

SELF DEFENSE IS NATURE'S FIRST LAW—THE CENTRALIA I. W. W. OBEYED THAT LAW

# THE NEW SOLIDARITY

DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT 5

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL"



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## COAL STRIKE FACING CRISIS

### MINERS IN DANGER OF LOSING FRUITS OF GREAT DEMONSTRATION OF POWER

As The New Solidarity goes to press it seems only too probable that the A. F. of L. history will repeat itself and that the striking coal miners, after having given such a tremendous demonstration of labor's omnipotence as the country had never seen before, will go back to their slavery, meekly trailing after the stale old red herring of arbitration that has so many times before fooled American workers to their undoing. Lewis and Green, the U. M. W. of A. officers, have accepted President Wilson's overtures. The international executive board, the scale committee and the district presidents, it is said, are certain to consent. There remains a hope. This has not been a strike of resistance to executive boards or industrial courts. Above all other strikes (outside the I. W. W.) it has been a rank and file movement—a strike of MEN WHO MINE COAL. This situation was not, of course, the miners' own choice. It was forced upon them by the courts which, by the most astonishing abuse of the injunction in the annals of that oft-abused capitalist weapon, rendered the strike leaderless at the outset. By injunction, President Lewis was forbidden to call the men out. He yielded, BUT THE MEN WENT OUT. The I. W. W. has gone up and down the land for fourteen years preaching that all power belong to the men who do the actual work and that "leaders" are a useless veriform appendix in the body of unionism. But it took Judge Anderson's injunction and its failure to avert the strike to prove this plainly enough to reach the dullest comprehension.

Then came the second injunction ordering Lewis to call the strike off. And Lewis obeyed. BUT THE MEN DIDN'T OBEY LEWIS. The injunctions meant no coal.

The government threatened. The press raved. The troops were mobilized. But that mined no coal. Only coal miners can mine coal, and they had amply warned the powers that be that they would mine no coal until their full demands were met. They stood out and the nation began to freeze and industry to cry aloud for help.

A fortnight more at most and these leaderless strikers would have had their fullest demands granted—yes, even were the demands twice as great. Even were the demands what they ought to be—OWNERSHIP OF THE MINES BY THE WORKERS IN THE MINES!

There is no real power save the power of labor. There is no man who is socially essential save the man who labors. There are no rights save the rights of labor. It was well worth the discomforts of the coal famine to have these truths written in blazing letters upon the sky so that the American people must read and learn whether they would or no.

The fact of the president's making overtures to the U. M. W. officials is itself a confession of defeat by the government. The government had fettered the hands and sealed the lips of these men by judicial fiat. Now it is compelled to sue to them for peace almost abjectly. A little later, and it would have begged for mercy. The power of courts and of injunctions and armies and of every political institution is only the power of an illusion. There is no real power but the power of labor—organized and determined Labor!

# CHAIN THE BEAST!

## SHALL THESE MEN HANG?

### CENTRALIA BUSINESS MEN ARE PLOTTING MOST GHASTLY FRAME-UP IN LABOR'S HISTORY

On the surface, the town of Centralia, Wash., where occurred the recent Armistice day assault on the hall of the Industrial Workers of the World, has resumed its former character of "the peaceful village." But, under the surface, there is still much turmoil and uneasiness.

There are many guilty consciences in Centralia and the possessors of these uncomfortable appendages walk the streets in the constant dread that their crime will find them out. Long ago Daniel Webster, in the most brilliant and justly famous of his legal orations, pointed out that the crime of murder brands upon the soul of the murderer so great a horror of his transgression that he may not even sleep. Sleeping or waking his crime is ever with him, and hide, as he may, he can never escape the accusing of the small, still voice that, though silent to the world, cries out against him in the thunder tones of Jove himself. Wherever he goes among men, the eyes of both friends and strangers are upon him and he fears that the red blot, burning and searing his breast, is only too apparent to their penetrating keenness. Try as he may to escape, there is always that which shunts him, and at last in his mad anxiety to cover up the more securely and conceal the evidence of his deed, he plays the part of the ghoul and digs up the horrid carcass of his hapless victim.

"The guilty flee when no man pursueth" and, caught in a trap of their own setting, the perpetrators of the Centralia outrage rush about in a delirium of fear, not only to rub out the tell-tale spots from their linen, but to hush the mouths of those who might honestly lay the facts before the world and vindicate the truth. In their panic they seize upon every flimsy device that disordered imaginations may suggest and in very desperation resort to crafty bribes and brutal intimidations. Coached by the raftery, they fling abroad a cloud of lies and by the underground route of dirty innuendo attack the characters of those who have the courage to speak out.

But murder will out; the truth will be told; justice will be done. The facts of the Centralia affair cannot be forever concealed. Brave men will not be terrorized; honest men will not be cajoled; reasonable men will not long be duped; the guilty themselves, by the very excess of their fears, will betray their dreadful secret. And in that day of exposure the world will breathe freely once more, for villainy will be rebuked and truth and honor will be vindicated.

The members of the Industrial Workers of the World and a young attorney, resident of Centralia, are held for the murder of Warren Grimm on Nov. 11. Seven of these men are in the Lewis county jail at Chehalis, Wash., while Britt Smith, Mike Shehan, Roy Becker and Loren Roberts are still held in the Centralia city jail. All have been arraigned and have entered pleas of "not guilty." They are now represented by an attorney and everything legally possible will be done to see that they shall have a fair and impartial trial. The first step in this directing was taken by filing a motion, supported by several hundred affidavits, to change the venue from Lew-

(Continued on Page 6)



Maurice Becker



"AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL"

# THE NEW SOLIDARITY

ONE UNION ONE LABEL ONE ENEMY

General Executive Board of the



Industrial Workers of the World

1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Illinois  
Telephone, Haymarket 6799

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## ASK ANY MAN WHAT HE WOULD HAVE DONE

Ask any man what he would do if he were threatened with death, if he had already suffered abuse and lawless violence, and if repeatedly told that his possessions and whatever he most cherishes is to be burned and destroyed regardless of law.

And if he knew from past experience that the law of the land, through whatever reason, could not be invoked to protect him from a vandal horde.

He will tell you that he would not wait passively for the second or third visit of murderers; that he would kill to protect his own life and in defense of what he most cherishes, against lawless violation.

That is a primitive attitude. It is fundamental of life itself. It is written into the law of all lands—the law of self-defense. It is expected of every man and no normal man will condemn another under it.

## WHAT WILL A JURY DO ABOUT CENTRALIA?

Through the smudge smoke of suppression and the screen of low lying falsehood with which the Centralia "authorities," in cahoots with hoodlum legionaries have sought to cover their own bullying crimes the truth is slowly filtering. Enough has already come to light, with much more to follow, to warrant this statement of facts:

That the Industrial Workers of the World had suffered a long series of lawless abuses without retaliating.

That violent crimes had been perpetuated upon the individuals of the organization who sought peaceably and lawfully to live in Centralia without their being charged or convicted of crime.

That the Centralia tragedies would not have occurred but for acquired and were lawfully possessed of, and which was cherished by them in lieu of the homes they could not have, the friends of their fellowship, the lowly chamber of their common council, the chapel of their lore and their song, the moccasins enforced wandering, and this, which they most cherish, had previously been raided and destroyed with no pretense at lawful procedure.

That they had been threatened that if they re-established their meeting place in Centralia it would be burned to the ground and their members mobbed to death.

All this and more, without recourse, and at the hands of the precise persons active in the Armistice Day parade.

That the I. W. W. believed, and had many more than sufficient reasons for believing, and that practically everybody in Centralia knew the animating object of the parade, it not being a celebration of peace but the lawless invasion and destruction of the I. W. W. hall and the killing of whoever might stand in the way of the vandal and criminal acts of the marchers; and

That the Centralia tragedies would not have occurred but for the lawless invasion of the I. W. W. premises with the criminal object of destroying them and of mobbing to death whoever might offer to defend them.

What will a jury do when so much of what has already come to be known, and more facts of like import is laid before it upon competent proof?

The element of malignance and murder malice will affect the deliberations of the jury and will come to it in the form of fendish acts of the paraders perpetrated upon the dead body of the returned soldier, Wesley Everett, already a corpse, when hanged by them, and subsequently dragged, a dead and death swollen body, through the streets, and hurled into the presence of his devoted friends where it lay for hours; the acts not of orderly persons, but those whose murderous hate had transformed them into human ghouls!

What will the jury do? Normally, they will acquit the accused I. W. W.

## THE AMERICAN TERROR

The law directs that the trial shall be by an impartial jury. It provides methods by which juries shall be qualified as impartial. And unless the law is nullified and destroyed by those whose imperative duty it is to sustain it, a change of venue will be had and the jury will be impartial.

If impartial and unterrorized they are going to acquit the accused.

But the prosecuting attorneys have confederated to extend the American Terror to those citizens from whom juries are selected. By inference and innuendo these "authorities," egged on from the murder lairs of newspapers, have already marked future juries for intimidation.

How will such jurors react to the Governmental Terror?

So far the Terror has been applied only to the aspiring workers. We have seen how they react to it. Under imprisonment, mobbing, murdering and multiplied persecutions they have grown to overshadowing proportions. The I. W. W., in existence but a score of years, is the most talked of, written of topic among men. Its opinions have overflowed its membership and today flood the thought channels of the race. A materialization of its ideal republic becomes the next rung in the ladder of mankind's upward climb from the cradling ooze in which life first stirred. In varying forms the world over it is Time's contemporary marvel, the new world's wonder miracle. Its substance is indestructible and will survive. With each new twist of the torture screws and racks of the Terror it fattens and grows strong for supreme achievement! Beaten as only the

tides recede it recurs in the floods of ever-increasing heights. But how will jurors respond when plutocracy's Terror is applied to them? Their verdict to condemn must be unanimous. Will they give in thus in fear? Of each twelve there must be those who will sense the danger to them in cringing and thus inviting a return of the horrors of the Inquisition.

## THE ANSWER

The best defense is to Organize—ORGANIZE INTENSIVELY! Organize with the worker at your elbow, by twos, by threes and by myriads. Organize openly if you may, but ORGANIZE!

## AN APPEAL TO WORKINGMEN

WORKERS: Once again capitalism has struck at you, at your rights, your hopes and your aspirations. The bloody hand of EVERETT, of LUDLOW, of CALUMET, of BUTTE, of BISBEE and every other outrage on the workers—on you—has reached out again. This time into the town of Centralia and in its murderous clutch it now holds eleven members of the working class whom they intend to destroy. They would hang these workers because they are members of the I. W. W. and defended themselves against the organized violence of the Lumber Trust tools.

They would hang these WORKERS because they, by defending their meeting place in deed and in spirit, defended the meeting place of every workingman's organization in this country. They were defending all that is necessary to the onward march of Labor—FREE SPEECH and FREE ASSEMBLAGE.

Those who would hang these workers are akin to those who during the war were lynching and terrorizing the land with their cries of pro-Germanism. They are the same who, gorged with the profits of war, are now organizing mobs to descend on the halls of organized workers and crush their activities. They have four years of successful terrorism and unchecked murder behind them.

No one need recount their gloating tales in the newspapers during the war—the TAR and FEATHER PARTIES, gruesome MURDER and LYNCHING, the BLACK TERROR. The jails are full of their victims. Capitalism is their jailer.

The affair at Centralia in which five lives were lost was the inevitable climax to a reign of terror and murder. It was here that the natural law of self-defense, driven to its furthest point of retreat, answered for all mankind the terrorism and violence of an insane system.

The constitution of the United States, so long trampled under foot by organized greed, had at last found defenders, defenders perhaps ignorant of the text of the constitution, but alive to the spirit of freedom that animated its authors. For defending themselves from mob violence, for defending the rights of FREE ASSEMBLAGE, for resisting the damnable murderous clutch of capitalism the workers in Centralia are now lying behind the bars at the mercy of cruel jailers—HELPLESS! Their only hope lies in you who are on the outside. To you, whose rights they have defied, they trust their own defense. If you are going to help them, if you are going to help them to the murder of profit-mongers who will murder them as a warning to the rest of the workers? Those in Centralia charged with murder must be defended. It is up to you, the workers, to defend them by donating money to their defense.

If you wish to donate to the defense of these workers, these defenders of your rights, you can do so by enclosing your donation in an envelope and sending it to George Williams, Secy.-Treas., Northwestern District Defense Committee, 318 North Wyoming street, Butte, Montana.

## ORGANIZATION WORK IN THE NORTHWEST SHIPBUILDERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 325, I. W. W.

Although the halls have been closed and communications seized at the postoffices and workers thrown in jails throughout the northwest, we still find the I. W. W. in a position to function as usual. For the past few weeks organization work has not been given the attention that it should receive as most of the active members have been concentrating their efforts on defense work, while others are waiting, are lying off until an armistice is declared between the Chamber of Horrors and the I. W. W.

The defense work is being hampered in every way possible by the tools of the Lumber Trust who are using every despicable method imaginable to pull off this frame-up on the I. W. W. This action was planned for months previous to the Centralia affair, the Keepers of the Kept Press have been advocating mob violence against the I. W. W. not only in Centralia but in general. This is a pre-meditated attempt on the part of the master class not only to frame-up a murder charge against a few members of the I. W. W., but to drive the workers back into submission and disorganize them.

But the I. W. W. as an organization has passed through periods similar to this before and although this has caused considerable confusion and a little inconvenience we now have completed our plans for a big campaign for the purpose of carrying on the work that is necessary to give these cases the proper defense.

The best possible legal talent will be obtained to defend these cases and every class conscious member of the working class is expected to come through with whatever funds he can raise to finance this case. Funds are needed at once, so get busy, Fellow Workers, and don't let a matter of this kind stand in the way of another step toward industrial freedom.

While centering our efforts along

these lines we must also keep up the spirit that has prevailed in all industries through the northwest for the past months. Our struggle with the employing class cannot be won in the courts alone; we will never take over the industries in that manner; our success lies in the solidarity of the working class at all times.

Confronted with the present situation we must use new methods to cope with these degenerated plutocrats; that is, with the halls closed and the tools and steds gumshooting for Reds, it is impossible for a stationary delegate to make a high pitch and display his supplies in the open. In fact, it is more than one man's job to carry on the work that the I. W. W. has taken upon itself in so many different industries.

The only available method that can now be suggested is for every member to take out credentials and carry on this work himself.

The only crime against the I. W. W. is that they won't submit to the rotten conditions that have been so prevalent in all industries; not only that, but they agitate to the other servile "scissors" and stir them up, and have managed to stir some new ideas into the minds of the workers in regard to labor and capital.

So it now seems as though there is but one question that is forever pressing upon the mind of the intelligent worker who has become conscious of his position as a slave and understands the industrial situation as it is today. The question is: "How long will it be before the masses wake up?"

