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# FARCEFUL TRIAL OF BUTTE LEADERS

## Jury Of Ten Labor Skimmers, One Clerk, And A Non-Union Miner, Convict Bradley And McDonald Without A Hitch

(Special to Solidarity)  
Butte, Mont., Nov. 27. The trial of our fellow workers at Boulder, Montana, came to an end Saturday night and resulted in the conviction of Bradley and McDonald and the acquittal of Shannon. Bradley was given five years and McDonald three. As I predicted in my last letter, the hand-picked jury delivered the goods as per the instructions of the Amalgamated Copper Co., who were represented at the trial by Judge W. A. Clark, Atty. General Kelly, Kelly county attorney of Jefferson county, a brother to the other rat, and County Attorney McCaffrey of Silver Bow county, and the jury: A. T. Williams, F. M. Williams, Christ Wickersham, Chas. Ford, Chas. Brown, M. Davidson, Chas. F. Lyon, Peter Tonetel, ranchers; D. P. Lake, hotel proprietor; D. P. Roberts, carpenter and contractor; Robert Wonder, clerk; Peter McCluskey, non-union miner.

What do you know about that for a jury? Of the twelve men ten are exploiters of labor; one a clerk, than whom there is no more servile; while the other man is a non-union miner who would oppose a union man on general principles. These men stand for "big profits and cheap labor" and practice that idea, so you could not expect them to give a fair trial to the men who were active in starting a real union to replace the company-controlled outfit. Three of the most conspicuous witnesses at the trial were Dan Holland and John C. Smith, ex-deputies, and Under Sheriff Keller, three of the most notorious stool-pigeons in the employ of the company. Holland testified as to Bradley's being a bad man and that he had disarmed him once during an election at miners' meetings. Bradley, as a matter of fact Bradley on this occasion was attacked by a bunch of thugs headed by Holland and the only thing that saved his life was that in their anxiety to kick his head off they kicked each other in the shins and started a free-for-all among themselves, thereby giving Bradley a chance to escape.

The defense objected to Keller's being sworn as a witness because he was in the court room during the examination of the other witnesses, but the objection was overruled. Keller was very bitter towards McDonald which was to be expected as "Mucky" gave him a terrific beating about a year and a half ago. That the memory of the mauling and the hospital bill were uppermost in his small mind was plain to everyone. McCaffrey and some of his imported pines and gunmen spent one whole evening and several hundred dollars in an attempt to get the witnesses for the defense so drunk they would be unable to testify on the following day.

The Company demanded that these men be sacrificed on the altar of Mammon to satisfy their revenge for the shock they received through fear of the new union of which these men were considered leaders, also to serve as a warning to all others who have the manhood to fight for their class. This and other mock trials have proved to every intelligent person that they can't read anyone whom they desire to. Lawyers are useless, law is a farce, and the constitution a mockery. The lines are clearly drawn and the workers must take a stand for or against us. How long the workers are going to stand by and see the best men in the movement beaten up, deported, imprisoned and shot, remains to be seen.

The masters have their vulnerable spots as well as we, and it is up to us to find them. We certainly cannot beat these courts by hiring lawyers and playing on the wrong side of their game. But there are two ways to beat them—sabotage and organization. They practice the former on us whenever they arrest us. We are forced to hire lawyers with the result that our pockets and treasuries are depleted and we become weakened and terrorized. What is there to hinder us from practicing sabotage on them and terrorize them as they do us? By doing this we can strengthen our position until we are united industrially as we should be. Then we can make our own laws in our own organization and ignore them entirely.

The company has warrants for 16 other fellow workers charging them with kidnaping. They got by so easily with this other cases, no doubt they think they can get by with these also. Bert Riley, ex-president of Local No. 1, I. W. F. of M., helped depict a man named Larkin several months ago and was not even arrested for it. They used him to testify against John Foley who got 20 months in 20 minutes on a charge of robbing the miners' safe.

Our friend Conley had several convicts making a road from Big Fork to Con. Kelly's summer residence at Swan Lake. Four of these men deserted; the guards came upon one while he was fishing and without warning shot him in the groin. This happened at two o'clock in the afternoon; without going to see how badly he was wounded they went on to Gordon's mine where there was a big supper awaiting them. Conley went with the guards the next afternoon at four o'clock and no doubt was much pleased at finding the poor fellow still alive. He said, "You know I have a damn good notion to blow your brains out." They made preparation to tie the wounded man on a horse and take him back in that condition, but a trapper made such a strong protest that they took his advice and sent for a doctor.

Here are the names of more gunmen:  
Harry Fritz, member of No. 1, I. W. F. M.; Frank McManney, Charley Gallier, John Boylin, Bob Ayers, cook for gunmen (formerly Ayers' cafe); Paddy Flatley, "Billy" Wick, Oscar Gainsbury, Frank H. Anderson, Tommy White, Geo. Hayworth, searchlight man, Frank Garrett, Salvation Army; Harry Durr, I. W. F. of M.; Bill Lester, Bosses Larkin, Frank's Big brother; Bertie, transfer for Jones' transfer; Joe Bodine, Pete Bodine, One Nice, at Tramway mine; Dan Hannifan, Earl Crowley, Chuky Staples.

# SOUND-PROOF PRISONS FOR AGITATORS U. N. W. A. CONSOLIDATION MORE LIGHT ON THE MINEERS

(New York Times)  
New York is soon to have an addition to its prison equipment, and especially designed for anarchists, I. W. U. AGITATORS and other lawbreakers who have laughed at previous attempts to restrain them in the Workhouse and penitentiary on Blackwell's Island.

