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More Truth About the I. W. W.



Facts in relation to the trial at
Chicago by competent Industrial
Investigators and noted
Economists

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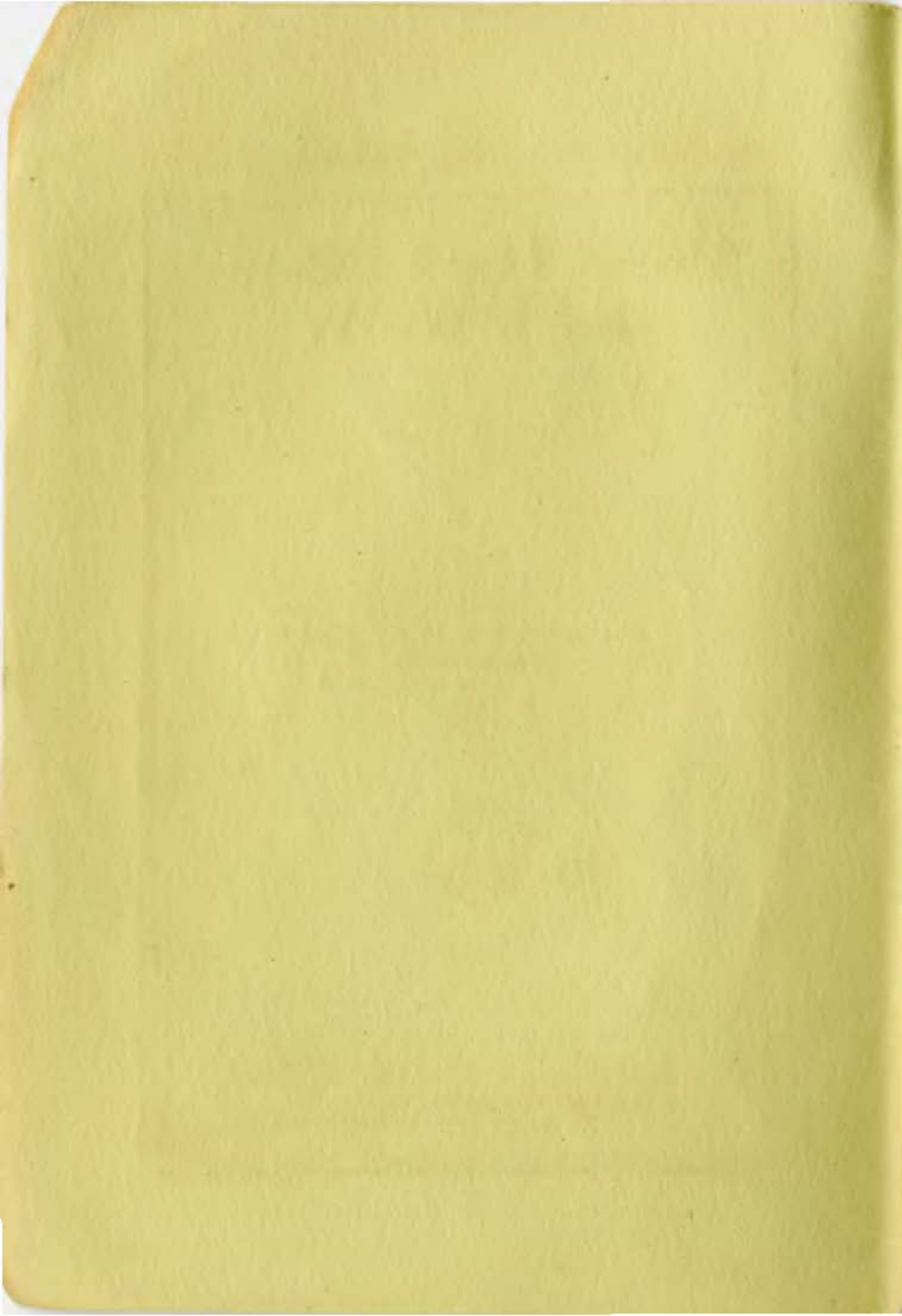
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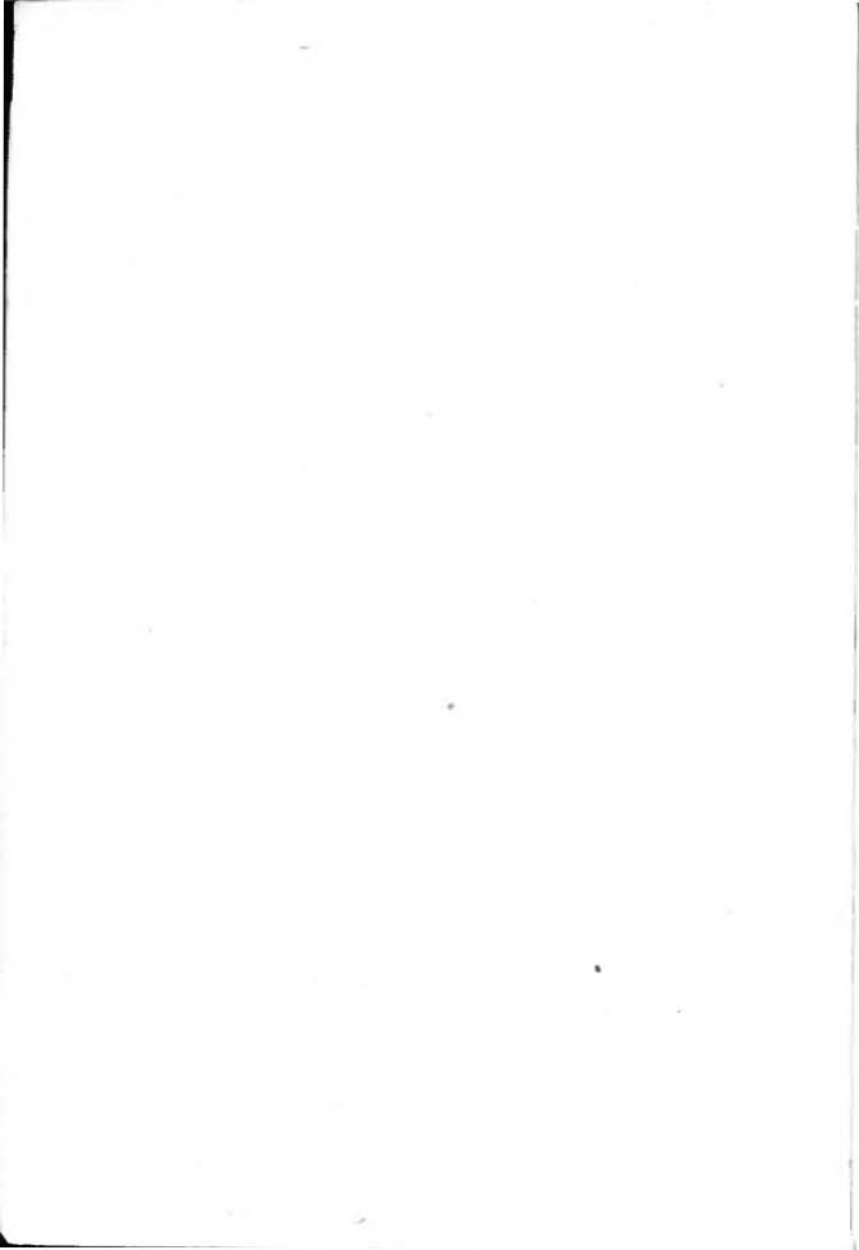