Well, to take over the industries we must be organized and our friend, Bill Shears, must be armed with a Red card and understand his position in society or he will be pitted against us. Every member realizing that this situation now confronts the I. W. W. should put his shoulder to the wheel

## AN OUTRAGE

By Frank Crawford  
On Monday, Dec. 1, about 200 freight handlers quit the C. M. & St. P. freight house at Glenwood, seven miles out of Chicago.

They quit in order to get their money which they needed very badly and to get rid of the lice which they got while there. They were told that they could get their money at 310 North Union street the next afternoon (Tuesday), so at 1 p. m. we called at the above mentioned office and was informed that he could get the money at 4:30 p. m.

Called back at 4 p. m. and waited until after 5. There were about 200 waiting and they were told by the clerk that the checks had not come in so he could not pay them. We were all broke and some of us begged for as much as 50 cents to tide us over until tomorrow, but we were all ordered to leave the building and call Tuesday at 10 a. m. We undertook to stay in the building until we could get enough to pay for a cheap bed, but the private detective force was called in and we were forced to leave penniless. This is the way the capitalist class treats the worker, the producer of wealth. They don't care if we freeze or starve after we have done their work. If the workers were organized solidly they could demand their rights. Unorganized we can do nothing. WORKERS OF THE WORLD, ORGANIZE INTO THE ONE BIG UNION, THE I. W. W., THE ONLY ORGANIZATION WORTHY THE NAME!

## GLOAT OVER P. O. THEFTS

Comment on the following item from the local capitalist press is needless. All that the I. W. W. has charged as to the shameful violation of the mails is here admitted with unblushing effrontery. Note that to convey "information," to sign oneself "for industrial freedom," or indeed, any "communication between radicals," comes under Postoffice Inspector Swenson's ban:

Continued seizure of mail suspected to be furthering I. W. W. propaganda was announced by the postoffice department Saturday afternoon following examination of quantities of mail seized this week under direction of Postoffice Inspector C. S. Swenson. Inspectors Friday and Saturday opened stacks of mail in various parts of the city going forward and references to the killing of a former service man at Centralia on Armistice Day.

Misuse of the mails for such purposes should be stopped, Inspector Swenson said, and communication between radicals should be broken up. Widespread use of the mails to further I. W. W. propaganda is shown in the letters seized and contributions shown to the I. W. W. cause. "Your for industrial freedom," and "yours of the I. W. W." are characteristic endings to many of the letters held by the postoffice department. Decisions of courts in I. W. W. cases are ridiculed in bulletins seized among the communications. Letters seized show the wide ramifications of the organization and report conditions in Boston, San Francisco and the middle west.

## LOOK OUT FOR HIM

All members are cautioned to be on the lookout for a notorious stool and agent provocateur named Fred Goebel alias T. R. Wilson. Latest advice from California, Calif., say that he is operating around there and that he was responsible for a number of men being arrested a short time ago. His card is made out in the name of Fred Goebel, or he may have a card made out in the name of T. R. Wilson. This fellow will bear watching and all members are warned to be on the lookout for him. He is about 6 feet tall, bald, generally wears a cap, and speaks with a strong German accent. Some No. 400 man knocked his teeth out at Sacramento, Calif., sometime ago and he has false teeth now. He boasts about what he has done for the organization and appears to be sincere and aggressive. He was expelled from No. 890 at the last convention. All radical papers and Industrial Bulletins please copy.

## NOTICE

If M. J. Shannon of M. T. W. I. U. No. 8 of Seattle will communicate with A. E. Soper, 1237 W. Madison street, he will send clearance to him.

and be in a position to line up his unorganized Fellow Workers. Credentials and supplies can be had as readily now as when the halls were open by a little investigation on the part of the member who is willing to inquire in regard to obtaining same. Do not use the post office address in writing to secretaries in Seattle, as all mail is being held up at the boxes, but don't let that keep you from writing in for supplies.

Thos. McKinley, Secretary-Treas. No. 325

## PROGRESS IN GARY

The Steel Trust has driven its slaves into the arms of the I. W. W. The strike is now practically broken and the mills are running with approximately 90 per cent of their old force. But the men are sullen and resentful. They hate their old enemy with a smouldering, deadly hatred. The corporation tried to make radicalism the issue in the late strike. They poured out vilification and abuse upon the I. W. W. They protested their Americanism in their own subsidized newspapers. The workers are beginning to see the light. "If the I. W. W. is so hated by the Steel Trust, they must be our friends," is the way the men reason.

The A. F. of L. organized the steel workers into eleven different unions. Under this cumbersome method of organization there was not sufficient cohesion and unity of action to hold the men together. As time dragged on the men gradually drifted back to work. Many of the best paid men had not gone out in the first place as they had no faith in the possibility of the men winning their battle with the employers. About 60 per cent of the old force is now in the mills.

But with the battle lost, the men look forward to the next fight for freedom. They are turning to the I. W. W. and the One Big Union as their last and only hope. They are searching out the delegates and asking to be initiated as members. A Steel Workers' branch has lately been organized in Gary. This branch is composed of men who came into the I. W. W. without solicitation. Its growth has been steady and rapid. The old order of things is fast committing suicide. Their every act is driving the workers to greater solidarity and a better system of unionism.

## WINDOWS OF CLARK ST. HALL SMASHED

Forum Hall, at 1239 N. Clark St., has been honored by the attentions of the protagonists of law and order and the sacred rights of property. This hall, opened a few months ago by several Chicago branches of the I. W. W., has been a live wire for propaganda on the north side from the very start. Successful meetings are held there several times weekly and the workers in that section of the city were going forward together too boomingly to please some parasites or scoundrels, for on two succeeding nights—last Saturday and Sunday—the front windows were smashed. A typical capitalist reply to the I. W. W. argument! The damage has been repaired, business as usual is proceeding in great style, and Secretary Elmer D. Baumhaugh offers a reward of \$100 for the detection of the vandals.

## JOHANSEN SENTENCED

Ragnar Johanson, one of the Leavenworth men was arrested in Seattle, following a speech that he made at the Labor Temple in that city recently. He was dragged into police court and given a fine of \$100 and a sentence of thirty days in jail. An appeal will be made from the decision of the police judge.

## M'HUGO CONVICTED

Oakland, Cal., Dec. 4.—(By Telegraph)—Fellow Worker James McHugo was found guilty on a criminal syndicalism charge. The jury was out only five minutes.

## GREETINGS FROM ARGENTINA

The following telegram has been received from the dock workers of Buenos Aires:

Buenos Aires.  
Thos. Whitehead, General Secy., 1001 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill.  
The first congress of the Argentine Port Workers representing 50,000 workers greets the revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World. We subscribe to the principles of the One Big Union. The Congress salutes the class war prisoners in northern bastilles. Down with capitalist jailers! Long live the world proletariat!  
Lopez, Secretary.

## PALMER IS SEEING 'EM

Washington, D. C., Dec. 8.—(By The Associated Press)—The department of justice is confronted with "increasingly dangerous radical activities." Attorney-General Palmer says in his annual report submitted today to congress.

Mr. Palmer does not go into details as to "red" activities in general, but says that of the total of 355,295 index record cards, 71,009 Bertillon records, and 262,712 finger print records now in the department, some 60,000 represented data concerning "reds" and their work.

## LABOR SKATES TRY THEIR ARTS ON HOTEL SLAVES

ANOTHER A. F. OF L. FIASCO

By John Zara  
The Hotel and Restaurant Workers of the A. F. of L. scheduled a "monstrous massmeeting" for the benefit of the unorganized in Chicago Nov. 24 was the time set for the meeting and being one of the curious I attended and found very few unorganized in attendance. With all of its usual noise, Local No. 865 of the A. F. of L. was unable to get out even a corporal's guard from among the thousands of workers who pass their days in ceaseless toil in the hotels and restaurants of Chicago.

Pluggers issued in advance of this meeting stated emphatically that all workers in the culinary trades would be placed in one great union; that eight hours would constitute a day's work and six days would be demanded instead of the present twelve hour day and seven day week. But the facts in the case proved to be quite different. The A. F. of L. held out the same bait to the steel workers. The slogan "One Big Union" presaged their strike, but hardly had the workers received their cards when the work of craft segregation began. The different industrial workers were placed in different unions and the principles of industrial unionism utterly destroyed. This outfit proposes to do exactly the same thing with the hotel and restaurant workers. They bring the unorganized into a mass-meeting, get their fees, then put them into three unions—the cooks' union, the waiters' union and the union of miscellaneous workers. All these unions are offered by the most conservative elements in the Chicago Federation of Labor.

The following application blank is handed out at the door:

Application  
I, the undersigned, hotel or restaurant worker, firmly believe that 8 hours should constitute a day's work and six days a week's work and believing that only by organization of all workers into One Great Union can we procure these just demands and procure a better wage and sanitary working conditions, I agree to become a member of Local No. 865 as soon as 5,000 hotel and restaurant workers who are not members of said local will sign a similar application.

Residence \_\_\_\_\_  
Occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
Remarks \_\_\_\_\_  
\$1 special initiation fee for short time only, \$1. Headquarters, 214 N. State street.

Now, the A. F. of L. Local No. 865, not having any orators of its own, sent an appeal to the Chicago Federation of Labor, so the meeting had its shining lights from the U. M. W. of A., Women's Trade Union League, and a so-called colored radical by the name of R. F. Sims. One cannot help thinking that the bashers, pearl divers and cooks might be interested in shop talks about their work in kitchens; however, this was not the subject for discussion. The U. M. W. of A. officials talked about coal mining and the steel strike. The females overhauled the garment industry and the colored brother dealt in radicalism and in general consigned the workers to any kind of unionism imaginable. The unorganized, if any were there, bore the punishment with some degree of patience for a while and then sought an exit from the place.

The appeal of these labor skates was for their own material interests. Their aim is to intrude the chosen few at the expense of the unorganized. The workers are unwilling to line up in the A. F. of L. and they are turning to the only union that is worth their consideration—the H. R. & D. No. 1100 of the I. W. W.

In analyzing the disinterestedness of the unorganized, it will be remembered that they have been trimmed good and plenty in years gone by. Several years ago a general strike occurred in the Chicago hotels and restaurants. An officer of the union absconded with the bank roll to the tune of \$10,000. In 1916, the I. W. W. pulled out sixteen rebs from Messengers' restaurants. At that time Ben Parker parched good union men past our pickets and put them to work. A fine record for a union! For a strike-breaking agency in would be good work!

Maybe this is the reason the workers wouldn't bite. It is possible that a real union with a worth while program could do something. To be certain, we are organizing the men right. In a little while you will see in the window of your cafe not the impotent emblem of Local No. 865 but the universal label of the I. W. W.

## ATTENTION, DELEGATES

A meeting of all job delegates will be held at 119 S. Third street, Dec. 14 at 5 p. m. Delegates are requested to attend important. Chas. Plahn, Joint Secretary.



# WICHITA DEFENDANTS CONFRONT JURY!

## PROSECUTION OPENS FIRE IN KANSAS TRIAL

### JURY COMPLETED AND ROBERTSON STATES GOVERNMENT'S IN EVIDENCE CASE—LITERATURE PUT

The trial of the I. W. W. cases at Kansas City, Kan., began Monday, Dec. 1. The government consumed four and one-half days in the examination of the jurors. The jury was completed on Friday afternoon, the fifth. The following morning Fred Robertson made the opening address for the prosecution. One of the defendants writes that many of the ridiculous things said by Robertson caused them to laugh, "the cutters seemed disgruntled in their presentation of evidence."

Three witnesses were introduced from the publishing houses in Chicago where "Solidarity" and many pamphlets of the Industrial Workers of the World have been printed. The government is pushing its case as hard as it can, while Judge Pollock seems to assume the attitude that he is not going to stand for any delay whatever.

There are none more anxious for the conclusion of the trial than the defendants who have lived in the fearful jails of Kansas waiting for trial for over two years. Jack Caffrey is not being tried, having become demented while confined in the rotary jail of Sedgewick county, Kan. He is now confined in a state institution for the insane.

#### The Trial Begins

Kansas City, Kan., Dec. 9.—(Special Correspondence to The New Solidarity).—Twenty-eight men arrested because of membership in the Industrial Workers of the World and alleged heinous offenses against the United States government in its efforts to compel the Kaiser and his junkers to uphold democratic principles are now on trial in the United States court here after serving many of them without bail, for more than two years.

This famous case, now called in every section of the world the infamous Wichita persecution, reached the trial stage on Monday morning, Dec. 1 when United States Judge Simon C. Pollock opened court in the Federal building here.

Despite persecution, despite confinement in places unfit for human habitation, despite the undoubted physical decline of a number of them, these men stand true to their class living, proof that "dungeons dark" kinder than smother the fires of class consciousness in men and women who believe in labor's solidarity.

These men form what might be called the thin red line for they are all that is left of two groups of seventy-six men who were arrested in Augusta, Kan., in two raids conducted on Nov. 20 and Nov. 23, 1917.

They are on trial on a third indictment, quashing of the first indictment releasing more than half from further charges, while several were dropped when the second indictment fell through.

#### Drive Men Insane

Others still died in prison, while loss of reason has taken at least two of these victims of the class war.

In fact, one of those who faced trial with his fellow workers is now missing from their ranks for this very reason. John Caffray, the last to leave the group, lost his reason following his continuous confinement in Wichita and other jails. This Spanish war veteran went insane sometime ago, but despite a repeated request for his removal to an institution for the feeble-minded which counsel for the General Defense committee of the Industrial Workers of the World made to the authorities, this unfortunate individual was kept in prison.

Counsel for the defense repeated this request last week, asking that an alienist of standing be engaged to examine him. The request was granted and one of the best medical authorities in the state examined the unfortunate man last Tuesday night. He immediately reported that he should be separated from his fellows and prison life and confined in an institution for the feeble-minded. The rebel worker will leave for his future home within the next few days.

In spite of their persecution and long confinement, the Wobblies now on trial are optimistic and prepared to go to Leavenworth if need be, in the belief that they are merely advance guards for the army of labor. Like Chicago Trial

The prosecution's line of attack is not unlike that in the famous Chi-

cago trial. Though the war which raged then is now over, with the possible exception of the formal signing of peace, all the wartime prejudices, all the play on patriotism, all the efforts to praise Sam Gompers and belittle labor men who consider him reactionary, are played upon by counsel for the government.

The preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World again faces attack while various Wobbly songs which condemn international wars and also the "deadly parallel," comparing the resolutions adopted by the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. at the outset of the recent war, are all parts of evidence introduced by the prosecution.

This play on patriotism follows the selection of a jury and opposition to efforts of the defense to separate charges against those who were merely members of the Industrial Workers of the World and those who were also classed as alien enemies.