Under the supervision of Dr. Katharine B. Davis, Commissioner of Correction, work has begun on a new Disciplinary Building on Riker's Island. Since the TANENBAUM "UPRISING" ON BLACKWELL'S ISLAND LAST YEAR officials of the Department of Correction have been studying various schemes to prevent further revolts among prisoners, and the Riker's Island building, it is hoped, will solve the problem for all time. It will have two wings, one for 30 prisoners, all of whom will be drafted from other city institutions because of their propensities for stirring up trouble among their companions.

As soon as there is an outbreak in one of the other prisons the leaders are to be separated and put in solitary confinement on Riker's Island, where they never will find an opportunity to agitate anything. For the worst of them there will be sound-proof cells, and for the others a possible to quiet them down even after their transfer to the island, he will be placed in a room window, and the window no cagery can penetrate.

The Board of Estimate recently appropriated \$28,000, which will cover part of the cost of the building. Work on the excavation, and if necessary, one wing of the prison can be finished before the winter ends, it is said. The total cost of this building is estimated at \$64,000, but this does not include the cost of the \$45,000 by having the prisoners themselves do most of the work.

The building is to be constructed of concrete blocks and brick and steel, and will have two wings, connected by an administration house. Nothing just like it exists in the city's present equipment. The building will be only one story high, each wing being planned somewhat after the fashion of the lion house in Bronx Park. The cells are to be arranged in rows and will consist of two cells, each separated by heavy iron bars. Each room will measure 8 by 12 feet and will be lighted by gas, and will stand and other facilities. It will have its own window, and the door will be an iron grille.

In the case of the twenty sound-proof cells, extra heavy work will be built with layers of cork or some other deadening material inserted in the concrete. The cells will have three doors, one of wood, one of iron and one of steel. The doors will keep the noise within from filtering through.

Members of the Department of Correction believe the Disciplinary Building will be far more effective than the present prison equipment. It will provide a means of isolating the unmanageable inmates without causing them any physical suffering which has brought the "cooler" into disrepute in the past. The disciplinary buildings have been constructed recently for the trouble-makers among the local labor has been put to work on the foundations for the Riker's Island structure, while other prisoners are at work turning out the concrete bricks and blocks at the city's plant on Hart's Island. It is believed that practically the entire work can be done by convicts under the supervision of experts. The building was designed by Franklin B. Ware, ex-State Architect, of 1170 Broadway.

# THANKSGIVING SPREAD IN K. C.

(Special to Solidarity)  
Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 26  
Local 61 started "thanksgiving" the evening before, and kept up the celebration until 1 o'clock Thanksgiving night.

On the evening before, the fellow workers went out to the streets and with Fellow Worker Burke as the principal speaker, made an appeal for the "Industrial Workers of the World." In Butte City's battle for independence from the U. N. W. A., late of the Butte Mine Workers' Union, graphically outlined the evils leading to the death of the Western Federation of Miners in Butte, and its replacement by a revolutionary government in the hands of the greatest copper camp in the world. The dinner was taken up for Mucky McDonald and Bradley. They did not ask for it, but received it in the form of a drink up to its traditions.

There was a spread in the I. W. U. hall on Thanksgiving day, starting with goose and duck and ending with cigars, ten-cent cigars. It enjoyed the event except the goose and ducks. The dinner was fully local, and over 80, all the members of Local 61, then in town, were there. The dinner started with a statement of what we have to be NOT thankful for—Stuart S. Johnson, Wm. Ford, J. McDonald, Sec. Committee.

Oakland locals are in need of soap-boiler; good chance for the right man who can deliver straight industrial union; Address Ben Klein, Sec'y, 505 Fifth St., Oakland, Calif.

Will Elmer H. Immel please drop a line to Arthur Rice, 20 W. Missouri Ave., Kansas City, Mo., care of I. W. U.

# GREETINGS FROM THE BRITISH I. W. U. ADMINISTRATION

(Special to Solidarity)  
London, England, Nov. 10.  
The year 1913 was undoubtedly a bonanza year for industrial union propaganda in England. At the beginning of that year that we definitely established the British Administration of the I. W. U. One mixed local and a Government Workers' Local started our career as an active propaganda organization. Within a few weeks we had added two more, and by the summer a building workers' local had been inaugurated.

Fellow Worker George Swasey arrived on the scene and helped considerably by his enormous energy, good humor and untiring efforts. The introduction of I. W. U. songs undoubtedly had a great effect on the large audiences we commanded every Sunday. By the end of the year we had our own paper, the "Industrial Worker," which unfortunately we had to suspend after the August issue, owing to the outbreak of the organized slaughter of the workers in Europe. Despite the sundry disagreements which must arise in the best of revolutionary organizations, we have made our still making steady progress and even at this period of national hysteria we are keeping the red flag of the One Big Union flying. We hope very shortly to republish the "Industrial Worker," to educate the slaves and drive more nails into the coffin of capitalism.

We number about 12 locals and have members-at-large all over the country.

Speed the day of the Industrial Commonweath.

A. YOUNG.

# MORE LIGHT ON THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

## City of Philadelphia Appropriates Money for Entertainment of the Delegates. Scab-Hotel Proprietor, Where Delegates Put Up, "Unlonizes" His Joint Before Guests Arrive, But Declines to Raise Wages. Priests Active in Convention.

The city of "Brotherly Love" was determined to show its love for Labor. Some weeks ago there was grave danger that, so far as the labor vote was concerned, the McNichols-Penrose machine was defeated. But resourceful men are not so easily defeated. The Central Labor Union of Philadelphia had a committee to arrange the A. F. of L. Convention. The Chairman of the Committee was no less than Frank Feeney, made famous by Mulhail's exposure of his traitorous conduct during the General Strike of 1909.

This gent and his fellow committeemen—some of whom are dubbed "Comrades"—prevailed upon the city fathers of Philadelphia to foot the bill out of the city treasury for the entertainment of the delegates and the local bills of the convention. The city fathers voted \$25,000, with an invitation to look for more if necessary. So the hall rent, automobile rides and banquet to the delegates came out of the taxes paid into the city coffers by Brother Capital.

