EMANCIPATION

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IPSWICH STRIKERS INDICTED

(Special to Solidarity)

IPSWICH, Mass., July 29.—Last week the grand jury finished its session after indicting Nathan Herman and C. L. Pingree together with 13 Greek men and women for "riot." It was expected that some of the women and girls that were shot and beaten up would be released, but the mill-owners are playing a safe game in order to "land" someone.

After the indictment local Judge Charles A. Sayward, who bound over all the cases to the grand jury, together with other luminaries made a strong effort to have the trials pulled off at once to make more sure of conviction while the strike was on. J. S. Feeley, the attorney for the Manufacturers' Association, ably assisted them. Despite all this pressure the trials were put off to the September term of court.

Last week the strikers tried to get round the town by-law, which prohibits public meetings on property adjoining any street, by holding a private meeting with ticket admission. Signs bearing the inscription PRIVATE MEETING, KEEP OUT—were placed at the gates leading into the church yard and guards were stationed to see that every one had tickets. Even the local press admitted that the town had no jurisdiction over such meetings. But law or fair play and justice is something that has never been attributed to Ipswich—the mill-owners would not stand for it. Even the private meeting was against the law, though there was no law against it. The speakers, C. L. Pingree and L. J. Grikstas, were arrested and sentenced to one month each for breaking a town ordinance that had no existence. The way the judge got around the difficulty was by ruling that the meeting was public and not private, because someone heard something from the outside. The "trial" showed that law did not enter into the game of "juggem quick" at all—not while the honorable judge Charles A. Sayward acted for the poor millowners. Record of specials, bosses and [illegible] enough for the judge, who [illegible] that witnesses for [illegible] useless. So none were put on. The judge ecstatically handed out a month apiece when they refused the fine.

It should be remembered that this same judge declared from the bench that Pingree and Herman were responsible for the killing of the woman even if an officer fired the shot. This was before the hearing. After the hearing he had to back down and quash the murder charges.

Last week the financial committee of the town met and decided to stop further appropriating of money for the police. The mayor who has been spending the town money much as he pleased heretofore, is somewhat up in the air over it. As his brother, Frank Hull, is chief of police, and many political friends have nice easy jobs as specials, this has hurt the town politicians that want more money. So the Hull brothers have decided to take revenge upon the strikers by doing everything possible to break the strike. They have been talking to the more timid strikers trying to get them back into the mill. Since the arrests of the speakers these two have given special attention to the bondsmen in an effort to scare them into pulling down the bail. Herman's bail was once pulled down and he was bailed out again by others. Now the bail of Pingree and Grikstas is about to be pulled down as a result of the valiant work of the chief and others interested in strike breaking. It is intimated that the chief of police had to leave town some time in the past until public sentiment died down against him, on account of some action that made it unsafe for him to remain.

The furniture of the strikers was taken off the street by the town under cover of night to prevent the reporters from taking photos of the moving. The pitiable scene of strikers sleeping and eating in the street became too much of an eyesore to endure.

Funds should be sent to the IPSWICH DEFENSE LEAGUE
Box 282 Ipswich, Mass.
—IPSWICH STRIKE COMMITTEE

Order a quantity of St. John's "History." Out next week. Additional matter. Price reduced to 5c per copy. $4.00 per hundred.

I. W. W. Wins In Toledo

Toledo, Ohio, July 27.—Local 86 came out victorious in its first struggle against organized capital in the city of Toledo. The struggle lasted but ten days, although the 1,000 men employed at the Metal Wheel factories were unorganized and had no previous training in the labor movement. The master recognized at a glance that they had a new force with which to contend, a force that could not be divided or defeated by the old methods used so successfully in dealing with the American Federation of Labor.

The workers had imbibed freely of that "deadly poison," industrial unionism, symptoms of which are solidarity and class conscious action, shown by all who partake. The masters waited for a few days hoping that the workers would rid themselves of the effects of the virus and crawl back to the factory gates, begging for their jobs. Nothing doing! Every day spent off the job but gave zest and strength to the strike. Every morning saw the strikers on the picket line more determined to remain firm until the employers granted shorter hours and an increase in wages.

Wednesday morning, the directors of the Gendron held a meeting to discuss the situation and after much deliberation came to the conclusion that it was more profitable to send for the strike committee and make the following offer—a 9-hour workday, ten per cent increase on all piece-work rates, 12 1-2 to 25 cents increase to all those working by the day, no discrimination against active strikers, the committee to suggest the improved sanitary conditions to be installed at once by the company—than to continue the strike during the busy season.

That afternoon, the employees held a mass meeting, agreed to accept the offer and return to work the next

(Continued on Page Four)

Capitalist Patriots

On Tuesday, July 22, while Fellow Worker Fallon was delivering a speech at Columbus, Ohio, he was attacked by U. S. soldiers while reading certain quotations from Herron's "Patriotism." The following morning the capitalist newspapers came out with big headlines blaming the I. W. W. "for inciting to riot." The fact of the matter is, the soldiers came there with the intention of breaking up the meeting. The majority of these upholders of our "flag and country" were loaded with a cheap brand of fire water that was freely distributed among them by a couple of patriotic citizens of Columbus, who have an interest in seeing that the I. W. W. does not get a foothold among the slaves.

For the last two weeks we have been holding noonday meetings at the factories, and the slaves are becoming discontented. They are getting bold and telling their patriotic masters that they want a little more of the good things of life. They are beginning to revolt, therefore the master is using the shield of patriotism to divert the attention of the slaves.

One of the owners of the newspaper called the Columbus Dispatch is also owner of the largest shoe factory in Columbus. This patriotic gentleman has always claimed that he is a friend of the working class and has been able until recently to make them believe it, but things have changed lately. His slaves are beginning to agitate for organization; they are lending their ears to I. W. W. agitators, so Mr. Capitalist becomes patriotic and is agitating through the columns of his patriotic newspaper to drive the "unpatriotic" I. W. W. out of Columbus. Mr. Capitalist, we plead guilty; we are unpatriotic to the capitalist class and their henchmen. Our patriotism is only for the working class.

In concluding, let me mention an act of treachery of the so-called working class politicians of the S. L. P.

Continued On Page Four

CALL FOR THE EIGHTH CONVENTION

Pursuant to the provisions of the General Constitution, the Eighth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World will convene in the city of Chicago, Ill., Monday, September 15th, 1913, at 9:00 o'clock A. M.

The General Secretary-Treasurer will within two weeks of the date of this call send to each Local Union, National Industrial Union and Departments affiliated with Industrial Workers of the World credentials in duplicate for the number of delegates they are entitled to, based on the tax paid by such Locals and National Industrial Unions and Departments as provided for in the General Constitution.

Immediately upon receipt of the credentials Local Unions will proceed to choose and designate their delegates to the convention by regular election. The secretary of each Local Union shall forward duplicate credentials for their delegate or delegates to the General Headquarters as soon as the delegate or delegates have been elected. All duplicate credentials must be mailed to general office not later than September 1st, 1913. Original credentials shall be returned to the delegates for presentation to the credentials committee of the convention. All credentials in duplicate must have the seal of the local union on same, together with the date of election of the delegate.

National Industrial Unions shall have two delegates for the first ten thousand members, and one delegate for each additional five thousand members or a major fraction thereof.

Local Unions directly chartered by the Industrial Workers of the World shall have one delegate for each two hundred members or less and one additional delegate for each two hundred members or major fraction thereof.

Local Industrial Unions not paying tax upon an average membership of at least twenty members for the six months prior to the call of the convention shall not be entitled to a delegate.

Local Unions and National Industrial Unions to be entitled to representation must be in good standing with the General Organization. Local Industrial Unions and National Industrial Unions to be entitled to representation in the Convention must be chartered at least three months before the date of the convention. Delegates from Local Industrial Unions and National Industrial Unions or Departments shall be members in good standing in the General Organization at least one year and in their Local Union at least ninety days prior to the nomination and election of the delegate.

Two or more Local Unions in the same locality may jointly send a delegate in accord with the provisions of the General Constitution.

For additional provisions of the Constitution relating to the delegates see Art. IV of the General Constitution.

Convention Hall will be announced later.

General Executive Board Industrial Workers of the World.

J. J. Ettor, J. M. Foss, F. H. Little, F. Eastman, Ewald Koettgen.

George Speed, General Organizer, Vincent St. John, General Secretary-Treasurer.

