IN THIS ISSUE

Proceedings of 2nd Congress of 3rd International. A State Document. Chronology of the Mooney Case. The Long Shift of the Steel Slaves. Letters - Briefs - Cartoons.

I. W. W. CASE TO BE DECIDED IN U. S. SUPREME COURT.

News - Comment - Editorials.

FATE OF MANY CLASS-WAR FIGHTERS NOW UP FOR LAST REVIEW.

(By The Federated Press) tiorari, the legal battle for the free- It is contended that this count is trials in Chicago in 1918 on charges spiracy.

"The first of these" says the brief nage act, enters in final stage.

is associated with George F. Vander-veer as counsel for the petitioners, is that the search warrants used by the federal agents who relied to the committed after June 5, 1917. Manifestly, also, after that date, there could be no conspi-racy to any legal sense to procure that commission." federal agents, who seized tons of With regard to the other offense of various kinds in more than fifty persons to desert the military service simultaneous raids on September 5 in time of war," it is pointed out building raided. Israel Weinberg ar-1917, were invalid. It is contened that these "other persons" are identhat neither the warrants nor the supporting affidavits adequately dein accordance with the provisions of August 2—Grand Jury votes inthe I. W. W. and a few private residences in sixty American cities, or the things to be seized; nor did the affidavits recite any facts showing speeches, articles and pamphlets obprobable cause for the issuance of the structing the carrying out of the warrants.

Circuit Court of Appeals for the these search warrants, but get around this defect in the govern-ter, ment's case by a specious process of documents, correspondence and records seized were submitted to the grand jury and the indictments returned were based upon this evidence bail. was seized for testimonial purposes

The use of these papers against the defendants, it is contended, was irrefutably in violation of the fourth in the federal prison at Leavenand fifth amendments to the United States Constitution.

There were five counts in the Of the two remaining counts (count) case.

3 and count 4) on which the seventy-Washington .- With the filing in nine petitioners now stand convicted the United States supreme court last it is alleged that count 3 is "dupliciweek of a petition for a writ of cer-does not state an offense.

dom of William D. Haywood and duplicitous because it charges a conseventy-eight other members of the spiracy to commit two offenses which Industrial Workers of the World, who were incapable from their very nature were convicted after sensational of being embraced in a single con-

of conspiracy to violate the Selective "was the offense of aiding and abett-Service (Draft) act and the Espio- ing certain persons to refuse to register for military service on June 5 The main contention in the petition and the brief submitted in its proclamation of the president issued support, which were presented by on May 18, 1917. Manifestly this Otto Christensen, of Chicago, who offense could not be committed after

books, letters, records and documents of "aiding and abetting certain other scribed either the places to be raided the draft act, or persons who could dictments against prisoners. thich included all the offices of not enter the military service until after June 5, 1917, and who, there-trial. fore, could not desert until after

Count 4 dealt with solicitations draft act and of recruiting for the The petition sets forth that the military service. The principal objection to this count, it is stated, is that it fails to designate, or in any Seventh Circuit, which on October manner to identify, the speeches 5, 1920, affirmed the judgment of articles, or pamphlets so that the the United States District Court at defendants or the court might de-Chicago, conceded the invalidity of termine just which of the mass of all the defendants except Nolan at mission to make an exhaustive invesdocuments seized in the raids were referred to or judge of their charac-

The defense of this case and of reasoning. It is pointed out that the two other-conspiracy cases against omits recommendation to mercy which jury. members of that organization already is said to have cost the I. W. W. approximately \$225,000, and the organization has raised about \$500,000 in

> Haywood and about sixty of the petitioners, who were sentenced to from five to twenty years in prison to the San Francisco Defense and today are out on bail. The others are forwards protest to President Wilworth.

The tons of documents seized in the raids of 1917, which were used original indictments by which ninetybesaw M. Landis in April, 1918, but record but that the original exhibits Falls, New York, on July 22nd. themselves must be transmitted to one count was withdrawn from the Washington. Their bulk is believed

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK ONE YEAR \$2.00. HALF YEAR \$1.00.

Address City State State Use this blank for renewals or new subscriptions.

THE TOILER

CLEVELAND, OHIO. 3207 CLARK AVE.



CHRONOLOGY OF THE INFAMOUS TOM MOONEY FRAME-UP.

1916.

Steuart streets.

July 26-Billings arrested at the Lane Clinic. Mooney home in Eilers

September 23-Billings found

October 7-Billings sentenced to life imprisonment.

1917.

January 3-Trial of Tom Mooney

January 26-Frank C. Oxman takes the stand and swears that he saw authorizes Federal Mediation Comthe scene of the explosion and saw tigation on the entire case. Billings place the bomb.

February 9-Mooney found guilty means death sentence.

February 24-Judge Franklin A Griffin denies motion for new trial man who was arrested on September and sentences Mooney to be hanged 10 after being indicted by the San in San Quentin prison on May 17th. February 24-The Netherlands Federation of Labor pledges support son, through the American ambassador at The Hague.

April 11-The Bulletin publishes Oxman's letter to Frank Edward in the trial before Judge Landis Right of Grayville, Illinois, offering him financial inducements to coreight defendants were brought to Court. This means that they do not roborate Oxman's testimony against trial and convicted before Judge Ke- have to be copied into the printed Tom Mooney, Rigall was at Niagara

April 16-Estelle Smith confesse that Oxman offered her a bribe of Appellate Court not to state offenses. Washington. Their built is beneficial "five Tigures" to 'falsely testify of documentary proof in any previous against Israel Weinberg. Oxman said he was acting for the "Higher-Ups." April 18—Oxman arrested, April 21—Ed D. Nolan released

on bonds, \$250 for each indictment Oxman held for trial by Police Judge Matthew Brady.

April 23-Judge Gniffin addresses letter to Attorney General Webb, asking him to go before Supreme Court and ask new trial for Mooney April 23-Workingmen of Petrograd hold protest meeting against the Mooney sentence in front of the

American embassy.

May 4—Oxman "whitewashed" by Spreckels' Grand Jury, four gran, urors and Assistant Attorney Gen Attorney "Jim" Brennan, Frank C.

From "Tom Mooney's Monthly." eral Judge Robert M. Clark of Los Oxman, the Edeau women May 11-President Wilson inter-

cedes with Governor Stephens to post

pone. Mooney's excution May 18-Judge Brady holds Oxman to trial a second time after many writs of habeas corpus had

been quashed. May 21-Rena Mooney's trial com-

July 25-Rena Mooney acquitted.

August 24-Judge Dunne denies bail to Rena Mooney after Judges grant bail.

September 6-Billings' appeal denied by District Court Appeals. September 11-Supreme Court de-

nies Attorney General Webb's appeal for new trial for Mooney. September 12-Oxman's trial op-

ens before Judge Dunne. This Judge Dunne declares Oxman innocent on September 9th.

September 25-President Wilson September 28-Oxman acquitted of

charge of subornation of perjury of murder in the first degree. Jury Rearrested on charge of direct per-

October 1-Governor Whitman re fused extradition of Alexander Berk-Francisco Grand Jury in connection with the Preparedness explosion.

October 3-Oxman escapes second trial through legal technicality. October 4-California State Federation of Labor declares defendants nnocent and again pledges support to the defense.

October 9-Weinberg's trial starts before Judge Emmett Seawell. November 3-San Francisco Labor Council suspends President A. W Brouillet who took active part in

November 10-Billings starts serving life sentence in Folsom prison. November 26-Annual convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Buffallo, New York, condemns frame-up and demands new trials for Billings and Mooney.

November 27-Weinberg acquitted Jury deliberates three minutes. November 30-San Francisco Labor Council expels Brouillet.

December 7-Alice Kidwell makes complete confession. Exposes police methods in frame-up. December 12-Estelle Smith con-

fesses her part in the frame-up. Incriminates District Attorney Fickert, Assistant District Attorney Ed Cun ha, Martin Swanson (corporation detective), former Assistant District

December 18-Fickert recall de-

January 22-Pres. Wilson again appeals to Governor Stephens to grant Mooney a new trial. January 26-U. S. Federal Com-

and condemns -Oxman's letters attempt to suborn perjury.

February 25-Judge Cabaniss dismisses the two indictments pending the motion of District Attorney Fickert, himself, who refused to proceed to trial.

March 1-California State Su-

March 19-Judge Griffin dismisses proceed with the case.

March 21-California State Supreme Court admits Weinberg to bail tinez, Trevino, Salcedo and the rest in the sum of \$15,000. March 26-Pres. Wilson telegraphs movement were not there. third appeal to Governor Stephens

for new trial for Mooney. (Continued on page 2.)

most profitable for them to have labor decide. Of course labor some-

INDUSTRIAL 'COUNCILS OF ACTION URGED TO MEET UNEMPLOY-MENT SITUATION

NEW YORK LABOR CONFERENCE PLANS COOPERATION OF WORK-ERS AND TECHNICIANS TO GET INDUSTRY UNDER WAY.

the engineering societies of New resolved upon.