This year, on the street where the workers were unmercifully clubbed in 1909, was erected an arch in honor of the A. F. of L., which, at night threw out the A. F. of L. "Labor Omnia Vincit." No doubt the \$25,000 to entertain the A. F. of L. served as excellent campaign funds and helped to elect Penrose, who appeared to be in a hard pinch, to the Senate. No wonder that on Friday night, November 13th, the labor parade was reviewed jointly by Gompers and Senator Penrose.

The "Official Hotel" for the delegates was the Walton, which is one of the first-class houses here, but which was not only never unionized, but is known for its opposition to union labor. About a week before the convention the manager called his cooks and waiters together and informed them that, after serious consideration, he had come to appreciate the value of unionism and would advise them to go "take out a card." A few days later a committee waited upon the manager to ask for "union wages." He complacently informed them that he could not consider it at that moment, as they were too busy preparing for the convention, but that afterward their request would be given "careful consideration." Some of the help quit, for they knew how much consideration they would get after the convention was over.

Tuesday was given over to announcing the names on the various committees, together with the several matters assigned to their consideration. (I shall make some observation on this point and others in a later article.) Numerous resolutions have been introduced to raise the salary of the Secretary from \$4,000.00 to \$5,000.00 and that of the President from \$5,000.00 to \$7,500.00.

# NOTES FROM MINNEAPOLIS

(Special to Solidarity)  
Minneapolis, Minn., Nov. 23  
Since the cold weather has set in, the locals in Minneapolis have had to confine their activities to indoor meetings. Conditions are getting worse every day, more slaves are continually getting laid off, and the bread lines getting longer. The result is, that the slaves are more eager to hear the message of One Big Union, than they ever were before. Here in "Minneapolis" we predict a big boom for the I. W. U. after the industrial open up.

Local 61 holds evening law open meetings every Sunday evening. Law speakers, reformers, socialists, all come up like lambs, and get slaughtered. We like them 40 minutes to an hour, but get the beginning of the long Scandinavian Propaganda League also holds an educational meeting every Saturday night, meeting up with a dance. All our meetings have been well attended, a collection of about \$10 was taken up for our fellow worker now lying in a jail. Last Sunday Local 64 held a smoker instead of an open forum and it was a big success from every point of view. In the future we intend to have most of the prominent heads of all organizations, radical and otherwise chiefly oblige us on our platform and discuss social problems from every point of view. We have a fine hall here in Minneapolis, one of the best that the I. W. U. has, and we extend a hearty welcome to all who are interested in the movement to come and attend our open forum. The admission is free. Address is 232 Cedar avenue.

CHAS. GRAY

A resolution from Milwaukee asks that no religious delegate be sent to the convention. The following from the Illinois Federation of Labor: "This convention indorses and adopts the plan of organization by industrial union of craft, which often divides the forces of labor." At this convention the usual resolutions as to old and new jurisdictional squabbles have been introduced and some of them are the same as introduced ten years ago at the Frisco convention.

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Most of Wednesday was spent in hearing long-winded speeches by politicians, "friends of labor." The fraternal delegates from Canada made a long speech of the "comrade" sort, and wound up with a plea for politics in the union. During the time that he was talking it was a study to watch the antics of Frank Feeney. The remarks this labor ward hearer passed about the speaker stamp him as the most vulgar sort of a labor mercenary.

Most of the resolutions introduced have to do with jurisdictional scraps. Any industrialist that wants to prove the organized scabbery of the A. F. of L. has only to make use of these resolutions.

James Larkin of Dublin was here yesterday to represent the Irish Union, but Gompers informed him that he could not address the convention.

Thursday there was only a morning session, but it was interesting as long as it lasted.

Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission, spoke, and he took the delegates, especially the Socialists, off their feet.

(Continued On Page Three)

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**An Analogy That Fails, As Usual**

One of the regular features of the magazine sections of Sunday papers nowadays, consists of "editorials" by more or less prominent space-writers. They are usually arranged in two or three columns clear across the page, and set in large bold-face type, which is certain to attract attention. Their general tone is strikingly similar, regardless of who the author may be. That is, they seem to have been modeled after a common design, namely, to inspire a "spirit of emulation," or a "feeling of personal uplift" in the reader. The appeal is individualistic—and the form of reasoning is invariably by ANALOGY—a most vicious and misleading form of reasoning. All sophists employ "analogy" as their main stock in trade—the greater their cleverness in handling far-fetched analogies, the more effective become their sophistical achievements.

For instance, here comes Gerald Stanley Lee, in his regular Sunday "editorial" of Nov. 22, under the "catchy" title, "How to Have Brains," wherein he discovers an "analogy" between the I. W. W. and the lobster. The particular "resemblance" between these two species of the animal kingdom, according to Lee, consists in the propensity of both to "butt around, with its eyes shut, on the bottom," trying to find a "hole" there, instead of "stoving its hole at the top"—in the case of the I. W. W.—"through the employers." The lobster, from which Lee derives his "analogy," is thus described more in detail:

"Perhaps there are some people who have never seen a lobster pot. The lobster pot stockholders and owners know that, while lobsters crawl up, they never look back. They know that, if they fix up an inclined plane, the lobster can be relied on to crawl up by inches to the grand entrance to the pot. Drop in softly and help himself to what he wants on the bottom. Then, of course, as the bottom of a thing is the only part of it he has ever looked at he tries all the rest of his life to get out on the bottom, while all the while, as plain as day, eleven inches up, is that great, wide, round door standing open to the sea. Through this he might be swimming magnificently and terribly out to freedom if only he had ever had a few generous, impersonal moments in his life of observing storms and things and looking up in a pleasant, disinterested way."