Dated July 10, 1913, Chicago, Ill.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS FOR CHICAGO I. W. W.

Chicago, Ill., July 28

Solidarity:

The Chicago locals of the I. W. W. have secured permanent headquarters at 2017 Evergreen avenue. The place formerly a millionaires' club house, but nothing is too good for the I. W. W. The meeting rooms, billiard and pool tables for members of the I. W. W. Big lawn for lawn parties. All rebels passing through town give us a visit.

Local Union 341, Railroad Construction Workers, have a reading room and headquarters in the slave district, 29 S. Desplaines street. Street meetings every night. Drop in and see the boys.

GROVER H. PERRY

SOLIDARITY

EASTERN ORGAN of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS of the WORLD

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GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
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Ewald Koettgen, P. Eastman

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"Strike Tactics"

Judging by the rambling, incoherent two-column editorial that usually appears in the New York Sunday Call, the editor of that paper must be in the habit of indulging in a regular Saturday night "pipe dream." The last number contains one entitled "The Question of Strike Tactics." Its reproduction, except in part, is unnecessary, as none of our readers would be able to discover where the subject is touched upon throughout the entire editorial. But for the purpose of showing how assinine some "political actionists" may show themselves to be, we quote from the "Call's" article:

"Lawrence was won by the I. W. W. There are at present over 12,000 people out of work in that city. It is not a strike. It is a shutdown. At Little Falls there has been no jail delivery in spite of the money spent on legal expenses. The waiters' strike may have introduced some new ideas, but it has resulted in chaos. The barbers' strike has not improved the trade. It has bedeviled it. There is an instance where the wise man of the middle class has used his wisdom to put his competitor out of business. Akron is the slave town it was when the strike began, more slave, perhaps, for the hope has been crushed out of the workers. Would it be just to demand an accounting from the I. W. W.? Here is so much money poured into the strikes. What have you done with it? Here are so many promises made. How have they been carried out? Here are so many boasts of superior tactics. Where are the goods? It is about time to get down to earth and realize there is no short cut to the industrial republic, and that a theory does not stay a starving belly. This may seem crass materialism, but we maintain that the class struggle is a thing that can be comprehended by persons of sense, and that a boast does not help the workers. You can't bluff a dollar, and capitalism is the personification of dollars. They rule society today, and the workers give them to the capitalists. So it is only fair to ask how I. W. W. promises, boasts and brags size up with results. It is easy to answer. The only capitalist map is still all black, and you can go to any battlefield and find out what the results have been."

And so on, to the remedy—"political action," seizing the "powers of government," as the only preliminary to "filling empty bellies." The futility of such logic is so obvious as to really require no comment. What an insult to the intelligence of hundreds of Socialist Party members, who threw all their energies and resources into these mentioned economic struggles, and who, according to the same editorial in the Call, "seldom stopped to preach his creed or pray for the success of his organization." What a denial of the very class struggle, which the Call mouths with so much unction. In other words, the workers need no other experience, according to the Call's logic, except that of voting some middle class lawyers into office, in order that the latter may hand the working class a brand new society labeled "Socialist Commonwealth," where bellies will be filled and the woes of defeat at the hands of the capitalist enemy will be forgotten. Talk about promises!

What has the I. W. W. to show? Let us see. All the strikes mentioned by the Call were spontaneous outbreaks of low-paid slaves against unbearable wage and working conditions. None of these groups of workers had any considerable organization before the fight. Nevertheless, under the I. W. W. guidance, they all put up fights that brought universal attention to the fighting qualities of unskilled workers and the I. W. W. which led their fights. The workers gained a wealth of experience for themselves and for other slaves that would have been impossible without the application of the I. W. W. "theory, which does not stay a starving belly." That they failed to end the class struggle, or to permanently improve conditions by one manifestation thereof, seems to the genius of the Call, an unforgivable sin. If the Call were really a socialist paper, instead of berating the workers for their folly in struggling under the banner of the I. W. W., it would understand that only through such constant struggles can the working class finally be brought to sufficient unity to overthrow capitalism. But what's the use? There are none so blind as those "political socialists" who only see Congressmen with plug hats, and "red buttons" on their swallow-tailed coats, or policemen with red bands in their helmets. We opine that in spite of all alleged defeats, the class struggle will go merrily on according to the I. W. W. conception, notwithstanding the Call's aversion to such "strike tactics."

The Constructive Program of the I. W. W.

LOCAL AUTONOMY DECENTRALIZATION

In Solidarity, No. 178, we dealt in a general way with the structural forms of the Industrial Workers of the World, as provided for by its present constitution. Referring to "local unity" we said in part: "Without strong, healthy and vitalized local organization, a general weakness is inevitable all along the line. The I. W. W. cannot properly function from the top down; it must function FROM THE BOTTOM UP." The recognition of this principle has, lately, given rise among I. W. W. members, to a discussion of what some writers are pleased to call "decentralization." The main argument presented by the socalled "decentralizers" consists in a glorification of the "rank and file," and a desire to get rid of all executive boards, and central committees. "The abolition of the General Executive Board"; "the doing away with conventions;" "making the general secretary assume functions similar to those of a hello girl at the telephone exchange, that is, simply to carry out orders received from the rank and file;" "bulletins and referendums in place of conventions and G. E. B.;" "district or zone organization, with a district secretary as a hello girl merely, substituting the existing form of the I. W. W. provided for in its constitution"—all these and more are being proposed in the name of "decentralization." Almost without exception, these various proposals come from the mixed locals of the Western states, where industries are scattered; where the individualistic spirit develops abnormally as compared with industrial sections of the East, and where the "zone" or territorial form of organization suggests itself most logically to nomadic or migratory workers. The territorial idea does not appeal to any extent to Eastern slaves. All these and similar proposals are presumed to be the opposite of "centralization," which the "decentralizers" assume is the existing form of the I. W. W.

In order, if possible, to straighten out the kinks in the "decentralizers'" argument, let us first of all get a clear understanding of the principle of LOCAL AUTONOMY and its limitations. As stated in our previous article the LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNION is the unit of I. W. W. organization. It embraces all workers in a given industry in a given locality. It is first of all INDUSTRIAL, and only in the necessarily restricted sense of "a given locality" is it territorial. The form of the local union is similar for all localities, and is determined by the similarity of industrial development. The I. W. W. constitution gives to the Local Industrial Union the power to handle all LOCAL affairs. The general practice of the I. W. W. has always been in conformity with the constitution in that respect. Local autonomy has prevailed in affairs that concern the locals alone. But here is where a distinction becomes imperative; all affairs that concern a local industrial union are not necessarily local affairs. For instance, a strike for an increase of wages, may, to be successful, involve all the locals of a given industry throughout the country. A consensus of opinion on the advisability of a strike, may be advisable and necessary before the strike shall take place. The right of a single local to inaugurate such a strike without first ascertaining the consent of the other locals concerned, may be open to question. The local in such an instance, becomes per force subordinate to the general organization—say the National Industrial Union—representing all the locals. While many strikes are forced upon local unions before they have time to consult the general organization, the principle is not obviated by that fact—the local industrial union is not sufficient unto itself, but is a part of a larger grouping. Again, in the matter of an official organ, say of the textile workers, unless it is purely a local organ, it becomes necessary to secure it as a general representative of the textile workers, and against the control of any single local or group of locals. The right of any local or group of locals to protest its policy or to seek to prevent it from becoming the organ of any official or group, cannot be questioned; but that in turn does not change the fact that it is a general and not a local organ. Carrying this same principle over to the future society as outlined in the I. W. W. Preamble, we might say, that the local autonomy of a given textile union, for instance, would not permit it to produce only 10,000 yards of cloth per day, when it was possible to produce 20,000, and the latter amount was demanded by society. The larger organization would enforce its will on the smaller group. Neither "individual freedom" nor "local autonomy" would be allowed to interfere with the interests of society as a whole.

We may now be able to perceive the significance as well as the limitations of local autonomy. Its significance consists in making the local industrial union fully responsible for local affairs. That means to give full play to the local to develop the intelligence, efficiency, self-reliance, organizing and fighting ability of the local group. Without these, the whole organization suffers from an incurable weakness. No amount of official interference from the top can possibly cure that weakness, unless that interference is wholly and sincerely directed to the removal of the weakness. Even then the issue is doubtful. Local autonomy must be made a reality and kept so, if the I. W. W. is to perform its revolutionary function of overthrowing capitalism and supplanting the latter with the industrial commonwealth. But, at the same time, the limitations of local autonomy must be recognized. In other words, the autonomy of the larger group to which the local is attached, must also be recognized and respected by the local. Otherwise, industrial organization becomes impossible and universal chaos prevails.

