to make woolens. In any case, they had a factory at Winchester, which made clothing for their legionaries, and this may be said, perhaps, to have been the beginning of the industry in England. Then came the invading Angles and Saxons, who were relatively barbarians and certainly had no organized industry of any kind. But they practiced spinning and weaving in their homes.

The real beginning of the woolen industry in England, however, was laid by the first immigrant Flemish weavers. Some of them are said to have come over with William the Conqueror; but this is by no means certain. A considerable number of weavers were driven from Flanders by floods, and settled in England in the reign of Henry I. Their principal headquarters was the city of Norwich, which remained for centuries the chief woolen manufacturing center in England. Some of them set-

tled in Worstead, in Norfolk, and specialized in fine cloths, which became known as worsteds after the city in which they were made.

The wars which disturbed the reigns of John and Henry III, brought decay to the English woolen industry; but it began to revive during the reigns of Edward I and II and was put on such a flourishing basis by Edward III that often he is given credit for having founded the industry in England. After Edward's death, the woolen industry languished until the reign of Henry VI, who took some steps to promote it, among them being the establishment of a system of inspection to prevent short measuring and misrepresentation of goods, a practice which had become distressingly common among the honest craftsmen of the time. Henry VII, who was a good business man, brought over more weavers from Flanders and encouraged the industry energetically; but Henry VIII, who was not a good business man, and had other things to think of, paid little attention to it, and the industry began to decline again. It revived in the age of Elizabeth, when there was a further immigration of weavers, following religious persecution in the Netherlands.

Enter Great Inventions

Thereafter, with various ups and downs, it continued to flourish until the 18th century, when the invention of the fly shuttle, the spinning jenny, the mule and the power loom, gave it a tremendous impetus. After the discovery of steam power, the industry shifted more and more to the North, where coal was handy. For many generations before this, there had been considerable woolen manufacturing in Yorkshire and other Northern counties; but after the application of steam power the North began to thrive industrially at the expense of the rest of the country and during the 19th century the woolen manufacturing industry became concentrated chiefly in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

Credit for founding the industry in America seems to belong to a number of Yorkshire families who settled in Rowley, Mass., about 1638 and built a fulling mill there in 1643, making cloths from both "cotton wool" and "sheep's wool." No doubt the very first immigrants spun and wove woolen cloths in their homes as soon as they could get wool to spin and weave them with. As early as 1639 there is record of home made cloth in the records of the Probate Court of Massachusetts and the Massachusetts Bay Colony offered bounties for woolen cloth made from home grown wool.

Most of the Colonial legislatures, as a matter of fact, did everything possible to promote the woolen industry, and by the middle of the 17th century it was well established. In order to promote sheep raising, an act was passed in 1654 prohibiting the importation of wool from England. By 1699 the industry had grown to such proportions that the British Parliament, fearful of the effect of such competition on the home industry, prohibited the export of woolen manufactures from the Colonies. By that time there were woolen mills—with hand machinery, of course—at Roxbury, Watertown, Andover, Ipswich, Barnstable and many other New England towns. In 1695 a worsted mill was established at Boston.

American Cottage Industry

During the first half of the 18th century woolen manufacture continued to flourish in the colonies, although largely as a cottage industry. This in spite of the fact that, while the Colonial legislatures had not been slow in promoting the woolen industry, their most energetic efforts had been devoted to the establishment of a linen industry. As a sort of testimonial to these combined efforts, the most characteristic and widely used cloth of the period was the linsey woolsey, a fabric with a linen warp and wool filling.

After the Revolution, it took fresh life, not only in New England but in Pennsylvania, where it had been introduced by the early Quakers and German settlers. It is said that there were twelve fulling mills in Philadelphia in 1760. During the Revolution, Philadelphia made clothes for the Continental Army, and the industry was encouraged there by the patriots. By 1810 there were three woolen mills in Philadelphia and one in Germantown—that is, real woolen mills, conducting all the processes in the manufacture of cloth. The first woolen mill of this kind in America seems to have been one established at Hartford, Conn., in 1878 and known as the Hartford Woolen Manufactory. The first woolen mill worked by power machinery is said to have been built at Newburyport, Mass., in 1794, under the direction of John and Arthur Scholfield, who came to Boston from Saddleworth, Yorkshire. The former built a mill at Montville, Conn., in 1879, and his brother built one at Pittsfield, Mass., in 1800.

From this time on the industry developed gradually until 1845, when the city of Lawrence was founded and the career of the American woolen industry, as we know it now, really began.

Thirty

Who's Sabotaging Now?

SABOTAGE is defined by the capitalists as the deliberate and wilful restriction of production. Increased production, we are assured by them, is the cure for all social ills. It means more wages and more of the good things of life for all. And anyone who advocates decreased production, especially among the workers, is anathema with them. They denounce them and demand their imprisonment and, if necessary, even their death.

But that is all camouflage. For, as Thorstein Veblen has clearly shown, the chief offenders against increased production, the chief saboteurs, are the capitalists themselves. They decrease production, turn millions out of work and create wide-spread bankruptcy and ruin, as their profits and dividends demand; and they are never punished; nay, they are given positions of honor in society, instead.

A case in point is Secretary of Agriculture Wallace. According to a news dispatch, while representing the nation at the Syracuse, N. Y., World's Dairy Congress, on Oct. 9, he declared "farmers are to blame for their own troubles.

"They have made the mistake of producing too much food.

"Production must decrease and prices increase until the gap between prices for farm produce and what the farmer must buy is closed before farmers find themselves in as secure a position industrially as other groups," Wallace said.

What is this, but an incitement to sabotage and a confession that the whole present day system of production and distribution thrives on it, and that the farmers will also thrive on it just as soon as they become practitioners of it?

Nevertheless, none of the capitalist newspapers have, as yet, cried out against Saboteur Wallace! Nor has his superior, President Coolidge, ordered his fellow cabinet member, Attorney General Harry Daugherty, to investigate his utterances and to forthwith clap him in jail because of their anti-social nature. Evidently, as Veblen so ably contends, Sabotage is only crime when advocated by workmen. But when capitalists and secretaries of agriculture promote it, they "speak for the nation."

So, as the old love song has it, "My darling, what more wouldst thou have?"

STAGGERING ALONG

Much business in German cities is done with privately issued currency. Some is of paper and some of composition discs the size of metal coins. Not a legal tender, they yet circulate freely as money within areas where the issuing business firm is known.

Barter is also in vogue in many places. This will give an idea of the many ways by which German capitalism staggers along, despite inflated currency.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

The Textile Workers in the Trimming Industry

By Delegate U. 200

THERE is a time in every normal human being's life when to have a desire to better his or her condition, is inevitable. The question is often asked: "Is the Textile Worker in the Trimming Industry immune from that desire?" No! Not if he is a natural, human being.

The trimming worker is just as natural and just as normal a human being as any other of the textile workers, and his desires are as great as those of any other human being. He has a desire to do great things for himself and his family, and also help his fellow workers.

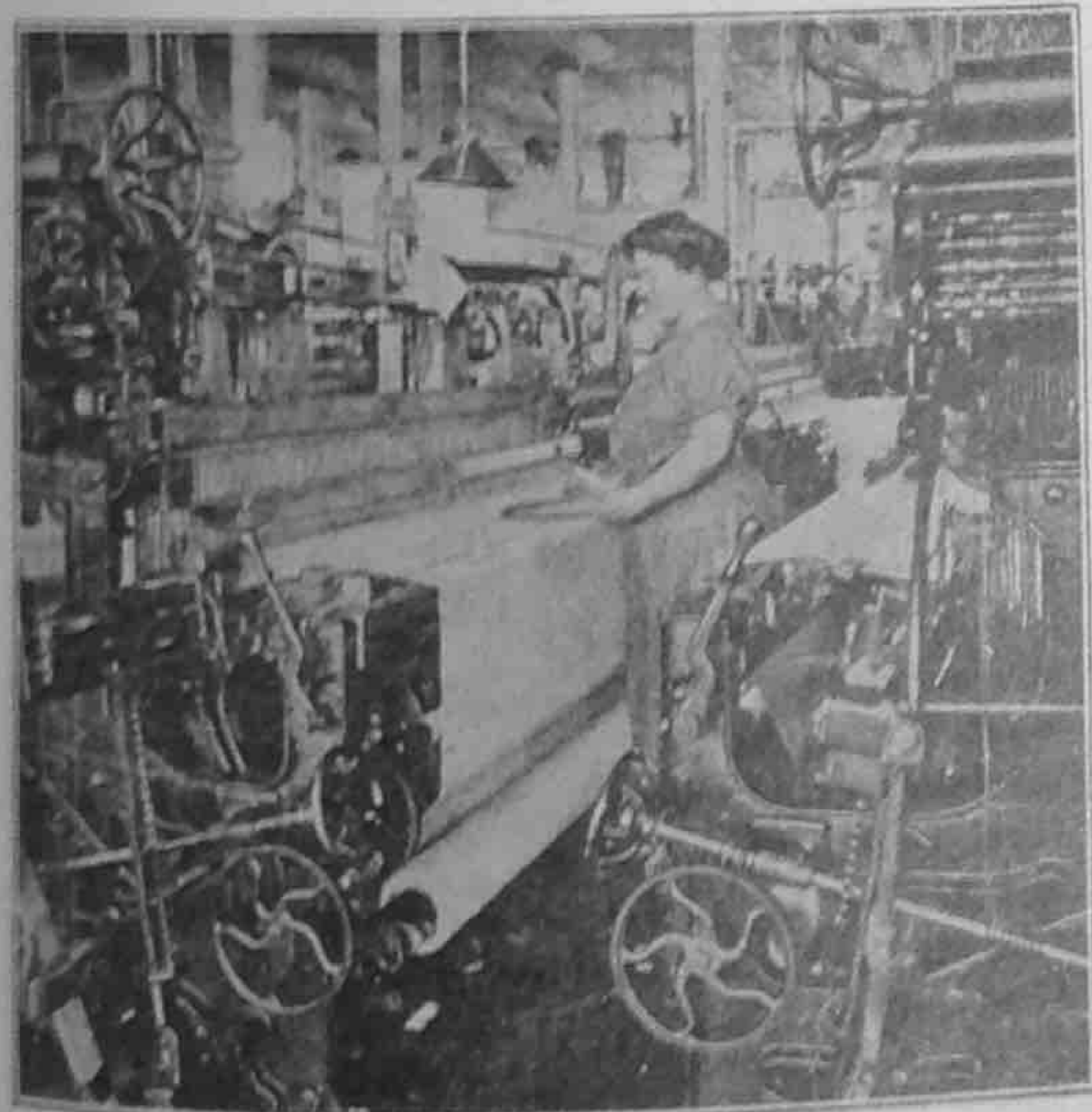
But his desires are limited, on account of his ignorance of the capitalistic system, and the laws of economics; also he does not understand the real meaning of organization.

He is more of an individualist. He believes that he can satisfy his greater desires by being an individualist. That is where his great ignorance comes in!