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The I. W. W. has exercised its strongest hold in those Industries and communities where employers have most resisted the trade union movement, and where some form of protest against unjust treatment was inevitable."



THE I. W. W.

Excerpts from Court Records, Reports of Government Investigators and Noted Economists:

"When the British Labor Party asks for representative government in industry, those who do not ignore the request give it serious attention. When the I. W. W. echoes the sentiment in the phrase, 'Let the workers run the industry,' the editors are thrown into a panic, the business world views the I. W. W. menace with aggravated alarm, and the more reactionary employers hysterically clamor to have these criminal anarchists shot at sunrise."—Paul F. Brissenden.

Paul F. Brissenden, Ph.D., a graduate of the University of California, a former special agent of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, and at present a member of the Department of Labor, at Washington, D. C., is the author of a book which is just off the press. This book, entitled "The I. W. W., a Study of American Syndicalism," contains over 400 pages and is edited by the faculty of political science of the Columbia University. In the introduction to this book, we find the following:

"The current picture is of a motley horde of hoboos and unskilled laborers who will not work and whose philosophy is simply of sabotage and the violent overthrow of 'capitalism' and whose actions conform to that philosophy. This appears to be about what the more reactionary business interests would like to have the people believe about the Industrial Workers of the World. If, and to the extent that these reactionary employing interests can induce the public not only to believe this about the I. W. W., but also to believe that this picture applies

as well to all labor organizations, they will to this extent ally the public with them and against labor.

