

IS FREEDOM DEAD?



By Harrison George

Sequel to the suppressed pamphlet
Shall Freedom Die -
PRICE TEN CENTS

SOLIDARITY

By Covington Ami

O magic word of Labor! O sesame of Toil!
By which our class shall conquer the workshop and the soil!
At what a cost we learn it, in treasure and in strife,
The clearest rule of nature, the plainest law of life.

How blind has been the folly that's kept our class apart,
That's made us slay each other in body, mind and heart;
How long has been the struggle; the road, how red and steep,—
What shambles we have suffered that others Earth might keep.

How long our souls have shaken before the Bourgeois' gods,
How tamely we have taken their gibbetings and rods;
How oft we've crowned the traitor, our true ones we have slain,—
How dumbly done when bidden the awful work of Cain.

Heartbrokenly I witness the record of our class,
Its vanguards ever falling the victims of the mass;
Its shrinking from the future, its worship of the past,—
The ages upon ages its fears have held it fast.

But, hark!—The tone is changing! The Unions move as one!
The long retreat is ended, the forward march begun!
The Class! The Class is rising! Around the censored Earth
Come psychic thought-waves telling the Great Rebellion's birth!

O magic word of Labor! O sesame of Toil!
By which our class shall conquer the workshop and the soil!
The word that sums our longing, our purpose and our might,
To build up from this ruin a world based on the right—
The word of life and freedom! The word of love and light!

SOLIDARITY!

I. W. W. Publishing Bureau, 1001 West Madison Street Chicago, Illinois



IS FREEDOM DEAD?

Sequel to the Suppressed Pamphlet—
SHALL FREEDOM DIE?

BY HARRISON GEORGE



MAIN OFFICE OF THE I. W. W., CHICAGO, ILL.—WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD, SECRETARY-TREASURER, AND ASSISTANTS

The General Headquarters occupies a large three-story building at 101 West Madison Street



Sequel to the Suppressed Pamphlet—Shall Freedom Die?

Both pamphlets being the work of Harrison George, one of the 166 indicted members of the Industrial Workers of the World, who is now a prisoner in the infamous Cook County Jail in Chicago.



Harrison George

“CONSPIRACY?”

INTRODUCTION

The present work embodies much new matter other than found in its predecessor—“Shall Freedom Die?”—the suppression of which now hangs in the balance. Although the U. S. Department of Justice did its worst to answer the interrogation of the first pamphlet in the affirmative, the demise of our right to defend ourselves in the court of public opinion is yet unsettled.

During the legal battle to suppress the first pamphlet, Hinton G. Clabaugh, Chicago head of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, held the book aloft before U. S. Commissioner Mason, who has in some mysterious manner become arbiter of what people shall read, and exclaimed—“This thing reeks with lies!” That statement, Mr. Clabaugh, the writer challenges you to prove in any court.

Not in polemical attack, but in explanation; we say we understand you,

Mr. Clabaugh: we understand why it is that you, with your aristocratic environment of the extreme South where fleeing slaves were run to death by bloodhounds, should loose your police dogs on other workers of the North and West who seek freedom but who have no place to run. We understand how you, as an ex-officer of the Navy, probably learned all you know of democracy at that school of snobbery named Annapolis.

But all methods of suppression and oppression will be in vain. The tide of industrial protest sweeps higher and higher in every land; over the ruins of bourgeois republics and the dust of ancient thrones the workers of the earth are marching onward—to a freedom that will not be denied.

HARRISON GEORGE,
Cook County Jail,
Chicago, Jan. 20, '18.

To Workers:

The following pages are dedicated to you with the knowledge that when you have read them you will know that a black and ominous conspiracy, unequalled in history, is working to throttle YOUR hopes, shackle YOU to actual slavery and bind YOUR children down as serfs to those who have conspired—the great industrial kings.

WHEN the true history of this decade shall be written in other and less troubled times; when facts now hidden come to light in details now rendered vague and obscure; truth will show that on some recent date, in a secluded office on Wall Street or luxurious parlor of some wealthy club on lower Manhattan, some score of America's kings of industry, captains of commerce and Kaisers of finance met in secret conclave and plotted the enslavement of millions of workers. Today details are obscured. The paper on which these lines are penciled is criss-crossed by the shadow of prison bars; my ears are be-set by the clang of steel doors, the jangle of fetters and the curses of jail guards. Truth, before it can speak, is strangled by power.

Yet the big fact looms up, like a mountain above the morning mists; organized wealth has conspired to enslave Labor, and—in enforcing its will—it stops at nothing, not even midnight murders and wholesale slaughter. It has laughed at law, subverted popular government local, state and national, and spread a network of protected villiany from coast to coast.

MAKING HISTORY

On September 28th, a climax of that conspiracy was reached when a federal grand jury, convoked for that especial purpose and assisted by the shrewdest legal talent of the United States government, returned indictments against 166 officers, members and sympathizers of the Industrial Workers of the World. North, south, east and west; they have been



Wm. D. Haywood, Gen. Sec'y-Treas., I. W. W.

arrested and brought in irons to Chicago for trial on the general charge of conspiracy. Organized labor is pitted against organized capital in the greatest contest of history and, to imperialistic capital it shall be a Waterloo of wealth, or, for the spartan I. W. W., it shall mean a Thermopylae of Labor.