Lee's application of this "lobster habit" to the I. W. W. follows: "If the I. W. W. tomorrow were to begin stoving its hole at the top—at the one place where a real hole can be got through—if the I. W. W. would begin making labor think and look up, would begin making labor efficient enough to take the places of the employers we have got now; if it would stow up through them and make better ones, nobody would object to the I. W. W."

Not being acquainted with the ways of the lobster, we are not going to question Mr. Lee's "scientific observations" of that interesting crustacean. But we are somewhat better acquainted with the I. W. W. than Mr. Lee shows himself to be, and shall endeavor to enlighten him or rather others who may have been misled by his sophistry. The I. W. W. began the task of "making labor think" at the birth of our organization; others had been at the same job long before that. We also tried to get labor NOT ONLY to "look up," but all around—to explore the bottom, sides and everything else, including "the top," of the labor problem. Our Preamble also shows that the I. W. W. conceived the idea and purpose of "making labor efficient enough to take the places of the employers we have got now." On this point, the Preamble says: "The workers must organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system. It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with the 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."

This quotation from our Preamble shows that the I. W. W. had surveyed the labor problem from more angles, had thought more profoundly about it, had experimented more thoroughly with its diverse phases and problems—than Mr. Lee or other "lobster-like" thinkers are capable of doing. For instance, our active and aggressive members had "explored" the employing class—sized up their psychology, watched their maneuvers against the workers, estimated their resources and power, analyzed their supporting forces, and otherwise obtained a rather composite picture of that class and its relation to the rest of society. We discovered that the employing class intends to hang on to the prevailing industrial and social state, until the working class is sufficiently organized and trained to take that job off the bosses' hands.

These same I. W. W. men also surveyed the working class in a similar manner—sized up its numbers, its common psychology, due to the machine process in industry, its diverse psychology, due to the relative development of "skilled and unskilled labor,"

as well as to the false teachings of the ruling class; estimated as far as possible, the value of different weapons used by labor in the class struggle, such as the strike, boycott, sabotage, political action, etc., and sought to figure out the form of organization most nearly suited to the society we had proposed to build—"within the shell of the old." As a result of this survey, we have learned a lot more about "the top," "the bottom," and the general environment of the "labor question," than Mr. Gerald Stanley Lee has any idea exists. We have made a lot of mistakes from time to time, as to details; but our generalizations regarding capitalism, the class struggle, and the main instrument (One Big Union) necessary to replace the old with the new society, remain unassailed. Practically—as far as numbers are concerned—we don't amount to much; but our idea is a big one, and we hope to see it emerge into concrete form in due season.

For the above-mentioned reasons, the writer feels to see how Gerald Stanley Lee's analogy between the lobster and the I. W. W. holds good. As a study in "How to Have Brains" it is also a decided disappointment. We might by way of reply to Mr. Lee, ask the question, "What's the use of having brains if you have no control over them, but must use them as the boss dictates?"

**Constructive Program Of The I. W. W.**  
 Migratory Labor In The East

From previous references to the organization of the migratory worker, some may have gained the impression that the I. W. W. conceives that problem as belonging exclusively to the West. Of course, such is not the case. Migratory labor is not by any means confined to the West. It is a phenomenon universal in the country. Every industrial center and every industry in the East, as well as its quays of emigrating slaves, who shift from place to place, and from job to job. The tendency is toward larger numbers of migratory workers, and toward greater fluidity of movement. There are several reasons for this—one being the greater competition for the Eastern labor market, with no more "free land" to absorb the surplus. Another is the breakup of "home life" due to the uncertainty of duration of the job, and a recognition on the part of more and more slaves, of the futility of trying to establish a permanent home and an "important" reason, is the periodic "boom" and "depression" in the industries, which alternately draws and repels workers to and from different localities, in accordance with the demand. Migratory labor is, therefore, on the increase, and its organization, especially with reference to the Eastern labor market, with no more "free land" to absorb the surplus, is just now of paramount importance from an I. W. W. standpoint.

If we have hitherto emphasized organization in the West, it is because conditions have been considered more favorable for a beginning in that section. The rebellious spirit seems stronger there; on account of greater distances between jobs, the Western workers have developed greater self-reliance and initiative; moreover, less of them are hampered in their movements by family ties—the blacklist has little terrors for the Western slave. With a "commissary" assured to the Eastern labor market, the organization of the Western migratory workers, the work of tackling in a practical way the great unorganized industries of the East can be facilitated and sustained to the point of success. Revolts of unskilled workers in these industries are bound to break out again in the near future, and should find the I. W. W. prepared to handle them effectively. Otherwise, experience shows, they will prove abortive, and delay the permanent organization of these masses of workers, that should eventually result from the experiences of these unskilled workers. The "unskilled" is just now of paramount importance from an I. W. W. militant.

But for all that, the Employment and Information Bureau feature previously described, need not be confined to the West. It may be used effectively in the East, as well as in the West. Take for instance the textile industry. There is a well-defined movement of migratory workers in that industry. An information bureau established at every I. W. W. local headquarters, could be made to aid workers in locating jobs, determining wages and conditions, avoiding quarrels already overcrowded, etc. The same could be done by Marine Transport locals, and those in whatever industry organizations exist. The habit of going to I. W. W. headquarters for information, will soon have an important influence in increasing the size of the organization. The information thus furnished, from men on the jobs mostly, should be accurate, and those caught exaggerating or retailing false information, should be promptly discredited and disciplined by the local.

In connection with information as to job conditions, there will also be the possibility of getting a line on different industrial plants and localities, with a view to organization, either by sending volunteer "job organizers" or paid organizers, to line up the workers. Instead of depending on the work of the organization may be partially mapped out beforehand, with better chances of success. All this, and more, should be given serious consideration by the industrial unions in the East, in accordance with their needs and resources.