Here we come to some of the phrases used by the self-styled "decentralizers." Some of them sign their communications, "Yours for the rule of the rank and file." None of us could well object to that as an ideal. But some of us refuse to take for granted something that does not exist. The "rank and file" has never to date shown any inclination or taken any initiative towards "ruling" the organization as a whole, or any subordinate part thereof. We ask our fellow workers who make this contention, to take stock of their own local situation. Except in times of industrial warfare, the "rank and file" are a passive element. Even in strikes, only by much prodding and scolding and directing by organizers and committees, is the "rank and file" whipped into the picket line or brought out in mass demonstration. A small minority of militant spirits do the work of prodding the rank and file into taking the necessary action. Likewise in local unions where some protest against the policy of officials or larger groups is made, that protest is initiated by a few, debated by a few (often with a majority of the members absent) and is carried through with the passive consent of the majority, present. True enough, the I. W. W. seeks to develop the initiative of larger and larger numbers, leading up to the ideal of "the rule of the rank and file." But we commit a grave error in assuming that we are there yet. For instance, a great strike breaks out in the steel industry. It is largely spontaneous, the workers never before having had any experience in organization or in conducting a strike. The question of handling strike funds comes up at once. A local committee is entrusted with that important function. The members are sincere, honest workers, but don't know how to keep accounts systematically. Rumors of graft, or misappropriation of funds circulate at the close of a conflict, due, perhaps, to the inability of auditors to make head or tail out of accounts as rendered. Under such circumstances, unbridled local autonomy becomes a crime; it would seem rather to be the imperative duty of the organizer, or of the general organization to appoint some competent financier to assist the local committee and see that the accounts are kept straight. The interests and reputation of the organization as a whole would demand such a procedure. Where locals are known to have developed competent financiers, no such "interference" would be necessary from the outside. We might make many more enumerations or suggestions showing the actual status of affairs as far as the "rank and file" is concerned. It is without question the duty of all I. W. W. militants to develop the initiative of the membership to the fullest extent. But that work will be facilitated by a recognition of the actual status of affairs, rather than by a mere mouthing of phrases.

Let us assume that some of the "decentralizers" have this development of initiative in mind in their proposals to "do away with conventions" and to "abolish the G. E. B." They propose as a substitute "the bulletin, and the referendum on all organization matters." We fear our "decentralizing" fellow workers do not take into full consideration the fact that the I. W. W. is a FIGHTING organization. Considering the general "passivity" of the rank and file, as above indicated, the loss of time and the dissipation of energy involved in such an exclusive method, would render quick action when necessary impossible. Unless, of course, the general secretary should assume the functions of the G. E. B. But our general secretary is to be a "hello girl" merely, executing "orders received from the rank and file." Consequently, his hand, likewise, would be paralyzed, since he must wait until he has ascertained the "will of the rank and file through the referendum" before executing the same. Such a "slow freight" method won't work, fellow workers. There can be no objection to the "bulletin" for discussing internal affairs, and deepening the intelligence and understanding of the militants everywhere. Referendums on important matters that do not require immediate action, are already provided for by the constitution. Another means of promoting universal understanding is the general and national union conventions, which can be made more effective with enough financial resources to render stenographic reports. To do away with the G. E. B. and conventions would indeed not be decentralization in the sense of developing local initiative and responsibility, but would rather mean disintegration and paralysis for the entire organization. If any official or executive board usurps power or functions not belonging to the same, or detrimental to the organization, the locals and subordinate bodies should see that the official "comes clean," and they have the power to do so today. That power does not lie in separating or threatening to separate from the general organization, or in boycotting the official organs, which are only acts of disruption wholly unworthy of revolutionists. The problem in the I. W. W. is not the elimination of necessary parts, but THE ADJUSTMENT OF ALL PARTS TO ONE ANOTHER. Earnest effort to that end will result in healthy growth for the organization and a clearer understanding by militants of the constructive program of the I. W. W.

The Vatican and Sing Sing

The mutiny of the Papal guards, coming, as it did, at the same time as that of the prisoners at Sing Sing, reflects the extent of the prevailing social discontent. In regal palace, as well as dungeon cell, man is wrestling with conditions and seeking improvement.

In both the vatican and the state prison, the answer of Christianity and Civilization was the same—summary suppression of the revolt. Wherein did the power exercise religious kindness toward his rebellious guardsmen? What did the state that was progressive toward the relief of its rebellious outlaws? And yet there are many who ask, "Why are churches empty?" Why does crime increase with punishment?

Christianity and civilization were not only on trial in Rome and Sing Sing, but in Binghamton, N. Y., as well. Here 60 lives were snuffed out in a factory fire-trap. Once more is human life found cheaper than brick and mortar; once more is profit more sacred than mankind. Who wonders that, with such holocausts so frequently marring the beauty of existence, men grow to question the soundness of present society and find it, as did Prof. Alfred Wallace, the co-discoverer of natural selection with Darwin, rotten from top to bottom instead.

That Binghamton disaster recalls the Triangle fire, where 145 girls lost their lives. On the occasion of the Triangle fire, the I. W. W. urged industrial organization and direct action to secure safe factories. This was denied in favor of legislation. Now, legislation is blamed for Binghamton. Marsden G. Scott, president "Big Six," New York city, in a letter to the press, makes plain that this legislation, though passed, is unenforceable and ineffective. Who was it ever otherwise?

Dean Swift refined satire and showed its use. It remained for the editor of the New York Call to show its stupidities. "Direct action will not get you out, Pat," he said to Pat Quinlan then in state prison at Trenton. As Mayor Bruekman of Haledon was also arrested for aiding the Paterson strikers, it is evident that political action will not get Pat out either. On the contrary, if Pat believes in political action of the Bruekman brand, he'll find that, instead of getting him out of jail, it will help to keep him in it.

When satirists ignore facts in order to make a point we have a display of perversity rather than sense—and satire and sense are always one. Direct action freed Durand in France. It secured habeas corpus proceedings for the Tampa cigarmakers. It was a great factor in the Ettor-Giovannitti trial. When used to secure political rights, a la Belgium socialists, the Call finds it all right, but when the I. W. W. advocates it, then it is a subject of "satire." It is to laugh!

Well, there is satire and satire. The satirical socialist monthly, The Masses, deals in the right kind. This is revealed in the honor bestowed upon it by the Associated Press, which is suing it for criminal libel. The publication that is attacked by the capitalist class is doing effective work, while those that are allowed to proceed unhampered are not worth persecuting. The Passaic Weekly Issue and the Masses are particularly distinguished for their good work.

Twenty-five finishers in the E. T. Wright Company shoe factory at Rockland, Mass., quit work because their view of the scenery surrounding the shop had been shut off. "No scenery, no work," is their slogan! Good for the finishers. Long-haired intellectuals and art-mongers may talk William Morris without understanding him, but it remains for labor to make toil beautiful and to unite it with art once more. We have too much drudgery and monotony in our working lives to have what little beauty there is shut out. So, once more, good for the finishers!

Say, did you ever notice how "the anti-I. W. W. non-violence" organizations always get mixed up in violence despite their peaceful protestations? There was Rudolph Katz, of the "civilized planers," for instance, who, a year ago, got six months in jail at Paterson, N. J., for conducting a "civilized plane" strike. Now comes the Western Federation of Miners' strike in the Calumet district. This peaceful strike of 20,000 miners has resulted in the governor sending several thousand militia there "to preserve order." How is it that where workmen urge peace, there is riot and bloodshed instead? The answer is simple: the violent class is always the capitalist class. When the I. W. W. is accused of violence, it is being accused of the acts of the capitalists. Our friends, the peaceful protestants, will find that out from experience.