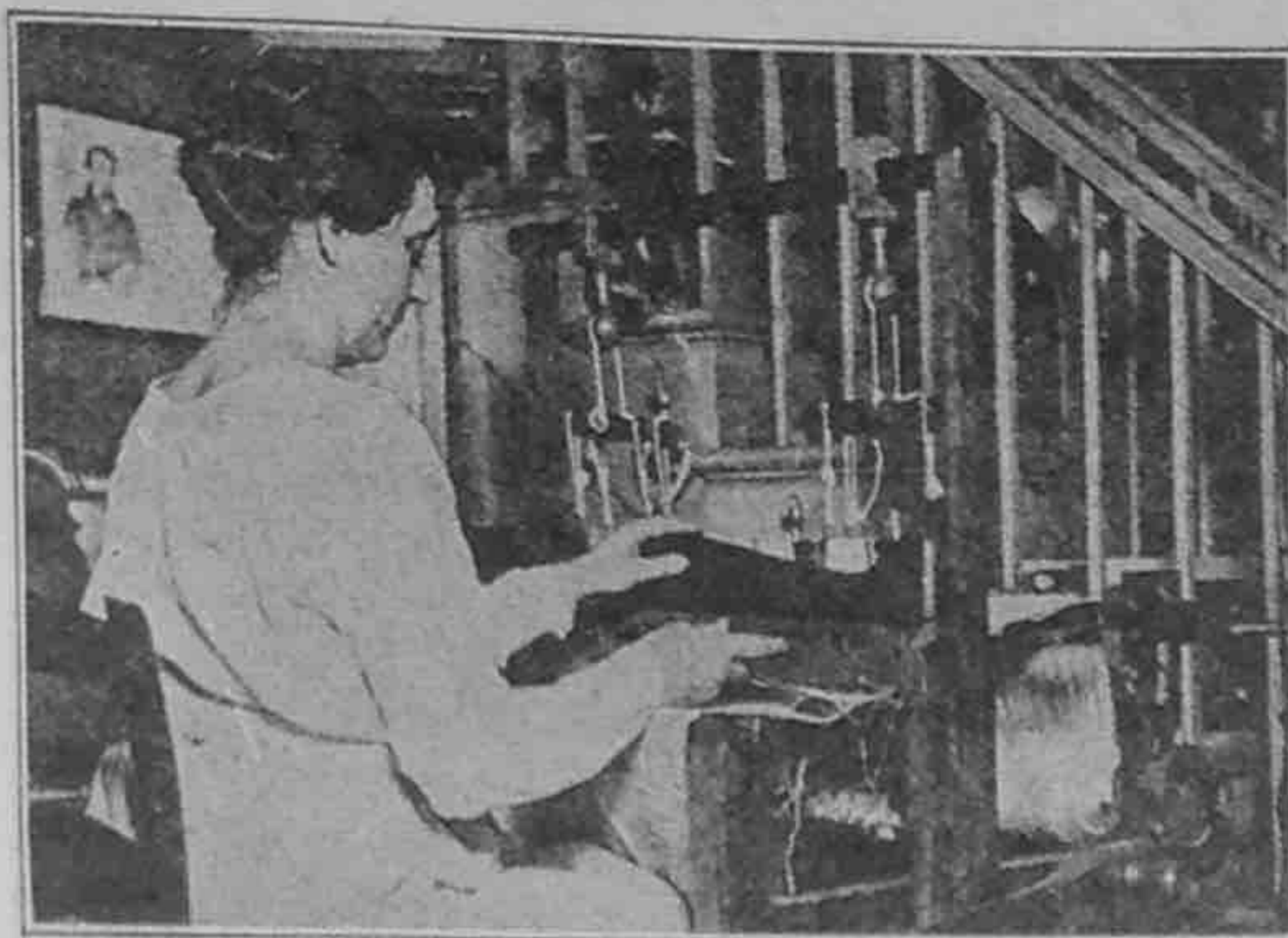
But the trimming worker is beginning to see the light. He is beginning to see that individualism is not going to get him anywhere. He is beginning to realize that it is through organization that he is going to get anywhere. It is taking him a long while to realize the rotten conditions he is working under, but the trimming workers are coming to it gradually.

Enormous Profits

The trimming worker is the worst exploited worker in any industry in the country, barring none. He works for less wages than any worker in any other industry, and makes more profit for the boss, than any other worker in any other industry. This does not only apply to the textile industry, but to all industries throughout the country.



POWER LOOMS



HAND LOOMS

For example, a pound of artificial silk, at present, is worth \$3.85. Out of that pound of silk, a worker can produce 3 gross of trimmings. He can make that in one day. Three gross is 432 yards. The cheapest price for the trimming is \$16.00 per gross; some is dearer. The worker gets from \$5.00 to \$6.00 for producing the trimming. The employer makes about \$35.00 clear profit on every three gross.

Some companies in the trimming industry will not take an order unless they can make at least 100 per cent profit.

Last year the trimming companies all over the country cleaned up over \$25,000,000 in profits.

Still they holler their heads off when you ask them for a 10 cent increase. They will say, "We can't afford to pay you any more. We will have to go bankrupt if we do."

One large trimming firm in this "Brotherly-love" town, cut their employes from \$5.00 down. The workers would not stand for it. They went on strike. After the workers were out on strike for two weeks, the employer gave them back the cut that he tried to force on them.

This employer had cried: "I can't afford to pay any more than what the other firms are paying. I will have to close down for three months. I will have to go bankrupt."

Of course, we all know that that is one of the bosses' big bluffs.

Well, the firm didn't close down for three months, and they didn't go bankrupt. They have plenty of orders and are working full time.

Some N. G. Characters

It also looks pretty good for the I. W. W. in the trimming industry in the near future. It is going to be a very hard road to travel but anything that is easy is not worth while fighting for. The textile worker in the trimming industry is no more servile than in the other textile industries.

I know that we have characters in the trimming industry that are N. G.

An individual looking for work in the trimming

Organizing the Great Lakes

ORGANIZATION on the Great Lakes proceeds apace. The Industrial Workers of the World, with branches at Buffalo, New York, South Chicago, Ill., Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis., have issued a stirring proclamation to all the workers on the Great Lakes, pointing out to them the craft union causes of the loss of the strikes of 1909 and 1922, and urging them to embrace the industrial unionism of Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 510, and do their share in the upbuilding of an effective economic organization.

A splendid response is expected.

It is learned from non-IWW sources that the growth of the IWW is causing the Chicago officials of the International Seamen's Union great uneasiness. They are worried by the continued loss of membership and are doing everything in their power to stop it. They have entered on a deliberate campaign of misrepresentation and slander, out of which they emerge covered with ignominy and defeat, thanks to the Industrial Worker, Industrial Solidarity and The Marine Worker, which have turned the stupidities of the ISU officialdom to good advantage for the IWW.

industry goes to the employer for a job. The employer says: "You are looking for work?" He answers "Yes; what do you pay?" The employer says: "\$18.00 a week." The worker replies: "I will take the job, if you will let me work overtime every night. I am a married man. The employer says: "Alright; you are hired.

As long as the employer lets him work overtime, he is satisfied to work for \$10.00 a week. That is one type of individuals that we have to contend with.

Another type of individual is the one who works for 30 years in a place, and never asks a boss for a raise as long as the boss lets him work overtime.

These individuals are a detriment to any organization.

Then there are the sycophant and the stool-pigeon. Of course they are factors we have to reckon with. They will be a small factor in stopping us from organizing the trimming workers.

The latter will need lots of education! The economic factor is going to bring them to us.

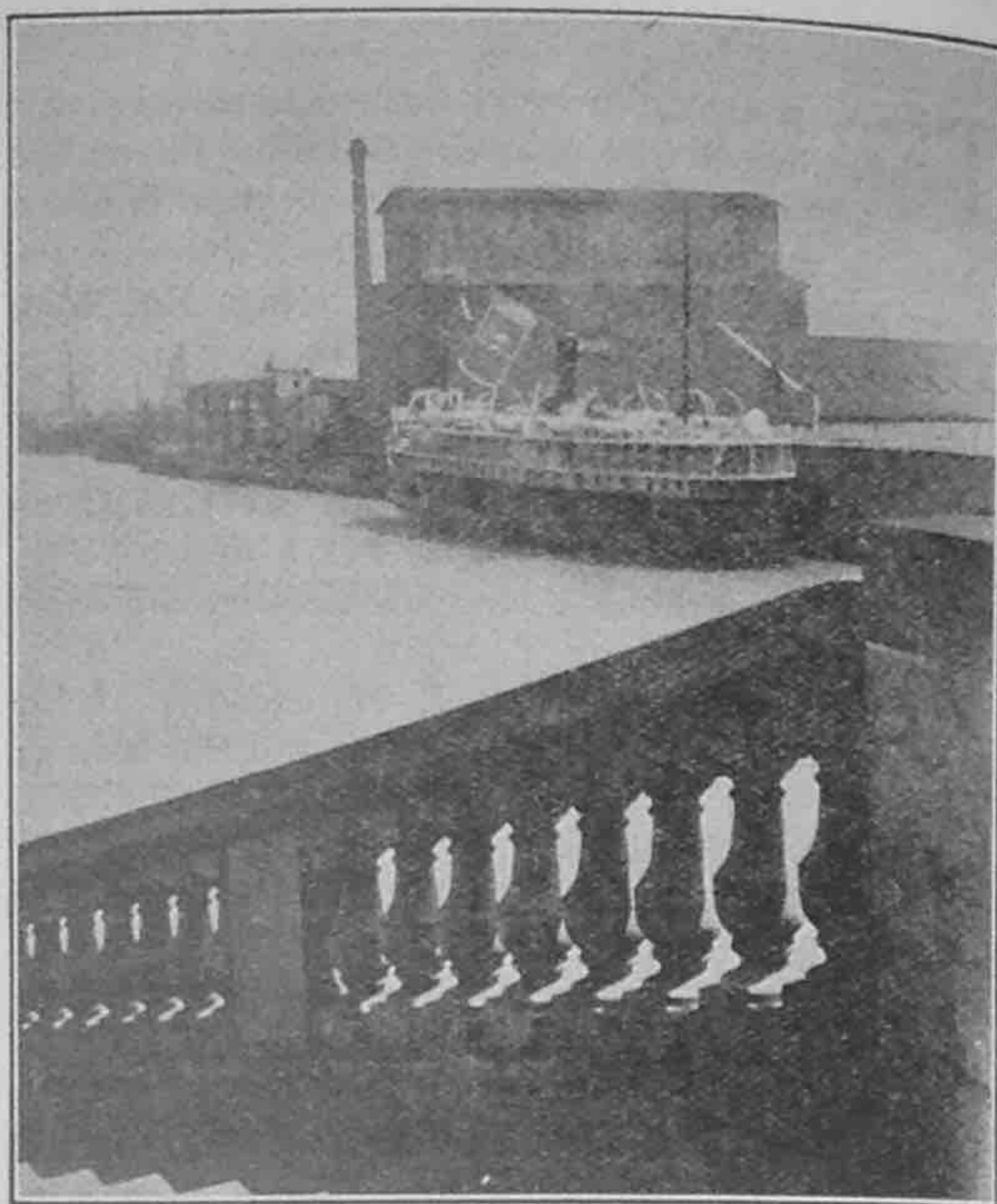
There are here in Philadelphia 97,141 textile workers. Most of them are unorganized. So you can see we have lots to draw from for our organization.

The invested capital in the textile industry in this city is \$229,539,000.