**"Need an Industrial-ist Be an Ass?"**

New York City, Nov. 29

Solidarity:

I enclose a clipping from the New York Times of today's issue, showing the "humane" desire of the New York City authorities to provide suitable housing for agitators this winter.

The "nuts" who last winter induced several enthusiastic young workers to enter into a half-baked project to influence the public opinion of the workers manufactured by the prostitute press of this city, whereby several "live wire" workers were jailed, should not be permitted to repeat the offense this winter. The public opinion of the workers is formed from the mental pabulum dished out to it by the editorial harlots in charge of our capitalist press is not worth the sacrifice of the liberty of a single industrial worker. Propaganda work outside the shop or the job is worse than wasted if it has for its object anything else than the selling of our literature or the raising of funds to support our press. Workers who seek a temporary housing in the public crib, should get there in the most inconspicuous manner possible.

"Some street agitation was done here this winter. Insofar as it sold literature it did good. I listened one evening on a corner for an hour, to a speaker, who, after in closing, said the latest cut and wearing some jewelry together with a silk handkerchief sticking from the breast pocket of his coat, made a long speech on the I. W. W. talk on how to work the missions and

bread lines of this city, and beat the restaurants for free meals—all to a crowd of well-dressed people—and had I known nothing about industrial unionism, I would have thought I would have been that it consisted in knowing "how to be a bum." The very meager information which percolated out concerning the objects of the I. W. W. was more than offset by the injurious and false impression created by the other part of his talk.

This talk, if delivered in another locality, would have done less harm. Some prospects I was working on heard it and it took me two weeks to overcome its effects. I wish some of the fellow workers would answer this question: "Why do you think an industrialist is an ass? Are there not enough anarchists?"

E. D. C.

The following story comes from Montana: An officer of militia, in addressing his troops, made a stirring allusion to medals worn by some veterans in the ranks. One of the veterans went home in a very thoughtful frame of mind. The following week he appeared for drill with several medals on his breast. Said one of his companions: "I didn't know you had seen service." "No, I ain't," said the man. "Well, how about the medals? They can't be yours?" "Can't they? But they are." "And did you won them all at the camp show?"

There is an opening for a good soapboiler in Vancouver, B. C., one who can talk good industrial unionism and no side issues. For further particulars apply to W. J. Roberts, 34 Cordova St., W. Vancouver, B. C.

**A Tragic But Beautiful Lesson**

By J. Gabriel Solits

For many years the German Social Democracy was lauded as a revolutionary, proletarian political organization, capable not only of rectifying the wretched conditions of slave life, but also of forestalling perpetually any gruesome possibility of a cataclysmic war. This rather fine view of the G. S. D. was also shared by many capitalist writers, who from time to time emphasized this party's power of the G. S. D. with its stress, until many of us in America, judging from this current of praise and observation, actually believed that the G. S. D. could prevent wars, if it couldn't accomplish anything else.

Now we know better. Not only did the G. S. D. not prevent the present raging, dumbfounding war, but on the contrary, it is to a large degree, as all serious critics agree, responsible for its inception. The parliamentary gentlemen of the G. S. D. themselves with anything either in ancient or modern history, so thoroughly saturated were their souls with that divine lore of fatherlandism.

And when we read the "fatherlandist" speeches of the socialist deputies, uttered at the beginning of the war, it is indeed difficult to parallel them in point of patriotic ardor and enthusiasm with anything either in ancient or modern history, so thoroughly saturated were their souls with that divine lore of fatherlandism.

Now, what American workers are interested in, is the lesson which this terrible G. S. D. fiasco teaches us. We need not delude ourselves with the soothing balm, that if it all happened in Germany it could not happen here. We do not know; keep quiet; let us wait," say that the comrades were fooled.

Here we see nearly five million socialists, powerless to prevent war; who recognized as one of their cardinal principles anti-militarism, and despite it all are hurled into the frightful maelstrom of Moloch.

But, our own dear comrades insist, that the G. S. D. did nevertheless, make an attempt to hold the peace of Europe. Did they not, they say, hold protest meetings at "Unter den Linden"? To top which, they were even successful in getting the Kaiser, a fine opportunity, as even the socialist press admits, to slaughter in cold blood, many workers.

The I. W. W. is accused by amiable comrades, of leading the workers into a slaughter pen. Here we have a gang of politicians, who in their simple folly and cruel desperation, at a single open air meeting for the purpose of halting a world-war by the sheer force of eloquence and rhetoric. Magnificent! Fancy the capitalists being moved to humanitarian ends by streams of eloquence and rhetoric. We challenge the comrades to point to a single instance where the I. W. W. has been guilty of such murder as were the socialist Reichstag members, when they called that "Unter den Linden" meeting, which was responsible for the deaths of many workers. Politicians know that it could not result but in murder. Furthermore, it is the same gang that was instrumental in labeling the general strike "general nonsense," etc.

I have always held, that not only is political action or education useless, but positively detrimental to the workers. There are many who say even in the I. W. W., "Well, it doesn't hurt." But it does.

Had the German workers some knowledge of syndicalism, no doubt the war machine would have encountered one formidable monkey wrench. But the only power they had was that of a Christian, namely, "God will do it all; let us have faith." And they had an unwavering faith.

For over 40 years they were taught socialism. They believed that the political state, managed by so-called workmen's representatives, would bring about their economic freedom. So a blind faith sprang up in the hearts of the workers, a faith in the power of the state and socialist politicians.

But in the supreme moment of crucial test, unfortunately for the toilers, superstition and faith were not real enough to save their lives; that demanded a collective action of the workers themselves, and for this kind of action they were not prepared. In fact, the political politicians, they had learned to detest, distrust, and despise. So just where, I would like to know, do the blessings of political education come in?