WHAT IS THE I. W. W.?

The I. W. W. is a Labor Union admitting any wage worker. It is based upon "The Class Struggle" and acts through "Industrial Unionism." It declares that, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, while 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."



E. F. Doree and Family

It says, "Labor is entitled to all it produces," and to get it or any partial increase, Industrial Unionism is needed. "All workers in an 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 is an injury to all." Every worker in any section of an industry is organized in a Branch of an Industrial Union of all the workers in that industry. These industrial unions are grouped into Industrial Departments of connecting or kindred industries, while all are brought together in One Big Union of all the workers of all the world—the I. W. W. Workers, not officials, call strikes on or off. All power thereby remains in the hands of the man on the job.

The I. W. W. knows what it wants and how to get it. A real democracy in action—it is the best loved and worst hated—the most vital organization in existence.

THE BACKGROUND

As a background of the present, widely separated struggles with groups of workers have driven the individual capitalist, or corporation, into the present great combination to crush all organized labor. Without assistance by other wealthy interests in influencing authority and muzzling the press, the isolated employer stood chances of losing out in a strike. The unmuzzled press condemned his brutalities and authority was compelled to make some show of justice. When Carnegie's Pinkertons invaded Homestead, when the "Bul Pens" of Couer D'Alene and the deportations of Cripple Creek aroused Labor and shocked the world, the doers of those deeds were forced to defend themselves. Despite the controlled local press, police powers and courts, outside opinion, un-suppressed, took side with Labor.

LESSONS TAUGHT CAPITAL

Violence, in labor disputes, is a sign of weakness. The weakest side uses it when defeat threatens. It may here be noted that I. W. W. strikes withdraw,



T J. Doran

not only one or two crafts, but all crafts, all workers in the shop or industry. That is Industrial Unionism and it places the employer on the weakest side industrially. That is why violence in I. W. W. strikes begins with the employer. It was a policeman at Lawrence, in the great textile strike of 1912, that shot Anna LaPiza; it was a militiaman that bayoneted a Syrian boy striker from behind and left his corpse upon the sidewalk; it was thugs of the American Woolen Company that shot to death a Polish mill worker under cover of darkness. Over 900 arrests, without warrant or right of bail, showed the conspiracy between the Woolen Trust and legal authority. Despite these crimes of intimidation the strike was won. Likewise, the silk workers strike at Paterson, New Jersey, in 1913; 1860 arrests of strikers with only two convictions on minor charges; two strikers murdered, one of them being killed as he held his baby in his arms at his door-step—the guilty gunman jailed, but freed without trial.

Nor has the I. W. W. been the only one to feel the Iron Heel. Witness, the Ludlow Massacre of April 23, 1914. That horror was managed from Wall Street by the Rockefellers, who watched the development of the "pogrom" with "unusual interest and satisfaction." The local agents of Rockefeller ruled the Colorado state officials from the governor down. A letter written to John D. Rockefeller Jr., on November 18, 1913, by his agent Mr. Bowers, says, "We have been able to secure all the bankers. Besides the Chamber of Commerce, the real estate exchange, together with many of the best business men have been urging the governor to drive these vicious agitators out of the state." That strike was lost by the U. M. W. of A.

When the great Iron Miners' Strike broke on the Mesaba Range of Minnesota in June, 1916; the Steel Trust met the I. W. W., the only foe capable of winning. For the first time in labor history a strike against the Steel Trust



James P. Thompson

ended with the miners going back to work with their union cards and increased wages in their pockets. Yet the grave of a striker, John Allar, who was murdered by gunmen, witnesses; and the imprisonment at the state penitentiary of three brave and innocent strikers, testify to, the conspiracy of capital with the state authorities of Minnesota.

On a hillside near Seattle five members of the I. W. W. lie buried, victims of Sheriff McRae and his band of Lumber Trust hirelings, who shot them down from a wharf at Everett, Washington, on November 5th, 1916. They died, but lumber workers by the tens of thousands rallied to the One Big Union and the Lumber Trust today stands defeated.

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY

Control of states—collusion with local authority—was not enough. The One Big Union of bosses must be organized against the One Big Union of workers. The newspapers, and other means of misinforming the public, must standardize their lies and vituperation. A national opinion must be engendered and centralized upon influencing federal action. Extensive organization was needed.



Ralph H. Chaplin

In November, 1916, representatives of Eight Billion Dollars of corporate wealth met at New York City and organized a program to crush all organized labor. The details and methods to be pursued were not revealed, but from what followed it is evident that Capital means to win, as the I. W. W. is accused of doing, "without regard for right or wrong."

Immediately, "anti-syndicalist" laws, aimed to outlaw the I. W. W., appeared simultaneously in many state legislatures; all were written exactly alike and evidently came from a central bureau. Commercial Clubs began new campaigns to exterminate the I. W. W. Then came the war, and the I. W. W. interested primarily in the Class War, was pilloried as "treasonable" and its "leaders" condemned to death—by the newspapers.