When court opened on the first day of the month, Fred H. Moore, chief counsel for the defense, immediately endeavored to have the cases of those who are also charged with being alien enemies separated from the others. He saw clearly what form of prosecution would be adopted. Events fast developing show that he was correct in his forecast. Mr. Moore, however, made exception to the judge's adverse ruling so that it may be subject for an appeal. Miss Caroline Lowe is associate counsel.

Fred Robertson, of Kansas City, Kan., United States district attorney, and Col. Sam Amidon, of Wichita, Democratic state committee chairman for Kansas, are chief counsel for the government.

#### Prospective Jurors Prejudiced

From the examination of the very first juror Monday morning, until the completion of a jury on Friday, the prosecution made every effort to obtain a jury which would have no particle of sympathy with the aspirations of wage workers. Only one member of a craft union out of 185 men examined before it was possible to obtain a jury of twelve men who would admit they were able or willing to drop their prejudices against the accused for a long enough period to hear the evidence, was on the four panels. Most of the other prospective jurors were farmers in country places removed from sections where labor unions are in existence while certain bankers, certain insurance brokers, officers of the peace and employers were among those questioned by the judge and the lawyers for the prosecution and the defense.

One hundred men were ready for jury duty when court was called Monday morning. Less than half a dozen were obtained out of this number. Twenty-five more then were chosen from the three nearest counties. They did not complete. Five more then were chosen by deputies from the three nearest counties. Not enough men were available for jury duty out of this number, so the deputies were ordered to go out into the street and bring in ten of the first men they could get. When the lawyers got through with them one juror's seat was still vacant. The judge called on the court officers to have twenty-five men ready for Friday morning. From that number, after the defense had exhausted its ten challenges and the prosecution its six challenges, the jury was completed.

This is the jury: G. J. Grinter, farmer, Vance; Joseph Mills, farmer, Leona; W. M. Lewin, farmer, Stockton; Abraham Troup Jr., banker, Staggate; W. S. Boylan, abstractor, Kansas City; J. J. Knight, farmer, Goodland; Fred Baldwin, farmer, Pomona; Ike Conger, farmer, Caldwell; William Hoover, farmer, Burlingame; W. W. Page, farmer, Silver Lake; C. E. Abrahams, real estate, Kansas City; George W. Sasche, farmer, Hartford.

#### Read Newspaper Lies

Before these twelve men were selected the defense was compelled to give a most thorough examination to scores and scores of men, many of whom declared they were absolutely opposed to the mildest kind of labor organization. All of them with possibly one exception admitted that they never met any members of the I. W. W., but was prejudiced against that organization because of reports in the daily newspapers.

This one exception seemed extremely anxious to get on the jury. He admitted, following severe cross-examination by Attorney Moore, that he was one of a mob which drove 185 members of the Industrial Workers of the World out of Wakeeney, Trego county, Kansas, in 1916, at the point of shot guns. He appeared disinterested when challenged.

Elihue Alleman, former sheriff of Trego county who, it is alleged, was locked in the jail at Wakeeney in July, 1916, after 156 alleged members of the I. W. W. had taken his

prisoners away from him, will be one of the witnesses.

Governor Robertson of Oklahoma was put on the stand Saturday, he being called merely to identify the signature of one of the defendants who registered for the draft at a booth where the governor was one of the board.

The announcement that Oklahoma's governor would be a witness in the I. W. W. trial was heralded with headlines in the capitalist papers which have been conducting an extremely vicious campaign against Alex. Howat of the Kansas miners and others active in the class war.

The feeling here against the I. W. W. is extremely bitter and talk of obtaining ropes to hang them being made in stores in the vicinity of the Federal building. A Missouri lawyer who happened to drop in to hear the case declared the other day in the court room and following a session that if he were called on as a juror he would admit his prejudice and say that "if I had my way I would take them all out and stand them against a stone wall and rifle them with shot."

Those on trial stand true to their class. Their lengthy jail confinement has made them determined to face the worst, conscious of the fact that they are members of the working class who are on trial for a principle.

Those out on bonds are: Robert Poe, John Wallberg, Edwin J. Huber, Harry McCarl, S. P. Hicok, Harry Drew, Frank Patton, A. M. Blumberg, Wensel Franck, E. M. Boyd, George Yarlott and W. M. Lyons.

Those still without bail are: F. J. Gallagher, Michael Sapper, Albert Barr, C. W. Anderson, Sam Forbes, Phineas Eastman, Leo Stark, Morris Hecht, Oscar Gordon, Higgins, Fred Grau, Paul Maihak, George Wenger, Carl Schnell and Ernest Henning.

## THE STORY OF WICHITA

Kansas City, Kan., Dec. 9.—(Special Correspondence to The New Solidarity).—Every thinking member of the working class in America who has ever read anything other than the capitalist press knows about the famous or infamous Wichita case.

It was a case that individual members of the working class have received the most glowing publicity. It was a case of class war prisoners, but no other considerable group of wage workers has ever suffered such treatment as these victims of capitalist justice as administered in the jails of the state of Kansas.

Perhaps the long, determined and persistent persecution of these men is because of their efforts to organize the workers in a basic industry which is concentrated in the hands of a small number of wilful men who wield power equal to any other single group of industrial kings.

One fact stands out regardless of everything else, and that is the determination to make an example of men who dared to advocate organization of toilers in the oil fields of Kansas and Oklahoma. This determination found an ally in the cry of patriotism which marked this nation's entrance into the world war. The world war gave employers their opportunity to attack militant unionists and those engaged in organization of workers in the oil and agricultural industries bore the brunt of the onslaught on labor in the middle west, the agricultural industry being drawn into the battle, it is thought, in order to gain sympathy for suppression of working class organization in the oil fields.

#### Raid Union Hall

On No. 20, 1917, following a successful campaign of organization in the oil districts, raids were made on headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World in Augusta, Kan. A second raid followed three days later, Augusta, which then had a 5,000 population, is in Butler county and twenty-two miles east of Wichita. It is in the center of the oil region.

With theatrical display, raids were made on a tent and nearby dwelling, the victims being taken to Edorado nearby in automobile trucks. They did not have a hearing until more than a week afterward when the county attorney read a vagrancy warrant to them while they were in the jail. It charged them with hanging around places of ill fame, bootlegging "joints" and gambling "joints." Certain of the men did play an occasional game of pool, the rooms they patronized being popular with deputy sheriffs and others who have to do with the administration of the law. The charges themselves were merely excuses to stop organization activity.

#### Take Men to Wichita

The theatrical stage play continued. It became more stage like with each rehearsal.

Heavily armed guards accompanied the prisoners to the black hole of

Wichita jail Dec. 7, each quarry wearing leg irons and handcuffs. The next day they got a hearing before the United States commissioner. They were bound over to go before the grand jury in March without, any legal representative being present in their behalf. They were told it was not necessary for them to have an attorney, according to prisoners. They were held in jail.

Two police officers got on the stand at the hearing before the United States commissioner and testified that they found bombs in the places raided. Both admitted they did not know the character of the bombs, just where they were found or when they were discovered. One "dick" thought the bombs were of a turpentine nature, while "Poker Slim," the other "dick," thought the bombs were operated by electricity. He even went so far as to say that this type of bomb could be fired with either fuse or a battery. He also swore that he found a lot of paper in the raided places with blood red ink writing on it. Both these men have since been dismissed from the Edorado police force, one report having it that "Poker Slim" lost his job because he was caught taking valuables off of prisoners.

None of this bomb and red ink evidence was introduced into later court proceedings. It answered its purpose, however. Gutter-snipe newspapers and peddlers of gossip spread the story that "them pesky I. W. W.'s was ketching with bombs and bloody, licerators."

#### Separate Prisoners

Six of these workmen were moved to the Reno county jail in Hutchinson on Jan. 5, 1918, six more being taken about the same time to Newton.

Five of the men arrested in the Augusta raids, whose parents resided in Germany when these wage earners entered a capitalist-controlled world, were taken from Wichita to the alien enemy internment camp at Fort Douglas, Utah, in January or February. They were charged with being members of the Industrial Workers of the World and also as alien enemies.

All were brought back to Wichita for the September, 1918, term of court. The indictments of conspiracy against them were returned.

But they were re-indicted, although they were never taken near the court room.

Again the splitting up method was adopted, some remaining in Wichita while others went to Hutchinson, others to Wichita, others to Lawrence, and still others to Kansas City, Kan., jails.

In March of this year they again appeared in Wichita for trial. Geo. F. Vanderveer, attorney for the defense, obtaining thirty days in which to submit briefs. The government got an additional thirty days in which to answer them. At the end of this sixty day period United States Judge Simon O. Pollock, before whom the case is now being tried in this city, gave his decision.

Quash Second Indictment

Early in June of this year he quashed the second indictment.

Between the quashing of that indictment and the appearance of a third one the men were held in jail, no papers of any kind being presented to show why they should be kept in prison during this ten day period.

On a third indictment the perpetual prisoners were kept in Wichita, Hutchinson, Newton, Lawrence and Kansas City, Kan., jails, although sensational reports of "dangerous characters" being about Hutchinson at the beginning of the 1919 harvest caused removal of all class war prisoners from Hutchinson to Ottawa jail.

On Sept. 22 oral arguments to quash the third indictment were made at Wichita, but Judge Pollock refused to take such action.

A change of venue was permitted, however, the insanitary condition of the Wichita jail being the reason. Three lawyers—two judges and a former judge, appointed as a committee to examine the jail—reported that Wichita jail where these men had lived going on two years, was unfit for human habitation.

The prisoners were then taken to Leavenworth (Leavenworth county) jail, Kansas City, Kan. (Wyandotte county) jail and Ottawa (Franklin county) jail. They were held in these places until Monday, Dec. 1, when all who were left of the original group of wage workers arrested way back in the early fall of 1917, faced trial in the Federal building here.

## OPENING OF TRIAL

Kansas City, Kan., Dec. 9.—(Special Correspondence to The New Solidarity).—Although United States firms, in common with those of oth-

er allied nations, are engaged in the world's keener struggle for foreign trade with Germany as well as other countries, the United States is technically still at war with the Imperial German government and this latter fact, in the opinion of keen observers, forms the basis on which the defendants in the famous Wichita case against members of the I. W. W. are now facing trial in the Federal building here.

The war and this country's relations with Germany crop up in the case from day to day, the prosecution using every available opportunity, figuratively, at least, to flap the flag in front of the jury.

Judge Simon O. Pollock, before whom the case is being tried, refused to separate the indictments so that five men born in Germany might be tried separately from their fellow workers, such separation being sought because they are also charged with being alien enemies.

Examination of prospective jurors by the prosecution also included the same issue of patriotism.

#### Ask for Severance

Fred H. Moore, chief attorney for the defense, and Miss Caroline H. Lowe, associate attorney, filed a motion for severance.

They did so in behalf of Harry McCarl, Morris Hecht, E. J. Huber, John Wallberg, Leo Stark, John McCaffrey, Jim Davis, Arthur Blumberg, Tom O'Day and Harry Drew, who asked for a severance on these grounds:

First—"That none of them (designated in the bill of severance as Group 1) held any official position in the I. W. W. or its affiliated organizations during the period covered in the indictment.

Second—"That all of them are citizens of the United States, have declared their intention to become such or are citizens of countries allied with this country in the conduct of the war against Germany, with the exception of Leo Stark, who is a citizen of Mexico.

Third—"That the defendants here named allege the fact that their co-defendants named in the bill of indictment herein, to-wit: Carl Schnell, Paul Maihak, Ernest Henning, George Wagner and Fred Grau, referred to as Group 2, were from or about April 1917 to the present, citizens of a country with which plaintiff (the United States) was and is at war—citizens of the Imperial German government, and that each and all of said co-defendants last hereinbefore named, were originally taken into custody and held by the plaintiff as alien enemies."

Fourth—"That they believe the government will attempt to prove that all the defendants named in the bill of indictment other than the petitioners and those in Group 2, held 'some office, employment or agency in the Industrial Workers of the World' or its kindred organizations, as well as certain persons named as co-conspirators.

Fifth—"That none of the makers of this motion are specifically charged in the bill of indictment with the doing of any one or more of twenty overt acts charged to have been done in the bill of indictment."

Sixth—"That none of the makers of the motion were in the employ or were acting as agents or servants of any one or more of the organizations named.

Seventh—"That none of the petitioners received 'any money or moneys or any reward of any kind or character whatsoever, either for services rendered or services to be rendered, or for any purposes whatsoever except a small allowance for food while confined in jail.'"

Eighth—"That the gravamen of the offense or offenses attempted to be set up in the bill of indictment herein is based almost solely and exclusively upon an alleged conspiracy on the part of the defendants named in the bill of indictment to obstruct and impede the execution of certain legislation passed by the Congress of the United States, part of said legislation having been passed in furtherance of the successful conducting of the war then being conducted with the Imperial German government, all as will more definitely and specifically appear by an examination of the bill of indictment herein."

Ninth—"That the bill of indictment names thirty-seven defendants and thirteen conspirators. That the bill of indictment contains four counts attempting to set up four separate and distinct conspiracies and the bill of indictment has endorsed thereon names of approximately 150 witnesses, and that by reason thereof it is manifest that trial of this cause will involve many and divers issues calling for submission of a vast range of testimony, all going to many and divers ramifications."

Tenth—"That for and by reason of

said fact that defendants listed in Group 2, each of them citizens and subjects of a country with which plaintiff was and is at war, the Imperial German government, which state of war has inevitably and properly created and engendered feelings of great hatred and malice and ill will as against the said Imperial German government and all and parcel of the entire body of the community wherein this cause will be tried, and exists widespread in the minds of all prospective jurors at the time and place of the trial hereof, defendants making this motion do allege that it will be impossible for them and each of them or any of them to obtain a fair and impartial jury herein to try this case as against the makers of this motion, if they are not granted individual severances and separate trial from said defendants named in the second group."

Eleventh—"That said defendants making this motion and named in the first group herein and each of them allege that any jury to be impaneled herein will find great and extreme difficulty and be unable to distinguish and hold separate and apart the evidence properly applicable to the makers of this motion, the first group, from that properly applicable to the second group, and that, for and by reason thereof, a verdict may be returned as against the makers of this motion upon a lesser degree of evidence than would be required were said persons listed in the second group tried separately from the makers of this motion."

#### What Indictment Charges

Twelfth—"The bill of indictment herein charges the defendants with four conspiracies:

(a) "A conspiracy to prevent, hinder and delay the execution of certain laws of the United States specifically set forth in the indictment, the major part of said laws so set forth being laws passed in furtherance of the successful prosecution of the war against the Imperial German government."