It is squarely up to us, in this country, to point out the wiles of this new humbug. Since the European fiasco, the task is easy. Now, more than ever before, the workers must impress upon the majesty of economic power. That fiasco brings nearer toward the union movement of this country 50 years nearer toward the realization of its program.

The lesson is tragic, but beautiful. Let us profit by it.

**Shoulder Straps**

Come and take a look at me—  
 I'm an officer, you see;  
 And two clasps are epaulettes and  
 a braid;  
 On my chest are medals bright,  
 Just as I should be in a fight.  
 That I always do the work for  
 which I'm paid.

I will never ask "What for?"  
 When they send me out to war.  
 But I'll grasp the trusty saute at  
 my side.

I'll unbutton as I note,  
 How I best can slit a throat,  
 For its purpose is to perforate the  
 hide.

What you say YOU'D never fight—  
 Well, I've done less harm  
 Some prospects I was working on  
 heard it and it took me two weeks to  
 overcome its effects. I wish some of  
 the fellow workers would answer this  
 question: "Why do you think an industrialist  
 is an ass? Are there not enough anarchists?"

E. D. C.

On the strike-hill it's nailed,  
 On the bull-pen where you're jailed;  
 O'er the judges with injunctions;  
 Doff your hat! Salute, I say!  
 Well, we'll MAKE you, then, some  
 sense out of your head.  
 When my yellow-legs march out to  
 shoot you down!

We are trained to slay and kill—  
 Never care whose blood we spill,  
 For our hearts are hearts are hardened  
 like a stone;  
 For you know that we have  
 Gave this privilege unto me,  
 And my yellow-legs, exclusively  
 ALONE.

Don't you ever think that YOU  
 Things like this can ever do  
 Never get that silly notion  
 For nothing would like  
 Better when you go on strike  
 Than to fill your worthless carcass  
 full of lead.

—Ralph H. Chapin

**Railroading at Boulder**

The so-called trial at Boulder's o'er,  
 And two clasps are epaulettes and  
 a braid;  
 Are boarding with the provost mar-  
 shal,  
 At the Deer Lodge pen.  
 The jury was selected,  
 And Kelly was the lawyer  
 Who pressed the charges against the  
 men,  
 Who broke away from Meyer.

"Your lack of brains has helped you  
 out,  
 So consider yourself lucky;  
 Frank Conroy will take care of you  
 For three years, Mr. Justice.  
 "Follow Worker Bradley,  
 We'll give you the main,  
 You'll disappear for five long years,  
 For possessing too much brain."

With such inconsistency this Judge  
 Has sent practically to their graves  
 These men who had the nerve  
 To buck the system that enslaves.  
 Such sentences as these imposed  
 Are a disgrace to our country.  
 They're making rebels every day;  
 These wrongs we must correct.

A week before these sentences  
 Were passed upon these men,  
 Jess had told me that Muckie  
 Would get three years in the pen.  
 I'm here to back up every statement  
 In this little matter.  
 And any time they want me  
 I can find my rights to some,  
 "DUBLIN DAN"

**Watch Your Number**

EACH subscriber will find a  
 number opposite his name  
 on the paper opposite his name  
 SOLIDARITY. For instance 256.  
 That means your expiration date  
 week, and you should re-  
 ceive the paper.  
 THIS IS NUMBER . . . 256

# OUTLOOK FOR LABOR

The European war is now taken in this country, as a matter of course. The intense, hypocritical interest which it at first compelled, by its interruption of commerce and industry, is now giving way to a gradual return to conditions somewhat similar to those which preceded it. Commerce and industry resumed and industry is getting out of the collapse into which it had fallen. There is a well-grounded belief, due to the dependence of the warring nations on this country, coupled with their failure to supply foreign markets once theirs, that the worst of the domestic war effects have been experienced and that for the near future at least a change for the better may be expected in the general situation here.

It is in this condition of affairs, confused and transitory, that it is at least unwise to speculate upon the future with any degree of positiveness and prophecy. Where the fluctuating fortunes and misfortunes of war tend so much more to obscure than to clarify, and all calculations, even the most expert, it is the part of wisdom to forego speculation for something more concrete. What does appear certain is this: that thus far, this war, like all previous wars, has been a triumph for reaction; that is, it has given new life and greater impetus to all the forces of big capital, as against all the remaining elements of society. Bankruptcy, unprecedentedly large in numbers and liabilities, afflicts many of the nations. Unemployment, widespread and threatening, coupled with wage cuts, is the lot of the working class. The present turn of affairs is based on the ascendancy of big capital and the impetus it gives to all activities—generally those which tend to augment its already large interests and powers.

To big capital go all the war contracts that tend to stimulate domestic industry. Big capital advances the war loans that make big contracts possible. Big capital controls and owned by big capital, that foodstuffs are sent abroad; and it is by means of finances supplied by its banks that such operations are carried on. Big capital holds the key to all constructive enterprise, whether in South America or Cook county, Illinois. Big capital is the power and the means that control all and profits from all.

It is not fully grasped the triumph of big capital, one has only to note the many attempts to prostrate the middle-class and the governmental aid, which it has either defeated or rendered impossible. A government-owned merchant marine and an emergency financial relief for the South, are among the most conspicuous of these attempts, which are worthy of note, because of the magnitude and nature of the interests involved. The threatened nationalization of the immense European indebtedness of big capital, amounting to three or four billions of dollars of highly watered stock and other financial securities, has required, and compelled the use of every Federal resource to save the country from a financial collapse—a bankruptcy—worse than ruin. The revolution which big capital has now defeated and ridden successfully. Despite the Federal Reserve banks, or rather because of it, big capital is now more firmly entrenched than ever before, thanks to the necessity for self-preservation which compels government to rally to the defense and perpetuation of the capitalist class in society. The war, by forcing the government to co-operate with the big bankers in order to prevent disaster to both, has made the government the agent of big capital to the detriment of all other classes. The government could not do otherwise, even if it would. Governments are created to preserve the status quo, and to permit of its alteration only in the interests of its most powerful proprietary classes. These are today, in this country, the big financiers.