Strikes started before the war, strikes

for the eight hour day "sanctioned by society" in 1916, became "treason" when the calendar was turned to April 6th, 1917. Such a torrent of printed calumny and lies as never before was poured upon any organization filled the serpent press against the I. W. W. Violence, even lynching, was openly advocated and had its effect. At Kansas City the I. W. W. hall was raided many times and members were first beaten by militiamen and then arrested by police. The city attorney openly stating that the militia had "permission to raid the I. W. W. hall whenever they please."

"OVERT ACTS"

The old and infamous "Citizens Alliance" was resurrected and clothed with a new name. "Loyalty Leagues" sprang up wherever there was a strike. Backed by all the powers of wealth, sanctioned by the press as "patriotic," these began a series of inhuman atrocities out-running the barbarities of Europe's warring factions. Early in the morning of July 10, 1917, gunmen of the United Verde Copper Co. at Jerome, Arizona, a town "belonging" to Ex-Senator Wm. Clark, rounded up 130 miners and, selecting 70 militants from them, loaded these on cattle cars and sent them into California. California sheriffs refused relief and drove them back across the Arizona line, the group of exiles breaking up at King-



C. R. Johanson



V. Lossieff



Carl Ahlteen



Back Row—J. P. Thompson, George Hardy, John Foss, Walter Smith
Front Row—J. A. McDonald, Harry Lloyd, T. J. Duran.

man, Arizona. This outrageous act, lawless, yet unrebuked, practically gave the Copper Trust "Carte Blanche" to proceed with their plans of deviltry. Nearly 1200 striking miners of Bisbee, Arizona, were deported, on July 12th, 1917, into the deserts of New Mexico and set adrift. They would have died of thirst among the desert sands had not an outraged society demanded their rescue. President Wilson wired the governor of Arizona that it was a bad thing to do—yet no action was taken to punish the criminals or return the deported men to their homes and families.

Proceeding, these Von Hindenburgs of Arizona, would have carried their deportation plans into the Globe-Miami district but, when by prearrangement

Miami was plunged in darkness on the night of July 21st and the gunmen began to arrive in Miami from Globe in auto-loads, the miners, disillusioned of "protection by the Government" altho four troops of U. S. Cavalry were stationed there, armed themselves and stood pat, hundreds going to the hills for defense—determined that their liberties and themselves would die together. Thwarted, the search light on the concentrator of the old Dominion Mine flashed a signal on the clouds and the gunmen, cowards in the face of resistance, fled back to Globe.

The complete control of Arizona by the Copper Barons and the collapse of civil law in that state, were apparent. Following the Jerome deportation, one



Frank Little, Grover H. Perry

who knew the situation as only a fearless organizer whose life had been spent with the western miners, one who was soon to lose his life in their behalf—wired warnings to the Arizona miners to expect no protection from others and to prepare to defend themselves and their homes. This warning, which saved the day at Miami, angered the Copper Trust and, as an added factor, hastened the operators in the accomplishment of the most brutal and godless crime that stains the records of the west—the murder of Frank Little.

Frank H. Little, organizer and member of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W., himself a pain-racked cripple, while helping the striking miners at Butte, Montana, was, on August 1, 1917, taken from his bed, at 3 o'clock in the morning, by masked thugs and dragged at rope's end behind an automobile and finally hanged to a railroad trestle at the edge of town. These murderers were commended by the press for their "pat-

riotic" services. The fiends left behind the signature of their secret organization, the cabalistic sign "3-7-77." Within 48 hours other officers of the I. W. W. received threats of their being marked for slaughter and the warnings were signed by other would be murderers with the sign—"3-7-77."

Lumber Workers, on strike throughout the northwest states for the Eight-Hour-Day, felt the concerted effort of all means of repression. Without show of legality, martial or civil, halls were raided, hundreds arrested, denied right of attorney, thrown into horrible "bull-pens," starved, beaten and shot. Trainmen who expressed sympathy with the strikers were pulled off their engines by militiamen at Pasco, Washington, and sent to "bull-pens" incommunicado.

At different points in the Yakima Valley; namely Ellensburg, Pasco, and Yakima, Washington, troops from Oregon, abrogating all the powers of civil procedure, without any declaration of martial law, and directed by Commercial Clubs, arrested hundreds of men without warrant, held them without charges, denied them access to attorney, bailment and trial by jury for no other reason than that they carried I. W. W. membership cards. And these men's forefathers bled and died in a thousand battles that human rights — now ignored — could be written in the supreme law of this nation.

A reign of terror by "Commercial Clubs," "Safety Committees" and "Loyalty Leagues" of a dozen states was directed



John Paner

against the I. W. W. and volumes could be written of their bestial crimes. At Klamath Falls, Oregon, a lawyer attempting to defend members of the I. W. W. was driven out of town and threatened with lynching. Likewise, Fred Moore, attorney for the I. W. W., who went to Bisbee, Arizona, under express and written authorization from Governor Campbell of that state, was deported by the sheriff and the "Loyalty League." Evidently, the Copper Trust had faith that an authority, greater than that of the state, protected its crimes.