"The negative or destructive items in the I. W. W. program are deliberately misconstrued and are then stretched out and made to constitute the whole of I. W. W.ism. In reality they are only a minor part of the creed. There are immense possibilities of a constructive sort in the theoretic basis of the I. W. W., but the press has done its best to prevent the public from knowing it. . . . The Wobblies would have 'capitalism' (the monarchic and oligarchic control of industry) supplanted by economic democracy just as political despotism has been supplanted by political democracy in nearly all civilized states. When the British Labor Party asks for representative government in industry, those who do not ignore the request give it serious attention. When the I. W. W. echoes the sentiment in the phrase, 'Let the workers run the industry,' the editors are thrown into a panic, the business world views the I. W. W. menace with aggravated alarm, and the more reactionary employers hysterically clamor to have these criminal anarchists shot at sunrise."

The President's Mediation Commission, appointed by the President in the fall of 1917 to effect settlements of labor disputes and unrest in the West, submitted its report to the President on January 9th, 1918. The members of the commission were William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, chairman; Felix Frankfurter, Secretary and Counsel; Ernest P. Marsh, Verner Z. Reed, Jackson L. Spangler and John H. Walker.

THE VERDICT OF THE PRESIDENT'S MEDIATION COMMISSION

The commission, whose inquiry was chiefly concerned with strikes and unrest in western countries, in which the I. W. W. was a conspicuous factor, concluded:

(8) It is, then, to uncorrected specific evils and the absence of a healthy spirit between capital and labor, due partly to these evils and partly to an unsound industrial structure, that we must attribute industrial difficulties which we have experienced during the war. Sinister influences and extremist doctrine may have availed themselves of these conditions; they certainly have not created them.

(9) In fact, the overwhelming mass of the laboring population is in no sense disloyal. . . . With the exception of the sacrifices of the men in the armed service, the greatest sacrifices have come from those at the lower rung of the industrial ladder. Wage increase responds last to the needs of this class of labor, and their meager returns are hardly adequate, in view of the increased cost of living, to maintain even their meager standard of life. It is upon them the war pressure has borne most severely. Labor at heart is as devoted to the purposes of the government in the prosecution of this war as any other part of society. If labor's enthusiasm is less vocal, and its feelings here and there tepid, we will find the explanation in some of the conditions of the industrial environment in which labor is placed and which in many instances is its nearest contact with the activities of the war.

(a) Too often there is a glaring inconsistency between our democratic purposes in this war abroad and the autocratic conduct of some of those guiding industry at home. This inconsistency is emphasized by such episodes as the Bisbee deportations.

(b) Personal bitterness and more intense industrial strife inevitably result when the claim of loyalty is falsely resorted to by employers and their sympathizers as a means of defeating sincere claims for social justice, even though such claims be asserted in time of war.

(c) So long as profiteering is not comprehensively prevented to the full extent that governmental action can prevent it, just so long will a sense of in-

equality disturb the fullest devotion of labor's contribution to the war.

Says the President's Commission of the practical application of the I. W. W. theory of sabotage:

"Membership in the I. W. W. by no means implies belief in or understanding of its philosophy. To a majority of the members it is a bond of growing fellowship. According to the estimates of conservative students of the phenomenon a very small percentage of the I. W. W. are really understanding followers of subversive doctrine. The I. W. W. is seeking results by dramatizing evils and by romantic promises of relief. The hold of the I. W. W. is riveted instead of weakened by unimaginative opposition on the part of employers to the correction of real grievances—an opposition based upon academic fear that granting just demands will lead to unjust demands. The greatest difficulty in the industry is the tenacity of old habits of individualism. The co-operative spirit is only just beginning."

6. Repressive dealing with manifestations of labor unrest is the source of much bitterness, turns radical labor leaders into martyrs and thus increases their following, and, worst of all, in the minds of the workers tends to implicate the government as a partisan in an economic conflict. The problem is a delicate and difficult one. There is no doubt, however, that the Bisbee and Jerome deportations, the Everett incident, the Little hanging, and similar acts of violence against workers have had a very harmful effect upon labor both in the United States and in some of the allied countries. Such incidents are attempts to deal with symptoms rather than causes. The I. W. W. has exercised its strongest hold in those industries and communities where employers have most resisted the trade union movement and where some form of protest against unjust treatment was inevitable.

THE REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

The report of the Secretary of Labor (Fifth Annual, 1917), sets forth the record of labor disputes in the period between the declaration of war (April 6) and October 25, 1917. The report states that "the number of labor disputes calling for government mediation increased suddenly and enormously with the beginning of the war."