We have a great opportunity here to organize the textile workers into the Industrial Workers of the World.

Philadelphia, Pa.

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LAKE STEAMER AT CHICAGO DOCK

Voices His Approval

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER:—Am hereby asking sufficient space to voice my approval of what, in my estimation, is the most valuable piece of educational writing contained in the issue of Industrial Pioneer in which it appears. I refer to "The Lads of the Lakes," in the October number.

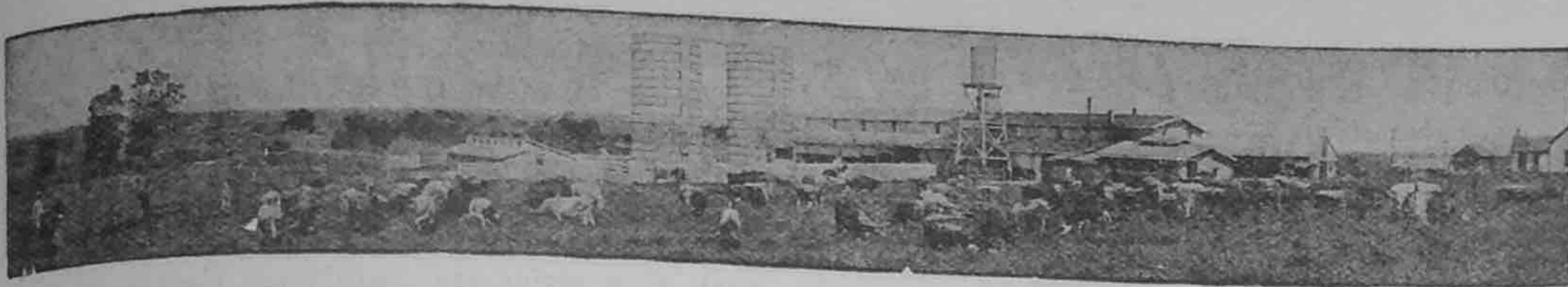
It is not only gratifying to me to see the truth of the philosophy of dialectic materialism asserting itself in the industry which, while not of my own choosing, yet has taken the best years of my life; but it is also encouraging, in so far as it verifies an old contention of mine: namely, that the art of printing would have proved a curse, or rather than a blessing, were it not for the inherent necessity of eventually using it to convey information as it really is, instead of as some individual or group of individuals want it to be conveyed.

It is with no intention of bestowing praise upon the author of the story for describing conditions on the lakes so absolutely true to color, that I am expressing what is herein contained; while I must admit that my 12-14 years of experience on the lakes brings his viewpoint home to me with such force that I cannot resist the temptation to comment, but rather an effort to overcome my own indifference and lack of determination to do what has been left for him to do.

CARD NO. 137,750.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER



The Packinghouse Workers Plight

(Continued from page four.)

upon favorably unless it improves the factory, which means, company property and profit.

I asked one intelligent workman what he thought of the assembly plan.

"Nothing to it," he explained. "Why, I requested several things and the man supposed to represent the workers was afraid to bring it to the attention of the assembly.

"I went on strike with the last bunch, and they took away my priority rights," he continued. "Not long ago they did something that would lead us to believe that we were returned our priority rights. I asked our representative, and he is afraid to bring it up. Take it from me, whatever they act on favorably comes from the bosses. Why, if you will read Swift's year book, for instance, you would think that everything was decided in our favor. Let them give you the facts."

Decisions Favor Packers

"They point out that 376 cases out of 561 acted upon by the assembly were in favor of the employe, and only 172 favored the management. Ask them what the 376 cases consisted of. You'll find it is for repairs that were necessary, or some other trivial thing that did not benefit the worker in the way of living conditions. You can bet the 172 favoring the management were pertaining to wages, hours, or any other question that directly benefited the worker at the employer's expense.

"The Assembly Plan of Representation makes the employe a sort of an efficiency man. He reports 'constructive suggestions for improving the service,' 'sanitation and hygiene ideas,' and other suggestions that benefit the employer and make the worker more efficient and less expensive.

"The bosses' union is not fooling their workers. You will find this out to whomever you speak. They pay very little attention to it, and vote only because the foremen request them to."

L. F. Swift, president of Swift & Co., let the cat out of the bag when making his report to the share holders at the thirty-eighth annual meeting, January 4, 1923:

"Relations with our employes since I reported to you last year have been harmonious. Our employes are developing a greater interest in our Assembly Plan of Representation, and we believe that the inauguration of this plan has been a really constructive step in improving relations between management and employes. There have been no changes in wages since November, 1921."

The Workers' Lot

The packinghouse workers are not ignorant of their conditions. They know that they are not given a square deal nor do they expect one from the employers. In general they reply that they do not blame the employers, as the workers are to blame themselves.

The most general complaint is regarding wages and hours. There are no set hours, since the so-called broken-time system prevails. This system is one of irregular hours. The packers claim they cannot eliminate this system.

"There is not a steady stream of cattle to the stockyards," said an official of the Industrial Relations Department. "Some days the yards are empty and the next day they may be filled. It rests entirely with the cattlemen. We kill according to the amount of cattle in the stockyards. The rest of the workers depend, of course, on the killers known as stickers. Some days they work as low as two hours and others as much as 17 hours straight."

"Are they given any consideration for overtime?"

"No. The workers do not favor that themselves," replied the spokesman for the Industrial Relations department. Then he hastened, unwittingly, to give the reason. "They know that if they insist on being paid overtime after eight hours, we can hire men at the gates to work straight time after they have finished their eight hours."

However, the workers believe the employers can do away with this broken-time system. It is true that this system is an outgrowth of the speculation in cattle. But it is insisted that the packers are part of the speculators and can regulate that speculation, insofar as the packinghouse workers are concerned. To sum it all up, the broken-time system is a saving to the employer at the expense of the worker; and the broken-time and other evils will not be done away with unless forced by the workers themselves.

14-Hour Days

I asked one woman how her husband was doing at present. Her quick reply was to the effect that her husband was doing splendidly, since he was getting in on the average of 14 hours a day. On further questioning I learned that he made 40 cents an hour, which would average him \$5.60 for 14 hours of labor. This is a sample of the munificent wages earned by the workers, together with the way they are earned.

Thirty-three

The packinghouse worker's labor is not easy. He is kept at a steady pace from the time he arrives to the last minute of his day's work. The carcass of the animal is placed upon a conveyor and each worker has a certain piece of work to do, and the pace set by the conveyor does not permit him to hardly waste a move. He is part of the machine, more so than in any other industry.

The Conveyor System

The conveyor system is understood to be so efficient that Southern Negroes are sent to the packinghouses to become industrialized. The Southern Negroes are not used to a steady monotonous grind, and when they first arrived it is said one foreman was busy making out their time, because they were not suitable for the work. This does not apply to all of them, however; there are many who stand the pace. As a result, the packers are gradually filling the houses with Negro workers, especially Negro women workers, who are, one by one, taking the places of even the colored men.

One old timer informed me that the packers have but a few efficient meat cutters, since the best men left after the last strike and refused to come back even when asked to. They cannot tolerate the pace set by the machinery.

Polish workers make up the largest number of non-English speaking workers. They are employed in every line of work. The Lithuanians follow the Polish workers in number. Approximately sixty-five per cent are English-speaking workers. This includes Negroes and other workers born here, or who have acquired the language since coming to this country.

Race Divisions

The old time method of pitting one race against the other is still in vogue. On going through the houses one can readily see how carefully the employers utilize and feed the flames of race division. Here is a table with four meat cutters surrounding it. Two are Poles and two are Negroes. The nature of the work practically prohibits them from talking across the table, and in almost every case the Pole works next to the Negro. And so it is in almost every other department. It seems that every move made is done to forestall any attempt to bring the workers together in order to establish a union.

Insurance and Benefits

Each of the large packinghouses have benefit and insurance associations. The workers are required to give three per cent of their wages, which is kept in a separate fund. If they become sick, they are given a small weekly allowance. There does not seem to be any great enthusiasm among the workers for the associations, since they feel they must contribute. They have a vague feeling that they have nothing to protect them, should the packers decide to revert the money to their own use.

One recent development bears them out to a large degree, when five hundred pensioners, widows and orphans were caught in the backwash of the merger of the Morris and Armour packing interests.

Thirty-four

These workers flung themselves upon the mercy of the court in a despairing plea for justice.

Twenty of them, through their attorneys, filed suit in the Circuit court demanding an accounting of the pension fund of \$7,000,000, from the assets of Morris & Co., which were recently transferred to the Armour organization, and therewith redeem what they claim are unfulfilled pledges of the old Morris concern to its superannuated employes.

A Vital Case

"This case brings to issue one of the vital industrial questions of the day, interesting every laboring man in the world," said Mr. Armstrong in commenting upon the suit.

"Can a big corporation compel its employes to contribute 3 per cent of their earnings into a pension fund with a promise that they and theirs will be cared for the balance of their days and then sell them out and leave those faithful ones who have given their lives in service without any resources whatsoever?"

"There are doddering old men, 70 and 80 years old, who are left poverty stricken by this breach of contract.

"There are aged widows and orphaned children who have been counting solely upon this source as a means of subsistence.

Membership Obligatory

"These pitiable old veterans are told late in life that they'll have to shift for themselves from now on. Certainly the courts and the American people won't countenance the practice of any such injustice."

The Morris & Co. pension fund was organized January 1, 1909, and membership was virtually obligatory, according to Mr. Armstrong.

Every employe was compelled to pay into the fund 3 per cent of his earnings on the promise that when he attained the age of 55 years he would be retired to the pension list, and then would receive for the remainder of his life a stipulated monthly allowance based upon his period of service.

In the event of his death, his widow was assured of half of that sum monthly, and should she die, dependent minors would be provided for until 18.

"Then came the merger—and the shattering of the life dreams of these old employes."

Workers Part Owners?

The workers are given an opportunity to buy shares in Swift & Co. But the company limits each employe to the amount he can buy. One worker explained that he bought four shares of Swift Leather, paying \$10 a share. They are now quoted at \$4 per share. There have been no dividends for three years.

It is true that the workers bought heavily during the war, but the enthusiasm has waned and they are now convinced that the packers were successful in getting back whatever the workers saved during the 1919-20-21 period. Some of them lost property that they acquired during the war.

I inquired if it was possible for the workers to

save much even during the war, and was informed that many save even at present but do so at the expense of their children and by robbing themselves of necessities of life.

"Take for instance the workers who live west of the packinghouses," explained one. "As many as six and seven families live in a seven-room house. There are many places where as many as ten people sleep in one room. Although they produce the best meat they buy the cheapest grades."

How Criminals Originate

"Children are left at home without care, so the mother and father can work during the day. Then people wonder why most of the criminals grow up in the south side. Is it any wonder, when a child is permitted to romp the streets at the age of six and in some cases younger?

"The younger generation will not follow in the footsteps of their parents. They see them come home day after day, tired and discouraged, and with a hopeless look. The children soon learn to hate anything connected with the meat industry."

"But haven't the packers installed a day nursery?" I asked.

"Yes, they charge 25 cents per day for each child. But the workers are so hard pressed and some are so eager to save that they prefer leaving the child at home."