The conference ordered the secrelabor bodies in every industrial centre in the United States calling for similar movements. These "back to work" organizations will take the has only been underconsumption. form of councils of action from all branches of organized labor, or rather production councils, if the purpose this was a purely industrial problem of the New York body is followed which could be met only by industrial Each council securing the co-opera- measures. Business methods tion of industrial engineers and then brought the country to its present linking up with the rest in a national condition, they stated, with idle inmovement will, the conference de dustrial equipment and cided, result in an organization fully unused raw material. The capable of manning the idle industries system had no method for the reeffectively and permanently.

the movement under way in New ingman and engineer, must go ahe York City the conference asked each on their own initiative.

"Get ready to go back to work!" | constituent local to thorw its halls That was the dominant note sound- open for unemployment meetings. ed at the second session of the Un- All labor bodies in the city have al-employment Conference of Greater ready been asked to start registra-New York, meeting at the Peopel's tion of all the employed and the un-House, Saturday afternoon, March employed in their trades or sub-5th. Representatives of thirty-four divisions of industry, and a parallel bodies of organized labor from the registration of the plants involved. American Federation of Labor, in- This for the purpose of discovering dependent unions and the I. W. W. the nature and number of empty assembled, and there were present jobs and the labor personell to fill with them six technical men from them. Open air meetings were also

One of the industrial engineers at the meeting laughed at the idea that tary to send out a zall to central there was any danger of overproduction if industry were put to at its full capacity. There been overproduction, he stated. There

Other speakers pointed out that storation of production. Therefore As a practical measure for getting the real forces of production, work-

How many comrades have ever eracion Comunista" in an attempt to Congress of workers and put the labor movement back on the peasants right from the job? Not Class Struggle basis. The "Federamany, I guess. This was my first cion" caught the imagination of the called by the "Federation Comunis- workers and grew rapidly. With the ta" of Mexico City. You know what idea of organizing the new move-"labor conventions" usually are ment on a national scale a Congress mission issues its report on the especially in economically undevelop of workers and peasants was called cases. The commission unanimously recommends new trial for Mooney and condemns Oxman's letters as fakers decide just what it will be Moreover and Co were shuking hands times kicks over the traces and ig- the so-called "Pan-American Federain his court against Weinberg on nores the caucas—but that is a story tion of Labor". And it was truly ill by itself-outlaw i strikes, "re- workers and peasants who attended bel" unions, etc. There were no Full of enthusiasm they came, fresh bosses in this Congress of the "Fed from the fields and workshops, many eracion Comunista" because the con of them never having taken part in preme Court again denies Mooney gress itself was a revolt against a convention of any kind before boss rule; it was an attempt to line There were delegates from Lower up the radical rank and file of the California and from Yucatan, from three indictments against Weinberg labor movement against the reaction- Tamaulipas and from Jalisco-53 in his court on the motion of the ary leaders of the Confederacion Re- delegates from twelve States-represprosecution. Fickert again refused to gional Obrera Mexicana,' who long enting more than 40,000 workers in ago sold out to Gompers and to the all Mexican Government. Morones, Mar. From the first the Congress was

lary Bakers' union, formed the "Fed- eral de Trabajadores" (Ger

with Gompers in the Convention of

dominated by a revolutionary spirit of the "leaders" of the bonafide movement were not there.

Some time ago, a group of unions present social order.—In a burst of in Mexico City, led by the revolution. enthusiasm the "Confederacion Gen-Union of Workers) was organized with a constitution calling for direct action and the abolition of the present system. The Congress declared for the Dictatorship of the Projetariat organized in soviets of worke and peasants, recognized the Mexican Communist Party ("Partido Goista Mexicano") as a truly revolutionary organization and swered connections with all other parties Also, it endorsed in principle the Moscow Red Labor Union International pending a referendum on the question of immediate affiliation.

Morones and Co., tied up with the Pan American Federation that was organized by Gompers at the behest of American capitalism, is under-stood to be planning affiliation to the Yellow International of Amsterdam. The new "Confederacion Gen-eral de Trabajadores" is, ready to carry on the proletarian struggle against these treacherous leaders.

The Red International is gaining ground everywhere!

The Provisional Executive Com-mittee of the new organization is composed of: Aguirre, Quezana, Rucomposed of: Aguirre, Quezana, In-bio, San Vicente, Quintero, Araos de Leon, Castro, Frias and Escobar. Address, "Confederation General de Trabajadores," San Magnel 22, Merico, D. F., Mexico.

BOOKS for TOILERS

Priced Low for Propagandists NICOLAI LENIN, HIS LIFE and WORK, Zinovieff

COMMUNISM and CHRISTIANISM, Bishop Wm. M., Brown

25c, 6 for \$1. COMMUNISM and the FAMILY, Kollontay

10c, 12 for \$1. INDUSTRIAL AUTOCRACY, Mary Marcy

OLD ORDER IN EUROPE, NEW ORDER IN RUSSIA, Price

10c, 20 for \$1. INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL of TRADE and INDUSTRIAL

10c, 12 for, \$1. DICTATORSHIP of the PROLETARIAT, Kameney

MUMBE CONSTITUTION of SOVIET RUSSIA

SOCIALISM and RELIGION, By B. S. P. of Englanded SLANDER OF THE TOILERS, Kirkpatrick

One of each of the ten copies will be mailed postpaid to one address for \$1. Combinations in any amounts of the various titles may be selected at the above stated rates. These low prices enable you to help in their distribution. Order a dollar's worth or more and circulate them among the workers.

CLEVELAND, OHIO

IN THE TOILER 3207 CLARK AVE.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE THIRD, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL: MOSCOW 1920.

The Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Communist International 4cl
EDITORIAL NOTE:—There has been recently released for publication
by the Department of State a most important document, it consists of a booklet of 166 closely printed pages and it is entitled; "THE SECOND CONGRESS of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," being a translation of the reports of the proceedings of the Communist Congress in Moscow er made directly from the Russian newspapers, "Pravda" and "Izvestia". The contents are divided into two parts. First, the Bolshevis

newspaper reports of the proceeding; and secondly, the Bolshevist Interpretations of the Congress, consisting of various Theses, Reports, Documents.

Since The Toller has previously published for informative reasons, the Programe of the United Communist Party of America, affiliated with the Communist International, we wish to announce that as the government has officially released for publication this noteworthy booklet, we feel equally und to give it to our readers. We may add in parenthesis that we join the Department of State in its expressed "hope that the publication of this memorandum will do much to clarify public opinion in regard to the proems which face this democracy in its relations with Bolshevism".

OPENING OF THE 2ND CONGRESS OF III INTERNATIONAL.

(Petrograd Pravda, July 21, 1920.)

SPEECH OF COMRADE ZINOVIEV.

By 12 o'clock the hall and balconies were filled to overflowing The members of the Executive Committee of the III International appear, with the president of the latter, Comrade Zinoniev, at their head. At the same time Comrades Lenin, Kalinin Radek, Bukharin, and others mount the stage. The leaders of the proletarist are welcomed with thunderous applause. The members of the Congress take their serts.

The members of the Congress are in the front rows. On each member's desk is a previously prepared full set of the 'Communist International" in artistic binding, and also a portfolio containing a collection of photographs illustrating various aspects of the Russian revolution and of the constructive work of Soviet Russia, and also a pad of paper, a notebook, etc.

At 1.05 p. m. Comrade Zinoviev, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, declares the sitting of the Congress opened.

In Memory of Fallen Fighters.

"The first word," said Comrade Zinoviev, "must be consecrated to the memory of our friends and leaders who have perished for the cause of the Communist International. There is no country where the blood of workmen-Communists has not been shed. One has only to recall our Hungarian comrades, Comrades Samueli, Levin, and many others. In Finland, Esthonia, Hungary, and elsewhere, hundreds and thousands of the best sons of the working class have perished.

"In opening the Congress we do honor to the memory of the comrades who have fallen."

On Comrade Zinoviev's proposal all present stand; the or-

chestra plays the funeral march. Greetings to Comrade Monat, Loriot, and Others.

'At this historic moment we may recall also those comrades who are sitting behind iron gratings, who are languishing in prisons, thrown there by the enemies of the proletariat. Our French friends, Comrades Loriot, Monat, and others, have been imprisoned.

"We send greetings to the many fighters in the workmen's

revolution who are languishing in prisons."

Struggle Between II and III International. "The Communist International was founded 15 months ago, and from its very first steps it naturally had to cross swords with the II International, entering into direct conflict with the fraud practiced by District Attorney Mooney in cablegrames to Presiden Mooney abhorred the idea that Ger- lutions urging workers under its latter. Both our friends and our enemies in all Europe and Fickert and the San Francisco police America must face this fact, and also recognize that our struggle department in the Mooney trial. has been crowned with success, and that as a result of this duel May 2-British Labor Party the II International has been knocked in the head by the III

Communist International. The struggle between us and the H International is the real struggle of classes. In the ranks of the II International there were many of our class-brothers, who had been deceived by the false ideology of the yellow Socialists who had followed the same road with the bourgeoisie,

The Triumph of the III International.