The executive council of the A. F. of L. reports that the A. F. of L. is "2,026,716 strong." That is some strength, when measured by numbers; but, when measured by results, what does it signify? Did those "2,026,716 strong" win in the structural iron workers' tussle with the steel trust? Did they win in the West Virginia coal strike, or in the Chicago building trades lockout? Did they win on the Harriman railway system, or on the Pere Marquette? What trust have those "2,026,716 strong" defeated recently? Have they succeeded in helping the bakers to defeat the bread trust, or the cigarmakers the tobacco trust? What great strike of recent times did those "2,026,716 strong" win? Was it the Chicago Pressemen's strike against Hearst? Was it the Jewish writers' strike against the Jewish newspapers in New York City? The I. W. W., with its ragged army of 100,000, is more powerful, judged by actual results, than the "2,026,716 strong" of the A. F. of L. The I. W. W. beat the Woolen Trust and freed Ettor-Giovannitti and Caruso. It also gave, at one and the same time, the silk manufacturers, the A. F. of L., the opportunist socialists and the capitalist class, with its unscrupulous press, the tussle of their lives in the Paterson strike. "2,026,716 STRONG"! ! What rot!! "2,026,716 WEAK"!! would be nearer the truth. And the more members the A. F. of L. gets the weaker it grows. Give the I. W. W. 2,026,716 members and, with its present spirit and ideals, it would be strong indeed. The A. F. of L.'s is a bulwark of reaction; that is why, with all its numbers it grows weaker instead of stronger. And, conversely, the I. W. W. is progressive and revolutionary; which explains its success and influence, despite its wretched composition and fewness of numbers.

Here endeth the lesson for the day.

J. E.

Local 26, 1909 Lawrence, OHIO Colo., wants a good agent and a court H. C. Shep

Modern Drama

By Robin Dunbar

Author of "Arthur Sonten"

ON POETRY

The revolutionary drama used to be written in rhythm and rhyme because the minds of the people had not sufficiently developed to reason in prose about the fundamental questions of life and death. The edge of the argument had to be blunted, a button must needs be fastened onto the point of the logicians rapier, so that clumsy and stiff-jointed auditors might participate in the game without fear of cuts. In those days the drama spoke to immense crowds and the production of plays partook of the spectacular. The nearest we have left of the old forms is in the circus, the hippodrome, the opera, and the popular melo drama. Spectacle, music, rhythm, with their appeal to eye and ear have always flourished in vast spaces. The progress of the times hasn't changed the character of this kind of amusement to any appreciable extent. Evolution on the stage has shown in delicate touches, in the action of details, in the matters of truth the mind rather than the heart. Bulk has given place to fineness, weight to microscopic particles; the stars have shrunk to atoms.

ON PROSE

In the intimate theatre, quiet and coolness are the essentials; noise and excitement the dispensables. Robust acting relies more on stirring up the feelings of an audience, than it does on convincing its reason. Art has left the field and the camp to shouting demagogues and withdrawn to the theatre in time and the study-hall. The mob has been abandoned by the rationalistic dramatist as being too poor in mental equipment to note the sharpened sword of logic. He cultivates a minority of strongly intellectual individuals and discusses with them his problems. This is the step forward that puts modern drama ahead of classical drama. It draws its lines finer, it paints its portraits truer. It has discarded the buskin, the soc, and the mask together with speech-making and mob-oratory. It taboos even the disguising of the face and demands that those who represent character on the stage must appear as near like real life as possible. The serious modern dramatist demands that the young shall represent youth; the old, the aged. He insists that there shall be no shouting, no monologuing, no asides, that the illusion of looking through one wall of a four walled room shall be kept up, and that the people in that room shall be seen even to the expression of their eyes; for the lips may speak a lie, but the eyes will tell the truth. The realist asks for nature, and how can he show nature under unnatural conditions? He sees that the foot-lighting of the stage is relic of the past; he realizes that his audience should be on a level with the faces of his actors, he feels that the orchestra pit be abolished or hidden away and his audience brought nearer the stage. The paint and powder, grease lines and wigs that concealed the lights of pain and joy across mobile faces, he sends promptly to the dust room. He orders his actors to talk, walk and argue on the stage as they do off—all to the greater illusion of his audience. He abolishes the long interacts and finishes his play in two hours, for he knows that is as long as an audience can comfortably hold its attention to his exposition. The brain begin to fag after that, and he would not be a psychologist were he to misread such a fundamental fact.

He knows that his audience wants discussion of unsettled questions, and he strives to give them the benefit of his larger knowledge, his keener perception, his wider experience, while their attention is fresh.

ON ORATORY

He has tried other forms of appeal than drama. Most likely he has been an orator. He has come to see the difference between the spoken and the printed words,—between appealing to a crowd or to an individual. He wishes to be heard by all he can reach because he feels he has a message of importance to deliver. The rendering of another's speech by a hireling is always a dull and insipid affair. The orator gives his own speech best by making it himself, but he is limited by time and place, so he casts his thoughts into the form of dialogue and turns them over to actors and actresses who can give it the semblance of life while he is sleeping. Auditors seem to be hearing his message fresh, from his brain with all the pros and cons that occurred to him as he was setting it down. They collaborate with him in his creation. His thoughts become their thoughts; his feelings, their feelings; his hesitancies and impediments baffle them as much as they do him while elaborating his ideas.

Oratory is too closely knit to reality to be play,—and all art is some form of play. The dramatist who was first an orator and who first convinced himself by his own speech wakes up to find out that while he has gained the applause of his hearers, he has not convinced them; that after they cool off a bit, they begin to doubt if he is entirely right in his head. They pass from reality to illusion and return to their former dreams. Either he is right or crazy and it is easier for them to conclude the latter as that lets them out of their hole most easily. Hence the true orator discards oratory and chooses drama. He spreads before those he'd convert all the exceptions, the answers, the rebuttals, the rejoinders and surrejoinders of his thesis via stage puppets. His speech is no longer an argument to convince them he is sane; it becomes proof that *they* are insane. He treats life pictorially, not dogmatically, and conquers the eye as well as the ear. He knows that seeing is believing. He is more convincing and less convincing form.

CLASSICAL DRAMA

Every artist's purpose is a word. Some have found the culture of Athens; others have found England; Goethe for the unity of Germany; Molière for the freedom of France; Tolstoi for the liberation of Russia.

If these men, known for sincerity, had only made speeches during their lives, probably they would be unknown now, or but little known, even though their influence might have changed the destinies of nations. But expressing themselves through the vehicle of drama, they were articulate for the ages. When one reader out of a thousand will turn back to an oration of Demosthenes, Erskine, or Webster, hundreds will read and witness the plays of any of these masters who spoke their inner thoughts by means of dramatic forms.

A speech to be effective must be made when the subject is hot in the auditor's brains. The crowd must be in sympathy with the orator and his topic, or must be engrossed in the movement he represents. When the question has been settled the speech is dead. To some degree this applies to drama also, for every artist but reflects his times and when the times change his work ages. As an orator is in some danger of mob violence when he addresses an audience on an unsettled but absorbing question, so is a dramatist apt to call forth the disapprobation of his auditors when he presents to them comic thoughts about matters that seem tragic to them. In the one case the danger is personal to the artist himself, in the other to those who deliver his words.

It is no wonder that we have so many successful speakers and actors, because men seek applause and tears rather than hoots and jeers. It is so much safer, so much easier, so much more remunerative, to present conventional thoughts and ideas that are sure to be well received than to offer iconoclastic thoughts on sacred subjects that it is naturally found those who lean towards the conservative side are in the majority. Greece had its courage raised by her expulsion of Cyrus; then she was not afraid to look upon the disturbing tragedies of her three great masters, while they were yet alive. England grew bold enough after the repulsion of the Armada to attend the plays of Marlowe, Jonson, Shakespeare—and to applaud them, too. High heart met high heart and the blood ran hot in the veins.

France took nerve from Louis XIV's conquests to listen to Moliere's bitter excoriation of religious hypocrisy through the picture his Christian disciple, Tartuffe. A rising people not only demands courage in literature, but it stands for imagination besides. When a nation decays, the drama dies. When a people is whipped, it runs from high art to seek solace in low forms of amusement. When Germany was stirring her Amazonian limbs preparatory to stand erect as one nation, she gave heart to her people by giving them Schiller and Goethe. The consciousness of strength made her strong. She applauded "The Robbers," "Wilhelm Tell," and "Goetz von Berlichingen." They were the children of her youthful maternity—she gave them birth and she fondly suckled them, taking joy in her hardy off-spring. The rise of Ibsen and Bjornson in Norway is connected with the progress towards freedom of the Scandinavian peoples from feudality; freemen seek truth. Naturalism is the rock of literature.