An examination of the record of the 521 disputes handled by the department in the war period to October 25 (281 strikes, 212 controversies, and 28 lock-outs), shows that **only three out of the total of 521 involved the I. W. W. in any way** (copper miners, Arizona, mine workers, Butte, Montana, and shipyard workers, Washington. In both the mine workers' strikes an A. F. of L. union was involved besides—the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union). **All the others occurred in industries either unorganized, or organized in unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. or the so-called "conservative" international unions.** (Fifth Annual Report, Secretary of Labor, pp. 41-49, 60.)

A comparison of the reports of the Department of Labor also shows a larger proportion of labor controversies involving the I. W. W. in the years preceding our entry into the war than in the six months following it. The I. W. W. were comparatively quiet during that period.—Editors.

' "PLAYING WITH DYNAMITE" '

(Editorial in the "Public," Nov. 16, 1917)

"Professional detectives and well meaning assistant prosecutors of the Department of Justice should not be given a free hand in handling the I. W. W. situation. There is evidence that they are as ignorant of American sociology as were the advisers of Louis XVI of French sociology. And they are aided and abetted in their ignorance by an equally ignorant press, so that nothing but approving comment follows the most stupid and dangerous tactics.

"The situation in this country with respect to unskilled and unorganized labor is full of dynamite. Every trade union leader knows it. The President knows it. It is the dynamite engendered by the existence of a large class conscious of injustice, burning with resentment, and wholly without organization through which to express itself. The I. W. W. does not represent it in any authorized way. But it comes nearer being its spokesman than any other organization. Members of the I. W. W. or men who have been profoundly influenced by their propaganda may be found in every unorganized labor force in the country. The I. W. W. is not an organization so much as it is a spirit and a vocabulary. And because no strike or audible protest follows the various assaults on I. W. W. leaders, let us not be too sure that their influence is negligible, that the department's policy and that of the mobs that get encouragement from this policy is not breeding a slow, dangerous, smoldering resentment.

"An instant retaliation would be far less dangerous, much easier to handle, than a spirit that may at some critical juncture in the future flare out in a strike of steel workers or slaughterhouse workers or miners or oil refiners. No one knows about this. Perhaps the government can imprison or mobs horse-whip every laborer in the country who sympathizes with the I. W. W., and our unorganized, unskilled, exploited wage earners will take it lying down. Perhaps they will not. But the situation should not be handled by men who have never read, let alone pondered, the government reports that show that hardly more than half of the male adult wage earners in the United States earn enough in a year to support a family in decency and comfort. The I. W. W. leaders now in jail know these reports by heart.

"The real crime of Haywood and most of the rest was the conducting of an aggressive propaganda and strike program on behalf of the laborers who are interested solely in obtaining better conditions of life

and labor. But that feeling has been manipulated and organized by men whose economic interests, whose right to exploit their fellows without let or hindrance, have been interfered with, and properly, by I. W. W. agitation. In so far as the I. W. W. stand as spokesmen and representatives of the most exploited class of American labor, they must be handled by men who are something more than outraged patriots, with a patriotism that coincides with a belief in their right to exploit others. No one knows to what degree they do stand, and least of all the detectives and prosecutors of the Department of Justice. These assume too readily that they can dispose of the whole problem by putting a few men in jail.

"But to assault the I. W. W. as a whole is to assault the only spokesman and to suppress the only articulation possessed by a class of wage workers on which several of our most vital basic industries are utterly dependent—a class numbering many millions of men. . . ."

Carlton H. Parker, of Seattle, Wash. As we go to press we learn of the death at Seattle of Prof. Parker, due in large part to overwork, not only in his administrative duties as dean of the School of Business Administration of the University of Washington, but also as special agent of the War Department in dealing with the I. W. W. situation in the lumber industry of the northwest. Prof. Parker in his earlier work in California and Washington, made a special study of labor problems.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE I. W. W.

By Carlton H. Parker

The I. W. W. is a symptom of a distressing industrial status. For the moment the relation of its activities to our war preparation has befogged its economic origins, but all purposeful thinking about even the I. W. W.'s attitude towards the war must begin with a full and careful consideration of these origins.

All the famous revolutionary movements of history gained their cause for being from some intimate and unendurable oppression and their behavior in revolt reflected the degree of their suffering. The chartist and early trade union riots in England, the revolution of 1789 in France, the Nihilists' killing in Russia, the bitter attacks on the railroads by the Grangers of the Northwest, the extremes into which the Anti-Saloon League propaganda has evolved, are a small part of the long revolt catalogue of which the I. W. W. is the last entry. Each one of these movements had its natural psycho-political antecedents and much of the new history is devoted to a careful describing and revaluation of them.