We triumphed because the bourgeoisie proved powerless to liquidate the heritage of the war; because the bourgeoisie as a whole is not able to do anything to reconstruct the economic life of Europe. The II International linked its fate with the bourgeoisie at the very first shot that proclaimed the beginning of the imperialistic war. The later attempts to reestablish , the II International naturally met with no succes. Its principal leader strove to enter into alliance with the League of Nations.

"They put Wilson on the same slate with Jaures, that martyr

of the labor movement.

The Bourgeoisie is Destined to Perish.

"Therefore all the blows showered now on the bourgeoisie, fall like a heavy hammer on the II International. Every organization that has associated itself with the bourgeois class, whose end is predestined, by that very fact condemns itself also to ruin.

"The working class is coming into power, and the bourgeoisie in its despair seizes on the half-dead II International, and strangles it in its dying grasp. There is no doubt that both are approaching definite ruin, because in the historic sense years are reckoned by days. Their collapse will make it possible for an international union of workmen to create a new world, founded on Communism. The idea of democracy has faded away before

"When the American bourgeoisie before the eyes of the whole discloses the fact that District At- net meeting was in progress the preworld suspended constitutional guarantees, when this much-torney Fickert requested Lieutenant sident was unable to meet the delepraised democracy violated all the principles established by itby this it itself determined its place. On this question there should not be two opinions. In noting the victory over the II Inter- of Oxman's famous perjury letters national it is necessary to emphasize this much-debated point. and finish once for all with democratic tendencies.

The Tasks of the Congress.

"The Congress has been convened to decide certain questions which are the subject of dispute in the ranks of the Communist movement. We have brought to the Congress parties which have not yet manifested their purely communistic character, which dent's request for a new trial. working class in certain countries are still at the crossroads. We have not yet fully defined their tactics. Individual groups of the have brought here all the mass workmen's organizations that victed Mooney on the evidence of hearing. wish honestly to combat capitalism.

"In the period of the collapse of the II International all parties have abandoned it one after another. Now they are trying to enter the III International. Such are the German Independents and the French Socialist Party, groups adhering to these, and also certain others.

There Will Be No Place for Traitors in the III International.

"At the Congress no dishonest thinking will be permitted, and there can be no concession to the II International. We shall tell the German and French workmen that they must start to territory the Congress has convened. cleanse their ranks so that they may come into the International union of workmen. Just as in individual countries we must have Executive Committee of Soviets, Comrade Kalinin, whom the parties molded from iron and steel, which carry the working masses with them, so we must do the same on the international scale. There must be created a pliable and mobile organization, which can render powerfull assistance at the necessary moment wherever such will be required.

Why the I International Did Not Succeed.

"If the struggle of the I International, which was built by the hands of Marx and Engels, was not crowned with success, it was scale. To be victorious over the bourgeoisie it is essential to realize this fundamental task.

Fiftieth Anniversary of the First Large Workmen's Uprising. "As we begin the work of the Congress we should remember that in a few months we shall have the fiftieth anniversary of the first great uprising of workmen who pointed out the road for us. We should remember the Paris Commune, which wrote the first page of the history of the international workmen's of blockade, etc. In this difficult and constant struggle, Soviet

anniversary France already will have a French Soviet Republic. The Triumph of the International Proletariat is Near.

"A short time will pass, and the proletariat of all countries, in a single outburst, with a clearly defined aim and as a single entity, will march forward to victory, under the leadership of the Communist International.

"Long live the working class of the whole world!

"Long live the Communist International!"

All the members of the Congress and all those present at the sitting by their stormy and long applause showed their complete West, knowing that the world proletarist is on their side." solidarity with the wishes expressed by Comrade Zinoviev.

Comrade Zinoviev's speech was translated into German by French and Italian.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF PRAESIDIUM.

Then take place the elections of members of the Praesidium of the Congress. In the name of the executive committee, Comrade Bukharin proposes the following names:

Comrades: Levi (Germany), Rormer (France), Seratti (Italy), Lenin and Zinoviev (Russia).

This proposal is unanimously adopted.

Comrade Zinoviev then reports that many organizations have desired to present greetings to the Congress. Because of lack of time it is necessary, however, to limit the granting of the floor for the presenting of greetings to only one representative of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, on whose

The floor is given to the president of the All-Russian Central Congress welcomes with a boisterous ovation.

SPEECH OF COMRADE KALININ.

Greeting to the Congress from Russian Workmen and Peasants. "In the name of the workmen and peasants of Soviet Russia," begins Comrade Kalinin, "I greet the 2nd World Congress of the III Communist International."

"Our Communist Party," continues Comrade Kalinin, "in its past activity was not spoiled by parliamentary struggle. It was because at that time there was no union of workmen on a world forced to carry on its struggles against Tsarism and Kerensky under difficult conditions, but the party never lost hope that Tsarism and oppression would be overthrown.

The Struggle for the Welfare of Toilers.

"During the last three years we have had to make enormous sacrifices and show colossal energy in the struggle for the welfare of the toilers.

We have had to suffer all the burdens of civil war, of hunger, Russia tempered herself. This struggle made it possible for us to "We express our fervent desire that by the date of this great create our glorious, invincible Red Army, which at the present moment is showing miracles of bravery on the fields of battle against white Poland.

"At the present moment it is absolutely clear to Russian workmen and peasants that we are not fighting solely the Russian bourgeoisie and Tsarist landlords; that it is not only against such that our struggle is directed. The workmen and peasants ses in the aims of the Trade Union now know that the world bourgeoisie stands behind the Russian bourgeoisie, sending against us now this enemy, now the other. That is why Russian workmen at the present moment look to the

Comrade Kalinin concludes his speech by expressing the hope that the Congress which is about to open will serve as Comrade Radek. Comrade Balabanova translated the speech into the beginning of a direct conflict of the peoples of the East and West for the liberation of the world proletariat, and once again greets the Congress in the name of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets.

(Next article-Lenin's Speech Before the 2nd Congress.)

OLOGY OF INFAMOUS TOM MOONEY FRAME UP

(Continued from page 1.) March 30-Judge Dunne releases Rena Mooney on same bail as Weinberg's, nine months after acquitted April 27-Defense counsel make motion in Judge Griffin's court that death verdict be se taside because of

through its secretary, Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P., protest against frame-up and demands new trial for Mooney.

May 15-The London (England) Trades Council cablegrams demand

for new trial. May 28-Judge Griffin resentences Mooney to be hanged on August 23rd Grants stay of execution to enable defense to appeal from his decision to State Supreme Court

June 5-President Wilson rges new trial.

June 11-District Attorney Fickert files brief with Governor Stephens attacking impartiality of Federal Commission.

June 12-Record of the trial of German Consul Franz Von Bopp disclosed the fact that District Attorney Fickert suplied German agent with fake credentials addressed to "Officers and officials throughout the United States and Canada." This agent, C. C. Crowley, was responsible for many dynamitings and destruction of munitions for alies.

candidacy for governor based on his and Joseph Valentine, president of presenting 250,000 workers, demands taking the case out of the jurisdiction new trial for Mooney. '

Ed Rigall on his arrival in San morial on the subject be sent to him Francisco and forcibly get possession for consideration. June 20-Annual convention of tion State Supreme Court for American Federation of Labor, held hearing of appeal for new trial, at St. Paul, Minnesota, recommends | August 13-Hon. W. Bourke Cockpower vested in him to prevent requested by President Wilson.

Mooney's execution and urges Gov. August 19-National Union ernor Stephens to grant the presi, Scottish Mine Workers

June 23-Aviation Lieutenant Wm of Mooney and urges new trial. Oxman and Estelle Smith and these August 27-American

Lieutenant Jacobs declared.

Wilson and Governor Stephens.

sentence.

July 17-Tom Mooney removed from county jail to death cell in San

July 25-District Attorney Fickert in affidavit filed with Governor Stephens stated that Felix Frankfurter, secretary of Federal Commission, stated his belief while the commission was sitting in San Francisco that Mooney was guilty. "Frankfurter expressed that opinion to members of the Supreme Court,' charged Fickert.

July 26-Frankfurter, now chairman of the War Labor Policies Board denied Fickert's allegations as false and without the slightest foundation.