Aberdeen, South Dakota, was another city where Commercial Club members beat up scores of workers and where no man wearing overalls was safe from sluggers.

On the night of July 23rd, 1917, as G. J. Bourg, the Branch Secretary of the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, passed the Commercial Club Building on his way home, he was seized and taken to jail. At 2 o'clock in the morning he was taken from the cell and thrown into an automobile containing the Chief of Police and two sluggers. More brave champions of "Law and Order" awaited them outside of town, where Bourg was held face to the ground while Aberdeen's "best citizens" beat him with heavy clubs. Brutal? Yes! Unlawful? Certainly! A chance of legal remedy? Not the slightest!

At Franklin, New Jersey, on August 29, 1917, John Avila, an I. W. W., was taken in broad daylight by the Chief of Police and an auto load of "business men," to woods near the town and there hung to a tree. On second thought they cut him down before death came and, unconscious and bleeding, they returned him to town where a "judge," who was paymaster for the mining company, sentenced Avila to three months at hard labor.

INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT

Nor are all these incidents to be regarded as arising spontaneously from



Charles R. Fisher
CLASS MAN WASHINGTON

local situations. There is evidence to be disclosed, there are circumstances to be revealed, that point suspiciously to complicity by federal secret agents, backed by wealth, in acts that would shame Russia in her darkest days of oppression.

And those officials who stand supine and indifferent while the organic law, which gave this government its life, is superciliously set aside by potential oligarchy; who with commendatory complacency view the most fundamental of human rights—that were torn from tyrants by centuries of bloody struggles—wrenched violently from the citizenry; these cannot come before the people with clean hands and cover a death thrust at basic democracy with a glamour of cool and impartial justice.

What followed proved that government officials are, as Marx stated, "But an executive committee to carry out the wishes of the ruling class." Public opinion corrupted and intimidated by the press was prepared for the program, and then—

THE BIG RAID

On September 5th, 1917, at 2 P. M. (Central time) an army of federal of-

ficers swooped down upon every I. W. W. hall and office from Maine to California. They seized every scrap of paper, written or printed, all records and files. Everything was sent to the grand jury at Chicago and the search for 'German Gold' began. Yet expert auditors after conceding that the books were kept excellently, reported that the "German Gold" was a myth. It was a great blow—to the newspapers. "But something must be done—the I. W. W. must be crushed," and so—



Sam Scarlett

THE INDICTMENTS

It was discovered that the I. W. W. not only detested the Kaiser of Germany, but also hated the Kaisers of American industry. They had "unlawfully and feloniously" failed to distinguish between a civilized deportation of miners by the Copper Kings of Arizona, and the barbarous deportation of Belgians by the Kaiser. Indictments against "William D. Haywood, et al.," were returned. Reduced to bald facts and few words the indictments charge that, "The I. W. W. is guilty of treason to the profits of the employing class of America." It took forty pages of legal phrases and dignified rhetoric to conceal that statement. Briefly, the counts are that the entire official family of the I. W. W. conspired to:

1. Abolish the wage system of Capitalism. Hinder the war program by publishing the Preamble to the I. W. W. Constitution, newspapers and literature. The routine work of correspondence, etc., for the union is crime.

2. Translated into plain English, this charges the I. W. W. with going out on strike. (Some excellent "camouflage" used to slip this over on Labor—Mr. Unionman).

3. Circulate literature advising workers to treat the boss the same way the boss treats the workers. Counseling the laborer to consider his own interest more than his employer's profits.

4 and 5. Two counts are but screens to cover up and conceal the "Joker." To put across such a bare-faced attack on labor as the other counts include, the plea of "military necessity" and the charge of military offenses must be made. "Opposition to Registration" and "Sedition" are used as "red herring" to throw off the scent from the main issue. These charges are certain to collapse as the I. W. W. took no official cognizance of the war—one way or the other. Its war was the Class War and its attitude neither Pro-Ally nor Pro-German, but distinctly Pro-Labor; and that fact was unforgivable in the eyes of the employing class.

SUMMING UP

For its uncompromising faithfulness to Labor, the I. W. W. goes to trial.

JOE
ETTOR

The majority, the most important, of these charges can be laid upon any labor union worthy of the name. As James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, said in a recent speech, "Today it is the I. W. W.; but tomorrow it will be the A. F. of L." The right of Labor to organize unions, the right of those unions to go on strike, is on trial with the I. W. W.

COUNTER CHARGES

At the same time the I. W. W. announces to the world its counter charge of Conspiracy by Capitalism. Back into the face of the Employing Class we hurl this indictment:

The Employing Class of America has conspired to:

1. Maintain the wage slavery of the working class of America.
2. Continue an industrial system where "hunger and want are found among millions of working people, while the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life."
3. By force and violence, hinder and delay human progress and the realization of industrial freedom. Murdering workers and breaking every law of God and man.