(b) "A conspiracy to aid, abet, etc., male persons subject to being drafted into military service not to register and to desert the services of the United States of America."

(c) "A conspiracy to cause insubordination, disloyalty and refusal of duty in the military forces of the United States when the United States was at war with the Imperial German government."

(d) "A conspiracy to limit the facilities for transporting necessities, to restrict the supply of necessities and to restrict the distribution of necessities."

"The result of all of said conspiracies, each carried into effect, would have been to discourage, obstruct and prevent the successful prosecution by the United States of its said war with the Imperial German government."

"That by reason of said alien citizenship of five defendants named herein and classified as Group 2, color of motive for carrying out of the objects and purposes of said alleged conspiracy is given and, in event that the makers of this motion are tried together and with the defendants named in the second group, grave and serious danger arises that said color of motive so inferable as against the second group, will be extended and made applicable to the first group, which said danger cannot be obviated or set aside by any instruction that this court may give."

Thirteen—"That the makers of this motion believe the government will introduce evidence consisting of letters to or from persons holding official positions in the organization not listed in Group 1 or Group 2, these persons being C. W. Anderson, O. E. Gordon, F. J. Gallagher, Wencil Franck, E. M. Boyd, Albert Barr, Mike Quinn, Sam Forbes, Phineas Eastman, S. P. Hicok, V. W. Lyons, Frank Patton, Peter J. Higgins, R. A. Lambert, Robert Poe, Michael Sapper and J. Gresback."

This last group is referred to as Group 3.

Fourteen—"That a number of the overt acts charged to have been done by the defendants in the bill of indictment on file are specifically charged and laid to the door of certain of the defendants named and referred to in Group 3."

Fifteen—"That to try the makers of the motion for a severance with them 'will hopelessly confuse the issues involved in the trial in the minds of any jury,' making it impossible for any jury of laymen to properly separate and apply to the proper defendants, following a lengthy trial, the various issues."

The motion for a severance concludes by saying that "Group 1 moves that their trial may come on to be heard separately and apart from the trials of the defendants named in Group 2 hereof and separately from the trials of the defendants named in Group 3."

A motion was also made that Judge Pollock compel the government to elect upon which of the four counts in the indictment it would proceed to try the defendants, giving these reasons:

First—"That each count carries sep-

## LEARN LESSON OF SOLIDARITY BY LOSING STRIKE

### NEW YORK PRINTERS, BEATEN BY CRAFT UNION TRAITORS, LAY FOUNDATION FOR THE ONE BIG UNION

The New York printing strike is lost. After eight weeks of a magnificent struggle, their ranks almost unbroken to the last, the composing and press room workers acknowledged defeat and returned to work. They were whipped, not by the bosses, but by their own international craft unions which they had set at defiance by their unauthorized "revolt," also by the wretched scabbery of other craft unionists in the industry. It was a peremptory mandate from the International Typographical union, threatening the immediate revocation of their charter unless they returned to work at once, which at last broke the spirit of the printers and, when they surrendered, the strike collapsed.

With the superb solidarity these workers displayed, they were bound to have won, but for their craft union affiliation. That is the big lesson which not one of the printers and pressmen who gallantly fought and lost can have failed to take to heart. The fakers who sold out the men who blindly trusted them—Scott, Berry, Hayes and the other scoundrels—may hug themselves over this victory, but their triumph will be short-lived. The printing strikers have learned on the picket line the lesson of industrial unionism. Already since the strike ended the foundation of an organization embracing all the crafts involved has been laid in New York. Whether this shall grow into its logical development—one big industrial union—depends largely upon what use the I. W. W. makes of its unparalleled opportunity. We could make no better use of money right now than to send the best organizer available into the New York printing industry. He would find none but willing ears for his message and could in no time enroll thousands in Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 1200.

In other cities, principally Chicago, union men got out New York printing and helped break the strike. It is due to the Chicago crafts, at least, to say that this was put across on the workers by trial by the unions. The result of all of said conspiracies, each carried into effect, would have been to discourage, obstruct and prevent the successful prosecution by the United States of its said war with the Imperial German government.

Last Saturday, scarcely more than a week after the New York strike ended, the workers in the Chicago plants who had kept engaged to do the struck work were unceremoniously bundled into the street with the information that the magazines had been taken back East. The Chicago printers, suddenly realized they had been duped by somebody into scabbing on their New York brothers, and there was an explosion of wrath which means no good to whoever is found responsible. What happened to the "iron-bound contracts" remains to be explained and the local union officers here have one big job explaining ahead of them. And so, in Chicago as in New York, a chance to reach this industry such as it never had before and may not soon have again. Is the I. W. W. equal to the occasion?

Second—"That the four separate conspiracies attempted to be set up in the indictment begin and end at different periods of time.

Third—"That the four separate alleged conspiracies would properly be prompted by different motives and intents.

A third motion was made for a bill of particulars, in which all the defendants ask for the "meaning intended to be imputed by the use of such words as 'unlawful,' 'criminal,' 'threats,' 'assault,' 'intimidation,' 'murders upon the persons,' 'sabotage,' 'direct action,' 'working the scabbard,' 'wearing the wooden shoe,' 'slowing down tactics,' and various other phrases used in the indictments."

Judge Pollock would not entertain any one of the motions. Mr. Moore gave notice of objection to his rulings.



# Organization and Defense

## DEFENSE MEETING

Dec. 5, 1919.

Meeting called to order by Chairman Mat K. Fox.

Members present: Fox, Lewis, Verbanac, Zaphiroff, Sandgren, Berton, Hayward, Whitehead, Homich, Holmen, Ogden, Newman, Speed, Presi.

Absent members: Varney, Perlow. Minutes of previous meeting read and correction made to read, secretary reported Metzger had been asked by members to handle claims for damage suits and was told by secretary to confine his work to work given him by the Defense committee. Minutes adopted as corrected.

**Reports and Communications**  
Letters from Grady of Spokane, and Emerson, McKinley, Spear and George Williams from Seattle, also minutes of G. O. C. No. 500 and No. 400 of Spokane, requesting as vital important, that Vanderveer be sent to the coast to handle Centralia and other cases.

Letter from the men in jail at Sandpoint, Idaho, asking for either Vanderveer, Costella or Donovan of Butte to defend them.

Moved and seconded that this business be laid on the table till Vanderveer appears.

Letter from Moore and reply by secretary read and ordered filed. Carried.

Moved and seconded that Vanderveer be sent to the coast at once.

Vanderveer takes the floor and gives statement as to how far he has got along with the work on the Chicago appeal.

Motion amended that we wire Seattle that Vanderveer will leave for the coast in ten days. Carried.

Telegram from Sioux City read and referred to papers and filed.

Telegram from San Francisco that McHugo was found guilty in five minutes. Referred to papers and filed.

Telegram from Attorney Mulks saying that Tenn was held for grand jury, and that the Scotts Bluff cases were dismissed.

Telegram from Vancouver, Wash., that nine members held for criminal syndicalism. Telegram from Raton, N. M., read.

Moved and seconded that Vancouver, Wash., cases be referred to the Northwest Defense committee. Carried.

Moved and seconded that McDonald be instructed by wire to secure local lawyer to defend Raton case. Carried.

Chairman Fox desired to resign from the Defense committee.

Moved and seconded that Sandgren be elected temporary chairman. Carried.

Moved and seconded that the resignation of Mat K. Fox be not accepted. Carried.

Moved and seconded to adjourn. Carried.

## THE BAIL AND BOND COMMITTEE

Wherever men have been called with a bailable offense and the court has fixed the amount of the bail, it is a perfectly legal enterprise for persons interested in the welfare of the accused to raise the funds by which the bail demands of the court may be satisfied and the prisoners be released until their cases may come up for trial. Under the legal right, the Co-Operative Bail and Bond committee has been acting, being at all times advised by a competent attorney. Its function has been to gather in the small sums that the workers could contribute and combine them for this eminently proper purpose. It is organized for no other purpose and conducts no propaganda nor engages in other activities.

It has always used the mails, for its purposes were legitimate and perfectly open and above board.

But, following the recent raids, the mail of the committee has been held up, and in order to receive communications it has been compelled to remove its address to 318 North Wyoming street, Butte, Mont.

The postal authorities have begun to release the mail of the committee and recent contributors to the bail and bond fund will be mailed their receipts as fast as the mail is turned over by the department. Six letters, in the last mail released, contained \$950. All persons who have funds that they can loan the Co-Operative Bail and Bond committee are asked to forward them, as the need is now urgent. However, be sure to read the advertisement of the committee which appears in this issue.

## NEW YORK DEFENSE COMMITTEE, I. W. W.

Report for Week Ending Nov. 29, '19  
Total receipts \$1,072.17  
Total expenditures 234.50

Balance \$ 837.67  
Adv. to A. Arnoff, Boston, Mass., Nov. 21 150.00

Cash on hand and in bank \$ 647.67  
J. D. Carlisle, Fin. Secy.

## TO THE MEMBERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD:

Dec. 1, 1919.

Fellow Worker:  
The financial condition of the General Organization is in a critical state and unless immediate steps are taken to install a proper system of accounting this condition will very rapidly become worse.

November 1 finds the General Organization with a deficit of \$10,000, the causes for which may be classified as follows: Increased production of literature without proper cost records by which to regulate the selling price and insure a uniform percentage of revenue from same; deficit of publications, an obsolete and careless method of collections from Industrial Unions, and the machinery of organization being given a second consideration due to the increased activities of defense.

The principal leakage may be blamed squarely on the utter lack of any system of accounting. There never has been any attempt at scientific accounting in the General Headquarters, which fact, coupled with the developments of production and sales, places us on the same basis as any industrial concern in the printing and publishing industry, but leaving us like a ship at sea without a rudder by which to steer our course.

The Federal Trade Commission has called attention to the fact that less than 20 per cent of the business concerns in this country have a cost system, and that a large proportion of the many failures recorded every year are due to the absence of any accurate knowledge of what it costs to manufacture and sell. The above statement is applicable to us so long as we manufacture and sell under the capitalist system.

First and foremost we need a system of cost finding in our print shop which will not only embrace the prime cost, but take in all the elements of overhead expense. This will include rent, repairs, depreciation on machinery, etc.

Our stock room must be systematized and a stock record installed carrying a perpetual inventory of finished goods or merchandise. The labor and material involved in the packing and shipping must be taken as an indirect expense against the cost of the goods sold.

Beginning with November 1 a division of the sales has been made as follows:

1. Direct charges — Literature; Buttons and Pins; Card Cases; Pens; Charters and Seals; Supplies; Office; Supplies, Delegate.

Payment to be due on all goods shipped on a direct charge immediately after receipt of same.

2. Consignment charges — Due Books; Due Stamps; All Assessment Stamps.

A definite line has been drawn between the two classes of shipments in order to avoid the least bit of confusion and in the above classifications you will find under Consignment, the minimum amount of expenses to headquarters while at the same time involving the greatest expenditures of the Industrial Unions. The items included under direct charges are an exceedingly heavy expense to headquarters and involve the smallest expenditures of the Industrial Unions.

Heretofore, all shipments to Industrial Unions have been in reality on consignment, to be paid for when sold. This procedure involves an enormous outlay of funds in the purchase of raw material and finished goods and the printing and publishing of the literature without providing sufficient revenue to offset the expenses incurred, to say nothing of furnishing any working capital.

Industrial Union secretaries are requested to specify the invoice number on all direct charges in making their remittance or to make a distribution of their remittance as per items listed under Direct and Consignment charges.

Goods shipped on a consignment charge will become due and payable according to the monthly sales for which each Industrial Union will be billed as a direct charge. All secretaries are requested to forward a copy of their financial statements showing classifications of sales for the month as per consignment items.

All Industrial Union secretaries, editors and persons desiring literature and supplies from the stock room will place their order in the hands of the biller, where all three copies, invoice, office copy and shipping order, will be made out at once, eliminating any waste of time or confusion.

A call must go out at once for all Industrial Unions to take an inventory of all supplies in their hands, to be turned in by December 31, 1919.

## BULLETIN OF SALT LAKE DISTRICT BULLETIN

M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, I. W. W. Dec. 1, 1919.

Fellow Workers:  
Push the DEFENSE STAMPS FOR CLASS WAR PRISONERS. FUNDS ARE NEEDED!

Hundreds of members are being arrested everywhere. Many are being railroaded without counsel. We must stand by those of our class who are being persecuted because they are loyal to our class. The best way you can help is by aiding the work of organization and buying Defense stamps. Delegates, PUSH THE DEFENSE STAMPS!

Already the frame-up has been proven in Centralia. Counsel for those arrested and indicted are being arrested or run out of town. Money is needed to fight this frame-up. The Seattle dailies have been denied the mailing privileges on the ground that THEY ADVOCATED arson, riot and MURDER.

Bingham—Solidarity wins again. All men working on the 1800 Apex mine left after dinner on account of blasting during the noon hour and on account of the vulgar language of the shift boss. Foreman met them and told them to report again in the morning and everything would be all right. The old methods of getting rock in the box is a thing of the past. Everything points to a 100 per cent camp at Bingham. Investigation here by representatives of the mine owners has placed the number of members in this organization at more than 1,600. They claim to have the names of that many members. Chief gunman of the Utah Copper Co. visible Highland Boy. Told a pool room man to keep the Wobblies out of his place. What pool room man told him would cheer the heart forever of any Wob.

Owing to the fact that delegates having Bail and Bond books have been arrested and their books confiscated all Bail and Bond books have been called in. Send your book to this office. New books will be issued in a few days. Do not recognize Bail and Bond books unless they have a recent date.

The Chaplin meeting here was a great success. Attendance, 400, collection, \$125; literature sales, \$10; five new members and good propaganda.

The daily press here has been trying to stir the mob to violence. Collins of the Rotary club follows in line and appoints a committee to investigate. If they want a fair investigation of the I. W. W. we will help them and publish the findings.

Eureka—Nick Fernando, Morton and Pete Hood of the W. F. of M. who are responsible for the introduction of the rustling card here, are waxing fat on their reward in the form of good leases. The rustling card was offered to the employers to keep out organization of the workers, but the I. W. W. has grown as a result of the actions of the bosses' union men.

Work can be had at all the mines in this district, except Eureka.

Now is the time for members to take out credentials. The workers are ready to line up.

The time is opportune for organization.

After this is accomplished, steps can be taken to wipe out the huge deficit against various organizations.

Another problem which should be taken into consideration is the apportioning of the floor space and the charging of same to the various occupants.

Reports will follow showing the standing of each Industrial Union with headquarters and their increased indebtedness since July 1.

This matter is of vital importance to every member of the organization and copies of this report should be placed in the hands of every branch secretary in order that the rank and file may be made familiar with these conditions.