July 27-Governor Stephens reprieves Mooney until December 13th July 30-The justices of the California Supreme Court endorse Frankfurter's denial of the Fickert charge July 30-Delegation of organized

labor, headed by Hon. W. Bourke Cockran, Frank Morrison, secretary June 18-Fickert announces his of the American Federation of Labor prosecution and conviction of Mooney Molders' International Union, called June 17-The Lancashire-Cheshire at the White House to urge upon (England) Federation of Labor, re- President Wilson the necessity of of the State of California as a ne-June 17-Transcript of Oxman cessary war measure. Owning to the nearing before Spreckel's Grand Jury fact that a specially summoned cabi-Police "Steve" Bunner to meet gation and he requested that a me

August 1-Defense that President Wilson use all the ran presents memorial on case as August 19-National Union

protest against scheduled execution

have now, been proven perfurers, Mission to the Allied Nations cables International Workers' Defense of the United States refused to re-July 3-Scottish Iron Molders League from Rome stating that pro- view the case of Thomas J. Mooney Association brings frame-up to the Germans were using the Mooney case Chief Justice White announced the attention of the British war cabinet against America and particularly decision without comment. July 10-Miners' Federation of President Wilson. Replies were cab-

August 28-Fickert overwhelm out the United States. ingly defeated for the Republican

September 14-Defense counsel file would permit the defense to bring the and created a great sensation. case before the United States Supreme Court.

September 16-British Union Jubilee Congress cables Washington and the California state authorities requesting new trial for Mooney, and appreciating President Wilson's action in urging Governor Stephens to grant same.

September 16-California October 26-A review of the case

of Thomas J. Mooney was asked in imprisonment. a petition filed by counsel for Mooney November 29-Mooney wrote with the United States Court. Secrecounsel peti- tary Scharrenberg of the State Fed- manding that he revoke commutation critique of that resolution.

cablegrams the United States, as commander in trials for Mooney and Billings. The chief of the armed forces of the same council passed resolution ap United States under the emergency pealing to Mayor Rolph to suspend In an attempt to put an the execution of Tom Mooney and on charges of graft and corruption. Graphite is supplied from demanded a new and fair trial. (Continued on page 4). kand. Socialist demanded a new and fair trial.

November 19-Alameda County Great Britain urges new trial for led by Defense League that Tom Central Labor Council adopted resoman propaganda should be made of jurisdiction to call a general strike planned to receive 5,000. Of these July 16—California State Supreme his case. "My confidence in the Amer- on December 9 in protest against 1,000 will be taken into the metal Court refuses stay of execution of ican government and the people is proposed hanging of Mooney. Same industry, 247 into the Commissariat and departmental councils through-

November 21-Judge Franklin A nomination for governor. His vote Griffin wrote open letter to Govin San Francisco was 2194 and his ernor Stephens requesting the goventire vote vas less than 11/4 per ernor, in the interest of justice, to cent of the electorate. Judge Griffin grant Mooney new trial. In this letwas re-elected with a vote of 66,000 ter the trial judge analyzed the tes-September 14-Washington asks timony and showed clearly that the data on Fickert's connection with carrying out of the verdict would be German consulate and his action in a travesty upon justice and a blot giving credentials to convicted dy- upon the administration of justice. namiter, C. C. Crowley, enabling the November 22-The Densmore relatter to dyntmite munitions for the port, published in the San Francisco allies both in the United States and "Call," demonstrating the frame-up methods of district attorney's office and the gang in San Francisco, This petition with California State Su-report, printed in full, covered many daily. A deterrent to further preme Court for writ of error which pages of the San Francisco "Call" November 27-A committee of ten

representatives of the San Francisc Labor Council, under instructions from that body, with Daniel C. Murphy, President State Federation of Labor, acting as chairman, appeared before Governor Stephens Sacramento and presented the facts which have created grave doubt in the public mind and the positive of the many measures taken w conviction in the minds of men and Supreme Court denies defense peti- women of labor throughout the world tion for writ of error. Defense an-nounces its intention of bringing the est trial. Secretary of Labor Wilson case before the United States Su-filed with Governor Stephens a compreme Court at the earliest oppor- plete copy of the Densmore report

November 28-Governor Steph commuted Mooney's sentence to life

statement to Governor Stephens de eration of Labor forwarded resolu- of death sentence and give him either tion adopted by the convention to the freedom or death. San Francisco War Labor Board along with the Labor Council adopted resolution condemning the action of Governor November 10-London Trades Stephens and pledgel its moral and Lenin and Trotzky and such Council appealed to the president of financial support to obtain new put down to the slander a the American people by preventing him before the Board of Supervisors factory has be

Along the Soviet Front.

By PROPAGANDA PETE

The first delegate congress of the International Council of Trade an industrial Unions will be held in Moscow May 1st, The call has been sent out to all Left labor eleme of the world. The Internations Council was organized at Mosco last summer and is now rap forging to the front in the leaders of the international trade unio movement.

The Armenian Soviet Govern as requested the American Near East relief organization to contin ts work in that country, promiscooperation and guaranteeing violability of supplies. This organizamade destitute by the recent hostil ties in Trans-Caucasia.

The Armenian government has can celled all old treaties with the Turk sh government and is negotiating new treaties.

In the Recent All-Russian Congress of the Building Trades, satisfactory reports of work accomplished wer eceived. The present program of work outlined consists among other things of the erection of dwellings for 100,000 workers in the Donetz Basin and harbor construction on the Black Sea.

February 15th to the 22nd was observed in Russia as Trade Union veek. During this period extensive publicity was carried on for the purpose of educating the working m and to give a picture of the general labor movement.

The government of Latvia has an nounced that any person circulating false reports of Soviet Russia's war like intentions toward Latvia will be proceeded against in the courts.

Finnish business interests are un ing a quick rehabilitation of trade with Soviet Russia.

Great quantities of tools and implements are among recent shipments of products from Swedish firms to Russia.

The building of many new cement factories, some of which are already n operation is among the proposed reconstruction plans of the Soviet government.

The plans for the emigration of German skilled workers to Russia during 1921 are almost comp During the first six months it is for Health; 445 into agriculture; these 110 will be used as agricultural organizers. Besides there will be quired 200 specialists for the organization of economic councils which are setting up agricultural commun the Moscow district. Details of emigration are being arranged by technical commission in Germany is their firm intention to accep those who are conscious of the purpose and are prepared to face all the work necessary to create a new social system.

A Petrograd foot-wear factor specializing in galoshes has incr its production from 300 to 800 pairs creased production is the fuel short age. Supplies for two years work present production are on hand.

The erection of electric supp stations is proceeding in all of Russia as fast as machinery can be secured. Many villages her without modern lighting are supplied with electric light power. Needless to say, this is but cements the peasants and the Soviet government in a tie that cannot

Women of Soviet Russia was Moscow. 3,500 delegates att The opening address was giv Anna-Kollontai, Commissar of Welfare. Problems of inter

regime of the Soviets was

Address all mail and make all checks payable to THE TOILER 8207 CLARK AVENUE, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Entered as Second Class Matter, February 21, 1917, at the Post Office at Cleveland, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

BUNDLE ORDER PRICES

Bundle orders in any quantity 3%c. per copy. Bills upon bundle orders of 100 or more rendered monthly. Bills must be paid upon presentation.

Order a bundle of Toilers weekly and sell them to your shopmates.

Published weekly by the TOILER PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION TELEPHONE: LINCOLN 3639.

THE INAUGURATION.

Washington's inoffensive bible has been brought out into (3) lines from the Oakland World, LANSKI) and his gang entered the public view and kissed; the President has made his little speech; which he severely critizes over sey hall while Comrade Gebert was the reporters have scratched down all the trivial incidents of the eral pages for past-and present affair; the movie men have cranked their machines—and we are alleged misconduct in the movement. off under a new national political administration. And, since every editor is expected to take cognizance of this event, we may as well have our say-so and be done with it. This is perhaps not a veryinspiring editorial incentive, but there is no inspiration in the President's message for the workers, that we are able to discern.

The ceremonies were simple-considering that the G. O. P. expended \$8,100,730.21 in the election of its present national officials. Having read some of the President's recent speeches, we to such an extend that he cannot were prepared for his modest delaration of Divine guidance during see the truth in a statement made the coming four years. The high and mighty always claim at least a closely bound alliegance to the Almighty. Emperor Wilhelm claimed little more.

Concerning the President's policy insofar as outlined in the inauguration speech and other recent utterances, we are certain that we are to have either a righteous administration mixed with business, or a business administration mixed with righteousness, we are not sure just which. There lie before us eight answers to eight questions put to the Presidnt by Mr. Neil M. Clark-questions upon which "every business man would like an expression of opinion." We fail to find anything in the answers that can possibly ruffle in the slightest degree the most conservative advocate of "let business alone." In these answers the word "righteous" occurs five times. "Government's highest function is to serve business and to give it the fullest opportunity for RIGHTEOUS activity," the President says in answer to one question. That expresses fully the President's conception of the relationships which should obtain between mankind and "business," of righteousness and the function of government. It is a conception that might well be in keeping with the social ideas of a peanut business man wholly ignorant of the class construction of society.