4. Inaugurate an industrial oligarchy that has wiped out those rights that are the heritage of the ages.

5. Endeavor to exterminate labor movements by such schemes and artifices as the Chicago indictments against 166 Industrial Workers of the World.

In proof of the charges enumerated above, the I. W. W. offers the foregoing pages and the facts of industrial history; and a verdict of "Guilty" is asked, not from twelve men of doubtful wisdom, but from the jury of bleeding and exploited Labor the wide world over.

"DARKEST AMERICA"

One might suppose, readily enough, that an organization of any nature, so attacked, so persecuted, so unbelievably,



Chas. Plahn

basely and relentlessly persecuted — would "quit." Those thinking so have, however, thought wrongly. Like a giant pugilist, bleeding, but unbeaten, the I. W. W. has gained its "second wind" and is fighting back with a spirit that inspires the world. The I. W. W. has resolved never to surrender in the fight for the most elemental rights of labor, while one member remains outside the walls of prison-pens to voice the cry of protest.

To the uninitiated, it might also appear as though the terrific blow struck at the Union by the Chicago indictments, would appease the wrath of the God of Gold; that those sweetly respectable business men, whom a "Win the War" fever had imbued with homicidal frenzy toward striking workmen; that those midnight assassins, who go about in gum shoes, black masks and a flaming halo of "Patriotism" would suspend their efforts to uphold "Democracy" and, satisfied that relief was obtained "For suffering Belgium"—allow the Law—majestic in its inequality, to take its course. But, that presumption also, would be unfounded. The forces of reaction, lawless barbarity and barbarous legality alike, seem insatiable.

When the nation-wide raids upon the I. W. W. took place on September 5,



Albert Prashner

1917, the officers conducting the search at Fresno, California, made numerous arrests as well. The men so arrested without warrant were held until November 20th, when an indictment was returned by the Federal Grand Jury against thirty-two I. W. W.; some under arrest there, some in other California cities and some who were in the Cook County Jail at Chicago under the indictment there. This Fresno, indictment, while of the same insidious nature as the Chicago indictment, actually surpasses it in barefaced ferocity of attack upon Unionism. Never, since the Vagrancy Laws of England branded Labor's brow with white-hot irons, has such a ghastly judgment pended in the courts of any land. Workingmen and Workingwomen! The important part of that indictment is given below. Read it and think! Here it is; it gives you a choice; you can be either

SLAVES OR TRAITORS!

"The defendants furthermore are charged with having conspired to injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate certain citizens of the United States in the free exercise and enjoyment—by them respectively—of certain rights and privi-

leges secured to them by the Constitution and laws of the United States, by demanding stated wages and certain terms from employers of labor thruout the United States, and unless the employers of labor will agree to the certain terms demanded, the said defendants and the said persons with whom the said defendants conspired, would refuse to work for or give their services to the said employers, and would engage in what is known in everyday parlance as a 'STRIKE.' "

Without qualifications the writer dares assert the threat embodied in this indictment to be the most dangerous menace to human freedom and civil peace since the enactment of the Fugitive Slaves Law. If we are to witness another Dred Scott Decision; if the U. S. Government is to proceed in the prosecution of workers upon such an astounding charge, it should erase from the Constitution that proviso stating "Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within the United States;" it should tear from their bases the statutes it has raised to the Great Emancipator, that his kindly features may not look down upon a race so lost in perfidious hypocrisy; for as surely as time runs its course, this nation shall tread backward on the path of Rome to the pit into which Rome fell.



George Andreytchine

TULSA

On November 5th, 1917, eleven men were taken without warrant from the Oilworkers Union Hall at Tulsa, Oklahoma and thrown into jail. They were tried before Police Judge Evans on the 7th of November and fined \$100.00 each for Vagrancy, altho none were vagrants by law. Four men were arrested in the courtroom, one a home-owner and a long resident of Tulsa. All were taken to Jail cells, but about eleven P. M. they were taken out by the Turnkey, driven in automobiles by policemen to a lonely spot where the policemen were conveniently "surprised" by a group of men, masked and gowned, who, taking them further to meet a larger group, there stripped the prisoners, beat them with whips, applied hot tar to their wounds and drove them naked and suffering into the night with revolver shots. Thus, did these thugs, altho able to bear a rifle on the soil of France, vicariously adjust, according to their own word—"The wrongs of suffering Belgium." There was no strike on at Tulsa, nor was any strike in prospect.

CONVENTION GOES TO JAIL

The Construction Workers Industrial Union No. 573 of the I. W. W. was assembled in Annual Convention of elected delegates at Omaha, Nebraska, discussing things pertaining to their Union and the Industry, when on November 13th, 1917, Federal Officers raided the open hall, wrecking and confiscating the furniture, tearing the wall paper from the walls, and escorting 65 persons, including the wife of one Convention delegate, to the County Jail. There they were held incommunicado for weeks and denied access to their attorney. A few are now released, but the majority are yet held under some vague charge. Readers are reminded that this occurred in the United States of America. Again, no strike was on, or in prospect.