This situation opens up some possibilities that it is worth while to contemplate. Preceding the war, the Federal government was largely progressive; that is, its aim was to legislate in the interests of small capital and labor as against big capital. Tariff reform, Federal Reserve Banks and laws declaratory of the rights of labor in anti-trust and injunction proceedings, make up the main body of this legislation. But the war has changed the government's beneficial results, if any, of this legislation. It has made exportation more imperative than importation. This made tariff reform more than futile, giving rise to laws that press most on the middle class; while tending to discomfit and defeat the government in the interests of big capital. The Federal Reserve Bank as already shown, has been compelled to demonstrate its efficiency by saving the very elements whom it was intended to destroy. In fact,

thus far, this progressive legislation has been thwarted and rendered tragic, that is, made into a weapon of destruction for those who fabricate its opposition; but it is not an untried quantity; but we feel that the fate of their progressive fellows presages their own; how can labor succeed against big capital, where the most powerful economic middle class fails?

It must be obvious from all this, that, with the return of commerce and industry to normalcy, interest in the class war of labor will take the place of interest in the international war abroad. It is safe to conclude from past experience that the middle class will soon witness a realization of the fact that the European war has been the means of giving it a terrible set-back. It will consequently be only a matter of time to the fight against big capital which it has been waging since the eighties of the last century and which attained its greatest political success in the present Wilson administration. Impelled by the new conditions, the middle class will set in motion a social storm that will make agitation and organization in working class fields easier and more successful than at present. It will help, by the economic conditions which it will emphasize, to give impetus to all the forces of big capital, as against all the remaining elements of society. Bankruptcy, unprecedentedly large in numbers and liabilities, afflicts many of the nations. Unemployment, widespread and threatening, coupled with wage cuts, is the lot of the working class. The present turn of affairs is based on the ascendancy of big capital and the impetus it gives to all activities—generally those which tend to augment its already large interests and powers.

It will not be long before we are able to say that, despite the large numerical showing of the A. F. of L. at its recent Philadelphia convention many times worse than the Socialists party, the latter has reacted to the war even more severely than does the middle class. It would be folly to presume, that, where even big capital has paralyzed, labor could rise. If the war abroad has taught us anything it has taught us not to judge the condition of classes by numbers, but by the economic conditions that surround them and are within their control, to their own essential betterment. The German Social Democracy had an immense organization of 6,000,000 members and voters, big press, large funds, great intellectual and social resources, a parliamentary representation of considerable strength—yet, it was no fundamental proletarian value. It was swept like a card house into the abyss of war, instead of proving a bulwark on the plateau of proletarian revolution. Similarly, despite the fact that the Socialists party, in this country, has ridden the back wash of the war upon which big capital has been floated into greater power, must be obvious to all. Labor has made any great protest against prevailing tendencies nor has it sought to overcome their effects. Had labor sought in this crisis to have strengthened itself, as did the middle class in its futile attempt at government ownership and relief, the monotony of reaction would not have been so depressive, as it is, the socialist protest-vote, throws some light on its otherwise dark picture.

But one is not to conclude from this that the labor situation is or has been positively hopeless. Labor has not the faculty of long-continued submission to reaction. It must struggle on despite it. Attempts to organize the unemployed have menaced the peace and the power of capitalism, which, accordingly, given more attention to the alleviation of unemployment than had been the case in previous periods. The forces that bring about the economic recuperation and struggles of society will also give back to labor a good deal of its revolutionary vitality. It is impossible to conceive of commercial and industrial resumption without the resumption of labor's activities in its own behalf; the one always occurs with the other. "Prosperity" is always labor's opportunity to get more of that which it creates, viz., the profits of capital. "Prosperity" creates a demand for labor, which the war has decreased in amount, so as to increase labor's prospects of success; though we must not forget that machine production nowadays replaces that of the hand, and tends to lessen these prospects somewhat.

What makes the outlook for labor's resumption of activities in its own behalf all the more hopeful is the fact that these activities are never wholly suspended. Despite the widespread paralysis which the war occasioned, all the labor elements persisted in their activities, and with varying degrees of success. Anti-militarist continued its propaganda. Political socialism, though hard hit, plugged valiantly along. Within the A. F. of L. the fight for better organization went on, led by the Butte miners and the garment workers. In various parts of the country, strikes, free speech fights, unemployed demonstra-

tions and I. W. W. propaganda proved that labor knows no reaction, and in fact that labor fights because of it. One must say that the most encouraging phase of the war-reactionary period is the tenacity of life which the I. W. W. has exhibited; and the fear of its activities which is shown in New York city and elsewhere, despite the overpowering strength of the big capitalist opposition that seeks to crush it. Here is a cause for congratulation, indeed; for the young organization that can with destructive conditions and hostility will be in line for success in the new turn of affairs that is now going on.

An organization, such as the I. W. W., plans to be will be more needed in the future than in the past. Big capital has crushed the A. F. of L. type of unionism in all the big industries of the land; except in the railroad and coal industries, where it is more useful than harmful to capital. With the new era will come more crushing, though with more need of a radically different kind of unionism, such as the I. W. W. advocates and makes practical when and where conditions permit. The future will be the opportunity for the I. W. W. and its principles; though it should not neglect the advantages of the present, which prove all that it has need of and stands for. Agitation and education are the preludes to organization; and the duty of the hour.