The new book which was adopted at the convention was to cost 12-1-2 cents each. Due to the increased cost of material the cost of these books is now 20 cents each which means that these books are handled by headquarters at a loss. We would like an expression from the membership regarding a return to the old book and must hear from the Industrial Unions as to the payment of a 5-cent increase on the new books. The failure to meet this increase will mean that headquarters is compelled to resume publication of the old due book.

Let every fellow worker consider these matters seriously and take the proper action to start the ball rolling in the proper way.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,  
THOS. WHITEHEAD,  
General Secretary-Treasurer.

GEORGE SPEED,  
Chairman of the G. E. E.

ization in the coal camps. Delegates make the drive among coal miners who are already disgusted with the U. M. W. of A.

Delegates, the drive must be made on the mills and smelters. Members working in mills and smelters communicate with this office.

Work for a six-hour day. The best aid to a better livelihood is shorter hours. The hours of labor are too long and life is too short to enjoy it in full after the present day's work.

The boys in Leavenworth want published an I. W. W. handbook written by the membership. The plan is to have the departments explained and then the industries explained by the members who work there. It would be written to show how each industry is dependent upon the other and, therefore, the need of the One Big Union. Write an article and send it to this office here. Details on this plan later.

Send in funds for the Centralia and class war prisoners.

Send for credentials. Send for literature.

With you in the fight that's right.  
Chas. M. Berger.

## AGRICULTURAL WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 400, I. W. W.

Bulletin No. 60  
Chicago, Dec. 8, 1919.

Fellow Workers:  
During the past week the General Defense committee has had many calls for lawyers from all parts of the country. It has always been the policy of the committee to give each and every case as much attention as possible, but calls for lawyers and money are coming in so fast these days that we are afraid unless there is a big flow of money toward 1001 W. Madison, that some of the cases will have to be neglected.

Word comes from Frisco that the jury in the McHugo case was only out for five minutes when they returned with a verdict of GUILTY. An appeal will be taken and this will mean that a vast amount of money will be needed to reverse the verdict. The McHugo case was the first one of criminal syndicalism to be tried in a federal court and unless the hundred other cases which are similar to it will all be put over the same way.

News comes from the Northwest that a change of venue has been secured to Aberdeen, Wash., for the Centralia case. That is not at all suitable to the defense so another application will be made. Trial is set for Jan. 3 and Vanderveer will have charge of the defense. Van has been in Chicago working on the appeal, but will leave for the Northwest in the very near future.

The Wichita case is now on and according to lawyers who are handling it we will need many more thousands of dollars in order to go through with the trial.

There never was a time in the history of the I. W. W. when money was more needed than it is now. We can easily find a place for at least \$100,000 for defense purposes and at the same time we must remember that the work of organizing the workers has to be carried along.

We are getting a new five dollar stamp in the field for Centralia and Raids and all members and delegates should write in for a supply of them, but more important than anything else is the need for active delegates at this time.

Every member who can read and write should send in to the office of his industrial union and get credentials and supplies and do all in his power to organize the workers into the I. W. W.

We are all agreed that each and every member who is in jail is entitled to and will get the best possible defense that we can give him, but remember you will not be able to insure a fit and proper defense to anyone unless you keep the work of organizing going.

Devol, Okla.—Lots of work of all kinds, with wages from \$4 to \$8 per day.

Waureka, Okla.—The Empire Co. is building a pump station and is also unloading pipe preparatory to laying a 6-inch line to Burburnett and Healdton.

Men are wanted at Neodeska where the Standard Oil Co. are doing a lot of construction work. We have also letters from delegates stating that there is a lot of work going on at the following places: Bartlesville, Pence City, Newkirk, Tulsa, Wynone, Oscheleta, Pawhuska and Nealgony, Okla., and there is also lots of work at Eldorado, according to information received.

Write in here for credentials and supplies today.  
D. N. Simpson, Mat K. Fox,  
Chairman G. O. C. Secy.-Treas.

## SPECIAL MEETING G. O. C., C. W. I. U. No. 573, DEC. 1, 1919

Fellow Workers Ford, Wallis, Dixon and Nelsen present.

Moved by Ford, seconded by Wallis that we postpone the convention to be held in Chicago Jan. 1 until April 15, all voting yes.

A few weeks ago the members of No. 573 decided to hold a convention Jan. 1. We stated at that time that there was only a few thousands of dollars in the treasury and that the approximate cost of having a delegate come from the coast would be \$200.

After figuring out the representation we find that the Seattle district alone would have five delegates. There would be two from the California district, as well as some from Philadelphia, Boston and New York. Altogether it would take at least \$3,000 for railroad fare and wages to cover this convention. We realized his when the referendum was issued, and in order to meet the expense put out a special assessment stamp. But the sale from it has not come up to expectations.

And again, since the ballots have been counted we have had some fearful experiences. The Centralia affair has happened and the members in the Northwest cannot get together to elect delegates and draw up resolutions to be presented at the convention.

We have suggestions from various sources that the convention be called off for the time being, so the G. O. C. and the secretary-treasurer decided that the convention would be postponed until the 15th of April and that a secretary-treasurer and G. O. C. be elected by referendum, they to take office early in the spring. We feel that the will be able to accomplish more by taking office at this time and becoming acquainted with the work as it starts than by coming into office in the middle of the summer.

Remember, we know that the rank and file of No. 573 should and will rule at all times, but since the ballots have been counted we have learned that halls all over the country have been closed, as well as those in the Northwest, Denver, Omaha and Des Moines have been burned and closed, so in view of the above facts we feel that in the calling off of the convention that we have acted in the best interests of the C. W. I. U. and the I. W. W. in general.

Moved by Dixon and seconded by Wallis that a call for nominations for the secretary-treasurer and G. O. C. be issued Dec. 10, nominations to be open until Jan. 20, ballots to be in the field, if possible, Feb. 1, to be recalled April 1, 1920, all voting yes.  
Bob Nelsen, Bert Lewis,  
Chairman G. O. C. Secy.-Treas.

Detroit, Mich., Nov. 30, 1919.

To the General Defense Committee and the General Membership of the I. W. W.:

Fellow Workers:

We the undersigned, elected to audit the books of E. S. Rose, secretary and treasurer of the Bail and Bond committee, Detroit, Mich., wish to state the following:

Having audited the books for the entire month of November, we have found them to be correct and the cash balance for Dec. 1 is the same as shown on the general financial statement issued by E. S. Rose and amounts to four hundred (\$400) dollars cash held on hand.

Yours for the I. W. W.,  
Auditing Committee:  
John Kuiniemi,  
Joe Stakney,  
Anth. Hohn,  
Shelby Ogden.

## NEW SECY. AT OMAHA

The secretaryship at Omaha has been taken over by Pat Noonan. All matters pertaining to the branch or the Defense committee should be addressed to him at Box 107, Omaha, Neb. This town is certainly hostile and raids on the rooming houses and pool rooms continue, but we are still on the map and doing our best in order that the organization may make headway in this district.

NOTICE!  
John Patterson and Vasilio Supinio, who are out on deportation bonds from the Department of Immigration will report at once to the Bail and Bond committee, as the government is now ready to deport you to your native countries. Do not delay one moment in this matter as your prompt appearance will relieve your bondsman from embarrassment and loss, and yourselves from much vexation.  
John L. Engdahl,  
Secy.-Treas., Co-Operative Bail and Bond Committee.

## SWEDISH WORKERS MAKE APPEAL FOR THE I. W. W.

SWEDISH SYNDICALISTS GIVE POWERFUL AID TO THE I. W. W.

From a letter of Nov. 4 from John Anderson, a member of the G. E. B. of the "Central Organization of Swedish Workers (S. A. C.), the Swedish counterpart of the I. W. W., we quote the following:

We have received some subscription lists from your General Defense Committee in Chicago, but as we find it difficult to do anything with lists that have English text, the G. E. B. of the Central Organization of Swedish Workers has had printed 2,500 lists of their own with Swedish text as follows:

**Liberate All Class War Prisoners**  
Several hundred members of the Industrial Workers of the World and other workers are held in jails and prisons of the United States. Some of these have been condemned to long terms in prison, while others, sick and broken down, still await trial. These men depend upon you for their liberation.

Wm. D. Hayward,  
Secretary General Defense Committee.

To the Workers of Sweden  
From the Defense Committee of our fellow workers in prison in America we have received two subscription lists with the request for aid. Believing that no members of the S. A. C. as well as all other Swedish workers wish to contribute according to each one's ability, in order that the American Syndicalists (among whom are many Swedes) should get the aid they need for their trials and for the comfort for those in prison, we hereby are sending out a number of lists for subscriptions.

The collected funds are to be sent to the office of the "Central Organization of Swedish Workers," Box 51, Orebro, Sweden, to be forwarded from there, and will be accounted for in "Syndikalisten" and "People's Daily-Politiken."

Fellow Workers! In the name of international solidarity, it is your duty to support these fellow workers in their self-sacrificing struggle by aiding with your contribution.  
General Organization of Swedish Workers, per General Executive Board.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## KEEP THE BULLETINS

By a Job Delegate  
In times past before the entrance of the I. W. W. as an organized force to be dealt with by the employers of labor, the life of the logger was too miserable to be described. They worked on an average of 11 hours a day, and carried their own beds and slept (or tried to sleep) in vermin infested bunks. If they wanted to take a bath they had to quit to go to town, or use a five gallon kerosene can.

But from the entrance of the I. W. W. into the camps conditions have steadily improved until today in the vicinity of Seattle where the organization is strongest, the camps are supplied with clean sheets and bedding and the beds are made up and the linen is changed weekly. And owing to the 1917 strike the work is eight hours.

The lumberjack has started to educate himself and one of the greatest mediums of education is the I. W. W. No. 500 Bulletin. The lumberjack would go without almost anything rather than to miss his Bulletin. Of course, they read the papers and are great readers of the O. E. U. Monthly magazine, but he considers the Bulletin his own because he can send in a job report and it is printed and the other fellow reads it and he reads the

## POLICE AND JAILERS SPEAK FOR I. W. W.

Fellow Worker George Hardy is telling the story of the White Terror in America to the British people with such good effect as to inspire a protest from the National Union of Police and prison Officers of Great Britain. The following letter explains itself:

London, Nov. 18, 1919.  
T. Whitehead, Esq., 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Sir—In accordance with the wishes of Mr. George Hardy, now on a tour through this country, I am directed by my executive committee to forward you my copy of the resolution which was passed by them on Nov. 17, 1919, and sent to (1) President Wilson, (2) the Attorney-General, Washington, U. S. A., and (3) His Majesty's British Ambassador to U. S. A., Washington:

**Resolution:**  
"That this executive committee deplore the action of the government of the U. S. A. in its treatment of officials of labor organizations as instigated by the many lamentable serious measures adopted towards members of the I. W. W."

Yours faithfully,  
J. H. Hayes,  
General Secretary

## ENGLISH WORKERS PROTEST

George Hardy is in England where he is doing some fine work in arousing interest in the welfare of the American prisoners of the class war. Wherever he has appeared before the English workers he has been able to secure their co-operation and help. They have promised not only their moral support, but in many cases financial aid as well. The following communication has been received:

**Resolution**  
59 Gowrie Road, Battersea, S. W. II, London, England.

That this the Battersea No. 2 branch of the "Nation Painters' Society," England, having heard the facts presented in regard to the persecution of the I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World), registers its most indignant protest against the continued imprisonment of the I. W. W. members convicted in Chicago, and Sacramento, Calif., under the war acts of the United States, as we are convinced that the real issues involved are between Trustified Capital and Industrial Unionism, as presented by the Industrial Workers of the World.

We further demand the release of industrial war prisoners, including Thomas Mooney, Eugene Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare, and every member of the I. W. W. who may have been held months or years without trial, believing that it is in the interests of justice we are appealing. We are prepared to take whatever action we deem necessary for their release.

J. E. Joyce, Branch Secy.

That copy of this resolution be forwarded to the president of the U. S. A., Mr. Palmer, attorney-general of U. S., British ambassador, Washington, U. S. A., also copy sent to Headquarters of the I. W. W., Thos. Whitehead, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

## A RESOLUTION

Pasco, Wash., Dec. 1, 1919  
A. W. I. U. No. 400.

We, the undersigned, go on record in favor of the following: That I find funds that are not immediately needed for organization purposes be turned over to the Defense committee for use of the Northwest cases to be used as a loan. We wish to go on record as demanding that Vanderveer be sent to look after the Northwest cases. We use this method because it is hard to hold a meeting at present. We want direct action on this.

Signed, Carl Nord, 367943, 2'10"5.  
719302, 256702, 438129, 236,022,  
2'7180, 417294.

The work of the Throp street hall in Chicago is going right along, and is a favorite rendezvous for resident and visiting Wobblies. The regular routine of business, social and educational meetings is continuing, and it is hoped to obtain a permit for public gatherings soon.

news that his mate sends in. It serves to educate the logger as nothing else will. Now some of the members want to take the Bulletin away from him. They say it costs too much to run it. As a job delegate who has helped organize the lumber camps, I say, "Don't take the Bulletin away from the logger. He won't stand for it."

If members would only get in the habit of supporting their papers with money and news, there would be no need of curtailing our literature. So let's put more effort into the work of keeping all the literature we have and adding more to it if possible.  
COME ON — ALL TOGETHER — BOOST FOR THE BULLETINS!



# News of the Far Flung Battle Line

DEFENDANT'S EXHIBIT

Defendant's Identification

## FIVE DOLLAR GENERAL DEFENSE STAMP

Following the terrible occurrence at Centralia, Wash., where four invaders were killed inside the I. W. W. hall and several others seriously wounded, raids and arrests have taken place all over the country.

The marauders at Centralia were not content with having four of their own number killed, but they afterwards dragged out of jail Fellow Worker E. Wesley Everest, an overseas veteran, and lynched him, hung to a bridge, and riddled his body with bullets. The corpse was cut down, dragged through the streets, back to the jail, and thrown in among many fellow workers who were confined there. Four of the members, under armed escort, were compelled to take the body to a vacant lot and bury it.

The Centralia affair seemed to incite the unlawful lynching and raiding spirit which has so long been smoldering against the I. W. W.

Five halls were wrecked in New York City. In one hall, where a damage was imposed upon the organization of \$2,500, a fine piano was completely demolished. At Los Angeles, Denver, Portland, Seattle, Spokane, Omaha, Minneapolis and Milwaukee similar outrages have been perpetrated.

Over one thousand members have been arrested. In many places those under arrest are not allowed to see friends or lawyers.

The General Defense committee recognizes the urgent need for legal counsel at Centralia, Wash., where eleven are held for murder.

The newspapers say 500 men are to be tried in the state of Washington. Eighty or more members are on trial in California, many in Colorado, at least fifty in Nebraska, and isolated cases in other states, while the Wichita defendants go to trial at Kansas City, Kan., the first of December.