TORQUEMADA—"A LA MODE"

Equal to the scalp-lifting Apaches or



Charles Ashleigh

any other fiends of human form, were the business and mining Company men and local officers of the law at Red Lodge, Montana, who began a series of nightly tortures on November 17, 1917. No strike in the Coal Mines was on or thought of; but near midnight, Jacob Lindquist, a Finnlander, was taken from his home to the Court-house basement and questioned about his connection with the Socialist Party and the I. W. W. After refusing to divulge the names of the I. W. W. miners, he was hung up by the neck and lashed with a "Black-snake" until his blood formed in pools at his feet. Fainting he was revived and again beaten, but not in spirit; and, unable to force him to speak, his inquisitors finally turned him onto the street, more dead than alive. During the three succeeding nights, five Finnish Coal Miners, one—John Puro—a member of no other Organization but the United Mine Workers, were taken to the Court-house chamber of horrors and similarly beaten and tortured. These are

men who came to a land of vaunted liberty to escape the thralldom of Cossack and Tsar.

WHILE THE WORLD WATCHES

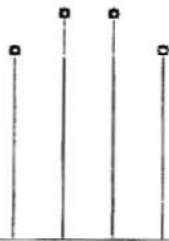
Of the 166 indicted at Chicago; 105 comprising those arrested and those who had surrendered to the authorities upon a call to so do, issued by the Defense Attorneys, appeared to plead in the Federal Court at Chicago on December 15, 1917. Chained together and guarded by hundreds of police, U. S. Deputies and Soldiers, they were taken into the courtroom by a subterranean passage and freight elevator, while soldiers with fixed bayonets guarded the three main entrances. Here they came forward as their names were called, each uttering a firm "NOT GUILTY" in clear tones that sounded a note of defiance to the atmosphere of vicious hostility.

On the date of the plea, Saturday, December 15th, Hinton G. Clabaugh,

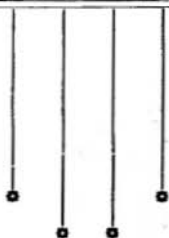
division Chief of the Bureau of Investigation for the U. S. Dept. of Justice promised the Defense, that its work of propaganda in soliciting funds and the support of Public Opinion, would meet with no interference from his office. U. S. Attorney General Gregory arrived in Chicago that night, December 15th. On Monday December 17th, 1917, Federal Officers again descended on the I. W. W. Headquarters at Chicago, where the General Defense Committee has its offices and equipment, drove out all officers and employees and closed the doors. On the next day, Chicago papers stated that U. S. Atty. General Gregory had instructed local representatives to be "Strictly Fair" and avoid acts that would leave a feeling of "Injustice or Persecution" Yet, Federal Deputies held possession of the Defense Offices for twelve days, two days after the warrant expired, and then confiscated sev-



Chas. McKinnon, Governor Hunt of Arizona, Grover H. Perry



Governor Geo. P. Hunt of Arizona believes in a square deal for all workers regardless of what organization they may belong to.



eral thousand dollars worth of literature, among it the pamphlet—"Shall Freedom Die?" issued solely for Defense Purpose. And thus are the promises of "Justice" to the Chicago defendants, as made by U. S. officials, put in the light of 'Scraps of paper' before the working class of America—Yes! and of the World!

Nor does the interference with Defense matters end with the Chicago outrage. At Seattle, Washington, on December 20, 1917, the Local Defense Committee's offices and the office of one of the Union's papers, "The Industrial Worker"—were raided by Federal Officers with a "search" warrant. They not only searched—but seized—all documents, records and furniture, including typewriters, adding machines and cuspidors(!); and arrested, without warrant, six persons, including the wife of the newspaper's editor, Kate McDonald. Held without charge, "Habeas Corpus" proceedings caused them to be booked as "Disorderly persons!" Who are the law-breakers, the government officials or the I. W. W.?—Look, workers, at the Fourth Amendment to the—

UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized."

Even the outrages upon the right of prisoners to defend themselves, as shown by the unwarranted raids at Chicago and Seattle, did not suffice those authorities who know no law—constitutional or of common decency. The local Defense Committee's Secretary at San Francisco, Theodora Pollock, was arrested and funds in her possession seized on December 28, 1917, in a far-fetched attempt to connect her with a dynamite explosion at Sacramento (200 miles distant), where, as a political cam-



ARTHUR BOOSE
CLASS WAR PRISONER

paign stunt, an explosion conveniently blew two or three boards off the doorstep of a state-official whose partisan faction in San Francisco was, by pure accident of course, seeking an electoral victory over those who wanted a fair trial for Tom Mooney, whose case is outside of and distinct from the I. W. W.

While a new year of our "New Freedom" was being born; at Ione, Washington, members of the Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 500, were being slugged and deported by lawless mobs of vigilantes. No strike was on, or was a strike in prospect until this action precipitated Industrial Resistance by the Workers.

"A CRIMINAL ORGANIZATION"?

New light was thrown upon the case when the prosecution recently announced thru the press that it intended to prove that the Industrial Workers of the World is a Criminal Organization, that was born in crime etc. That charge we deny in toto, and wonderingly ask, when did the Democratic Party, now malevolently mad with unaccustomed power, acquire the wings of angels?