In America we might suppose a strong drama after the Revolutionary War, but conditions were not identical here with the instances named. In the first place, the elements constituting citizenship were too mixed; one race and one language were missing. The Germans turned towards Germany for inspiration; the French, towards France; the English, towards England. However our other literature was strong during post-revolutionary days as seen in the "Age of Reason" and "Common Sense" of Paine, the "Essays" of Emerson and Thoreau, the poems of Poe, the novels of Hawthorne.

THE INTERNATIONALISM OF MODERN DRAMA

Since the doctrine of evolution has seized upon the world sweeping away superstition, and patriotism, literature has taken on an international character. Shaw and Synge belong to the world as much as they do to Ireland and England; Tolstoi and Andeyev to us as much as to Russia. The playwright of today writes for the world if he writes truly and boldly.

ON MONISM

Monism is a world religion, the first to satisfy the requirements of all races and nations and, as its greatest sponsor, Ernst Haeckel, is read in all the important and semi-important tongues, so is the monistic play-wright seen on all stages, on all book stalls. It is not England against the world, or even the triple alliance against Europe, that interests the minds of men nowadays, it is the progress of science in its battle with superstition and dogma. Revealed religion is dead; the spirit-world is dead; the great question that interests all living minds is, how to live here to-day in such a manner that we may feel in our inmost conscience we are living the day well. Monism gives the answer to the question; we must grow. Growth is the rule of nature; as soon as growth ceases, death begins. Growth is best when it is consciously directed. Hence the need of study, the desire for direction, the appetite for experience. This tendency is the dominant note of the age, and is most keenly felt by the most sensitive, i. e., by artists. Hence the problem play,—The play that plays with the highest forms of life, the drama of microscopic inquiry.

ON POPULAR PLAYS

The ordinary popular idealistic play starts out with all the important questions solved. The hero and heroine do not need to worry about money—the author magnanimously furnishes them all they need—he manufactures it from the clouds. Neither do they need to solve their own religious queries—their ancestors have done that for them and saved their darling children the trouble. The fortune heirs don't have to struggle for the esteem of their neighbors—that, too, is mysteriously added from the ether—all the spoiled favorites have to do is be born rich, live happy and go to heaven, without bothering themselves about anything more serious than, "What is the cost of a round trip to Paris," or "Is my hat on straight?" For such plays Maeterlinck was given a Nobel prize. Mr. Roosevelt got one for settling the peace of the eastern world; Hauptmann, for showing that the peasants of Germany are a bad lot and that it's no use to try to be a creative artist because some Anna Marr will come along and dominate you with her higher creative sexual power and drive you into the lake.

It's a wonder Goethe didn't drown himself in the same tub Schiller held his feet in while composing "Wallenstein".

ON COURAGE AND COWARDICE

Courage is what the dramatist must have—intellectual courage. The three o'clock-in-the-morning kind that can stand the abuse of mandarins, the calumny of philistines, the malice of critics, the neglect of friends. Scientists need courage but they are always supported by the comradeship of those who are working along the same lines. They confer with each other, sure of help and sympathy; there is collaboration in scientific progress. But the artist must plod his way alone. He must fight to clear himself of the crowd. He emerges from the ruck and advances into the lead. He goes on with a sense of triumph, and yet with a sense of defeat. He has set himself apart from human companionship—he who loves companionship better than any one else. That is the irony of art. That is the pathos of genius. Few can stand the last stages; many start out singing and rejoicing, the way is so pleasant, all the beauty and the flower of the land are on the path. Gradually, one by one, stray off, loving friends beckon him to bide along the roadside with them, wife and child plead the fatigue of journey; But no; he goes on—there are other outposts to set; he has not yet passed those set out by former travelers. At last he sees the desert places which no one time to him has reached. He drives his stake, marks it with his initial, and staggers wearily on until he reaches the limit of his physical powers, and though his will is yet strong he falls asleep before he has reached his journey's end. The desert, the strangeness, the rags and bob-tail observing him through their field glasses from afar, shrug their shoulders and murmur, "What's the use?" They have to their selfish little games of childish amusement, and laugh over the eccentricities of genius. "If to suffer is to be a genius, we'd rather be dullards." So it is a matter of choice after all, this genius business. Genius arises from the desire of a sufferer to express his pain, and the courage he shows in his utterance measures his genius. Only those rebel who suffer. Hence the vital drama is always once of protest, of criticism, of pain. It must needs be from its very nature saturated with struggle.

ON GENIUS VS. WEALTH

Though the common thought is; wealth opens all doors, yet no rich man ever reaches the doors of genius. His ways are ways of ease. Why should he accompany the traveller out into the desert, where there are no beakers of wine, no dazzling hours, no beds of roses? Why should he go farther alone?—Has he not in his hands the key to all pleasures? The open sesame to the robber's cave? True, if animalism, sensualism, is all! But the keenest joy is the joy of giving birth to children of our brain—to watch their infancy with infinite solicitude, to accompany their growth into the powers of full manhood. No sterile man or woman shall enter into the kingdom of joy.

A soft life is the ambition of a soft head. The protected plant is the first to suffer from parasites; thrown out on the hills, it perishes miserably from sun or storm. Those men go through life best who fight every inch of their way. A warrior lives in a hundred battles; an artist lives in a hundred bodies.

While the young will take their first battles hardest—those of love and sustenance—yet these are only preliminary skirmishes. The world is not concerned in individuals, nature sacrifices the unit, but not the class. Those who would escape the rule of oblivion must perform a work useful to the preservation of the class. Then after the utility of the work has been recognized, it will be named after its author, its inventor, its discoverer. The masses will show gratitude in time to him who has given the best of his thought to the perpetuation of the masses. Him they will—tardily, it is true—term master, while those who scorned him while pampering all his passions—him will they too remember and name—MONSTER.

Let us gather up the loose strands of our thought and knit them together into a concise sylabus.

Primative people put their boldest thoughts into poetry as they could not bear to hear them without the lulling effect of rhyme and rhythm. Poetry is a sort of play itself—yet science has expressed deeper and wider thoughts in prose and as the race becomes more civilized the dependence on the form grows less, on the substance more. So, too, has oratory as a means of artistic appeal grown less esteemed. With speech, hand, on passion, they listen but they are not convinced. So we have to look to the realistic prose drama as the rightful successor to the classical drama as the only art that moves large crowds, and at the same time convinces individual. But as naturalism means a minute representation, it abolishes the large theatres, and the contraptions of the old stage. It insists that the eye must be seen as well as the voice heard. Hence the rise of the small or little theatres. In these any comedy can be played—of any nationality. The stage has become international—people are interested in the problems of life—not those of death. Nationality, patriotism, christianity are interesting as comedy. Monism is the international religion, or better, the world-wide philosophy solving the riddle of the universe. The modern dramatist must popularize the new religion—that is his function. As against the real artist, the fake artist is as bogus as any other pretender. But the counterfeiter is popular. So on the creaking empty boards of the out-of-date opera houses, we hear moneybanks mouthing old gags to tickle the thoughtless, the mediocre, the depraved and the debauched. The difference between artists is measured by their courage, i. e., by their ability to wait until the masses see what they are driving at. The coward makes his point by flattering the baser passions of the mob, is enriched and dies despised. The courageous one appeals to its finer nature; is mobbed, despised, impoverished—but finally loved. Wealth can't buy love and therefore is worthless in the higher markets of the world. Because it is so rare for a man to serve his own purpose to the end, whenever one stubbornly sticks to his aim, he is called crazy at first, until he is appreciated by one or two like natures who have arrived at the second stage, then hailed as a fellow sufferer. The mob erases the word crazy, and writes over it genius—but doesn't take him much to heart. The rewards of genius are largely internal—satisfaction with the act of creation itself. Wealth is barren. It is a mystery that dazzles only the stupid. The more money the less sense.

Two classes of artists gain fame; the one who serves by creative acts the need of, the race to grow; the other who destroys the superfluous, who eliminates the unfit. The first, master. The latter, monster. Few are either, for nature is concerned more with normals than she is dominants, to use a Mendelian figure.

ARE CONVENTIONS NECESSARY?

This is a question which many of the members differ on. Before we can determine whether they are necessary or not, we have to figure the expense, and what is accomplished at conventions and then find out if the same could be accomplished in less time and at less expense. The conclusion I came to was that we could save both time and expense and accomplish more, if we were to have a monthly bulletin issued at Chicago which would contain the Financial Secretary and Treasurer's monthly report. A page of same could be devoted to subjects vital to the organization, thus giving the members a medium wherein they could express and discuss their ideas. All referendums and recalls could be operated through the bulletin. This would eliminate the necessity of conventions. The present method of nominating officers from the floor of the convention is very unsatisfactory, as the rank and file have only the option to vote for one of two nominees (the privilege of voting for any other member is a farce). It seems to me if they were nominated an elected by the rank and file, through the bulletin it would be much more satisfactory.