Funds for defense are absolutely necessary. Every member of the organization is entitled to a fair and impartial trial and such trial should be guaranteed.

Every member should have one or more of these stamps in his membership book.

Wm. D. Haywood, Secy.-Treas. General Defense Com.

## AUSTRIA

LONDON—That the whole rising generation of Austria "may go under" unless famine relief is quickly brought, is the opinion of Dr. K. F. Wenckelbach, a Dutch physician, who lived in Austria through the war and who is a delegate to the "Fight-the-Famine Council" in session here now.

Said Dr. Wenckelbach to a representative of the "Daily Herald":

"The condition of the famine stricken people of Vienna is beyond imagination. They have no potatoes and as for meat and other important foods, they are supplied as it were, from hand to mouth.

"I went to Vienna from Holland, which is my native country, shortly before the war, and I have since felt that as a doctor I could not leave the sinking ship, but must remain to help the suffering people, especially in the hospitals.

"They are very badly off for medical appliances and drugs and have no money to buy them. The most elementary requirements for the patients are lacking.

"The children are rickets and without strength or vitality. It looks as though the whole of the rising generation must go under."

## HOLLAND

Radicalism Rampant in Dutch Schools (Cable in the New York Globe and Chicago Daily News, Copyright 1919) AMSTERDAM, Nov. 17.—A "bond" or union of revolutionary social intellectuals has been inaugurated and the names of the members of the executive board have been published.

This union works in conjunction with communist teachers' organizations and revolutionary socialist students' organizations in Holland. From persons whose sons are studying in Dutch universities I learn that many students are imbued with bolshevism and that the communistic propaganda is very strong.

Two professors in the Amsterdam university are known to be "Headed Bolsheviks," and in the Delft Technical University communism is popular. The new union will seek connections with similar organizations in other countries.

## CLASS WAR PRISONERS

A TIMELY ARTICLE FROM ENGLAND

The following article is reprinted from "Solidarity," published in London, England. It is from the pen of Fellow Worker George Hardy who is now touring that country in the interest of the general defense. Fellow Worker Hardy has had a militant and picturesque career in the Labor movement.

He was born at Cottingham, near Hull, and is still a British subject. Emigrating to Canada in 1906 he became organizer for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in British Columbia and took an active part in the miners' strike in Vancouver during 1912-13. Having traveled around the world he knows the situation in most countries and wrote an account of the conditions in the Belgian Congo for the International Socialist Review. He was general secretary-treasurer for the Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union of the I. W. W. in the Great Lakes before his arrest, long with the 112 officers and active members of the I. W. W. After being in prison eleven months he went through the big Chicago trial and was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. He was deported by the I. W. W. to put before the British labor movement the facts of the persecution and torture of the Industrial Workers in America.

By George Hardy

The persecution of the I. W. W. is still on in the U. S. A. with violence. In addition to 95 I. W. W.'s convicted in the famous Chicago trial last summer and sentenced to 807 years' imprisonment and fines aggregating \$2,570,000, 46 members Sacramento bomb frame-up. Besides these, 28 are still awaiting trial in Omaha and 27 in Spokane, in addition to scores of individual cases throughout the Western states, either under the espionage act or under state laws against "criminal syndicalism" enacted within the past year for the express purpose of crushing the I. W. W.

There is no sign of Transatlantic Capital releasing those who are still in the government of the United States still obeys capital's dictates, which means labor must be up and doing unless these union men shall die in prison.

The government plan for the wholesale deportation of foreign born workers holding radical economic opinions is aimed particularly at the I. W. W. This is shown by the fact that of the first batch of 58 deportees received at Ellis Island, 45 were members of that organization.

Illegal raids and arrests are reported from Springfield, Mass.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Newark, N. J.; Kansas City, Mo.; Portland, Ore.; Seattle, and Spokane, Wash., and many other points. Efforts are made by threat of arrest and prosecution to intimidate new members and get them to renounce their connection with the I. W. W.

I have left over 100 I. W. W.'s in the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan., of which are included about 30 Britishers serving from five to twenty years. A couple of the Britishers are in permanent isolation (the black hole) together with several other I. W. W. members for having the courage to stick up for their rights, given them by the rules of the prison. These unionists have been strung up by the arms, straight over their heads, for seven hours a day on a bread and water diet for as long as 15 days in one case, 7 days being a common thing for I. W. W. members. Still their spirit is not broken!

In Wichita, Kan., 34 men are indicted on a similar charge as those convicted in Chicago, Ill.; they were twice dismissed, the case having been thrown out of court for insufficiency of evidence. Each time the defendants were re-arrested and re-indicted. The above men were active I. W. W.'s in the oil fields of Kansas, busy organizing the workers previous to their arrests in November, 1917. Up to this time they are still held without trial, notwithstanding they have been dismissed twice.

Particulars have been given already in the pages of Solidarity about the big Chicago case which lasted 138 days. But the significance of the trial cannot be grasped unless one was there to hear and see the antics of the small army of federal agents and officials intimidating and arresting witnesses who appeared to testify for the defense. Soldier witnesses were arrested by army "intelligence" officers. Rawboned sailors who were traversing the submarine zone with troops and munitions were thrown into jail. Witnesses from the textile area were cajoled and threatened with arrest if they testified; and all these and several instances which space will

## DENVER HALL CLOSED

AND ARRESTS MADE

Denver, Colo., Dec. 2.—The opening gun of the capitalistic henchmen has been fired in Denver in the arrest of six of the fighting rebels and later in the arrest of Fellow Worker Dutton, who was sentenced to serve 31 days in the capitalistic institution of learning.

The fellow workers arrested were H. G. Wells, Frank Wall, James Evans, Marvin Douslin, Morris Davis and Joe Bramer.

The local headquarters have been closed and all supplies confiscated by a read-headed "harness bull" named Agnew who, it is said, agitated the bourgeois in the vicinity of the headquarters into urging this move against the I. W. W.

A fellow worker by the name of Herbert McLain was arrested in Cripple Creek about this time by the federal authorities, but nothing can be learned of his whereabouts.

## ONE MORE SACRIFICE

Fellow Worker George Winsky died at St. Margaret's hospital, Kansas City, Kans., Nov. 9. This fellow worker was arrested in a raid on the hall, Nov. 13, 1917, and was confined in the Douglas county jail for thirteen months where his health was destroyed. Friends from Kansas City finally secured his release on bail. Our fellow worker's sacrifice should not be in vain.

## VANCOUVER AND TACOMA

In the cases of the members of the I. W. W. held on criminal syndicalism charges at both Vancouver and Tacoma, Wash., a general denaturer has been filed and the prosecutor has been ordered to file an amended information. This action puts the prosecuting attorneys under the necessity of citing specific acts of contravention of this statute and permits the workers to proceed with an intelligent defense of the selves.

## HOW LONG

By Eva L. Curtis  
How long shall they lie there  
Our brothers and sisters,  
They who stood up  
Bearing witness to truth?  
How long shall they lie there  
Till we arouse us  
And break the steel doors?

Heard ye the tales that leak  
Out of the prisons?  
Of dungeons and tortures,  
Of filth and abuse?  
Men beaten and starved,  
And through long, weary hours,  
Hung by the wrists,  
Chained to the bars.  
Yes, for their conscience' sake  
Here in this day and age—  
Hung by the wrists,  
Chained to the bars!

Only so long as we will it  
O Brothers!  
Only so long as our voices are mute  
Only so long as we stand divided  
Only so long—only so long!

## WHERE THE I. W. W.

STANDS ON VIOLENCE

In view of the hue and cry over "criminal syndicalism" (whatever kind of disease or brand of breakfast food that is), and the attempt to justify the White Terror against the I. W. W. because of the organization's alleged advocacy of lawlessness, it seems well to reprint from the Defense News Bulletin of May 4, 1918, a resolution passed by the General Executive Board at the time of the Chicago trial:

WHEREAS, The Industrial Workers of the World has heretofore published, without editorial adoption or comment, many works on industrial subjects, in which the workers have a natural interest, including treatises on "Sabotage" and

WHEREAS, The industrial interests of the country, bent upon destroying any and all who oppose the wage system by which they have so long exploited the workers of the country, are attempting to make it appear that "Sabotage" means the destruction of property and the commission of violence and that the Industrial Workers of the World favor and advocate such methods; now,

THEREFORE, In order that our position on such matters may be made clear and unequivocal, we the General Executive Board of said Industrial Workers of the World, do hereby declare that said organization does not now, and never has believed in or advocated either destruction of violence as a means of accomplishing industrial reform; first, because no principle was ever settled by such methods; second, because industrial history has taught us that when strikers resort to violence and unlawful methods, all the resources of the government are immediately arrayed against them and they lose their cause; third, because such methods destroy the constructive impulse which it is the purpose of this organization to foster and develop in order that the workers may fit themselves to assume their place in the new society, and we hereby re-affirm our belief in the principles embodied in the Report of this body to the Seventh Annual Convention, held at Chicago, Ill., which were later published under the title, "On the Fling Line."

Even if Gov. Allen could get enough scabs to fill the strip mines, and granting they could produce as much coal as the union miners, that would not relieve the situation very much because the strip mines produce only about one-seventh of the coal mined in Kansas, the deep mines producing the other six-sevenths. The Governor proposes that he should open up many new strip mines, but he can't get scabs to work the mines that are already open.

## A CRITICISM

Lowell, Ariz., Dec. 2, 1919.

Fellow Workers:  
I noticed in The New Solidarity of Nov. 22 that No. 409 has held a mass convention and that they intend to divide into three different districts and have their secretary-treasurer and general executive board nominated from each district and that all nominees are to appear on the regular ballot. This is a good thing for this would not disfranchise the members.

No. 800 is trying to do something else, however, without a referendum. The ballots are to be sent out to the members of each district with the nominees from that district on it. This gives the member no vote on any but those nominated in the district where he works. This seems all wrong: I believe that all nominees should appear on the general ballot and the highest from each district be elected. The members should have a vote on all who are to be nominated. If the G. O. C. is to consist of seven members, the ballot should say seven or five, as the case may be. Then the members could have that number of votes. The nominees for secretary-treasurer should consist of one or two from each district and then the member could vote for one.

The way No. 800 is doing it this fall the members are disfranchised, because they tell the members they should vote for one secretary-treasurer and one for the G. O. C. In my judgment, all members eligible to be elected either for secretary-treasurer or G. O. C. should be voted upon by all of the members.

Yours for solidarity and the O. B. U.  
E. J. Scanlon, G.O.C. 890.

## A KIND INVITATION

From the Kansas City Star we glean this interesting variation of the old rhyme, "Will you walk into my parlor said the spider to the fly":  
I. W. W. Book, 717,342 Awaits  
Owner

FOUND—One I. W. W. membership card, paid up to Dec. 31 and belonging to one Frank Reese. Book issued Nov. 13 by Thos. Whitehead, and numbered 717,342. Book contains interesting reading on the abolition of the wage system, revolutionary watchwords and taking possession of the earth by the I. W. W. Owner may have same by calling at the police room in union station.

## COAL TIED UP TIGHT

Gross, Kan., Dec. 6.—(Special Correspondence of The New Solidarity)

The miners' strike situation in the Southwestern district is practically unchanged, despite reports to the contrary. It is true Gov. Allen of Kansas and Gov. Gardner of Missouri have sent troops and "volunteer miners," i. e., scabs, into District No. 14 to take coal from the "Sunshines" or steam shovel or strip mines, as they are more often called. It has been cold and rainy ever since the scabs and "heroes" arrived here, and they have sure suffered, as they are quartered in tents. As for coal production it is almost nil. For example, on Dec. 1 a troop train arrived about 590 yards south of Gross, at the Acme strip mine and let off about 150 soldiers and about twenty scabs. The former were armed to the teeth and the scabs were so shamefaced they could look no one in the face. Now the output of this whole lot has been around 100 tons in four days. A conservative estimate of the normal output of twenty miners in four days would be 480 tons, that is, for strip mines; deep mines are not included in this calculation. Twenty miners in deep mines can produce 320 tons in four days in this district. There are no deep mines being worked by scabs in this district at present. According to the capitalist press, Gov. Allen had over 3,000 scabs recruited several days ago, but there have not appeared over 200 in this district to date, and they were heavily guarded by hundreds of state and federal troops. Pittsburg, Kan. is the central distributing point of the soldiers and there are hundreds held in reserve there for use at a moment's notice. The union's district office is also at Pittsburg.

Even if Gov. Allen could get enough scabs to fill the strip mines, and granting they could produce as much coal as the union miners, that would not relieve the situation very much because the strip mines produce only about one-seventh of the coal mined in Kansas, the deep mines producing the other six-sevenths. The Governor proposes that he should open up many new strip mines, but he can't get scabs to work the mines that are already open.

The miners here have been incensed at the indictment of their officials on Dec. 3 and they are determined to carry their fight through to a successful conclusion. Meantime, railroads are suspending both passenger and freight service except in the mining district and industries are rapidly closing. It is reported the farmers are buying corn to keep from freezing on the desolate plains of western Kansas.

An encouraging spirit of solidarity was shown by the Pittsburg street car men's local which refused to transport scabs to the mines. The railway brotherhood locals of the district threatened similar action.