Suspicious of Unions

Story after story proves the packinghouse workers' lives a tragedy. They realize they are at the mercy of the packers. They know there is a way out, but they have suffered many disappointments. When you mention unionism as their only hope, they nod with approval. But here is the statement of a worker who has been with the meat industry for many years:

"We all realize that our only hope lies in a union. None of the workers are opposed to organizing, if they felt sure they would not be sold out by labor fakirs and politicians.

"I was a member of the Packing House Men's Protective Association in 1879. There was no other union in the packinghouses at the time. Practically every man working there at the time joined. A strike was called by the leaders without the sanction of the membership, and, of course, the strike was soon lost. We were sold out body and soul.

Sold Out

"Then came the Knights of Labor, about eight years after. They carried on a quiet organization campaign at the start and soon it spread like wildfire, and they were successful in establishing a powerful union among the men. However, they made one serious mistake and that was to open the books to men who did not work in the meat packing industry. The consequences were that politician after politician took out a card. It was not long before the union was completely in the hands of office seekers. Another unauthorized strike was called, and the men, disgusted with the politicians and labor fakirs, quit."



THE KIDS OF PACKINGTOWN

"And the results of the last strike made the men feel they were sold out by their leaders. For that reason they are suspicious of unions."

"Is it true that the spy system now prevailing in all of the houses has a tendency to keep the men from joining a union?"

"To some extent it is true, but not altogether. If the men were shown a way in which to organize and be in control of their union, the spies would have little effect. Practically all of the men are dissatisfied at present. They do not take seriously the company union or other reforms by the packers."

And he spoke truthfully. Every person that I have interviewed was not hostile towards unions but suspicious. They outwardly curse labor fakirs and politicians and toughs who are used by the labor fakirs to intimidate them. They must be convinced that the next union they join will belong to them and that any outsider who is not engaged in the meat packing industry will not be tolerated in the union.

If you tell them you are a magazine writer they willingly co-operate with you. They will enthusiastically show you around. They want you to tell the world that they are in hard circumstances. They believe publicity will help to cure some of the ills from which they suffer.

Do your bit for the political prisoners! Out by Christmas, is the slogan! Push special Christmas Amnesty issue. December Industrial Pioneer! Worthy of the men and the cause it represents.

Thirty-five

International Retail Stores

By A DRUG CLERK

EXPERT statisticians are actively at work pointing out the excessive growth and cost of distribution, especially retail distribution. They demonstrate by figures that this growth is disproportionate and excessive, wasteful and expensive, "an abnormal charge on production," as they term it.

Recently many signs have appeared, indicating a renewed "invasion" of distribution by big capital. Among these is the Kresge Chain of Department Stores Corporation. Another, as shown in September Industrial Pioneer, is the Ford Motor Co., with its retail stores for employees. Then there are such corporations as the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Co., Piggly Wiggly, United Cigar Stores, and others already in the field.

One important fact in connection with these retail corporations that escapes notice in newspaper discussion is the international scope of some of them. "What," the reader will say, "operating small stores on an international basis by corporations? Why years ago it was thought impossible to run small shops without single individual owners and now corporations run them all over the world! Can you beat it?"

Invading Great Britain

From time to time we read about The United Cigar Stores invading Great Britain; but the details are meagre. Recently, however, a Chicago securities corporation has been advertising the stocks of the United Drug Company for sale; with the result that the readers of same have learned some startling facts regarding the international scope of corporate retailing.

According to this advertisement, The United Drug Co. began in 1902 with 40 stores and a factory in this country. This was increased until now the company operates a chain of 250 stores; also factories and laboratories. In 1920, it acquired "Boots," "the largest drug business in Great Britain, with 1,355 Rexall agencies. Canada also forms a part of this great co-operative organization, having its own factories and warehouses, 750 Rexall agencies, and a number of Liggett Retail Stores. "The Great Britain and Canadian business," says the advertisement further "is operated by Liggett's International, 80 per cent of whose common stock is owned by the United Drug Company."

Now, this an interesting development, just at a time, too, when wiseacres are saying that big capitalism is a thing of the past, and that capitalism itself is disintegrating. Here's, not a local, nor even a national, but an international, concentration of capital, and in small retail store-keeping, too.

Recalling Old-Time Arguments

We, of middle-age, can recall the time when this was thought impossible. When it was said that a small store required the attention of an



THE MODERN DRUGGIST

individual owner and his family, or else it would fail. We can also recall the arguments of the white collar clerks in drug stores. About how drug clerking required pharmaceutical training and special individual aptitudes, that corporations would neither purchase nor develop.

But, the retail corporations systematize and standardize retailing; they subdivide labor, making salesmen where pharmacists formerly prevailed and otherwise overcome the need for the interest of the small owner and the skill of the trained pharmacist. Laboratories at central locations also reduce small store abilities to a minimum. Labor is standardized, too.

Of course, nothing is said about this or about labor in any form in the write-ups dealing with big retail corporations. As in industry, these corporations try to convey the impression that they are the work of one man instead of thousands of wage earners. This is due to the fact that labor in retailing is easily secured and that it is almost completely unorganized,

Clerks and other "help" employed by modern retail corporations are afraid to call their souls "their own." They are sped up by "sales campaigns," bonuses and other systems. They are time-clocked and regulated, spied upon, and forced to submit to long hours without double time pay as are the unorganized factory slaves. They are also often hampered by silly beliefs, such as superiority over the wage worker in industry, "prospects" of becoming a chain-store owner, too; in short, a capitalist psychology, and outlook. There are a few, however, whose numbers are increasing who think otherwise; who regard all that as nonsense; who are I. W. W.'s in fact. And it looks as if their numbers are bound to increase still more. Conditions favor their growth.

THE WORKERS STAY AWAY

"What was the text of the sermon today?"

"He giveth His beloved sleep."

"Who was there?"

"All the beloved, apparently."

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Chain Stores Arouse Economic Interest

By TOM DUNCAN

FOR some time distribution, or that branch of it, known as retailing, has been receiving the attention of economists. It is claimed that distribution is developing abnormally. This is quite likely true. The men and women who are no longer able to secure a livelihood in production, or manufacture, must turn to distribution, namely, retailing. (The wholesale phase is covered by immense "jobbing houses," like Marshall Field & Co., Butler Bros., etc.) Their "upkeep" must, accordingly, be added to capitalist overhead and, consequently, cuts into profits.

Some idea of the size of retailing may be judged by the estimates of A. T. Fisher, an authority on advertising. He declares there are 800,000 store windows in this country. This would indicate that there are almost that number of retailers. This makes allowance for stores owned by chain companies. In his estimates Fisher divides U. S. store windows this way:

172,842 in groceries; 147,980 in general stores; 46,398 in drug stores; 42,217 in candy stores; 37,116 in cigar stores; 29,445 in shoe stores; 28,009 in jewelry stores; 37,563 in furniture stores; 32,472 in department stores; 29,080 in hardware stores; 18,700 in haberdasheries; 40,531 in auto supply stores and garages.

From this we get an idea of the extent of retailing in this country. These 12 classifications cover pretty nearly all its specialties.

Abnormal Growth

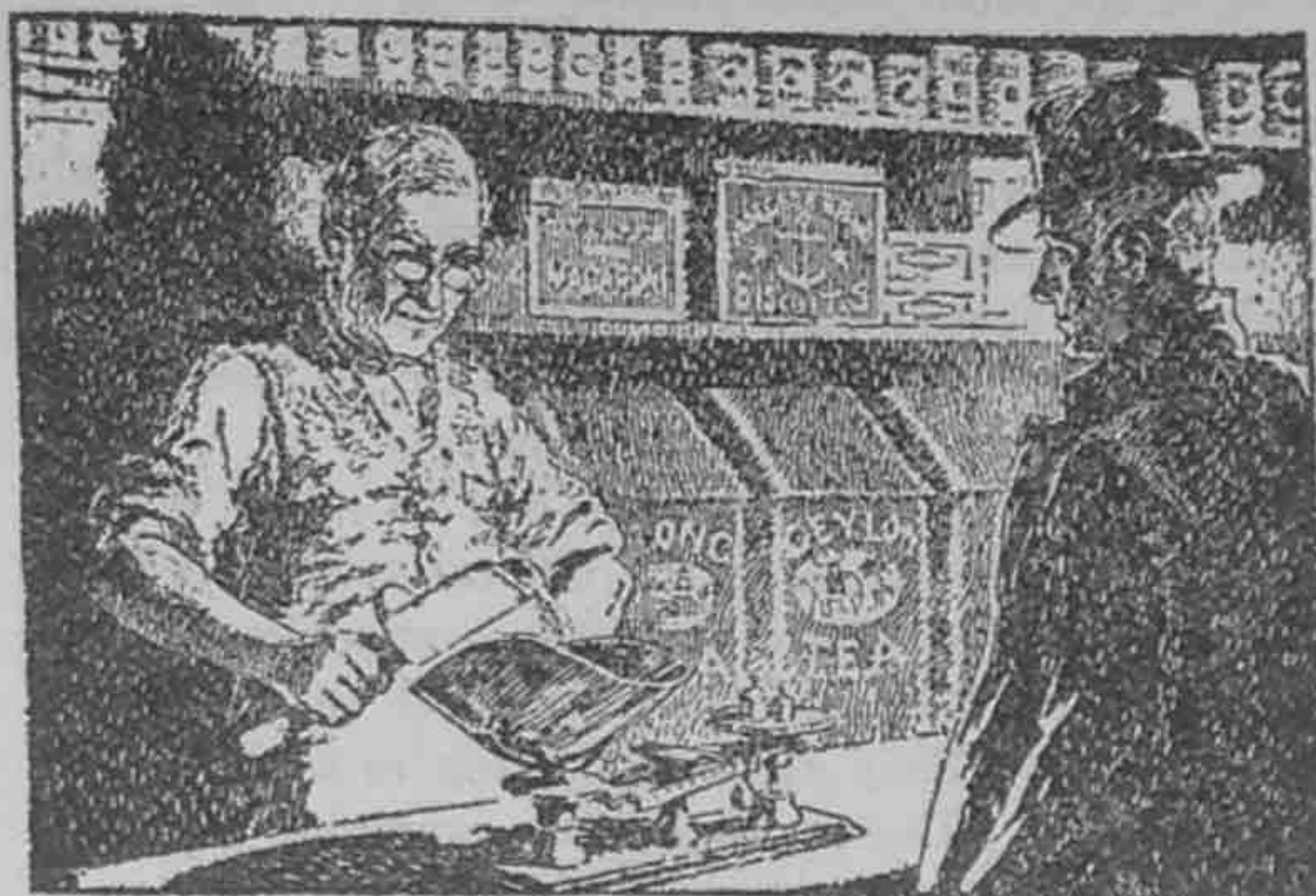
Another view of the abnormal growth of distribution is afforded by Sydney Reeves, who is an authority on the subject, and who regards the abnormalities of distribution as a menace to the stability of the present capitalist system. He shows that, in 1850, distribution absorbed 17.3 cents of the consumer's dollar; in 1860, 22 cents; 1870, 24.9 cents; 1880, 29.6 cents; 1890, 34.7 cents; 1900, 36.6 cents; 1910, 44.2 cents and in 1920, 52.5 cents. This will account, in a measure, for the great attention given to retail prices in the modern discussion of the cost of living. They are a growing factor and a correspondingly great factor in present-day life.