At the last convention there were 90 or more resolutions submitted by various locals. A committee of 5 was selected to consider these and render their report so that the delegates could vote on them. I noticed that about 35 of these resolutions were recommended by the committee and the same were submitted to the delegates to vote on. They voted favorably on 12 of them and the same were submitted to the rank and file to vote on. Is this democratic? What did the rank and file have to say on these other resolutions? Nothing! No 5 men or 100 men should have the power to decide what the rank and file can vote on. Why not submit the resolutions direct to the rank and file through the bulletin and if endorsed by 10 or more locals submit them for referendum. The returns could be printed in the bulletin within 6 weeks.

If all the locals in the I. W. W. were represented at conventions it would be an enormous and unnecessary expense, at least $15,000. Do we have to ape the capitalistic organizations in administrating our affairs? We should study these questions and be ready to solve them by clear and scientific methods of administration if we expect to get what we are striving for.

By Article IV, Section 7, of our constitution, each local is entitled to one vote for the first fifty (50) of its members, and one additional vote for each additional fifty (50) of its members or major fraction thereof. This gives a local which has 76 members 2 votes, whilst a local with 50 has but one vote. Suppose these two locals were to vote on a resolution which was to be submitted at the convention. The local with 50 members voted 49 for and 1 against the resolution. The other local with 76 members voted 37 for and 39 against the resolution. If you will take the collective vote of the two locals you find that 86 were in favor of, and only 40 against the resolution; yet the delegate representing the local with 76 members registers 2 votes against and the delegate representing the local with 50 members only registers 1 vote for the resolution, although the majority of the two locals by a 2 to 1 vote were in favor of the resolution. This could be remedied by each local sending returns and having them tabulated in the bulletin.

The resolutions being printed in the bulletin would allow plenty of time for the members to discuss them pro and con, which would enable them to vote more intelligently.

A. R. WHITE

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Why Printing Trades Unionism Cannot Progress

The article, "Unionism in New York's Printing Trades," in last week's Solidarity, is being discussed wherever printers congregate. More such articles will follow.

The article named receives corroboration in some particulars, in the month's issue of "The Graphic Journal." This is the official organ of the International Union of Lithographic Workmen, composed mainly of commercial artists of progressive tendencies. In an editorial paragraph, the Journal says:

"In last month's issue of the 'Litho Feeders' Voice" we notice Mr. W. O. Coakley, in a memorial addressed to the Committee on Finance of United States Senate, signed by himself, assumes to speak for 40,000 wage-workers engaged in the lithographic industry. Among others he attempts to speak for the litho. artists, we wish to ask by what authority? No commission so far as we are aware has given him by us. How about the Poster Artists' Association, and the L. I. P. and B. A., did they empower Mr. Coakley to speak for them? We have no objection to his speaking for the Feeders, or for any other body of men if delegated to do so, but we do object to any self-appointed authority, to this pre-sumptuous strutting before the United States Senate and undertaking to speak for the International Union of Lithographic Workmen.

"Mr. Coakley, who commissioned you to speak for us?"

This is certainly a "roast" for Mr. Coakley. At the same time, "The National Lithographer," organ of the National Association of Employing Lithographers, reprints Coakley's memorial in full, under the heading "The Workman's Voice." As a certain lithographer said, "Coakley's Litho. Voice" is so like his master's voice that it is hard to tell the difference between them."

The Graphic Journal has also an article entitled "Organization on the Coast." This article is valuable, not only for the insight it gives into the defeat of all attempts at better unionism in the A. F. of L., but for the sound principle it enunciates. The L. I. P. and B. A. referred to therein is "The Lithographic International Protective and Benevolent Association." It is an A. F. of L. Union and was once the dominent trades-union in the litho. industry. It is now little more than a death benefit society. Its leading elements are pressmen and transferers. Both of these are affected by the introduction of the offset press, which produces a greater output with less need for their skill. The initials "B. A." mean subordinate association. The article is herewith given in full:

"The readers of The Graphic here. It is defended by 'loyal old-timers,' who think in terms of the past, and by paid leaders (?), to whom it is a means of livelihood. To leave the question in these hands means to leave it to the undertaker.

"The times are heaving big with a change that only the blind, will not see. Industrial unionism is not a dream of the future but a crying need of today.

"Not infrequently we meet with critics who assume that industrial union agitation is the result of *a priori* reasoning about a future state of society, about an ideal, something in the dim distant future. A close view of the situation will convince the observer that the agitation is really based on the most matter-of-fact thinking.

"Trades Unionism (organization of workingmen into groups, based on the differentiation of technological processes) is the result of competitive capitalism. It was attended with a certain amount of success as long as the capitalists remained competitors: but the passing of the economic situation that has given birth to any institution dooms that institution and trades unionism will prove no exception to the rule.

"The present state of industrial development, with its highly developed machine-standardization and its accompanying employers' associations necessitates a new form of labor organization, with new tactics, to achieve results.

"The rank and file of the workers, even in the lithographic industry, instinctively sense this, hence their Journal' are probably interested in the state of organization on the Pacific Coast.

"The L. I. P. & B. A. have a rather weak local in San Francisco—the artists and engraver remain unorganized. Why? The answer is simple: Craft Unionism!

"Observers in the labor movement in the lithographic industry will remember that the comrades of San Francisco took the initiative in advocating amalgamation as a preliminary step to complete industrial unionism. We went as far as bringing all the various locals together in an amalgamated body. But the national officers smothered the infant in its cradle.

"The national committee on amalgamation, composed largely of paid officers of the various International (?) Unions, proceeded as a Dickens' committee 'how not to do it.' They quibbled over the question until we gave up in disgust, with the result observed.

"It will interest the engravers of New York, members of the L. I. P. & B. A., to know that no serious efforts have been made by S. A. No. 17 to organize their fellow-craftsmen in San Francisco. As a matter of fact S. A. No. 17 has not enough strength to discipline the delinquent of its own members to say nothing of extending its organization.

"It will be a difficult matter to interest the engravers in a unionism that excludes their fellow-workers, the artists. The engravers' dictum will probably be 'Craft or none?'

"There is no greater folly than partial organization unless it be craft organization. The craft union has lost its spirit. It is incapable of inspiring confidence in its own membership indifference to the efforts of the pure-and-simple trades unionists.

"What is to be done?

"Who will formulate a 'mutually satisfactory plan of amalgamation?'

"Unless mutually satisfactory plans of amalgamation can be formulated for such as think of themselves as transferrers, feeders, or engravers, with distinct interests to demarcate, there is but one form of organization possible—absolute democracy, irrespective of the quality of the labor power to be pedaled.

"When that is the slogan, the Pacific Coast will not be found wanting."

Let those who believe it possible to transform the A. F. of L. organizations from trades to industrial unions reflect on the foregoing history. Let them also reason on the foregoing principles. Trade unionism is obsolete; but the trades union officials, like Mr. Coakley, are busy carrying favor with the bosses and getting political jobs, as to fail to see it. They stand in the way of change. They control all the means of communication, all the funds. They are the real powers, aided by the boss who discharges and blacklists the too active radicals of revolutionists.

In New York city, men employed in open shops in the type-printing industry are told by A. F. of L. officials and much paper talk, that it is possible to organize such shops. It has been tried for a quarter of a century and failed. Yet they threaten war on all those who make any attempt at organization. As was shown last week, in the case of the bookbinders, *the A. F. of L. even goes so far as to suspend a new local for organizing the unorganized.* Under such circumstances, none of the open shops will be organized in a million years, unless, as in the case of the bookbinders, the rank and file of the workers go ahead, regardless of the A. F. of L. The workers must organize properly. Even tho the A. F. of L. falls.

New Yorker.

CHEAP SMOKES AND CHEAP LIVES

An obscure mass of workers, very little known, or heard of, in the labor world, are the stogie (cheap cigar) workers, 2,000 of whom are now on strike in the Pittsburg district.