The President has fixed his eyes upon the past. Echoing it is altogether too much to expect thruout his inaugural message are the voices of an age that is credit in such instances. Either the dead and gone forever. The President holds out no hope for the Editor forgets to give the credit or toiling and enslaved masses. He points out to them only a "back not space enough—or the editor is bundle orders and subscriptions in the normalsy" condition on the real to be r to normalcy" condition as the goal to be achieved, ignoring the just plainly opposed to what is some creased more than 100% social forces which are driving the world's workers into rebellion times considered a hang-over of bour-three months previous? against their masters.

President Harding is well fitted to serve the interests which have made him. He will have no quarrels with "business" over ideals. He will serve his masters well.

REDUCE THE HOURS.

One cannot read of the terrible hours and conditions under which the slaves of the steel industry labor as revealed in the article from The Survey published in this issue, without realizing what these conditions mean not only the unfortunate thousands directly victimized by the billionaire corporations which employ notch! them, but also that they present a grave danger to the whole labor movement in this country.

The organization of the steel industry has long been the problem of problems confronting organized labor. Other basic industries have yielded to the urge of organization. Repeated attempts to win against the Principality of Steel have met with repeated and bitter failure. The world's greatest industrial corporation has proven, with the aid of the capitalist State, entirely too strong an antagonist for the A. F. of L.

But the battle must be won. So long as the twelve hour day prevails in any industry of such huge proportions, it is a direct menace to all workers. Every shift of twelve hours that is worked, directly deprives unemployed of a chance to work. The serflike conditions of the steel workers' lives are a blot upon a labor movement which pretends to have a civilized aim and method. These archaic and medieval conditions must be wiped out-it

matters not how. The A. F. of L. is again laying its plans for this great work. Let us hope that it reclizes the causes of its past bitter failures and lays the foundations for its methods deep down on the bedrock of class against class and not on a basis of craft antagonisms. It is the only labor organization with the material means capable of doing this job. It should have the support of every unit in its own organization and every assistance possible from labor everywhere in eradicating forever this ulcer from the body of labor.

The Donetz Coal Basin, which was Have just filled an order for over injured extensively by the predatory half a thousand pamphlets from counter-revolutionists, is now being Seattle. These are to be sold at rehabilitated under Soviet rule. The meetings at the Labor Temple. rehabilitated under Soviet rule. The following supplies have recently been sent into this section to aid in the work increased production; 40,000 labor, it is up to put to use it for labor, for it is up to put to use it for labor. Your officials may disagree with you but you can squash that, Use your union meetings to introduce the Toiler and our literature.

DITORIAL PAGE OF TI

IN OUR MAIL BOX

Each week the Editor sends out Gebert of the Polish daily, "Voice of to our readers a message. Thousands the Worker" spoke to not less than read it, most of whom are pleased four hundred Polish and Russian to do, so, we may believe. We receive many letters confirming this opinion Some are made angry however, and traitors in Poland and the Polish tell us so. We are always glad to get Socialist land reform, and appealed these letters, whether they approve to the masses for the overthrow of or disaprove of us and our message. that gape in Poland New readers But we like the letters to be signed This column will be devoted here-after to publishing some of these letters which come to us from Toiler up. Polish radical literature and readers.

UNSIGNED LETTERS. We have two unsigned letters this with the dong fight between the Right and Left elements in California. And we know the relative merits of the the two wings, the Western Worker the meeting. and the World. We would suggest to the unknown writer of the letter that do right here in Cleveland? What he do not allow a narrow, dogmatic so you think about them? sectarianism to obstruct his vision by an opponent. We say this in view of the fact that he expresses no epinion against our quotation taken from the World.

Another comrade asks us in an unsigned letter if in our opinion the New Day (official organ of the Socialist Party) is not publishing a vanish. great deal of matter concerning Debs for the sole reason of selling their publication. Answering frankly, we The Doers' Column gitimate reason, after a careful scrutiny of the New Day, why it should be sold at all unless it is for the purpose of freeing Debs,-assuming that it helps any.

JOURNALISTIC ETHICS.

A comrade from Mason City, Iowa labor in the domain of proletarian doers. journalism, we have concluded that geois ethics and proceeds to approknow it's done in honesty for here is the present. the periodical of our worthy and honorable Clansman, the Scottish why should we worry? If we toil time. Try it on the unknowing. in an unknown field, without honor we at least are assured that the letarian propaganda is raised a Francisco comrades.

Feb. 24, 1921.

return mail.

3207 CLARK AVE.

Sunday, Feb. 20, the Polish prolet-

BY GOING AFTER THEM

You can get many subscriptions for

THE TOILER

YOU DO THE ASKING

FREEI

Russia in 1919 \$1,60

Debs, His Life and Writings \$1.00

Trotzky-compiled by Fraina \$1.00

(The latter given for \$10.00 worth of subscriptions.)

Pelle the Conqueror, 2 vol. \$4.00

Take your choice.

But take it while taking is good. They will not last always. Send us \$5.00 for sub cards or send in the subscriptions

with the money and name your book. It will be sent by

THE TOILER

CLEVELAND, OHIO

The Proletarian Revolution in Russia, Lenin and

Send us \$5.00 worth of subscriptions and we will send

And get a good book

will become subscribers—if they are asked to.

you either of these books as a premium:

There are hundreds, yes, thousands of workers who

At Rocoh Hall W. 10 st. Editor

Workers about the Social-Patriot that gang in Poland. New readers were added to the Voice of the Worker and a collection of \$65 was taken papers were sold in hundreds. The meeting was enthusiastic thru out.

Another meeting was held at the Ponsh National Hall, Fullerton Ave We have two unsigned letters this Polish National Hall, Fullerton Ave let, "The International Council of week. The first from a comrade in at 7.30 P. M., with an attendance of Trade and Industrial Unions" Yes California. The comrade is made 350. Everything went well up to 9,30 will thus be spreading much needed angry because we have quoted three when a former union leader, (PI. information concerning the trade speaking about the Polish Social-Patriots in Poland. Pilanski assailed The Toiler is quite well acquainted the speaker, got the platform-apparently against the wishes of the majority-attacked the meeting of soviets-praising the Capitalist Polish two papers which have represented regime and succeeded in breaking up

That's what the Capitalist hirelings

Walter Grzejneinski.

Well, comrade, we think that in another six months there will be but one fraction of working-class Poles in this city. When the Polish traitors and social-patriots in the home country are overturned in the inevitable 23 to his credit. victory of the Communists then the quarrels between the Right and Left American Polish groups will

By the Office Devil.

If your name is mentioned here it is a proof that you are among the not find their names recorded here. We don't waste time recording the undone deeds of people who, thru writes us an excited paragraph be negligence, or disinclination to fight cause he has seen in the Eric "Truth" back at capitalism, refuse to do their one of our editorials without the duty. We have no time or space to a constant literature booster. About waste on them. This column belong ethical credit line. After three years to the fighters, the learners, the

And when there are enough

Why is it that during December

It must be that the "Doers" are purpose. All in perfect honesty. We they should multiply in seasons like multiplying. It's na

Comrade Taylor of-(it doesn't Worker from Glasgow, containing a supply of various pamphlets. One various articles from our paper with- real livewire can keep as many as

Rush orders for literature and ar result is good—the character of pro- regular order of business with Sar

time again.

An order for 185 books arrives from Denver. Comrades there are on the job. This order proves it,

There is one place where there is always something doing for the workers' cause, that's Youngstown Some comrades there are always on the job with literature and Toilers We suggest that more Youngstown comrades follow the example.

Comrade Carl Malmsten, of Stock holm, Sweden, orders a bandle of ten Toilers weekly.

What are you doing in your unior for the Left Wing, the Red Trade Union International? Let us sugges that you order and sell the pamph union movement. It is ten cents copy-12 for \$1.

A comrade from Joliet writes that he finds that a 'personal reminder is necessary to get some readers to renew their subscriptions. He's right Will readers take note of this and those who have received a 'reminder from The Toiler office will please

We want to call your attention First, the reduced prices on ten advertisement. Secondly, the offer of some splendid titles for subscriptions. These two offers should appeal to many propagandists.

A comrade in Louisville, Ky., has outstripped all others in disposing of Toiler Cartoon Books. He now has

We observe the many literature orders that accompany comcade's renewals. Supplementing The Toiler with other literature is the sure road to knowledge.

We note a recent order for 100 copies of various booklets from com-rade Zelms of Boston. This show there is team work there.

We have had a number of inquires "dooers". Names of folks who never for literature from college clubs and do anything for the workers will educational societies recently. There seems to be a wave of desire for more than just ordinary education sweep ing over the land.

> Comrade Ivosevich of Indiana, is once a week he sends us an order.

We now have a new supply of The Soviet Constitution at 10c per copy 12 for \$1. They are fine for propa

The Ants and Bees are Bolshevikis.