As wage workers, we place no reliance in any political party. Our program is in industry and we prize our right to give or withhold our labor-power too highly to surrender that right into the hands of any group of scheming parliamentarians. But today the power of concentrated capital strikes with the hand of the Democratic Party and thru its lips it

says—"Your Organization is Criminal from its inception." Denying, we rise to inquire—When did the Democratic Party renounce and rescind that plank of its platform inserted years ago that—"Opposed the discussion of the Slavery Question, within Congress, or without?" By your ruthless attempt to suppress the I. W. W., are you not putting that program into present practice?

We, the abolitionists of wage-slavery are met with indictments and cries of—"ten-thousand crimes! Sedition! Treason!" But history in thunderous tone demands—"Who was it summoned a million bayonets in armed rebellion against the Stars and Stripes? who filled this nation's peaceful fields with screaming heaps of mangled men? who set a nation's women weeping for the husbands and brothers that met their death while facing Freedom's Foes?" It was men who profited by owning, in slavery, the bodies of other men, and now in recent times has arisen the more diabolical system of wage-slavery and those who profit by it speak with tongues of a brief authority demanding our conviction.

Are we Criminals? If simple denial does not satisfy; if you would understand from where the I. W. W. came; read the document that follows; the Manifesto issued by men who sought to



J. A. Law

establish a new form of Unionism by calling in this Manifesto for a workers Convention which gave birth to the I. W. W.—an organization that, since that first convention in July 1905, has followed in principle and general outline the theories of its founders.

INDUSTRIAL UNION MANIFESTO

Issued by Conference of Industrial Unionists at Chicago, January 2, 3, and 4th 1905.

Social relations and groupings only reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines, ever replacing less productive ones, wipe out whole trades and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress, the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerve respond most intensely. The moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile, to starve alongside the discarded machine. A dead line has been drawn, and an age limit established, to cross which, in this world of monopolized opportunities, means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by

class divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted hither and thither by the demands of profit-takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless condition he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his master may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattel slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified by difference in trade skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill or interests among the laborers, are imposed by the employer that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations, they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the injunctions of the judiciary and the use of military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable, they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of the mechanical and industrial con-

centration, while laborers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions. The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions; the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by their fellow-workers subject to the same masters; the long-struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotency of labor as at present organized.

This worn-out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement and adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle or slight relief from wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the product of which they alone should enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent on the industrial battlefield.

Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial solidarity impossible.

Union men scab upon union men; hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs



Joe Graber

against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are thereby fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft.

Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory.

Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the conditions of life of another body of laborers.

Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action.

Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles which serve only to further the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

A movement to fulfill these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries—providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally.

It must be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration must be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between

the capitalist class and the working class.

It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

All power should rest in a collective membership.

Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax should be uniform throughout.

All members must hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

Workmen bringing union cards from industrial unions in foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

The general administration should issue a publication representing the entire union and its principles which should reach all members in every industry at regular intervals.

A central defense fund, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained.

Having seen in the above Manifesto, the theories which gave birth to the I. W. W. and gave it outline in structure and spirit, examine below the present Preamble to the I. W. W. Constitution, a document that history shall prove not less in liberative importance than the Magna Charter or the colonial Declaration of Independence. Remember, in reading this Preamble, that its printing and circulation are charged against the I. W. W. as crimes, read it and decide.

PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W.

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

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

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

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

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages 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 work-



Arturo Giovannitti

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

Criminal? No! For if this be criminal, then human progress is criminal; hope is criminal; love of freedom is a crime; science a lie; and Labor is thrust backward into midnight slavery to impotently rattle its chains of absolute servitude.

"CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM"

As the charge of being "Criminal" has

been refuted, remains then, to dissipate the charge hurled at us by legal jackals and press harlots that the I. W. W. is guilty of "Criminal Syndicalism," an unusual word to the American ear, therefore a word of vague terror, a word used to conjure with, to muster mobs to murder workers, mobs that apply the term and the lash together. Not being "criminal" in any sense, we are not interested in denying the charge of "Syndicalism," except that it is not true, as that term is imported from the Latin countries. We do not believe that "Syndicalism" anywhere is "criminal" because, in the language of the Latin countries where the word originated "Syndicalism" means simply "Unionism." Labor unionism we certainly believe in; but in unionism that is scientific and unionism that will liberate, we uphold and have faith in **INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM** only.

As applied in the Latin countries, a "Syndicate" is a labor union, but there are syndicates that are **trade unions**; syndicates that are **mass unions**; and syndicates that are **industrial unions** (within certain industries); while the I. W. W. consists of **One Big Union of Industrial Unions** formed in every industry. As illustrative of "Syndicalism" the French "Confederation General du Travail" exemplifies the "revolutionary spirit of European syndicalism" and exemplifies as well its absolute lack of scientific revolutionary structure. This confusion and division of Labor, in all countries, we object to as demoralizing to the workingclass, a class fundamentally seeking emancipation over the stumbling blocks of faulty structure and against the opposition of its enemy, the bourgeoisie.