Now enter the chain stores. The growth of the chain store system has recently been called "the greatest romance in American business." There's nothing romantic about it. It's a steady development, superinduced by the immense profits already indicated in Sydney Reeve's figures.

Leading Cain Stores

The leading chain store system of this country, on the basis of the total sales volume, is given by the Babson statistical service as follows:

Groceries—Atlantic and Pacific, \$202,000,000; American Stores, \$86,000,000; Kroger, \$45,000,000. Drugs—Liggett, \$32,000,000; Owl, \$11,000,000. Tobacco—United Cigar Stores, estimated at \$80,000,000. Department stores—May stores, \$62,-



YE OLD TIME RETAILER

000,000; J. C. Penney, \$49,000,000; Associated Dry Goods, estimated at \$35,000,000. Shoe—Douglas, \$24,000,000; Kinney, \$21,000,000. Five and Tens—Woolworth, \$167,000,000; Kresge, \$65,000,000; Kress, \$31,000,000.

The Atlantic and Pacific Tea Co. was established in 1858 and has been growing ever since. It is now reported to have 8,000 stores. The ownership and control of this corporation is said to remain in the hands of one family. Another big firm of the same kind is the Jones Bros. Tea company. It started with one store in Scranton, Pa., in 1872. Through 620 stores in 200 cities, it does an annual business of approximately \$40,000,000. The Jewel Tea Company, another member of this group, has 527 branches from which 21,864 wagon and motor trucks operate in 43 states. Scattered thruout the country also are more than 300 Piggly Wiggly stores, with their trade-mark, "all over the world."

International Chain Stores

Liggett, or The United Drug, operates 250 stores in this country; also factories and laboratories. It started in 1902 with 40 stores, and now also has big interests in British and Canadian chain systems. The United Cigar Stores have approximately 2,450 stores; also foreign ramifications. The Shulte Retail Stores, also tobacconists, had 239 stores in 1922, doing an annual business of \$25,000,000. It recently bought out the tobacco department of a big Chicago department store, doing a business of a half-million dollars annually.

The J. C. Penney Co. operates 382 department stores; S. S. Kresge Co., 212; F. W. Woolworth, 1,200. The latter started with one store in Lancaster, Pa., in 1879. It is perhaps the greatest chain store corporation outside the grocery field.

In shoes, the Kinney Co. operates 131 stores; the McCrory Stores, 165; the S. H. Kress Co., 150; the Melville Shoe Corporation, 62.

There are chain stores in other branches of retailing, like candies. But these will suffice to demonstrate the growth of the chain store system.

Thirty-seven

Large Employers

It stands to reason that these systems are large employers of labor. In fact, in them are concentrated most of the labor forces employed in retailing. These forces are largely unorganized; that is, have no labor unions. It is true, that there are Retail Clerk Unions in existence; but these have to do mainly with employers in small stores. The big stores and chain store systems are not organized; though there are abundant reasons for unionism in them; the principal reason being the low pay.

This lack of organization is due to many causes. Foremost among them is the mental attitude of the workers. They believe themselves superior to factory workers and therefore inclined to frown on labor unions. They are also lacking in self-reliance and assertion. The average store employe, especially among the women, likes to depend upon consumers' leagues, woman's clubs and woman's trade union leagues to improve their pay and conditions by means of white lists (or boycotts) and legislative enactment; that is, when they think at all.

Big Labor Turn-Over

Store employes rarely assert themselves collectively. Strikes among them are of very rare occurrence. Spontaneous revolts, so frequent in other unorganized lines, know them not. Nor do mass movements of any kind. The store employes believe in the individual protest, or strike. That is, they leave their jobs individually rather than submit to unbearable conditions. This leads to a large turn-over, which causes employers much concern and conduces to a slight degree of amelioration. It is not altogether a useless method and should be encouraged until it assumes the proportions of a large walk-out.

In the cigar, shoe, drug and grocery chain stores men clerk predominate; in the Five and Tens women clerks do. But the women are forging into the other lines, especially drugs and groceries. In fact, they contribute largely to the over-supply of labor and consequent conservatism among retail store employes.

Average Wages

The average clerk is said to receive \$25 a week. Many get much less than this. Women get \$17 and \$18. There are five methods in vogue regulating the pay of clerks. There is the straight salary; this is most popular. Then comes the salary plus commission basis. In Chicago, the big stores guarantee their women clerks \$15 a week on this basis. About 19 per cent of stores use this method. Then follows the salary plus bonus, in about 14 per cent of stores; salary plus commission for sales above quota, in about 10 per cent of stores; and flat commission in about 2 per cent of stores.

All these systems involve continuous hustling and intensified labor. A retail clerk is more than entitled to all he's paid; and then some.

The December Industrial Pioneer will be the best and greatest Pioneer published. 64 pages, same price! Send in names and addresses for sample copies. Get subscribers for it. Let's go!

Thirty-eight

A Great Opportunity!

NEVER was the opportunity for the organization of the working class along the lines of industrial unionism more favorable than at the present time. The recent convention of the American Federation of Labor has emphasized more glaringly than ever before the fundamental capitalist character of that body, and has more pronouncedly than ever before exposed its enmity to working class progress; no matter in what direction it may tend. Every international union within its folds, with very few exceptions, is busy strangling every endeavor of the working class to go forward and upward to greater and grander social planes. It tends to rivet the members of that class ever more firmly to the capitalist system, with its labor exploitation and imperialistic wars, so destructive of human life and full of dark foreboding to the entire race.

But, fortunately, despite its capitalist support without which it cannot exist, the American Federation of Labor loses membership in the midst of tens of millions of unorganized, proving clearly that it stands repudiated and distrusted by the great mass of workers of all kinds. They are not of it. Nor are they for it. They are against it and want none of it.

Here, then, is the industrial union opportunity. It consists of a working class striving with might and main upward, largely unorganized, repudiating and distrusting the American Federation of Labor for the friend of capitalism and the foe of the working class that it really is.

Under the circumstances, what will the annual November IWW convention do? Will it rise equal to the opportunity; or will it be oblivious to the great labor symptoms around it? Will it take the steps that will place the IWW in the forefront of American labor rebirth; or will it be content to continue on without having attempted to measure up even partly to the situation which confronts it?

It is hoped that the IWW convention will act boldly, for then it will act well, as well as the circumstances demand. It is hoped that it will move with giant strides into the seats of the big unorganized industries, into steel, textiles, food stuffs, railroads, arousing interest and enthusiasm as it goes; and endorsing and backing all the measures for industrial union development therein that may be proposed and found advisable. Encourage and build up all the industrial unionistic elements therein; for the IWW must rise superior to its present limitations or cease being a factor in the labor movement.

This is a labor crisis that will either make or break the IWW. Make it, delegates! Make it!! Hear suggestions! Weigh well every idea, every plan, presented to you. Look the opportunity in the face and make the most of it.

It's now or never!

BUY BOND STAMPS TODAY!

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

WOBBLES

HAIR-RAISING PRICE-RAISING

It was in the days, that, thankfully, are memory now, when a good-sized "spud" cost 15c and an onion breath was a sign of luxury far beyond the means of ordinary incomes, that a big burly "go-about" came into a western grocery store. He put down a "jitney" on the counter and said,

"Give us a nickel's worth of spuds and throw in a couple of onions."

Thunderstruck, the storekeeper peered at him mutely with questioning eyes, from behind the counter. Finally his lost power of speech was recovered, and a merry twinkle wrinkled the corners of his eyes, as he reached under the counter. Bringing forth a tin can, pushing the tramp's nickel back to him, he said:

"Will you do me a favor, huh? Here is a tin can. Run across the street for me, will you, and buy me a nickel's worth of gasoline and tell that garage man to throw in a Twin-Six Packard? Do that, while I fix up your order."

PAGE NO. 460!

Wanted—Bright boy for bakery. Must be well bred, an early riser, a good mixer and honest in handling the dough. One from the East preferred.—Adv.

POVERTY AND POETRY

'Twas the night before pay-day and all through my jeans

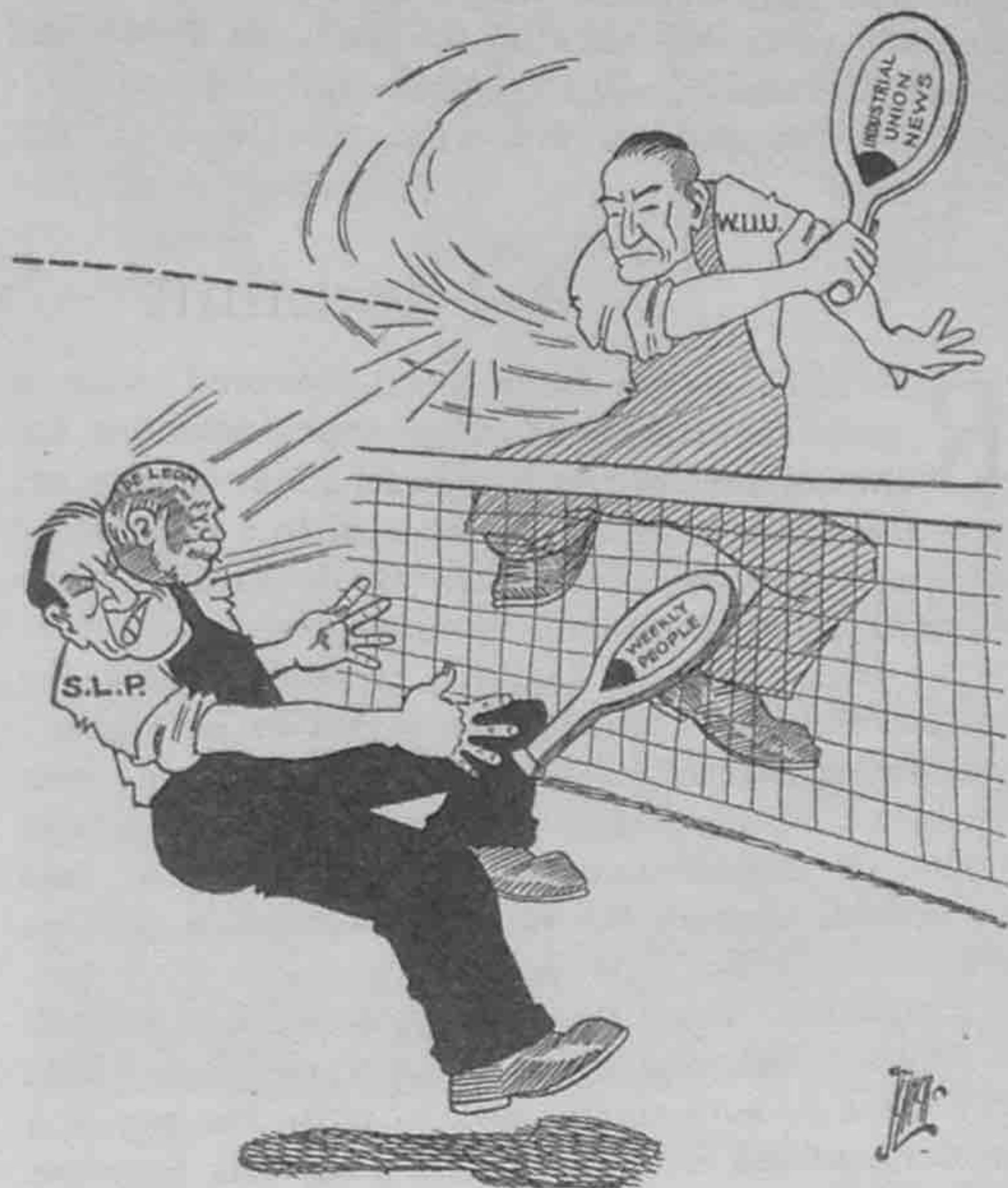
I hunted in vain for the price of some beans;
Not a quarter was stirring, not even a jit,
The kale was off duty, milled edges had quit.
Forward, turn forward, O Time in thy flight,
Make it tomorrow just for a night!