When we think of the word eman cipation, our minds naturally revert to the time of Abraham Lincoln. matter where) sends in an order for We connect his name with that of emancipation much as we do Bryan's out a line of credit to The Toiler. But a dozen pamphlets working all the with that of prohibition, or grape it is of no avail to seperate them.

increase in the Toiler bundle is a to-day, nearly as badly treated at those of the sixties! The one great distinction is, that the slaves of Our best seller, guess what it is? to-day are called free. Are they free Communism and Christianism, by in reality? I challenge the statement POLISH RIGHT AND LEFT MIX. comrade Bishop Brown. Every mai' that they are. We shall compare them Cleveland, O., brings a sheaf of orders for this and note the similarity of the treatthat orders are repeated time and ment accorded both types of slaves -chattle and wage slaves.

What were the slaves of old bought and sold for? For their labor power, That is what the slaves of to-day are sold for-the only difference being that the wage slave sells, if mittee on Campaign Expenditure. the market is willing to buy, own labor power. The sad part is that, so many times the market is not in the humor to buy his power of labor. That condition was unparelled in the history of the chattel slaves. They were employed at all seasons, and received the same reward. What were the rewards of the domestic chattle slave? His lodging and what he could eat, His board and clothes. What more do we receive? We get only a measly wage for producing. Why do we not get all we produce? What law in nature decrees that we must produce for a few and ourselves starve. The bees are more communistic. They are practicing in this land of the free, so-called, the worst type of bolshevikism—they should be deported as reds. The ants are anarchists and the redest of the reds. They should also be sent to Russia, where are also retained by the working man the value of what he produces. My God, must we depart from nature to secure a suitable form of govern-ment? We might do well to consider the Bolshevik ants and bees and their

of sier everthan repu



The new President is already famous. A shop windows. It's called "Harding Blue."

We may now be said to have the Harding Blues, looking at ourselves rom the standpoint of prosperity.

President Obregon of Mexico, is at outs with the labor members of his Cabinet due to their differences on the matter of the strike of the railroad workers. President Obregon is seen to be great deal less of a labor man than was supposed. All politicians are friends of labor when labor demands nothing, as "la Lucha" says.

The trial of Sacco and Vanzetti has been potsponed for a period of 9 days on the please of the defense attorney, Fred H. Moore. Depositions of material wittnesses in Italy are being taken and it is expected that their statements will have an important bearing in favor of the defendants when the trial occurs.

The letter writing privilege has been restored to Debs under instructions of Prison Director Dickerson. Visitors will be allowed as soon as "the authorities are convinced that the privilege will not be abused." Undoubtedly the to two important offers in this issue. nation wide protests have had some influence upon the petty officials who hold down the heavy jobs at Washington.

> Mothers and Widows of Italian soldiers of the world war have formed an association to look after the graves of the dead soldiers. In a spirit of fraternity they have offered their services in the respect to the widows and mothers of fallen German soldiers.

> Chicago printers are standing solidily against the bosses' proposal of a wage cut of \$4.65 per week.

The Fascisti-anti socialist Black Hundreds-are continuing their burning of labor halls and destruction of news paper plants. Many armed clashes occur, and many are injured.

Civil war in Ireland continues. Unemployment is growing and thousands survive only thru the aid of relief agencies from outside Ireland.

Bread lines in Chicago grow longer daily. Over 40,000 unemployed men are depending upon charitable agencies for support states Dr. Ben Reitman, of the Health Department.

The Workman's Circle has offered the Soviet Government a complete equipment for a hospital up to the value of \$50,000.

The grand jury investigating the Wall Street explosion of September 16th has made its report and been dismissed. The sole results of its deliberations are recommendations regarding the control of and use of explosives. The person guilty of the criminal act of causing the explosion in unknown.

What to do now, was the question before the conference of the A. of L. at Washington last week. Faced with the destruction its believed rights secured by the Clayton Act and more recently, the assessments against the United Mine Workers of a penalty of \$800,000 for attempting to organize a handful of miners down in Arkansas, the wobbly old ship is up against some problems of navigation that are taxing the best brains of her pilots.

The International Socialist Congress Conference in Vienna where a 4th International is attempting to get underway, looks with disfavor upon the rigid lines laid down by the Moscow International. At the same time the statement is made that only those who have overthrown their socialpatriotism will be allowed to join

Ludwig C. A. K. Martens and Gregory Weinstein, having arrived at Moscow, the deportation warrant against them has been cancelled by the Department of Labor. This means according to Martens' attorney, Charles Recht, that Martens may return here officially at some future time as an envoy of Soviet Russia.

The Labor Department states that 426 anarchists and communists have Yes my friends, there are slaves been deported within the past year. We wonder how many capitalism has to-day, nearly as badly treated at made within the past four months.

> The defense of the Mingo Co. miners has opened at Williamson, W. Va., in the trial of Sid Hatfield and 18 others indicted for the deaths of Baldwin-Felts detectives at Matewan last May.

> Mexican key men and shop workers have quit their places in sympathy with the striking railroad workers. Mexican workers have learned the meaning of solidarity.

> The election of Harding, Coolidge and the Republican Congress cost the Frand Old Party the neat little sum of \$8,100,739.21 states the Senate Com

> Isn't it a great and glorious thing to have a friend of the workers as rich as that to help us elect the people's choice?

How could we do without such a friend? How could Harding?

from the Viewpoint of Darwinism: Analysed and Contrasted from the Viewpoint of Darwinism, by Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D. D. Paper, pages 184, artistic cover, price 25 cents. Six copies mailed for \$1.00. Comments by eleven persons: — One of the most startling and revolutionary books ever issued. — It comes like a meteor across a dark sky. — Send twelve copies. It is the best book I ever read to open the eyes and set the brain working. — It held me tight. I call it a sermon. The text is astounding, Banish gods from skies and capitalists from earth.—Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Age of Reason.—Every comrade buys one and comes back for more.—It will do a wonderful work in this greatest crisis in all history.—I think it is one of the most important books of a Socialist nature issued in a number of years. It is full of marvelously good material and will open many eyes.—Sold twenty-five in a liffy; send three hundred for next meeting.—The author, an Episcopalism ecclesiastic, has renounced all theology and unreservedly accepted the Marxian philosophy of economic determinism. In this book he approaches the subject of Socialism from the new angle and has produced a propaganda work that will be of intense interest to all.—I can sell three thousand within sixty days.

Write for terms to book sellers and to propagandists. Twentieth thousand now in press.

THE TOILER Communism and Christianism: Analysed and Contrasted

2207 CLARK AVE.

SUNDAY

THE LONG SHIFT OF THE STEEL SLAVES

Billionaire Corporations Reduce Workers to Conditions of Serfdom.

What the 12-Hour Day, the 7-Day Week and the Long Turn of 24 Hours When Shifts Are Changed Mean to the Workers and their Homes.

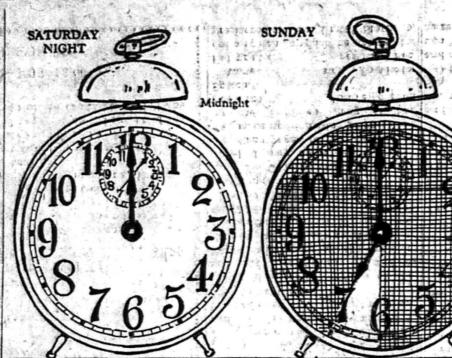
Sixty-five out of every 100 men employed by the Carnegie Steel Company work 12 hours a day. These are not soap-box statistics. They are official figures obtained for the United States Steel Corporation itself and now for the first time made public They are typical of the cold forged facts driven home by reports made for the Cabot Fund into this hoariest work schedule in American industrial

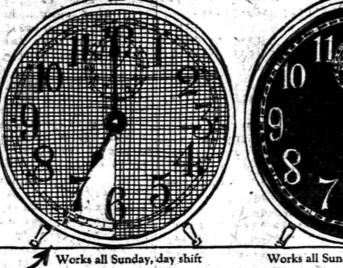
John A. Fitch, author of "The of labor conditions in the steel industry since the days of the Pittsburgh Survey, directed a staff of inby THE SURVEY magazine in a to the standard of other great Amer. Steel, the Long Day and the Way officials that only about 25 per cent Out." They visited Pittsburgh and the mill towns of Allegheny County Bethlehem, Johnstown, Lackawanna, Youngstown, Gary and South Chicago. They interviewed men in the blast furnaces, where the ore is reduced to pig iron; men in the open hearth and Bessemer , departments where pig iron is changed to steel; men in the rolling mills where steel men in its employ in August, 1919 ingots are rolled into beams and rails; and men in the mechanical del given Mr. Fitch. These show a total

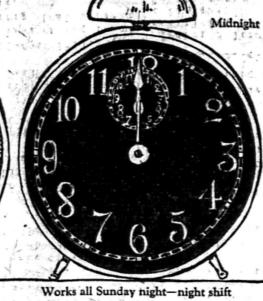
seventy-nine of them worked the 12a day of rest; thirty-five alternated the next. between six and seven days a week; five got one day of hour day.