The industry of making stogies is unique, and in this age of big business is practically in the hands of small manufacturers. The reason for this is that it takes very little capital to start a stogie factory. These "factories" are conducted mostly in tenements by erstwhile workers, and with the exception of the big trust factories where the hours are still longer and wages smaller, but where the "welfare" gas is used on the women and children, sanitation is a thing unknown.

There are very few men in the stogie industry, perhaps three per cent.; the rest are young girls and children, who work for a wage of from $2.00 to $6.00 a week. There they sit for ten and twelve hours a day in suffocating, tobacco-laden atmosphere, "stripping" and "bunching" and "rolling" their lives into cheap smokes, of two-for-5 and three-for-5 stogies, or, as they are called by the workers "two-for" and "three-fors." The tobacco leaf, which is saturated before it is stripped, is very often strung across the room in which the work is done, for drying, and the moisture is constantly dripping down on the heads of workers, while their feet are in continual dampness. "Tobacco heart," which is a result of lack of oxygen for the blood, and tubercular throat are diseases very common among the stogie workers. It is a rare thing to see a healthy, blooming girl among them; all are anemic looking, with sunken cheeks and flat chests, a fit commentary upon capitalist "cheap" production.

It is needless to say that such exploitation of women and children pays enormous profits to the big manufacturer who generally places his orders with the sweat-shop keeper, who must economize on floor space, sanitation, and work his help long hours in order to produce cheap for the market. This cheap smokes are made by cheapening and shortening the workers' lives.

Struggling for years against such inhuman conditions, all efforts on the part of the stogie workers to organize, have been frustrated time and time again, not only by the tobacco trust, or the equally greedy smaller bosses' association, but also by that well-known labor disintegrator, the A. F. of L.

More than 25 years ago, when capitalist enterprise first conceived the making of cheap stogies, and which, of course, meant cheap labor, the aristocrats of the international Cigar-makers' Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L., speedily declared the stogie workers scabs in the trade, and coldly shut the door of the "union" in their face.

In those days stogies were made exclusively by hand, but later on the mould began to supplant the hand stogie, and this process meant still further reduction in wages. The erstwhile protestants against the methods of the A. F. of L. formed themselves into an Independent League, and in turn refused membership to the mould stogie makers.

The capitalists took advantage of Labor's short-sightedness, and filled their factories with young girls and children, who are today the biggest and also the cheapest factor in the tobacco industry.

The stogie industry is practically confined to the three states of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia, with Pittsburg as the leading center, where about 10,000 are employed in the industry. Those now out on strike in Pittsburg comprise all the small shops which are still holding out against the tobacco trust.

These workers are organized in the I. W. W. and are making big efforts to carry on agitation among the workers of the last-owned shops. These efforts, however, are for the present at least counteracted by the "bread and circuses" schemes of the managers of the factories. They give the girls picnics and dances, take them out for automobile rides, and in many cases give them money to stay away from the "trouble-making I. W. W." At the same time, side by side Jews and negroes are fighting a common enemy, unmindful of racial and religious differences, and looking only to the betterment of their economic conditions.

MATILDA RABINOWITZ

I. W. W. WINS IN TOLEDO

(Continued From Page One.)

morning. Before the meeting adjourned, a motion was carried to affiliate with the I. W. W. and the strikers pledged themselves to use every effort to perfect the organization in the shop.

Thursday morning, the Toledo Metal Wheel made practically the same concessions.

Before the Toledo Metal Wheel strikers returned to work, Friday morning, Fellow-worker Whyte made a talk on the necessity of organization in order to be in a position to wage war for the eight-hour day. For the first time, Whyte made an appeal for members and many of the strikers responded, enough, in fact, to furnish a strong basis whereby the entire factory can be organized.

From the beginning, the Central Labor Union was on the job harassing our speakers and employing the same disreputable methods which were used in Akron and others places.

Wednesday evening, the G. L. U. gang was present at the street meeting in full force. They listened attentively to a talk by Whyte on the "Source of Power," until the meeting was thrown open for questions, then the business agent of the iron workers, the spokesman of the "Eganites," asked the following questions: "Is it not a fact that the A. F. of L. maintains a strong organization in the steel industries?" "Is it not a fact that the Structural Iron Workers have grown numerically since the Los Angeles affair?" "Is it not a fact that the A. F. of L. is the only union recognized by the employers?" The questioner was greatly offended when told that friends always recognize friends, for example, the machinists who scabbed on the Gendron strikers are recognized by the Gendron stockholders, so is the A. F. of L. recognized by the employers all over the country and for the same reason. The street corner crowd seemed to agree with the speaker in his assertion that craft unionism, like the sailing ship of old, was good in its day but unable to combat with the modern ship, "Twentieth Century Industry."

The I. W. W. has done in six weeks what the G. L. U. has been unable to do in twenty-seven years, namely, to awaken the underpaid factory workers to the fact that organization means strength. We have taken in 76 members; (this number does not include metal and machinery workers). We have sold during this period about $70 worth of literature and collected over $300 for the Paterson strikers. Much of the credit for what has been accomplished in Toledo is due to Fellow-workers McManamon, O'Malley, Akelrod and others. Their mutual slogan is "We have just begun."

Anyone who is willing to advance the cause of One Big Union by getting inside the factory to work for Local 86 and draw salary from the employer will be given a warm welcome at 113 Summit st.

Striker.

Local 86 has issued an open challenge to any craft unionist to debate the following question: "Is Craft Unionism competent to champion the interests of the Workers to-day?"

LA HUELGA GENERAL
Spanish Organ of the I. W. W.
Published by the
Spanish Branch, I. W. W.
SUBSCRIPTION
One Year . . . $1.00
Six Months . . .50
Three Months . .25
420 N. Los Angeles Street
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Science To Displace The Rubber Slave

Tapping rubber trees by electricity! Whoever heard of such a thing?

Yet this invention is already in practical operation in Peru. The apparatus used for the purpose has been devised by a German civil engineer, George M. Von Hassel, who has been for some time past employed by the Peruvian government to explore the rubber producing territory of that country.

It is a contrivance of no great complexity, a wire being stretched through the forest and attached separately to as many rubber trees as may be desired, so that all of them are in a single circuit connected with a central electric station.

To each tree, according to its size, are fastened two or more long strips of sheet iron, running lengthwise of the trunk. Each such strip has its edges bent over in such a way as to form a channel—the hollow side toward the tree. The channel-method strip is divided into a series of thirty compartments, in each of which is a little cup containing a small quantity of an acid preparation.

The upper end of each iron channel connects with the afore-mentioned wire that runs through the forest—a feature of the device being an arrangement whereby each of the compartments, or sections, acts separately in turn. Thus, when electricity is turned on, a steel point in the first section pricks the bark of the tree, causing the "milk" to run out into the cup contained in that compartment.

Next time, the current causes another steel point in the second compartment to act similarly; and so it continues. Things are so managed that the current is turned on at intervals of forty-eight hours, and that the tree is subjected to thirty tappings in exactly sixty days—thirty tappings, that is to say, for each sheet iron channel. A large tree is provided with as many as nine channels, suspended at equal distances around the trunk, and in such a case the total number of tappings is two hundred and seventy.

One should realize, however, that the operation described is performed simultaneously on a large number of trees. Thus a single electric impulse may tap five thousand, or more, rubber trees, actuating hundreds of thousands of steel points, which make a corresponding number of incisions and cause the milky sap to flow into little cups, where the chemicals mentioned acid preparation converts it into rubber without intervention by human hands.

In fact, the whole business is entirely automatic from beginning to end. All that is required is the push of a button and the electricity does the rest. At the end of the sixty days a man goes around and collects from each sheet-iron channel thirty small lumps of rubber.

It is not only very easy, but has the important additional advantage of being cheap. The contrivance saves so much labor that one man can do the work which formerly required the services of forty men. The invention, indeed, is expected to put an end to the atrocious mistreatment of Indian workers in the Amazon country. The recent disclosures of cruelties in that region are by no means forgotten. Eventually electricity may be expected to supersede entirely the present method of gathering rubber in the South American jungles.

Aside from humanitarian advantages another gain in using electricity is that it renders easy the tapping of rubber trees in swamps, which, because of their situation, are not readily accessible. Another is that tapping very early in the morning, when the milk flows most freely, is made practicable. Yet another is that the trees do not suffer any material injury from the electric current.