## MINERS BACK AT WORK

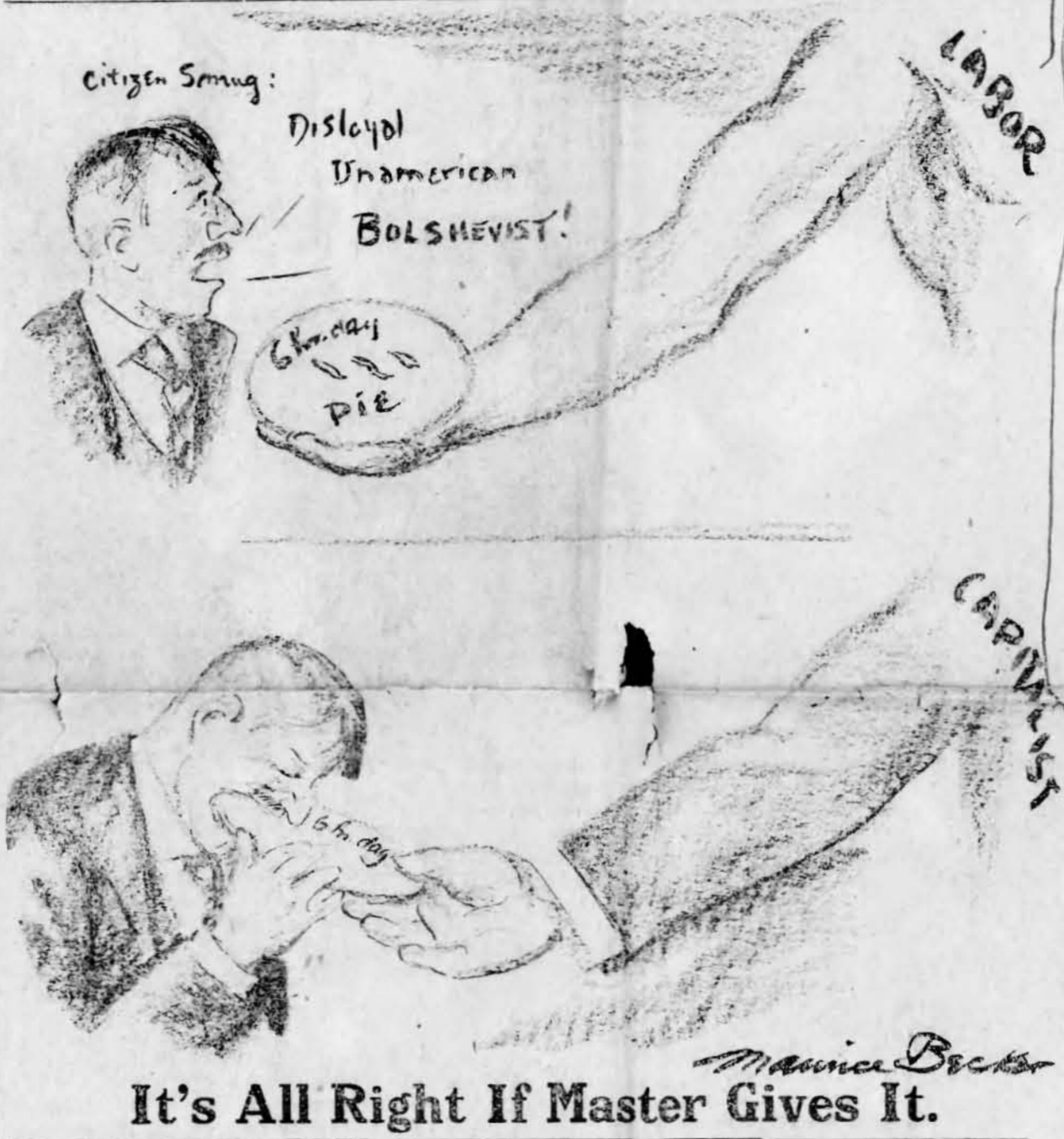
All the Colorado coal miners are back on the job. The officials of District No. 15 U. M. W. of A. are responsible for the workers returning to the mines. The strike call was not to be effective in the mines where there were contracts with the employers; it merely extended to the unorganized mines, thus giving those with a U. M. W. of A. card the right to scab on the unorganized.

At no time from Nov. 1 until all the men returned to work, was there any show of solidarity. Everywhere the workers are grumbling and cursing the U. M. W. of A. officials and their rotten tactics. They now declare openly that they are going to organize along industrial lines. There should be a great harvest for the One Big Union just as soon the three workers get a pay.

All troops are withdrawn now and soon things will be normal again. The election of district officials for Dec. 15 is on and the ballot shows the brand of democracy that is extended to the rank and file.

Every nominee on the ballot for this district is an international organizer. The miners are coming to regard their union as a vast rich machine that is completely out of their control and they are completely disgusted with it. Every move made by these finks is hastening the day for the One Big Union.—Delegate No. 120.

To the final conflict,  
Let each stand in his place  
The Industrial Union  
Shall be the human race.



It's All Right If Master Gives It.

## APPEAL

To All I. W. W. Branches, Individual Members and Sympathizers:

As you know, literature is the greatest necessity for propaganda and organization. We, the members of the Roumanian branch of M. & J. W. I. U. No. 360 of the I. W. W. in Detroit, feel it to be our duty to try and secure a monthly or semi-monthly I. W. W. newspaper. We now have under press the leaflet "Industrial Communism," by H. L. Varney.

We know that to secure leaflets and papers, especially in the beginning, we must have funds. As a unit our branch has unlimited hope that it will receive moral and financial support from branches, members and sympathizers.

ROUMANIAN WORKERS' TAKE NOTE. WAKE UP! ORGANIZE INDUSTRIALLY!  
All letters, checks and money orders, etc., should be addressed to John Onika, 2999 Orleans street, Detroit, Mich.

FIANCIAL STATEMENT OF H. R. & D. W. I. U. NO. 1166

Total receipts	\$1,263.46
Cash on hand Nov. 1	361.98
Total	\$1,625.44
Total expenditures	\$1,293.23
Cash on hand Dec. 1	332.21
Grand total	\$1,625.44
Ernest Hohnen, Secy.-Treas.	

## MRS. SHANKS' HOME RAIDED

The police of Pueblo, Colo., are not behind the hired thugs of the capitalist class in other parts of the country. A few days ago they conducted a raid upon the home of Fellow Worker Mrs. Elizabeth Shank, who happens to have intelligence enough to think for herself and courage enough to ex-

## 400,000 Rail Shopmen Win 8-Hour Day

WASHINGTON—A new wage and working agreement was signed on November 24 between the railroad administration and officials of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers.

While demands of the union were not fully met, the 8-hour basic day was established for track laborers and others of that classification and time and a half pay after that hour was provided. Most of the other employees included under the agreement will receive time and a half overtime pay after ten hours.

Signing of the new contract by Director General Hines ended negotiations which have been in progress since February. Approximately 400,000 men are affected, railroad administration officials estimated. The contract also provides that it shall be applicable during the period of federal control of the roads unless notice of thirty days is given of its cancellation.



# Northwest Terrorists Lust for Blood of Fresh Victims

## ROPE AND PRISON THREATEN 2,000 UNION MEN

## LET AMERICAN LABOR RALLY TO SAVE THEM FROM FURY OF LUMBER TRUST OR SLAVERY WILL TRIUMPH

By Ralph Chaplin

The reign of terror continues in the Pacific northwest. Lumber camps, unions halls and homes have been raided. The filthy bastilles of the district are filled to capacity. Big Business is giving its slaves a taste of the White Terror—just a taste; there is more coming if the slaves show a willingness to tamely submit to it. How perfectly it all worked! The Lumber Trust issued its orders for the demolition of the labor movement of the northwest; the howling Dervishes of the kept press rent the air with fanatical incitations to lawless violence; the cowardly mob assembled at Centralia and succeeded in its vile purpose—and in spite of an opposition justified by all the laws of God and man. A murderous gang of business men and ruffians assembled in the dead of night, as lynch mobs always do, and another champion of the cause of the solidarity of labor was left dangling to the icy stars. Then the human bloodhounds of the master class were unleashed and hundreds and hundreds more workers were thrown in dungeons.

Now the rat-hearted legal lick-spittles of the bourgeoisie are preparing to oil the machinery of "justice" with the blood of innocent men. All this because a dozen working men, trapped in their union hall, dared to defend their lives and not be massacred like sheep!

And so contemptible are the purposes of the slime-hearted degenerates who are engineering the ghastly

frame-up that everything possible is being done to obstruct or stop the work of defense which alone will enable the men to defend themselves under the law. The skids to the gallows and the penitentiary are being well greased and the hypocritical press is howling paeans of joy. The moloch of greed is rubbing his dripping hands and licking his fat lips in anticipation of another feast off the flesh of martyrs.

Herewith are the names, ages and nationalities of the original twenty-five booked at the Centralia jail as murder suspects. These were fingerprinted, examined and some released by federal officers:

- Frank Kisling, 34, Swiss.
- O. C. Bland, 36, American.
- Britt Smith, 37, American.
- Mike Sheehan, 60, Irish.
- Lay Becker, 24, American.
- Geo. Jurashich, 27, Montenegrin.
- James McInerney, 31, Irish.
- Robt. Anderson, 27, Swede.
- J. C. Morgan, 18, American.
- Frank Heaton, 18, American.
- Pat Reed, 48, Irish.
- Eric Logquist, 33, Swede.
- Oren Anderson, 38, American.
- John Lamb, 40, American.
- Stanley Hewett, 40, American.
- Wm. Ostend, 24, Swede.
- Harry Williams, 30, American.
- Tom Lassiter, 43, American.
- James Smith, 27, American.
- Harry O. Smith, 28, American.
- Elmer S. Smith, attorney, American.

Marie McAllister, Bohemian.  
Fred J. Ellis, 26, American.  
Waino Marsyla, 23, American.  
Harold R. Johnson, 21 (writer), American.

Ten members of the I. W. W. have been charged with first degree murder and more may be added to this list:

- O. C. Bland, Britt Smith, Mike Sheehan, Lay Becker, Jas. H. McInerney, Bert Bland, John H. Lamb, Eugene Barnett, Loren Roberts, Faulkner.

Fifty or more members are held at the Chehalis county jail charged with criminal syndicalism.

The Centralia American Legion has censored all press dispatches leaving the city. The staff correspondent of the Oregon Journal was nearly expelled from the city for his honest write up, which he had published.

and then denied on order of Centralia officials.

The above information is sent to The New Solidarity by a member of the United Press who must, of course, be nameless.

### TWO THOUSAND ARRESTED

In addition to Wesley Everest, the union man and ex-soldier who was lynched and his body riddled with the bullets of the American Legion union crushing "military police," ten men are held on a charge of murder and about two thousand are languishing behind the bars. It is estimated that at least one-half of this number has been arrested in the state of Washington alone. Centralia, the scene of the tragedy, is like a town in darkest Russia under the Romanoffs. The legionaries of Big Business are in full control and a tremendous effort is being made to intimidate the entire working population. Word has been sent out, ostensibly by the chamber of commerce, that any workingman who testifies in favor of the defendants, will lose his job and will be blacklisted in all the towns and cities of the northwest.

Ralph Pierce, a lawyer for the accused men, was forcibly escorted out of town when he sought an interview with his clients. A correspondent for the Associated Press, Rinehart by name, sent out a report that savored too much of truth and he was driven out of town with such precipitate haste that he was compelled to leave bag and baggage behind. Since that time the business interests have exercised the strictest censorship over all wires leaving the locality. Not a word can now go forth that is not warped and distorted to suit the taste of predatory power and its hirelings. It was Mr. Rinehart who was indiscreet enough to inform the world of the uncomfortable fact that even some of Centralia's leading citizens had testified at the inquest that shots had not been fired from the union hall until attacked by the mob. This reporter also mentioned the fact that the coroner's jury had considered the evidence inadequate to enable them to bring in a verdict laying the blame for the shooting upon the I. W. W. Hence the deportation. The lie-reeking gang of industrial cut-throats at Centralia will have a good reason to teach the public—nothing but the old,

old fabric of lies and misrepresentation.

### A CAMPAIGN OF LIES

Just as undertakers were induced to refuse to bury the poor mutilated body of Wesley Everest, so have attorneys of the northwest been induced to refuse to offer legal assistance to the hundreds of new prisoners. The few lawyers who, as a matter of principle, determined to stick it out and see that the helpless defendants obtained a legal defense, have sought to bear the force of their transactions with the respectable "gentlemen" of the prosecution, the defense lawyers have been denied the professional courtesy that is supposed to characterize the legal fraternity.

Thirty-nine county prosecutors, or "persecutors" rather, recently met in Seattle and discussed the "I. W. W. situation" at length. They bemoaned the fact that it had been so difficult to obtain convictions in labor cases in the state of Washington. They agreed that a campaign of (poisoned) publicity was needed to "educate" possible jurors. It is also rumored that an effort is being made to bring all the hundreds of labor cases to trial at one time so that the accused men, embarrassed by a shortage of defense funds and legal talent, would be left absolutely helpless at the mercy of their enemies. The American Legion has raised a fund of \$100,000, so it is reported, to assist in this campaign of misinformation. Two lily-fingered, black-souled "ministers of the Gospel," Varness and Thompson by name, are said to be about to depart on a nation wide lecture tour to work up further mob hysteria in favor of the god of Greed. It is reported that their plan is to stage a parade of American Legion members in each city and enact the capitalist version of the Centralia shooting before the very eyes of the people. The effect this horrible misrepresentation would have upon the mind of the public, denied the real truth about the situation, can be left to the imagination.

### WHAT WOULD YOU HAVE DONE?

The opinion prevails among all those who have access to the ungarbled truth about the Centralia tragedy were unquestionably justified in de-

fending themselves from the fury of the organized mob of Lumber Trust mercenaries. It is an established fact that these conspired beforehand to march to the hall bent upon and prepared for destruction and murder. Side arms had been furnished the murderers, and a rope had already been secured and was carried conspicuously to the place where its victim was expected to be found. Further evidence of the bloodthirsty intentions of the mob and its leaders is evidenced by the fact that the guests of the city for the Armistice Day parade had been placed out of danger when the main body made the detour to reach and destroy the union hall. The order, "Squads, halt!" was distinctly heard by onlookers just as the marchers reached their destination, also the order to attack. "Americanism! Go get 'em!" Not a shot was fired until the bestial fiends charged their quarry. There was a crash of broken glass, a splintering of wood—and then the shooting. As a rule, I. W. W. members have always vacated and permitted such mobs to vent their fury upon inanimate books, pictures and office equipment. But this time the men were trapped. Like hunted animals they stood at bay and battled for their lives. And because they did not permit themselves to be torn to pieces and trampled under foot by that crowd of crazed and blood-lusting bug-uglies, THE POWERS THAT BE WANT TO HANG TEN OF THEM! Since then another man has been added to the list, Elmer Smith, a local attorney who had incurred the ill will of the masters of bread because he had beforetimes helped I. W. W. men to secure justice from the courts! ELEVEN ALL TOLD!

Four of the eleven held for murder are in jail at Centralia, seven at Chehalis, Wash. The names of these men are: Loren Roberts, T. N. Sheehan, Britt Smith and Roy Becker (all four held at Centralia.) O. C. Bland, John H. Lamb, J. H. McInerney, Eugene Barnett, T. C. Morgan and Bert Faulkner. Then there is Elmer Smith, the attorney. These seven are held at Chehalis. Three of the defendants are married. O. C. Bland has a wife and seven children; John H. Lamb a wife and three children; Elmer Smith's wife have one child, an infant.