COSMO-INDUSTRIALISM

We have seen the march of mechanical progress undermine the individual manufacturers and solitary bourgeois and establish a **class** of industrial kings and



Chas. L. Lambert

financial kaisers within each large nation. We are seeing, in turn, how each group that clashed with the others for world domination, is now driven into combination with the others in a common fight against the world proletariat. True, in that fight, the bourgeoisie want peace, the peace of unprotected slavery. But the thought of the world is fluid and streams around the globe and, simultaneous with the birth of concentrated world capital is born the fervent, revolutionary idea of concentrated **World Labor**. One Big Union of the World's Workers!

As national capitalism failed to function for the benefit of its masses, so will world capitalism break down with the weight of its own greed and an inherent inability to maintain its class position and feed the world's people at the same time. And the time will come when starving people will demand, not ask, of their blundering capitalistic oppressors, the release of Industrial Unionists from prison-pens and persecution that they may organize production, bring order from chaos, and direct an industrial democracy that is the only efficient instrument of human progress. But, today revolutionary industrial unionism, with the Chicago defendants, is on trial charged with 10,000 crimes of "seditious conspiracy" and—workingmen and workingwomen, it awaits your call.

NAMES OF THOSE INDICTED

Olin B. Andersen
 Aurelio Vincenzo Azuara
 Charles Ashleigh
 John Avila
 Carl Ahlteen
 George Andreytchine
 Jos. Bariak
 Charles Bennett
 Arthur Boose
 John Baldazzi
 George Bailey
 James Burch
 Roy A. Brown
 R. J. Bobba
 Richard Brazier
 Dan Buckley
 Julio Blanco
 Nick Berbore (Verbore)
 J. R. Baskett
 Bourg
 Beyer
 J. Clark
 Edgar Cole
 Cunningham
 Mauro Cori
 Ernest P. Condit
 Ray Cordes
 Ralph H. Chaplin
 Roger S. Culver
 Alex Cournois
 Arthur C. Christ
 J. T. Doran
 E. F. Doree
 Pete Dailey
 C. W. Davis
 Stanley Dembrick
 Jos. J. Ettor
 James Elliot
 Forrest Edwards
 Phinens Eastman
 B. E. Fabio
 Meyer Friedkin
 John M. Foss
 Ben Fletcher
 Joe Foley
 Elizabeth G. Flynn
 Ray S. Fanning
 Ted Fraser
 Sam Fisher
 J. Fishbein
 Peter Green
 H. A. Giltner
 Joe Graber
 C. R. Griffin
 Fred Goulder
 Charles Garcia
 Jos. J. Gordon
 Harrison George
 Jack Guveel
 Arturo Giovannitti
 James Gilday
 Ed. Hamilton
 Clyde Hough
 F. Humphrey
 William D. Haywood
 George Hardy
 Harrison Haight
 Dave Ingar
 C. A. Jones
 Ragnar Johanson
 Fred Jaakkola
 Otto Justh
 Charles Jacobson
 Charles R. Jacobs
 Peter Kerkonen
 Charles Kratspiger
 Phil. Kurinsky
 Wm. Kornuk
 Ben Klein
 H. J. Kane
 Jas. Keenan
 A. P. Kimball
 Jack Law
 Leo Laukki
 Vladimir Lossieff
 Lanikos
 W. H. Lewis
 Bert Lorton
 Harry Lloyd
 Morris Levine
 Charles L. Lambert
 H. H. Munson
 Mowes
 Wm. Moran
 James H. Manning
 N. G. Marlatt
 Herbert Mahler
 A. Martinez
 John Martin
 Edward Mattson
 W. E. Mattingly
 Francis Miller
 Joe McCarty
 Charles McWhirt
 H. E. McGuckin
 Peter McEvoy
 Herbert McCutcheson,
 or E.J. McCosken
 Charles H. McKinnon
 J. A. McDonald
 Walter T. Nef
 Pietro Nigra
 Geo. Numeoff
 Fred Nelson
 J. V. O'Hair
 Jos. A. Oates
 Paul Pika
 Lewis Parenti
 Grover H. Perry
 Albert B. Prashner
 John Panener
 James Phillips
 Charles Plahn
 Walter Reeder
 Abraham Rodriguez
 Glen Robert
 Fred C. Ritter
 Frank Bailey
 Frank Russell
 Manuel Rey
 J. E. Rogers
 James Rowan
 Charles Rothfisher
 Herman Reed
 C. H. Rice
 Ed. Rowan
 Sigfried Stenberg
 Geo. Stone (Lewenstein)
 Alton Soyer
 Walter Smith
 Ben Schraeger
 George Speed
 Jos. Schmidt
 Archie Sinclair
 Sam Searlett
 Vincent St. John
 Wm. Shorey
 Abe Schram
 Don Sheridan
 J. P. Sullivan
 James Slovick
 Wm. Tanner
 John I. Turner
 Louis Tori
 Harry Trotter
 James P. Thompson
 Carlo Tresca
 Jos. Usapiet
 Albert Wills
 John Walsh
 Ben H. Williams
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