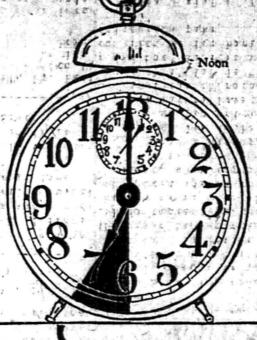
Says Mr. Fitch: Steel Corporation Figures.

policies of the steel industry to which saw him before, one of the younges the United States Steel Corporation men in the mill to hold so important stands officially opposed. By vote a position, and proud of it. Then he of the stockholders in annual meeting spoke with careless disregard of the in 1912, the twelve-hour day and the long work-day or the hard conditions seven-day week were condemned. It of mill life. It was all in the game. was voted to accept the report of a It was hard work but it was a life committee recommending that seven. where hard work had its cewards. day labor should be abolished "no matter what alleged difficulties" this year, we were a little taken stood in the way, and that "steps aback at the way be flared out about should be taken now" toward bringing the twelve-hour day. He said: to an end the twelve-hour day. These recommendations broke away from the whole habit of steel-making since the development of the Besseme process in the CO's. There has been movement-with decidedly varying headway-toward the abandonment of the seven-day week, but our inquiry in the principal centers reveals the fact that the proportion of twelve-hour workers is as great today as it was eight years ago when the stockholders' committee of the greatest of all steel companies brought in its report."









Follow through the week-end of a steel worker who has been working day shifts, 11 hours a day for a week. He has his last night's sleep Saturday night and goes on Sunday morning at 7.

THE LONG TURN OF TWENTY-FOUR HOURS CONSECUTIVE LABOR

The Peak of the 12-Hour 7-Day Week in the American Steel Industry

The adoption by the United States He would have made any football have much energy to do anything The Twelve-hour Day and the Home goes to bed. His afternoon meal must Steel Workers" and a close student Steel Corporation of a basic eight- team and been the hero of the col- even if he had time. Most of the hour day during the war led many lege. He was loyal to the company, workers barely have time to read people to imagine that this action sunny and satisfied. Now at thirty- more than the headlines of a newswhich was nothing more than a six he looks close to fifty. He is dis- paper. One roller stated his routine vestigators in the steel districts last method of figuring a wage increase gusted and dissatisfied and has suf- as follows: "A man works, comes the rest of the couplet, that "wosummer for the Cabot Fund. Their ushered in the long awaited reform fered a complete revulsion of feel- home, eats and goes to bed, gets up findings were brought out last week which would bring the steel trade ing." special number on "Three Shifts in ican industries. The claims of steel employed by Jones and Laughlin, Youngstown district said that he of their employes worked twelve day, seven days a week said: hours and the absence of authoritative government statistics have tendered further to confuse the public. Subsequent to the field work carried on under his direction, Mr. Fitch submitted a draft of his findings to

the United States Steel Corporation for criticism. The actual hours of the latest figure available, were of 266,966 employes-the largest More than four hundred steel payroll in America if not in the workers were interviewed in the world. Of these 237,496 were wagecourse of the study. Three hundred earners and of these wage earners of a strain on his eyes. As time and sirty-five of them gave detailed 196,853 were engaged in manufactur. goes on he finds it impossible to working hours. Two hundred and latter were classed as working 11 hours or more; that is, they were feeling. hour day. Eighty-seven worked 12-hour men, working 11 hours a straight through the week without day one week and 13 hours a night

How the Men Feel About It. seven-day men had a regular twelve- He writes of one of them, a skilled civic affairs. highly paid man:-

"It is interesting to note that he one is always tired and so does not an 'animal life" always. is a comparatively young man. He With this in mind, when we met him

'It isn't right. A man has no pleasure in life at all. Even though you have Sunday off half the time you can't enjoy it work on the night shift Sunday Mooney. night. You can't take a little trip out of town for fear of not getting back in time to go to work. I never go out even but work and sleep. A man hardly knows his family.'

"In 1908 this man was a young enthusiast, handsome, well developed.

John Burke, a skilled furnace man

if he had the eight-hour day. live long. What's the use of it when you don't enjoy life?

Tom Daly, an open-hearth man at heated nor "burned." He is always under a strain. In the past he used he is afraid to because it is too much week to week. He always has a tired

Effect on the Community.

Mr. Fitch turns from the individual

eats and goes to work."

An immigrant worker in the Pittsburg, working twelve hours a liked to read the newspaper but could not concentrate. Another im-It's slavery and persecutior migrant worker in Homestead apo--mill work-it's a prison. A logized for not being able to read man could live twice as long English. He said he would like to This way one doesn't want to study it but has no energy after working such long hours. A Slav in McKeesport who was offered a letter introducing the interviewer, thrust Gary, Ind., told of the alertness that it aside, "Look," he said, "I come his job required. He must watch the home at six; eat, its seven, wash heat so that it is neither under its eight; how can I go to night work such a long day." A Swedish worker in Garv

works on the night shift all the and dependable statements of their ing. 66,711 or 39 per cent of the rest up from night to night and time complained about the twelve hours. "It is too long," he said, "a person misses everything in life when he works such hours. If you want to do anything you have to give up sleep for it." When seen pared to what actually happens in feelings of 12-hour men to the effect he was returning from a citizenship most steel worker's homes. There is of the long days and the longer class at the Y. M. C. A. In order to a week when the man works on the rest in nine. Of those described as Mr. Fitch made a special point of nights on the life of the community take it in he had to be up at one day shift, twelve hours, eleven hours seven-day workers, the majority had interviewing men he had talked with "Men," he says, "who work until in the afternoon after about five or even ten, leaving home in the a long shift of eighteen or twenty- 12 years ago at the time of the Pitts- they are tired out, to whom life is and a half hours' sleep. In conse- morning and coming back at night four hours every other week when burgh Survey and who had been a continual round of work, eat, and quence he would feel "groggy" at in the normal way. Then there is a line of the time, therefore, father the shifts change. Nearly all of the working the 12 hour schedule since. sleep, have little time or thought for his work that night. He does not change. He goes to work at night expect to stay in the steel industry and arrives home in the morning. He the boy works nights, Mrs. Clark "The universal complaint is that as he said he would not lead such eats with the family at seven or and her little girl call it the "lone-

does not hold good of the 12 hour fore the rest of the household care day of American steel workers, but men's work is never done," has a new and startling version in the household life of the mill towns.

"What the twelve-hour day means to the household," says Mr. Fitch "is a matter that has never received much consideration --- outside the household. There it does receive consideration for it is there that it is felt more poignantly, perhaps, than the individual worker ever feels it. A straight twelve-hour day, 6 A M. to 6 P. M. with no change, is from the household point of view bad enough. It means the preparaschool to learn English? Sed, I tion of two meals, breakfast and the can't read your letter. If I have time dinner-pail lunch before half-past to read sometimes evenings but now I am too tired to study. It's bad to five in the morning-before five if the house is far from the mill; and it means dinner at seven o'clock or later, the dishes finally washed and things cleared away by half-past eight or nine. It means, in other words, a fifteen-hour day, more or less, for the women at home.

"But this is a simpler regime comeight o'clock in the morning and some week." They see very little

October 15-Mrs. Rena Mooney

November 13-The American Fed-

trial for Billings and Mooney.

ter to Secretary Scharrenberg.

by Judge Ward.

December 1-All indictments

by Judge Ward over protest of de-

test was started because of the fraud

of Judge Henshaw, the brains of the

in next week's issue.)

Comrade Judd of Ill, writes for

\$3.75 worth of literature for use in

attorney at San Francisco.

-Until 7 o'clock Monday morning. Then he's off for 11 brief hours and at 6 o'clock Monday evening begins his week of night shifts of 13 hours each.

"Man's work is from sun to sun' be ready at four or five o'clock beto eat. In the meantime the house must be kept quiet so the man can sleep. Children must be quiet or go dent in charge of a South Wales away from home to play.

> "Imagine a situation, which often exists, where there are two workers on opposite shifts. Breakfast at six or earlier for the day worker and the dinner-pail filled: breakfast at seven or eight for the night worker; lunch at noon for the rest of the family; supper at four or five for the night worker and a dinner-pail filled; dinner at seven for the day worker and the rest of the family and all day, every day, for six or seven days a week, the house kept juiet so the mill men may sleep."

> > "The Lonesome Week."