At the present time the method everywhere employed—except in the area under the direction of Van Hassel—for collecting rubber in the tropics of South America is substantially the same as that which was in use before the landing of Columbus. Then the native Indian, with machete in hand, goes about in the forest cutting and hacking the trees, and adjusting little clay cups—more correctly tin cups nowadays—in such a way as to receive the trickles of latex. Later on, he goes from tree to tree, emptying the cups into a pail. Then he goes he empties into a larger vessel, and the final process consists of dipping a paddle into the fluid and revolving it over the smoke of a smoldering fire until coagulation is accomplished.

This process, so slow and tedious, is correspondingly expensive. Hence, it is not surprising that marketable rubber, ever since it was first known, has sold at from one dollar to three dollars a pound. But the new plan, whereby the juice is automatically collected from hundreds, or thousands of trees simultaneously, without interference by human hands, is so great a labor-saver that the product ought thereby to be very much cheapened.

Furthermore, it is obvious that this plan can be utilized to even greater advantage in cultivated plantations of rubber trees.—Technical World Magazine.

KILLINGBECK WISER THAN THE "CALL"

In contrast to the assinine editorial in the Sunday Call, referred to elsewhere, we find in Monday's issue of the same paper an article by Wilson B. Killingbeck, state secretary of the Socialist Party of New Jersey, who aided the strikers materially during the Paterson strike. Killingbeck says in part:

For nearly six months, without organization, with scarcely a dollar in the treasury at the inception of the strike, 25,000 men, women and children have steadily faced policemen, clubs, court's decisions, pulpit harangues, lying editorials and wholesale misrepresentations.

With every hall closed and nearly every speaker under indictment, or in jail, they fought stubbornly on.

Only one small weekly paper in the city to circulate truthful strike news, with its editor sentenced to state prison, and in constant danger of confiscation, encouraged by its weekly message the gigantic struggle went on.

With empty stomachs and hunger weakness, hundreds of men and women braved the policemen's clubs each morning on the picket line.

No disorder or violence, except that made by the police, marred during all of these weary weeks. Even the most bitter and unscrupulous newspaper in the city was compelled to acknowledge this fact.

However, there was one foe which the strikers could not overcome, a foe which has defeated the largest armies, driven innocent people to crime, shame and suicide; a foe which it is impossible to overcome—hunger.

Although the system of relief was handled in a way which brought out unstinted praise, even from the most bitter critics of the strike; a system which stretched out a dollar to the limit of several, under the ordinary relief methods.

Standing in the relief station one day, when there was nothing but bread to distribute, the writer tried to express sympathy with one of the strikers who had just received his allotment. With a cheerful smile he replied: "Well, just as long as we can get bread and our water is not shut off, we can continue to fight for decent conditions."

That was the spirit which dominated the strikers all through this magnificent fight, and that spirit is still there.

No, Mr. Boss, the strike is not lost, even though "General Hunger" may have won a temporary victory and compelled a retreat. The class struggle still lives. The capitalist system is still doing business, and it is only to yourself will be compelled to precipitate another industrial contest.

Haywood, Tresca, Flynn and Quinlan are not dead, and even if they were, there would be hundreds of others to take their place. The "outside agitators" did not make the strike, they were simply the phonographs recording events. You and your system made the record.

Even if you should succeed in crushing the much-dreaded I. W. W., industrial unionism will still live and grow.

The colonists lost the Battle of Bunker Hill, but they won at Yorktown. Bull Run was won by the slave-holding class, but Appomattox swept the infamy off the continent.

Members of the I. W. W. will please take notice that Local 79, Calgary, Alberta, is still on deck at 134 Ninth Avenue West, and all communications should be addressed to J. D. Vincent, the newly elected financial secretary. Local 79 is now the official seal on communications, otherwise, as per constitution, they cannot be recognized.

Any information concerning the whereabouts of Frederick Hallberg, now sailing as a quartermaster on the Great Lakes, will be thankfully received, and greatly appreciated by Albert J. Wilkes, care of N. Y. District Council, I. W. W., 2205 Third Ave., New York City.

Don't forget that now is the time to improve every opportunity for propaganda. Order a bundle of Solidarity and some literature today.

TYPICAL A. F. OF L. STRIKE

(Special to Solidarity)

Trenton, N. J..., July 27

Last April some 70 unskilled workers employed in the Monument Pottery. A few weeks later five of them, officers of the union, were discharged, and the firm stated to a committee that all of them would meet the same fate. All then quit work. The skilled workers, members of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, not only continued to work with scabs, but some of them helped to break the strike by doing the work that had been done by the strikers and receiving twice as much money as the laborers received. The kilnmen, members of L. U. No. 35, N. B. of O. P., working at the plant, redrawing their kilns in the place of the striking laborers. The claymen, members of L. U. No. 45, N. B. of O. P., are carrying their clay in the absence of the strikers.

One A. F. of L. organizer stated to the strikers that if the skilled workers had gone on strike with them, they would have won it in less than one week. They have been out for the past nine weeks and no doubt their strike will be lost, lost through lack of industrial union, and through A. F. of L. scabbery.

A. DEVITO

CAPITALIST PATRIOTS

Continued From Page One

The morning after the attack in the Columbus capitalist newspapers on the I. W. W., a political office seeker named Markley made a statement through the capitalist press, that the "Detroit I. W. W." would expell any member of the organization who would be guilty of preaching against patriotism; that they would be the first ones to shoulder a gun in defense of our country and flag. Workingmen of Columbus, beware of your so-called friends who are only looking for a fat political job at your expense. Join the organization of your class, the I. W. W.—an organization that takes in every man, woman and child regardless of race, color or nationality, and that has for its motto, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Local 54, I. W. W., Columbus, Ohio, meets the first and third Friday of each month at Fisher's hall, 129 East Main street. All wage workers are welcome.

MAX BOGATIN

ANOTHER TOLEDO STRIKE

(Special to Solidarity)

Toledo, O., July 29

A new strike is on at Foyer Bros., one of the metal wheel plants, employing in neighborhood of 350. While the other metal wheel strikers of a week ago were on under the auspices of I. W. W. Local 86, Foyer Bros. promised their slaves an increase of pay and shorter hours in order to keep them from striking at that time. They took the boss at his word, but when pay day arrived, which was this morning, they asked for the increase, they got the laugh. Foyer said it was only a joke. About 15 or more of the slaves quit work and came direct to I. W. W. headquarters. Fisher and McManamon, two fellow workers, got busy, went out to the works, and held a meeting at noon and evening, got the slaves stirred up and they came down to our hall and held a meeting. They decide to organize the morning they will form a mass picket line around the plant and try to close it up. None of the employes belong to the local as yet, but we are going to handle it just the same.

THOS. O'MALLEY

PORTLAND LOCALS EXPLAIN

(Telegram to Solidarity)

Portland, Oregon, July 28.

Please state in Solidarity that the I. W. W. locals in Portland are not connected with any free speech league, and are not calling for assistance financially or otherwise.

B. E. NILSSON, Sec'y.

SONG BOOKS

Los Angeles locals have a limited number of the San Pedro Song Books, written by J. Hill. The book is double the size of the old one. Order now, as the printer will not hold type long unless orders come in rapidly. All profits will go to Spanish paper.

Single copies, 10c each.
100 copies, 5c each.
500 copies, 4c each.
1000 copies, 3 1-2c each.

Address W. B. Cook, Box 265, Sta. C, Los Angeles, Calif.

Local 68 has opened a headquarters at 907 West Michigan St., Duluth, Minn. There is a big reading room, 50x18, and all fellow workers in or around Duluth are invited to come and help build up the one big union. Speakers on industrial unionism are wanted. No wooden nickels need apply.

GEORGE FENTON, Sec'y.

Local 327, Kamloops, B. C., has moved to new headquarters at 42 Main Street.

I. W. W. ORGANIZERS

All credentials issued by the General Executive Board to voluntary or national organizers bearing the date prior to July 1st are hereby revoked on order of the General Executive Board. The below names have been issued credentials by the General Executive Board and are the only authorized voluntary or national organizers with credentials at this time:

Voluntary Credentials
J. W. Kelly, E. F. Doren, I. A. Law

National Organizers
Geo. Speed, General Organizer
J. M. Foss, G. E. B. Member
P. Eastman, G. E. B. Member
F. H. Little, G. E. B. Member
Ewald Koettgen, G. E. B. Member
Jos. J. Ettor, G. E. B. Member
Matilda Rabinowitz.
Vincent St. John,
General Sec'y.-Treas.

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