The Blinding Forest - A Fable

By HENRY GEORGE WEISE

ONE night as I sat, trying to write verse, I had a sort of waking dream. I was not asleep—that I know—yet neither was I in full possession of my senses. Let me tell it to you.

In the Forest of Never-ending Work labored a man. This forest was composed of tall trees curiously shaped like factory chimneys, and had foliage of soot and cinders. The man was a giant of a man with enormous arms and shoulders, but



A WINNER!

ILLUSTRATING A POINT

Scissorbill says some of the arguments of the spittoon philosophers are like the anatomy of the dachshund, that is, long-drawn-out and of no particular importance.



by the side of a sparkling stream, was a pleasant park called Leisure. I marveled that the man who labored never went there to rest; and then suddenly I understood that he did not know of its existence, being near-sighted. Above the man's head, above his small, comical head, a bird was singing on a chimney tree top, but the man only muttered, "The song is beyond me; I don't believe it means anything," and I understood his head was too small to grasp music intelligently. Then as I looked at him with pity came a tempest. It overthrew the chimney trees and buffeted the man. It shook and smote him sorely, until the man wailed aloud, saying: "Go away, thou evil wind, and let me work

in peace. Tired was I before, and weary; but doubly tired am I now, and in anguish." But the tempest spared him not, and beat upon his head till one could see it swelling.

Then for a space came a darkness; and when I again saw the Forest of Never-ending Work there walked through it a giant, but with head and eyes in proportion to the rest of the huge frame. Mightily it labored, planting as of yore, but listening with pleasure and with laughter to the song of the bird that sang above it, and going frequently to the park of Leisure to rest. Yet in spite of this he was planting more trees than of yore.

The Limit! - Sublime Idiocy!!!

RECENTLY we have been honored with a great assortment of manuscripts, intended for the columns of the Industrial Pioneer varying, in shade and color, from a love song to a sermon, as it were. None of which were "fit to print" in the columns of the Industrial Pioneer.

The wide array of subjects, treated in prose or poetry, and all of which were meant to be "labor" articles or articles of interest to a magazine like the Industrial Pioneer, is quite significant. It shows a lack of understanding among our more or less intellectual class of the labor movement in general and of the I. W. W. in particular.

The writers come from all walks of life and all vocations, bank clerks and lawyers included. Just why these persons should seek to write for pay is a mystery, unless it is due to the fact that they too are underpaid and are making an effort to earn a few dollars on the side. No doubt, they belong to the class of people who abhor organization and would not join a union of any kind; but instead burn the midnight lamp for the purpose of grinding out a few extra dollars and thereby save the dear boss the trouble of paying more wages,—beg pardon,—salaries, is what we should say.

The Worm Turns

Most of the stories and poems were of the "happy ending" variety. All manuscripts must be read and if not wanted returned. And returned they were, and at once; of course. For lack of time, no comments could be added to the manuscripts that were sent back, barely a line accompanied the returned manuscripts. However, one of the latest ones did receive some of our attention. This one told of a girl who wanted a raise in pay. She was a saleswoman. Well, this is how she went about raising her wages. First of all, she hustled for sales in the store. Then she called up all her acquaintances and told them of the bargains the store was selling and they phoned their orders in and came to buy the bargains, in person. Well, the boss was dumfounded, as he should be, at the marvelous sales and, as a reward, he decided to marry the girl and that is how Peggy lost her job.

Well, that was too much for us and we decided to

take a whack at the writer in returning the poem, for a poem it was, in this fashion:

Dear Madam:

This alleged poem where you are trying to make the boss marry one of his faithful, spineless wage-slaves, may be good for you and it may be your ideal; but it is not honest, as you know, it is not, and can not be true. To hold out the chance of all young women marrying their bosses is on a par with the chance of becoming the president of the U. S., held out to every youth of this country.

This sort of stuff only serves to hoodwink the poor, deluded working girl some more and keep her from understanding the true conditions and reasons of her small pay and long work hours; to the end, that, instead of uniting with her class in a way that all of them will be able to raise their wages and improve their conditions, they remain submissive slaves, looking only for one gain and that is to marry, some day, the boss.

So far as the working-girl is concerned, this sort of stuff is sublime idiocy and no magazine of the caliber of the Industrial Pioneer can have any use for it.

We suggest that if you are honest with the working people, men and women, yes, and children, come off your perch, mingle among them and make an honest, impartial study of causes and effects of working conditions and wages and then try to sing for them or with them, if you know how.

Very sincerely yours for the firm emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery, bossism and their misleading tools.

Poetry file clerk.

We are returning the manuscript herewith.

J. D. C.

TYPICALLY HYPOCRITICAL

Boggs—"This law is a queer business."

Moggs—"How so?"

"They swear a man to tell the truth."

"What then?"

"And every time he shows signs of doing so some lawyer objects."—London Answers.

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

The Next World Tragedy

By NEIL GORDON.

CHICAGO Sunday Tribune of Sept. 23, prints a London dispatch that should arouse the jaded lover of hair-raising and blood-curdling literature to new enthusiasm. It is certainly the greatest spinal cord agitator and nerve-thriller to be found in modern writing. It is headed, "Blood and Oil Title of Next World Tragedy;" with the sub-head "Europe Busy on Poison Gas And War Planes." Perfidious Europe!

This breath-dispelling dispatch starts out, dramatically, saying, "Europe is making ready for the next war. That is one thing that America must remember in the time that is coming."

Following this impressive declaration, so full of tragic possibilities to us, we read on: "It is going to be for oil and a war made with oil. For once more, oil control means war control."

Next, deeply absorbed, nay, properly terrified, we learn that "poison gas factories" are building and "wireless oil-driven dirigibles" are being manufactured all over Europe; viz, for, or in, France, Germany, Russia and Italy. That they are not to be operated finally, for the benevolent purpose of "dropping candy boxes" on a defenseless people, but of making "blood cheaper than oil," mainly in England. And that "the question of petroleum rights in Asia"—on which "strong American representations" were made—are involved.

And now, in a frenzy of fright, we come to the, no doubt, desired hysterical conclusion, that it is oilless, peace-loving England and America that are going to be attacked by the allied Huns of France, Germany, Russia and Italy. Gad zooks! How dare they attack such Christly people, who are without a taint of either oppression or imperialism! Out on them!

Such was our reaction to this horrible London nightmare! It sure was terrible to read that, despite the awful lessons of the late world-war, "Europe is making ready for the next war." It was terrible, until we read The Nation of Sept. 26. Therein is an article entitled, "'Selling' Us Another War." It is from the pen of Frederick T. Libby, executive secretary of the National Council for The Prevention of War.

"'Selling' Us Another War"—what a significantly commercialized statement—" 'Selling' Us Another War," discloses a well-defined preparedness program by the foremost Army and Navy officials and societies. Of course, they favor preparedness as a preventative of war; while Europe engages in it solely to wage war on England and ourselves. It is the same kind of sophistry as that which plunged the world into war in 1914; and back of it, looms the Chester concessions and trade, just as in 1914, too.

One of these official preparedness promoters is Admiral Coontz. Addressing the National Association banquet in New York, he "urged an adequate navy as a good business investment." He also said,



AN INTERNATIONAL APPEAL!

"Our foreign policies are as strong as our fleet and no stronger." (New York World, May 10, 1922).

Says the writer of "'Selling' Us Another War," in his conclusion:

"The articles on military matters which flood the press are the result of a well-organized and far-reaching military propaganda, for part of which we are paying out of our Federal budget. The War and Navy Departments have definitely adopted the policy of 'educating' the nation, beginning with the children, to the carrying out in full of the National Defense Act of 1920. This act provides for the militarization of the entire resources of the nation. We are getting ready, not for peace, but for war."

From all of which we make another and more sober conclusion than we did when reading the Chicago Sunday Tribune dispatch. And that is, that War is a phase of international capitalism that can only be prevented by an internationally organized working class. The dominant capitalist class in all countries, fired by an insane greed for profit and the economic supremacy which its satiation requires, invites bloody cataclysms, that will wreck civilization and destroy humanity, unless the working class of the world organizes now to prevent them.

To end world tragedies the world's workers must war on war.

Forty-one

Prevention of War

NEIL GORDON'S remark (in "Whither Russia"—September Industrial Pioneer) regarding the resolution of the "Transport and General Workers' Union Conference" in Great Britain that "a world-wide transport workers' union could prevent international war" is good advice. He says it is worthy of deep reflection. It is and ought to be made use of for the building of such an organization as soon as possible.

Let us look over the various anti-war nostrums and consider especially those advertised as immediate preventions. Being situated as before the war, with national groups balancing, we must be ready to cope with and vanquish potential imperialistic incendiaries, who are capable of starting another conflagration at any time.

We may thus eliminate as impossible of expedite accomplishment the removal of the fundamental cause of war, competitive world commerce. Also

let us put down as undesirable any league, of even all the civilized nations whose constituents are largely selected by respective governments (as are diplomats), instead of being elected by the people. It would certainly be used mostly as a club in the hands of the reactionary classes and function as does the Supreme Court of the U. S. A. To the world-court idea, of course, the same argument applies, and as such preachments as the referendum by the peoples are unreliable and practically infeasible, there remains just one worth-while proposition that will make bloody old Mars impotent for the present and spoil any come-back on his part, viz.: A Workers' Anti-War International.

Only those are apt to pull together whose interests coincide.

H. MELL

Omaha, Nebr., August 28.

Sir Thomson and Capitalist Greatness

THE workers often sit in open-mouthed wonder, as it were, to listen to tales of capitalist greatness. These tales are told, quite modestly, by the capitalists themselves. To hear them tell it they are the only real and true blue industrial wonder workers of the world. That is, they would gladly have the workers believe that they are the great inventors, scientists and discoverers of modern times. And that, thanks to their initiative and enterprise, the world is on the high road to paradisaical happiness and boundless perfection.

However, in the unpolished language of the day, "that's all bull". The capitalists are not what they "crack" themselves up to be. Their scientists, inventors and discoverers are hired men. These hired men get fabulous salaries (at least, in print), like Steinmetz's \$100,000 a year. But they are hired men, nevertheless. As for capitalist initiative and enterprise—why, that's to laugh!