"William Clark, who lives in one of the Pittsburgh mill towns, works on the night shift all the time, seven nights in every week. He found the constant change, "week about" bad for his health so he applied for the privilege of working constantly on the same shift. He would rather work days but since that is denied him he finds constant night work, 6 P. M. to 6:30 A. M., preferable to changing every week. Mr. Clark's son works ten and a half hours on the day shift one week and thirteen and a half hours on the night shift the next. of either of their men; at night both brough: are gone, and in the day they have to sleep softly and speak in whispers lest they awaken the sleepers

"Other households face the same or similar conditions. Mrs. Brown of his desire for justice in the Mooney give new trial to Mooney and others week is a nuisance because you do nothing but cook, eat and sleep that week. Mrs. Black, whose husband and visits the White House in Washing- son are on opposite shifts, has to ton, D. C., and makes appeal for new "start cooking at about three o'clock in the afternoon for the one working 1897 the National Association of November 4-Mathew Brady de nights, and then stay in the kitchen feats Chas. M. .Fickert for district until six-thirty when the other comes home." Mrs. Novak lives in Pittsburgh and keeps house for her hus- of 1914, even the eight-hour plants eration of Labor decides to send a band and his brother who work for committee to request the pardon of Jones and Laughlin. Most of the time the effort to free the maximum Warren K. Billings and Tom Mooney they work on opposite shifts. Two number of workers for active service November 30—Governor Stephens suppers have to be prepared, one at at the front. Four months after the defies the A. F. of L. Refuses to see five, the other at six o'clock. In the signing of Armistice, in March, 1919, committee and upbraids labor in let-morning the man going to work has however, national legislation making something to eat at six o'clock, while the shorter day compulsory in iron the rest of the family eat breakfast and steel went into effect. against Mooney and Billings dropped at nine.

Mrs. Harris of Braddock said that the night shift week is very hard "The long turn in American iron December 8-Two indictments for the women. It seems to her that and steel serves to lessen in a real against Mrs. Rena Mooney dismissed she is cooking the whole day long degree the good-will which the British that week. She gets a light break- worker otherwise feels for his fel-December 28-Fair Will Case con- fast for the "mister" in the morning low workingmen across the sea. test settled out of court. This con- and then in the afternoon she cooks "It makes it quite certain that his dinner around four o'clock. At America will not obtain any large noon she has her own lunch; she number of English workingmen for Mooney frame-up, who accepted can't eat again at four o'clock, so her long-turn steel plants. Outside \$140,000 bribe in the original trial at six she has to be cooking again of the Welsh importation for the

(The Chronology will concluded for herself. millwright, said that on night shift worth mentioning for many years. week it "seems as if she was cooking It is quite conceivable that such an all the time." She has five children immigration would be helpful to the Her "mister" has been working in the industry - our increased mill for thirteen years, and in all manufacture of special steel, for inthat time she has never had a day's stance, could hardly fail to be beneouting, except after he came out of fited by the steel workers of Shefthe hospital after being laid up on field, possessors as they are of a account of an accident in the mill. skill which has made their product Then they went to Wheeling, W. Va. world famous. It is also conceivable for two days. But all the children are small and "you can't go to town and see a show and leave five little in our steel industry here; namely children at home with no one to take that foreign-speaking and poor Readers at Pocatello, Ida. havel increased their bundle order from 12 to 50 copies. No dead ones there a good time." Mr. Scott never goes mon in positions of importance on the also order a number of books and reads the paper.

"What Kind of a Life?"

a skilled openhearth man emple in one of the mills of the United States Steel Corporation. He was working twelve hours a day, seven days one week and six nights the next when interviewed last summer He said:

Conditions in the steel industry are bad and they're getting worse. There is no pleasure in life with such long hours. When you're on the day shift you can't go anywhere or do anything because you've got to get home and to bed so you can work next day. When you're working nights there is no chance for recreation anyway but you'd be too tired to enjoy it if there were. A man can't sleep more than three or four hours in the day time and he is tired al the time-chronically tired.

He paused a moment and then he suddenly, flared:

What kind of a life do you call it when a man can't go twenty miles away to visit his mother for fear he won't get back in time to be ready to go to work?

Shorter Hours in England.

"The eight-hour shift in steel and iron, throughout the British Isles, is an accomplished fact. It is impossible to believe that anything short of the most serious of wars would make either the laborers or the managers return to the long hours.

"In the words of the superinten "smelting stage," as the openhearth "floor" is called:

We are all glad to be done with the twelve-hour day for good and all. You wouldn't find anybody in the country-employer or employe-who would be willing to go back to it even on a temporary basis. No no, it was too long.

Managers and Men.

"The same testimony-in almost the same words-came uniformly and universally from all the foreman, superintendents and managers, as well as from all the workers encountered.

"So far as I could find there was no question about the practicability and the all-around rightness of the short turn, at least as far as steel and iron were concerned. The words of the superintendent of a South Wales blast furnace, who had worked many years in the same field in America, are typical:

The long shift may be all right in other lines—I'm not saying. But when the work is as hard and hot and dirty as around a "floor" or about the "stoves" (of blast furnace) it's impossible. The old way was

too long. Whether in Wales or Middlesbrough, the typical reply from a worker was that of a "third hand" on a "smelting stage" in Middles-

No! Wot! Twelve hours and no time out for breakfast or seven days a week! Well, Rule Brittania! I supposed we was bloody well the lawst! Blime. yer don't sye!"

8-Hours and Increased Output. In some parts of the North of England they had had the 8-hour day for 20 years before the war. In Blast-furnacemen secured the recognition of the 8-hour turn.

Shortly after the eventful August reverted to the twelve-hour shift in

No British Workers Coming.

or herself.

"Mrs. Scott, whose husband is a has been no immigration of this sort the long turn is still in effect than George Root (name fictious), is on the short turn."

(Continued from page 2.)

1919.

working on the Mooney case.

Texas introduced resolution in the general election in 1920. Congress of the United States calling | August 81-The New York World

printed by the public printer and House of Representatives. Document 157, House of Representatives. Along with the Densmore rethe evidence taken before the Grand the contest for district attorney at San Francisco. Jury in the Oxman case.

Attorney Fickert's office. Blanton's September 16. British Transport attack upon organized labor as print. Workers Federation asked to join sisted of over 30,000 words, cover- Mooney by Seattle Central Labor ing many pages of the Record and Council.

was made up of matter given to him September 30—Vop Brincken makes

case. Meeting of International Work. convicted by fraud and perjury.

Mooney and stated that he was still Defense League decided to intiate an amendment to the Penal Code June 17-American Federation of which will make possible the holding Labor convention adopted strong re- of new trials in cases where convicbecause you hav, to go back to solution demanding new trial for tion is obtained by perjury on the part of witnesses, drawn up and June 30-Congressman Blanton of placed on the regular ballot at the

when I am working on the day upon the Department of Labor to re- took up the Mooney case as a moral turn because I don't dare loss port their activities in connection issue and in its Sunday issue, Aug any sleep. On night turn I have with the case of Thomas J. Mooney 31, 1919, published over a full page This resolution was adopted by Con-story written by Louis Seibold, the gress. Friends of labor were pleased political writer, reviewing all the to get the Mooney question on the important events in the Mooney case

port was also printed a transcript of opponent of Charles M. Fickert in

ed in the Congressional Record, con-general protest strike in behalf of Mooney by Seattle Central Labor a socialist Sunday School

by the "frame-up" gang of San Confession, implicates Bopp and others in dynamiting plots in and around Speech."

August 15—Senator Poindexter October 8—California State Fed-

THREE STEEL STRIKE BOOKS

Which every worker should read are these: MEN AND STEEL —By Mary Heaton Vorse \$1.00 THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE -By William Z. Foster \$1.00 THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT

-Report on the Steel Strike \$1.50 Mrs. Vorse handles with consumate skill the human side of the great Steel Strike, the determination, the suffering, the reflex of this great social effort in the lives of the men, women and children who

raged the lost battle against the "principality of steel." Foster's book deals with the strike from the organizer's viewpoint, he viewpoint of a new kind of labor leader.

The Interchurch Movement Report is that of men who went into all the causes and conditions of the strike, with multitudinous detail; kousands of facts crammed into 277 pages of an indictment of the Steel Trust. This report is what caused the capitalists to kill the

> THE 3 BOOKS FOR \$3.00 Order of THE TOILER.

"There are two traditional labor was very young in 1908, when we CHIDONOLOGY OF INFLUENCE TON MODELLY TON encouraging Bolshevism because of ment to state constitution that would McKeesport said the "night shift

floor of Congress.

July 23—Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson filed the Densmore report with the Congress of the United States. The same was ordered printed by the congress of the liam by the l

ers' Defense League decided to broad-June 13-Secretary of Labor Wil- en the field of work so as to inson, in addressing the A. F. of L. clude demand for amnesty for all convention in Atlantic City, announ- political as well as labor prisoners. ced his belief in the innocence of August 19-International Workers'

September 12-Congressman Blanfalse statements to the United States

nois and Congressman Blanton of Central Labor Council of Seattle Texas made vicious attacks upon organized labor in Congress, basing their attack upon the exposures developed in the investigation of District Mooney and Billings pamphlets, Co-op and get there!

had printed in the Congessional Rec-ord a speech in which he accuses the president of the United States of dorsed resolution on proposed amend-

Readers at Pocatello, Ida. havel

Comrade Jenkins of W. Va. is an-