The workers, it may be said in conclusion, have no cause for discouragement. It is always darker before dawn. The seeds of future growth are being planted by the present reaction. Let us courage from our noble Russian brothers recently arrested for revolutionary plotting in the very midst of the reactionary war. Their difficulties and dangers were many times worse than ours, yet they faltered not. Labor can know no cessation from its historic mission. Where its education and aspiration falter, economic, social and political errors drive it on and on, down all else. J. E.

## More Light On The A. F. of L. Convention

(Continued from Page One) with the remark "that no man will be satisfied, no man of intelligence ever, until he is given the full measure of his own toil." But so far as I know this gentleman takes the Civic Federation-Mallock position, calling for a strike put forward on the wealth and therefore brother labor is to get it full share, but so is capital. In fact Walsh's subsequent remark as to what he meant by "full product" shows he does not mean what we mean at all.

I was almost forgetting it—yesterday morning a letter was received from the Curtis Publishing Co. regarding our article on the scab outfit publishing the Saturday Evening Post and the Philadelphia Ledger. A few delegates objected to accepting the invitation, but the records (page 242) read:

"A letter from the Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia, was read, in which an invitation was extended to the delegates, individually or collectively, to visit its plant.

"Delegate Freel, Stereotypes: I move you that the invitation extended by the Curtis Publishing Company be accepted, and that such delegate take advantage of it as can do so. (Seconded and carried.)"

No mention whatever is made of remarks by the opposition. Next came the time for the gentlemen of the cloth to speak. The Reverend Samuel Z. Batten, representing the "Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America," was presented to deliver an address on the "Emancipation of Labor." It was more than I could stand. I walked out of the hall. When I returned he was finishing. His speech in the records reads not so badly for the cloth he wears, but his whole cry was:

"The working people must protect themselves and secure social justice in and through state action." Now was introduced a lawyer of this city, Walter G. Smith, co-delegate of Father Dietz, of the Militia of Christ, representing as fraternal delegates the American Federation of Catholic Societies. Again he chose to be at peace with my soul and stepped out. The following are extracts of his speech as reported in the record:

"The Federation of Catholic Societies is made up of representatives of all organizations working to carry out into concrete life and expression the purposes of justice projected under the dogmas of religion, which, we believe, enter into the social affairs of life. Justice, I need not say to you, is the objective, and the one great worthy object, of the pursuit of truth on the part of any man, worker or non-worker, who seeks to solve the problems of life who seeks individually to do his duty to God and to fellow-men.

abolition of the ancient workingmen's guilds and the hard situation of workmen, when public institutions and the laws had set aside religion, who were surrendered "at last and at length" to the hardheartedness of employers and the greed of unchecked competition.

"To do away with these evils came the Socialists, who, 'working upon the poor man's envy of the rich,' are striving to abolish private property and make all individual possessions the common property of the state. You are familiar with the specious arguments that have been advanced in favor of this wide-reaching economic heresy, and know its deadly effect. Be sure that not the least of the crimes of this Federation to the credit of the community is its courageous stand against those who would commit it to the adoption, by the Socialism in any of its forms. It has been seen by you that the endeavor to transfer the possessions of individuals to the state, by the laborer of the right to use his wages as he will, and thereby precludes all hope of bettering his conditions in life. That is against justice, for every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own.

"One of the great errors in prevalent thought is the mistaken belief that the state possesses unlimited power and may justly interfere in all human relations. But man preceded the state; and the laws of nature, which are the basis of the principle of private ownership as necessary for the preservation of human existence before political divisions arose as the patriarchal system. Socialism in any of its forms, is against justice, for every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own.

"INEQUALITY MUST ALWAYS EXIST, AND EACH MAN MUST DO HIS PART IN LIFE'S WORK IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS SPECIAL CAPACITY.

"The great mistake is to take up the notion that class is naturally hostile to class, and that the wealthy and the workingman are interested by nature to live in mutual combat."

"Thus, said the great Pope, 'religion teaches the laboring man and the artisan to carry out honestly and fairly all the equitable agreements entered into; never to injure the property or to outrage the person of an employer; never to resort to violence in defending their own rights; never to engage in riot or disorder, and have nothing to do with the men of evil principles.'

"But, gentlemen, this is the central truth that must be grasped by employer and the worker alike, that this life of ours is a time of preparation and we can never expect the millennium in our time. It is through suffering, through trials, through tests of that kind that character is perfected. The great object of life is not ease, is not going along the line of least resistance, but the bearing a man's part of the burdens of the entire community, in order that this short life may be a preparation for eternal life."

"Gentlemen, you might be ten times as powerful as you are, and if you do not have public opinion at your back your efforts will be powerless. The delegates, individually or collectively, to resist the force of public opinion, because it is founded upon the common sense of what is right and just. That is inherent in the human heart, and as long as you are governed by those principles of right and justice you will be a great and growing power."

JOSEPH J. ETTOR.  
Phila., Pa., Nov. 18.

In New York city, black handers, and other criminals, are being organized to make good its action. There is no doubt that the New York police is a moral, honest and efficient body, intent on upholding law and order; that is obvious from its conduct.

The Brooklyn Industrial League has already held two meetings. A plan of organized headquarters is projected with a workmen's forum. Shop agitation and literature distribution are planned. Cooperation with all progressive and labor organizations is being urged. Callahan has previously pledged to carry on the work. Much enthusiasm prevails.

The league has arranged a big meeting to be held at 321 N. 7th st. on Wednesday, Dec. 9, at 8 p. m. The plan is to make a deliver address. All are invited.

You will find something new and of importance in each issue of Solidarity.

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The following is a list of the literature we have in stock at this time in quantities sufficiently large enough to insure immediate delivery. This is the best of Industrial Union Literature with plenty of variety for selection. Prepare for the winter agitation by sending in your order now. All literature is sent carriage prepaid on receipt of CASH with order.

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