In the "General Electric Review" for July appears the address of Sir Joseph J. Thomson before the Schenectady research laboratory of the General Electric company. This celebrated scientist, himself a salaried employe of the British government, was telling his fellow salaried scientists in the employ of America's giant electric corporation, about research laboratories in England, and how they came to be established there. Says he, "The Government came in, and they established a body, of which I am a member, and placed very considerable sums of money at our disposal,

and we go to the leading members of the industry and say, 'Won't you combine, and form a research laboratory for the whole industry?' Well, that has been a sufficient inducement for research laboratories to be established, and I think in between 25 and 30 different industries."

Here's governmental beginnings, supplication and inducement—where's capitalist initiative and enterprise? And we'll wager that the scientists in the employ of the General Electric Company have to initiate, supplicate and induce the financiers in control of that mammoth corporation to get a move on, too. It's the nature of the beast. He's "got to be shown" and it's always somebody else besides himself who does the showing before he initiates or embarks on any enterprise.

The only thing creditable about capitalists is the way they have reduced lying to a fine art.

DOCTORS DISAGREE

The usual differences of opinion that proceed every great depression is noticeable among capitalist authorities and writers. Some contend that "the fundamental conditions are sound;" and berate the speculators for their behavior in hammering down stocks.

On the other hand, Babson warns that the low wages forced by militarist governments on European workers are already shutting down American factories, and precipitating a crash.

And so it goes. Where doctors disagree it's wise for the patient to look out for himself.

Interesting Current History

REVIEW By PHILIPP TAFT

THE government can always be relied upon to support those who own and control the industries and natural resources in any controversy with labor.

This is not primarily due to the fact that those who administer the different branches of the government are crooked or corrupt, but to the inherent function of any government, to defend the social and economic system under which it exists, and of which it is the most accurate reflection.

The relation of the government to the body politic is the relation of a pair of hands to the physical body of the individual. No matter how reprehensible or devoid of justice is the conduct of the individual, yet it is impossible to amputate his arms, graft them on the injured party and use them as a means of rectifying an injury done. Likewise is it impossible to amputate the arms of the body politic, graft them on an organization opposed to the social system it represents and use them as a weapon with which to combat that system.

With these philosophical facts in view, we can read "The Government,—Strikebreaker," by Jay Lovestone, a record of the government's activities in strikes and industrial controversies; and recognize these activities as a normal function of present day government and not necessarily as a result of wicked or corrupt men in office.

The War Period

The book commences with the war period, when the government considered it advisable and convenient to foster and support trade unionism under the guidance and control of a reactionary officialdom, and, as the author observes, in times of war, it is far more convenient to deal with groups of workers held in check by officialdom than with individually discontented workers.

But Big Business was not asleep. Its leaders, though finding it expedient to deal temporarily with labor unions, were preparing to destroy the labor organizations that the war period made necessary, as soon as we had established freedom and democracy in Germany.

Immediately following the armistice, this country witnessed some of the biggest strikes in history, the steel and coal strikes; and therein the government played its true role. The injunction, the army and police were used against the strikers and the then Chief Executive and his attorney-general declared the coal strike illegal, resorting to a few clever sophistries, typical of the politician, to this end.

The Depression

After the short period of war prosperity that followed the armistice, a period of depression set in and with it an open shop drive, initiated and pushed by Big Business. Therein took place the most aggressive and concerted movement to destroy all forms of labor organization in the history of Amer-

ica. Due to the craft division and disunion in the ranks of labor, this campaign was successful to a great degree; and though this drive has reached its apex it has not entirely subsided as yet; and, what is more, is likely to break out with increased violence with the end of the present temporary prosperity.

In contrast to labor, Big Business and employers in general, showed no lack of solidarity, as one of their secret circulars indicates. When an employer started a drive on a union, he had the support of the entire employing class, backed by the big financial interests, acting through the Open Shop Association. The difference in method between Capital and Labor, in this respect, is, no doubt, the main reason for the success of the open shop drive. A divided force is always inferior to a compactly organized one.

These Open Shop organizations, always chanting their hypocritical songs of liberty and fair play, resort to the low and sneaking method of sending spies and undercover men into the unions, to single out the active workers for the blacklist and jail. This, too, is evidenced by one of their secret circulars.

Figures on Effects

A few figures on the effects of the last depression on both the working and the employing class are cited by the author. They are highly illuminating. January, 1922, the highest number of business failures, 2,723, hit the peak as the largest amount of interest and dividend payments were made, totaling \$359,800,000. In 1921, the average monthly payments to security holders totalled \$296,000,000. Taking 1913 as a normal year this was an increase of 100 per cent.

A survey by the author of 29 leading corporations showed that many corporations fared better in 1921, a year of depression, than they did in 1920, a prosperity year.

Circumventing Arbitration

These totals signify two things, one, an indication of what's happening to our friend, Mr. Small Business Man; and two, a demonstration of the fact, that with bankruptcy, unemployment and plenty of cheap labor on hand, as a consequence of them, hard times are not necessarily hard on large corporations; in fact, are even good times for them.

The author exposes the claims of propagandists, that wages have risen to an extraordinary high level, by showing that, considering real wages, or the actual purchasing power of nominal wages, wages have actually declined since 1910. His analysis is based on data published by the Federated Council of Churches, Catholic Welfare Council and Mr. Basil Manly, joint chairman of the War Labor Board during the world-war.

That employers have also a convenient method of circumventing arbitration, when unfavorable decis-

ions are rendered, is also shown, when recounting the history of the packing workers' strike. Then an application for wage reduction was made by the packers to Arbitrator Judge Altuschler. It was denied on the ground that conditions in the industry, or the cost of living, did not warrant the cut. The company, thereupon, turned round, organized a company union, cut the wages and had the same approved by their farcical creature.

Of course, there was no outcry against this all too palpable violation of the arbitrator's decisions from either the press, or any other thought regulating institution. But we should, nevertheless, recollect that it was the packers and not the packing house workers who broke their pledges to abide by the arbitrator's decisions. That changes the nature of the act—according to capitalist ethics of victory at any cost.

There is a large degree of unity and control amongst the employing interests. According to the author, the Steel Trust controls 75 per cent of the anthracite and bituminous output. Twenty-five men control 82 per cent of the steam railroad systems operating 211,280 miles. These 25 men divide among themselves 193 directorships and sit together on the board of directors of 99 class 1 railroads. Against such highly centralized control the trade union has as much chance as an army equipped with the muskets of a hundred years ago, has against a modern army equipped with airplanes and dirigibles. The results of the last three years are eloquent confirmation of the inadequacy of existing labor organizations to meet the highly organized capitalism of America.

Partiality of Courts

The partiality of courts towards capital, in labor disputes is another phase of the subject touched upon by the writer of "The Government,—Strikebreaker." He cites numerous decisions in which the dispensers of justice invariably favored property rights against human rights. And the same with the newspapers. In his interesting survey of them, the author finds them also on the side of the capitalists. Of course, these virtue-draped harlots always appear to be guided by what they term public interest, instead of any material interest to themselves, or their owners, who are invariably, men connected with big capitalist interests.

In conclusion, the author urges the formation of a Labor Party as a step towards the elimination of these disreputable social conditions. This appears contradictory; as at the outset of "Government,—Strikebreaker," the author starts out with the hypothesis that government is a committee of managers for the affairs of the capitalist class. That it is, in brief, a reflex of capitalist ownership and control. If such is the case, what difference does it make who the committee men are? They must reflect dominant economic ownership, i. e., interests. A plea for a Labor party is an implication that government is an impartial body for the regulation of the affairs of society; instead of a reflection of economic ownership and control. It also implies

that government is being subverted by corrupt politicians, so that all that is needed is the election of lily-white Laborites, who will restore government to its "natural" impartiality. What illogic! and what nonsense!!

The belief that a labor party would be any different than any other party in the administration of government is not only theoretically untenable, but practically impossible. For wherever the laborites have been given power, as in Australia, England, Germany, Milwaukee, U. S. A., they have found it impossible to overcome the dominance of capitalist ownership and control. The workers must first get economic power wherewith to change economic ownership, before they can be real, not imaginary, political factors. All else is a pipe-dream.

But though the author of "The Government,—Strikebreaker" is a failure when he attempts to prescribe remedies, as a historian of contemporaneous events he is exceptionally praiseworthy. It is this feature, its history of current facts, that makes his book interesting and worth-reading.

OBREGON AND RUSSIA

Now it's Obregon who is demonstrating, in Mexico, how the embryonic capitalists of a nation use the working class in their expansion and growth, only to kick that class overboard when their further development demands it.

Obregon in kicking out of office radicals and labor leaders, following American recognition, so favorable to big capitalism, points a warning as to what may also happen some day in Russia.

Watch out!



IS THIS TO BE THE STORY OF
FREE SPEECH IN AMERICA?

Free Political
Prisoners
by Christmas

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

The Labor Movement and the I. W. W.

By JAMES MORRIS

JUST at a moment when the I. W. W. has given a fresh demonstration of its growing strength and activity, there appears again an insistent demand for a more comprehensive pronouncement of its principles and philosophy. The cataclymic defeats visited upon those sections of organized workers in the labor movement who were supposed to be strategically and numerically the strongest, namely, the shop craftsmen on the railroads and the coal miners, had thrown the great body of workers organized and unorganized alike, into a state of confusion. The subsequent activities of the I. W. W., coming as they did when the outlook for labor was painfully uncertain, again jolted the workers, this time to a realization that the exploiters of labor were not by any means invincible and could, if properly but firmly handled, be made to grant innumerable concessions to the workers of America.

The peculiar circumstances accompanying this ebb and flow in the fortunes of labor, accentuated to an extraordinary degree, discussions on the potentialities of the philosophy, principles and tactics of the I. W. W.

Startling the Watch Dogs

The measure of success attending the big strikes of the I. W. W. on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and in the construction and lumber camps throughout the West, startled the watchdogs of capitalism, press, pulpit and pedagogue into a hectic activity. Each and every incident, big and small, came in for its share of criticism, the more important or unusual exciting the admiration or hostility of individuals or interests emotionally or economically affected.

Outside of provoking a further interest in the I. W. W., the discussions contained little of permanent value. Many were frankly ridiculous, displaying an appalling ignorance of the I. W. W. or the part that it is to play in the fight for labor's emancipation. The New York preacher who, reacting emotionally to the activities of the I. W. W. in closing the bootlegging establishments in Portland, Tacoma and Seattle for the duration of the strike in defiance of the authorities called upon the I. W. W. to proceed to New York and perform a similar act in the Gotham village, merely lived up to the reputation of his kind and demonstrated a lack of understanding of the forces underlying social progress. The I. W. W. clamped on the lid on the "blind pigs" not out of a holy regard for the people's moral but because of sheer economic necessity. Economic necessity is the motivating force back of all the activities of the I. W. W.

The form of organization adopted by the I. W. W., the unsocial tactics used in its strikes and the principles upon which it is organized, all grew out of the conflicting economic interests of master and slave. This clash between classes, master class

and slave class, employing class and working class provides the reason for the existence and the philosophy of the I. W. W.

Want Amid Abundance

The workers are ever in want in a world of abundance while the wealthy and prosperous overlords of industry enjoy the fruits of the labors of working men, women and children. In the words of a contemporary "The road to prosperity is never trodden by the feet of the man who does the actual work. The man who lives in ease and luxury is the man who farms the farmer and works the worker. At no time in the world's history has the man who actually produced wealth been wealthy or even well fed or housed or clothed. Hence the premium of the present system is upon the man who is 'too strong to work.' His strength lies in his will to evade labor and to compel others to labor for him. Of the struggle to change that, comes all 'the unrest of today.'" By a process, shrewd and clever, the employers of labor have succeeded in not only withdrawing from the workers that which they (the workers) have produced, but have persuaded them that robbery in this instance is perfectly alright. During periods of industrial turmoil, the effect of this deception becomes evident.