### REIGN OF TERROR

The reign of terror that followed the Centralia shooting and the venomous newspaper publicity that followed are unparalleled in the history of the labor movement. The growing incident seemed to serve as the signal for a well planned wave of the most brutal labor repression. A drive was made immediately upon all kinds of labor unions, A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. Besides this, labor and Socialist papers were raided and closed up without further formality. The defense work of the imprisoned men was stopped at once, all mail seized and funds held up. The Defense committee of the northwest has been a thorn in the side of the predatory interests of the country for a long time. Nothing do they so ardently desire as to leave the victims of their dastardly frame-up penniless and helpless to meet the full force of the class hatred of the capitalist courts. At the first opportunity this work was closed down with an iron hand. Their cowardly purpose was defeated, however, by the ingenuity of the hundreds of loyal workmen and women who determined that the men should be given adequate defense no matter what the enemies of labor might do. And the defense, although greatly handicapped, is still carrying on its work. Even to the dismal jail at Centralia where the men held for murder were then confined did the hideous Terror extend. With a mob outside clamoring for their blood, I. W. W. members were given the "third degree" and told they would be turned over to the human wolves outside if they would not agree to sign written "confessions" at once. One young man, Loren Roberts, nerve wracked, after enduring the tortures of the damned, did write such a "confession." His most incriminating statement is that "we expected all to be killed and we done this with the intention of protecting our hall."

### THE "THIRD DEGREE"

The bloody and mutilated body of Wesley Everest was dragged into the jail and left exposed to the imprisoned men while the brutal bullying was going on. J. H. McInerney had a rope placed around his neck twice and told that he was to be "finished up," as Everest had been. This was done to break the spirit of an ordinary man

Each time he looked his tormenters in the face and told them he'd see them in hell before he'd swear to a lie. Another tactic of the inquisitors of the Centralia jail was to turn out the lights suddenly, as was done when Everest was taken out to be lynched, and to call out the name of one of the men, telling him that he would be lynched this time. Everything possible was done to terrify the men into corroborating the case of the prosecution. The police stopped at nothing to gain this end.

Everest had been beaten and kicked badly after he had been seized by the mob. The crazed and inhuman monsters who had him helpless in their power had even kicked him in the privates until he was writing with pain. He was huddled down on the cold stone floor of the jail and groaning with agony when the mob broke in to lynch him. "Tell the boys I died for my class" was the last message he had for his comrades in the last great fight for labor's freedom. He had told the mob to their teeth, before the police took him to the jail, that "they didn't have the guts to lynch a man in daytime." Their subsequent actions proved how well he understood the character of such degenerates. He was lynched in the dead of night and his body riddled with bullets as it hung quivering in the air. And Everest was also one of those who went overseas in uniform to "save the world for democracy!"

### ANOTHER PAGE OF HISTORY

Another page is being written for the tragic record of labor's blood-stained march to industrial freedom. The outcome will depend upon the attitude of the great mass of workers in the land. Will Homestead, Chicago, Ludlow, Holly Grove and Everett have another counterpart? Must the innocent blood of these workingmen also be sacrificed upon the altar of Mammon? Are they to be left helpless because, in this black hour of reaction, the powers of darkness have the entire land clutched tightly in their grisly talons? If you are a real man or a real woman you will say no. I would rather die first. The time has come to call a halt to the jailing, beating, lynching and "legalized" hanging of members of our class because of no other crime than that they dare to try to organize themselves into a union!

### SHALL THESE MEN HANG?

(Continued from Page 1)

is county to another county in that district because it is evident from the natural and promoted hysteria of the people in the immediate vicinity of the scene of the crime that they are in no mental condition to view the evidence calmly and judiciously, nor are they likely to be so immune from sinister influences as citizens more removed from the immediate theater of events and less acquainted with the actors in this drama of the class war. The court has taken this motion under advisement and it will be several days before his decision will be handed down.

In the meantime both prosecution and defense are busy collecting the evidence that will be presented for the consideration of the jury. As the investigators for the defense proceed in their work, it becomes more and more apparent that there are influences at work in that community that would thwart the demands of justice. Men are said to be afraid to speak about the case and it is intimated that this reserve is due to the fact that they have been warned from extra-legal sources that their economic and personal security depends upon their silence. Others, who are blatantly proclaiming their intimate acquaintance with all the facts of the case will probably be shown to have been elsewhere at the time of the event and be asked to show the source of their present apparent prosperity.

But above all, as an evidence of guilty panic, is the covert whispering in regard to the character and personal habits of Dr. Frank Bickford, the courageous physician who dared to tell the truth at the coroner's inquest though thereby he branded himself as one of the aggressors in this most tragic affair. That any attack upon the character and mental capacity of this man can succeed is highly doubtful. Long a resident of Centralia, his circle of friends and associates is wide, and respectable in more than the sense of mere conventionality. He has established a reputation for honor and probity that the breath of skulking suspicion cannot well attack and wantonly destroy. The surviving sense of decency still to be found in the citizens of Centralia will not permit it.

In a community such as Centralia with traditions that go back to the old South, there must be men who re-

tain most of the honor and courage of their ancestors. Such men were bystanders in the crowd that witnessed the outrage on Armistice Day and there is little doubt that they will come forward on the day of the trial and lay bare the facts as they saw them. They are not to be bought or intimidated, as are men of greater economic necessity or lesser personal character, and it is upon such men that the defense will largely lean. It is not from the characterless that the facts of Armistice Day are being slowly gleaned, and the guilty instigators of this plot will be sore put to it to refute the evidence of these men when they stand to speak in the presence of the court.

From what has been learned so far someone will be called upon to explain why the guests of the city marched at the rear of the parade. The guest is usually accorded the place of honor near the front and the traditions of the Centralia people militate against any breach of the well known rules of true hospitality and neighborly courtesy.

Someone will be asked to explain why there were men in the parade with weapons of various kinds upon their persons and from whence came the rope, and why, that a man of some local celebrity is said to have had in his possession at the very moment of the melee.

Someone will be asked to explain why these commands were given to the parading column just in front of the door of the I. W. W.: "SQUAD HALT! AMERICANISM! GO GET 'EM!" And why, on the uttering of these words, the paraders dashed, howling, across the pavement and into the entrance of the hall.

Someone will be asked to explain why there are bullet holes in the wall of the I. W. W. hall on the right hand side from the entrance, if the hall was fired into from the hill, as has been averred. It is important to know a little of the geography of Centralia.

Someone will be asked to explain how the so-called confessions of Britt, Smith, Roy Becker and Loren Roberts were obtained—two of these being youths. It is said in Centralia that the aged McInerney, one of the prisoners, twice had the rope around his neck, but continued to "kick" his inquisitors till they quit in disgust at their own brutality.

These and many other things will be asked. As has happened many a time before, it may occur that instead of the prisoner it will be the

prosecuting witness that will be on trial. Literally, it will be the secret forces behind the assault upon the hall that will be unmasked. The trail of guilt leads beyond the young men thirsting for adventure, who marched in that parade. Nemesis points an unerring finger toward the economic pirates and buccaners that were to gain and fatten if the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World could be broken up in Southwestern Washington. Justice will not be satisfied until they pay the penalty for their criminal indictment to riot and murder. They must be uncovered and brought before the same impartial court that will try these eleven men who so tragically defended themselves against the dupes of these secret plotters. The officers of the law have not done their full duty until they have hunted down and fastened their guilt upon these men.

### THE SEATTLE JAIL

Owing to the fact that I. W. W. prisoners are held practically incommunicado in the Seattle city jail, it is not possible to give the names of those that have been added recently to those arrested on the first raid following the Centralia affair.

The members arrested at the big hall and in the defense office report that other members are being constantly added to the number now held in confinement and at present fifty-five men are held in the "big tank" (25x40), while about twenty other members are held in another, smaller tank. The big tank contains seventy-six prisoners in all, which so crowds the place that there is scarcely room for the men to stretch out on the concrete floor to get an opportunity to rest and sleep. The congestion would be worse were it not for the fact that a number of men have been transferred to the county jail and a few have been released on bail.

Of the entire number arrested only five have been booked on charges under the Seattle criminal syndicalism ordinance. The balance, after twenty days of confinement, are still on an "open" charge and denied the opportunity to communicate with their friends.

The Defense committee is on the job and every effort will be made to protect the interests of these fellow workers.

### BACKGROUND OF CENTRALIA

The background for the Centralia Armistice Day tragedy is a series of outrages perpetrated by the business interests of that town against the workers in general and the I. W. W. in particular. In March, 1918, a Red Cross parade ended in an attack on the I. W. W. hall, the breaking up and burning of all its contents except a few articles of value which were stolen. Members of the I. W. W. were arrested on any and all pretexts, run out of town, tarred and feathered, beaten and persecuted. A blind man selling working class papers, among them the Union Record of Seattle, had his stand twice demolished and his stock burned up. He was also threatened with personal injury at various times and was on one occasion kidnapped, thrown into an automobile and taken to the county line.

The attitude of the Commercial club toward the I. W. W. has always been one of menacing belligerence. Veiled threats of personal violence, raids and persecutions were constantly circulated about. A little more than two weeks before the Armistice Day parade meeting was held in the Elks' hall a secret committee of ten was elected to drive every I. W. W. at every citizen who sympathized with the I. W. W. out of the district.

On this occasion the chief of police denied that there was no law under which he could drive the I. W. W. out of the city, and B. F. Hubbard, wife of Dale Hubbard, one of the men killed, declared that if he were he would rid the town of the I. W. W. within twenty-four hours. In Seattle, a Centralia business man prominent in mob activities in that town, advocated direct action of the Wobblies and declared that he did not believe any jury could be obtained that would find those who part in a raid on the I. W. W. guilty of violating the law.

The situation that confronted members of the I. W. W. in Centralia appears now, the Armistice Day parade was nothing more or less than a planned attack on the I. W. W. hall and whoever was found there the hall was looted at the end of North Tower avenue, several blocks away from the business district, the line of march continued down the hall and the parade halted in front of the hall. Someone suggested a raid and immediately the marchers broke up into a mob,

The door was found to be locked and was forced open by the ringleaders. It was at this point that the shots rang out, which killed the four mob leaders.

The question which is before the workers and all thoughtful citizens of this country is WHETHER THE WORKERS ARE BOUND TO SUBMIT TO THE TERRORISTIC MOB VIOLENCE OF BUSINESS MEN AND THEIR HIRELINGS. The assumption of the capitalist press is that the workers must accept in humble submission whatever hardship, indignity and brutality heaped upon them by an arrogant, buccanering crew of business men who do not scruple to use any method of vicious attack against the workers whenever they see fit. The business men feel secure in the knowledge, gained through past experience, that the laws against mob violence are not enforced when the victims are workers.

Think of the Everett massacre, the hanging of Frank Little, the violent deportation of several hundred striking miners, men with wives, children and homes, into an arid wilderness. Think of the scores of men who were beaten, tarred and feathered, kidnapped and lynched. Fool deeds committed by mobs of business men, by officials, hired gunmen and other unscrupulous hirelings of vested interests. Not one of these mobs has ever been punished by law! On the contrary, after having suffered the assaults of business men, victims of these mobs have been further persecuted by the law.

Edward Bassett, war veteran and commander of the Butte post of the American Legion, has made the following statement, which goes to the heart of the matter involved in the Centralia Armistice Day tragedy:

"The I. W. W. in Centralia, Wash., who fired upon men that were attempting to raid the I. W. W. headquarters were fully justified in their act. Mob rule in this country must be stopped and when mobs attack the home of a millionaire, of a laborer, or of the I. W. W., it is not only their right but the duty of the occupants to resist with every means in their power. If the officers of the law cannot stop these raids, perhaps the resistance of the raided may have that effect."

The capitalist press has eulogized the mob leaders as heroes and has done everything to lash up the fury of reprisals against the I. W. W. It has applauded the action of the men

who dragged Wesley Everest out of the Centralia jail during the night and hung him. It has tacitly approved the act of the beastly crew who dragged the dead body through the streets of Centralia behind an automobile and then threw it, mangled and deformed, into a cell with the I. W. W. prisoners and left it there overnight, in the meantime taking the men out one by one and putting them through the third degree. Are these the instruments of civilization, of law and order, of justice?

We appeal to the honesty and the fair-mindedness of every worker, of every citizen. We ask them merely to consider the facts, the past actions of the Centralia business men, their attitude before the Armistice Day parade and compare these with the reports and articles in the jingo press. It is not merely the freedom of a few men, nor even of a thousand men which is involved, but a fundamental social principle which no man or woman can afford to ignore. The workers have long suffered in silence and the more submissive they were the more they have been trodden under foot, while their oppressors have gained in vain arrogance.

Mob rule, parading under the guise of patriotism and law and order, must cease—that is the lesson of Centralia.

### LEGION RUNS AMUCK IN LOS ANGELES

The Los Angeles authorities are using the Centralia affair as an excuse to persecute the I. W. W. For weeks the newspapers have screamed lies and vilification into the ears of the people. "Exterminate the Reds" is their stock advice. Every holdup, burglary, fire and murder has been charged against peaceful workers in the cause of industrial unionism. Their ravings have amounted to nothing less than outright incitation to mob violence and murder.

Ralph Chaplin spoke in Los Angeles Nov. 12. Because of the hysteria that has been generated against the I. W. W., only a small crowd was in attendance. About 400 people were present, including detectives and American Legion men. But in spite of all the difficulties the meeting was a rousing success. Chaplin made a wonderful speech. The audience gave \$280 in the collection. The next day the storm broke. The American Legion held meetings all

over Southern California. They went out to get the I. W. W. and they would stop at nothing to gain their ends. The Los Angeles boys knew that there was danger in the situation, but they decided to keep their hall open and hold their regular meetings every Friday night.

On the night of Nov. 14 about 15 members met in Germain Hall to hold their business meeting. Before they could finish the work in hand a large body of soldiers burst into the room. They were armed with revolvers and baseball bats, their faces covered with masks and their breasts with chest protectors. The I. W. W. boys were totally unarmed. They were completely at the mercy of these brutal ruffians.

Then the bloody work started. There was a wild scramble for the door. Piercing screams rent the air. Bruised and wounded men lay writhing upon the floor. The hall is on the second floor and was the only means of escape for the trapped men was to fight their way through the howling mob of inhuman brutes or jump out of the window to the street below. Some of the fellow workers chose this method of escape. They paid the penalty with broken ankles and legs. Four of the men are still in the county hospital because of the injuries that they sustained.

Three women were present at the meeting and they did splendid work in helping the men to escape. One man after another they fled from the hall, standing between their wounded fellow workers and the bullies in uniform. Too much praise cannot be given them for their courage and heroism.

After this outrageous raid, the men were arrested, charged with criminal syndicalism and inciting to riot. After allowing a crowd of hoodlums to make a criminal assault upon a peaceful body of men the authorities are still brazen enough to try to put the responsibility for the trouble upon the victims of the instigators of the trouble. The mayor chortled his delight in the press the next day, saying that he himself "could not have done any better."

Every known radical or person with radical tendencies has been unmoned to appear before the grand jury. It will be hard to get bail in the future, but the boys are not discouraged. They are determined to go on with the work of organizing the working class until this nightmare of violence and bloodshed is ended.