The miners believe that the coal "operators" are entitled to a profit, and in their inability to see that the "profits" of a coal "operator" (who occupies his time operating a golf stick, not a coal mine), are a part of the total wealth produced by the workers, lies the cause of all the lost strikes. The railroader, be he engineer, gandy dancer or shop craftsman, believes in the sacredness of contract and the bosses, by waving a bit of parchment, can get them to scab one another back into the slave pens. A contract is nothing more than an agreement entered into between the workers and the masters, whereby the workers agree to submit themselves for exploitation over a period of time without interruption. As if there could be anything sacred in this. The railroad workers, too, believe that profits are justified and always seek to be "fair" to the owners of the various railroad systems, submitting to wage cuts and running their strikes in a half-hearted manner as if they were doing something that is morally and ethically wrong. The daily newspapers are frequently commenting on the transportation problem, throwing out dark hints (to the workers) of the coming bankruptcy of the railroads.

Bad Effects of Craft Reasoning

The workers fall for this stuff and are humbled accordingly. "What chances have we", they reason illogically, to be sure, "of getting better wages and working conditions, if the owners themselves are losing money?" and they suffer in silence, protesting only when human endurance reaches the

Forty-five

breaking point.. All the while the high moguls of transportation are busy evolving schemes to displace thousands of workers by developing the "trunk system" thus dispensing with branch lines and using motor trucks as feeders and short distance carriers. In every industry labor-saving devices are constantly being introduced, undermining the skill of the individualist and throwing thousands of workers into the ranks of the unemployed. Still the workers desire to be "fair," fair to a class that is always heaping abuse upon abuse, throwing misery and despair into the ranks of the gullible slaves.

The American Labor movement, confronted on every side with industrial development, is slow to respond. Even the crushing "open shop" drive of the one big union of the bosses, the Chambers of Commerce, found the workers on the defensive.

The A. F. of L., with its head of ivory and feet of clay, neither desired to do more than make a pretense at resistance nor yet stand erect upon its own ground. It was and still is too much a creature of Wall Street to be of service to the workers. When the answer to the "open shop" "no union" drive was "more and ever more union" it replied by stifling discussion within its ranks and with threats of expulsion upon those who sought to remould the A. F. of L. to meet modern requirements. The passing of years has found the A. F. of L. more frankly and openly against the workers, even going so far as to express an admiration for the "open shop," in preference to an industrial organization of the workers. The A. F. of L., rather than submit to a reorganization would expel every union affiliated with it and become an instrument and an adjunct of the "company union" inclinations of the employing class. It is well, however, to remember that the A. F. of L. is not the American Labor Movement but only a pitiable manifestation of it. It offers to the workers a perpetuation not an ending to the present brutal system of wage slavery. It does not seek to organize the workers, and where the workers themselves express determination to organize in spite of everything, it steps in wherever possible and tries to strangle the new endeavor or turn it along the sterile pathway of craft unionism.

Segregation Conscious Disorganization

The segregating of miners into districts, the railroad workers into shop craftsmen and brotherhoods with further subdivisions, are but a few indications along this line and constitute a conscious and a deliberate attempt at a disorganization of the forces of labor. The A. F. of L. will, with the aid of the scab, the thug and the boss's blacklist, resist every attempt to reorganize in those industries where they for the time being have a measure of jurisdiction.

Reorganization will, however, proceed in spite of this.. The only way out of the wilderness of wage slavery with its concomitant evils of poverty, prostitution and ill health is thru an economic or-

ganization of the working class. The workers must organize as workers with the barriers of race and religion no longer hampering them in their efforts toward freedom. They must organize to secure control of the means of producing the necessities of life and forever put an end to a vicious system of exploitation of one man by another. The fight will be bitter and far-reaching in its effects.

Let us hearken to the words of a wise man, one who is himself apparently sick of this degrading system.

"One reason the world has moved forward so slowly is because the people have been deadened with too much work. Thinking is the only thing that gets us ahead." "The world was made for all of us instead of for some of us, and things must be arranged to fit the average human being." (Henry Ford).

The appeal of the I. W. W. is to workers who think. The great body of workers are too weary and work worn, too deadened intellectually to figure out the intricate workings of this class struggle. But they can be shown, and learning, will respond. Without them the goal is impossible of attainment and so to the intelligent workers the I. W. W. says "Come, join in the big fight for freedom; line up in the I. W. W. and bend with a vim and determination to end the era of wage slavery!"

PROSPERITY

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO YOU? Here is What It Spells To The Boss!

P Is for PRIVILEGE, PROPERTY and POWER.
 R For REACTION, ROBBERY and RENT.
 O For OWNERSHIP, ORDERS and OBEDIENCE.
 S For SYSTEM, its SWEATSHOPS and SLAVES.
 P For PRETENSION, PIECEWORK and POLICE.
 E For the EARTH, they have gobbled it all.
 R For the RAPES on the workers made;
 I For the INDUSTRIAL AUTOCRACY.
 T For TRUST, the TYRANTS and the TWELVE HOUR day.
 Y For the YOKE they have cast on our necks.
 Put them together, they spell PROSPERITY; 'tis a wonderful word for the boss.

MOVING BACKWARDS

Another reaction! The New York Leader, once the New York Call, is now, more than ever before, an AFL organ. One of its leading articles is headed "AFL Sounds Call for Democracy in Industry!" No doubt the New York pressmen, who, much against their will, were driven back into the clutches of big capitalism by the AFL will appreciate both the Leader and AFL "democracy in industry" over much. But what would you have? A liberal newspaper that would sooner be right than conventional?



Editorial



The Portland A. F. of L. Convention

The Wire-Puller Who
Made the Jumping
Jacks Jump



THE Industrial Workers of the World, more widely known as the I. W. W., feel proud to be condemned by Samuel Gompers and the A. F. of L. Portland convention. Gompers and his cohorts in control of the A. F. of L. are so notoriously a part of the employers' strong arm forces, organized to break strikes and keep the workers in slavery, that any condemnation by them is an honor to a real labor union and not the disgrace that it is presumed to be.

This condemnation only serves to emphasize the fact, in a very desirable manner, that the I. W. W. is against the employers' rule in labor unionism and society; and is for that of the workers' instead. This condemnation further makes plain that the A. F. of L. exists simply to bind labor to the chariot of capitalism; while the I. W. W. exists to break the chains that tie labor to this unenviable destiny.

Under the circumstances, the I. W. W. shouts to Gompers, et al., "You honor us, indeed!" While to the workers it exhibits the traitorous character of his machine and urges its overthrow through the upbuilding of the I. W. W. everywhere. To the workers, it points out once more, that freedom from both capitalist unionism and capitalism is to be found only in the industrial unionism and society advocated by the Industrial Workers of the

World. And it accordingly urges them to join the I. W. W., to the end that labor may be both properly organized and emancipated from capitalism.

The I. W. W. is encouraged to make this argument now more than ever before. For never before has the A. F. of L. been so harrassed from within—coal miners, shoe workers, building trades workers and pressmen have revolted against its autocratic rule in favor of the employers' interests. And never before has it lost, not only hundreds of thousands of members, but the confidence of the workers; for it fails to recuperate its losses, despite tens of millions of unorganized on all sides.

Under the circumstances, the I. W. W. laughs at Gompers' attempts to sweep back the tides of working class progress, with the broom of employers' aid. It believes that eventually those tides will overwhelm both Mr. Gompers and his real masters, the capitalist class. And, as a means to that end, it again urges workers everywhere to join its ranks. Do it now!

DON'T FORGET, THE DECEMBER ISSUE OF INDUSTRIAL PIONEER IS A XMAS AMNESTY NUMBER. MAKE IT A HUMMER!

Forty-seven

THE PROSTRATE BORERS

THE Portland AFL convention has again demonstrated the failure of boring from within. As usual the borers have bored themselves out. They had no chance against the highly centralized voting machine that, with the aid of the capitalist class, bosses the AFL. And they only served to give that machine another opportunity to prove its loyalty to the interests which keep it in power, and thereby enabled it to entrench itself still more completely.

For about 25 years now, boring from within has been tried on the AFL, with the result that the last defeat was worse than the first. This is due to the way boring from within had been proclaimed a new and revolutionary kind of tactics, calling, therefore, for new and revolutionary zeal. And now, though blown with a new fervor, in the name of the Russian revolution, it lies far more prostrate than it had ever been in the days when only the old-fashioned yellow socialists toyed with it. This, too, despite the new American intelligentsia, the collegiate school of industrial democrats, who had rallied to the support of the quondam IWW member who was its high-browed prophet.

Kicked out! How the gods have fallen!

AN AGRARIAN DANGER

BENJAMIN MARSH, representing the farmers, points out "the great danger to labor today because of the bankruptcy of about a third of the farmers of this country. That last year 2,000,000 of the farm population left the farms and about the same number will leave the farms this year because of their inability to get a fair price for their products as a result of the manipulation of the financial group that controls the affairs of the country, and that these people coming from the farms have in some instances taken the places of strikers and are coming into the larger industrial centers to seek employment and declared that unless something was done very soon to aid the farmers that a panic would ensue, and urged that labor get behind the farmers to see that they get a square deal."



WAR'S HARVEST

Forty-eight

ECONOMIC NOTES

Mr. George M. Branting, writing in "Wall Street Magazine" declares "a liberal economic viewpoint will indicate that the higher the wages, the greater the spending power and the more firmly secured our economic position. The safeguard of this nation does not consist of holding wages down, but rather the reverse."

Right; wages should be so increased as to include all that labor produces. When that is done labor will be in a position to buy back all that it produces and overproduction will be an impossibility.

HALF-MILLION MORE RR WORKERS

Railroads during July were employing 1,954,687 workers, or almost 500,000 more than they employed during the same month a year ago. They also paid out during the same month in wages and salaries \$261,805,549, against a similar payment during July, 1922, of \$193,571,244.

These figures were reported by the interstate commerce commission. They indicated a slight increase in earning rates for all classes of railroad employes during the year, as well as the increase in the total number employed.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUESTED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of The Industrial Pioneer, published monthly at Chicago, Ill., for October 1, 1923.

State of Illinois) ss.
County of Cook)

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Harry G. Clark, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Sec'y-Treas. of The Industrial Pioneer and that the following is, to be the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing, and business managers are:

Name of Publisher: Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Name of Editor: Justus Ebert, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Managing Editor: Justus Ebert, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Business Manager J. D. Carliph, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

2. That the owners are Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.; Sam Forbes, Chairman, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.; Harry G. Clark, Secretary, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owing or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners stockholders, and security holders, if any contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appear upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, given; also that said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as stated by him.

HARRY G. CLARK,
Sec'y-Treas.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of September, 1923.

[SEAL]

CHAS. L. SAYLER, Notary Public.
(My commission expires, Sep. 14, 1924.)

INDUSTRIAL PIONEER

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

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

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

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December

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