At some later and less hysterical date the I. W. W. phenomenon will be dispassionately dissected in somewhat the following way:

(1) There were in 1910 in the United States some 10,400,000 unskilled male workers. Of these some 3,500,000 moved, by discharge or quitting, so regularly from one work town to another that they could be called migratory labor. Because of this unstable migratory life this class of labor lost the conventional relationship to women and child life, lost its voting franchise, lost its habit of common comfort or dignity, and gradually became consciously a social class with fewer legal or social rights than are conventionally ascribed to Americans. The cost of this experience was aggravated by the ability and habituation of this migratory class to read about and appreciate the higher social and economic life enjoyed by the American middle class.

(2) The unskilled labor class itself experienced a life not markedly more satisfying than the migratories. One fourth of the adult fathers of their families earned less than \$400 a year, one-half earned less than \$600. The minimum cost of decent living for a family was approximately \$800. Unemployment, destitutions and uncared-for sickness was a monotonous familiarity to them.

(8) The to-be-expected revolt against this social condition was conditioned and colored by the disillusionment touching justice and industrial democracy and the personal and intimate indignities and sufferings experienced by the migratories. The revolt organization of the migratories, called the I. W. W., failing most naturally to live up to the elevated legal and contract-respecting standards of the more comfortable trade union world, was visited by severe middle class censure and legal persecution.

This sketch is fairly complete and within current facts. No one doubts the full propriety of the government in suppressing ruthlessly any interference by the I. W. W. with the war preparation. All patriots should just as vehemently protest against the suppression of the normal economic protest-activities of the I. W. W. There will be neither permanent peace nor prosperity in our country till the revolt basis of the I. W. W. is removed. And until that is done the I. W. W. remains an unfortunately valuable symptom of a diseased industrialism.

PATRIOTISM AND THE I. W. W.

"A reasonable deduction from the industrial facts would be that the American labor class is not participating in the kind of patriotic fervor that is in vogue among the upper middle class. It is not sufficient to say that their wage demands occupy their attention. Coupled with this ancient interest is a set of traditional and complicating forces which determine the attitude of labor. The recital of the war profits in steel, in copper, in foods, in medicines, does not fall on an ordinarily receptive audience. It falls on the minds of a labor class with a long cherished background of suspicion."

And further, Prof. Parker quotes an I. W. W. on the lack of enthusiasm for the war—expressing a point of view not uncommon in the Northwest:

"You ask me why the I. W. W. is not patriotic to the United States. If you were a bum without a blanket; if you had left your wife and kids when you

went West for a job, and had never located them since; if your job never kept you long enough in one place to qualify you to vote; if you slept in a lousy, sour bunk house, and ate food just as rotten as they could give you and get by with it; if deputy sheriffs shot your cooking pans full of holes and spilled your grub on the ground; if your wages were lowered on you when the bosses thought they had you down; if there was one law for Ford, Suhr and Mooney and another for Harry Thaw; if every person who represented law and order and the nation beat you up, railroaded you to jail, and the good Christian people cheered and told them to go to it, how in hell do you expect a man to be patriotic? This war is a business man's war and we don't see why we should go out and get shot in order to save the lovely state of affairs that we now enjoy."

But contrast with this the attitude of the I. W. W. longshoremen in the East, a well paid, decently treated group of men, at least on the Philadelphia docks. The following statement by their local secretary has been verified by personal investigation:

"The members of the Marine Transport Workers (an I. W. W. organization) have been loading and unloading trans-atlantic steamers in the port of Philadelphia since May, 1918. There are about 3,000 men doing this work night and day and there has never been an accident since we have been organized.

"The American Line and the Atlantic Transport Line work is done by non-union labor, with the exception of the powder work, which is done by our men. These lines are the only lines that have transported troops from here since the war. This work consists of general cargo, powder, munitions of all kinds, and cattle. Never to my knowledge since this country entered the war has this organization obstructed the government in any way."

Members of this union are working now on practically all the Eastern docks and on board troop and munition ships, without the slightest question as to

their loyalty. In their hall at Philadelphia they have an honor list of Liberty Bond buyers with 162 names (March, 1918), and are collecting data for a service flag.—Editors.

"As an organization we have handled ore and munitions. The fact is that every pound of munitions in the Philadelphia Navy Yard is handled by members of this organization, and munitions carried out of New York harbor are carried out by members of this organization. There is coming a day of accounting to place this organization in its true light before the public."—George F. Vanderveer, General Counsel for the I. W. W., statement in court, January, 1918.

Further light is thrown on the attitude of the I. W. W. to the war by the following paragraphs from a public statement issued by the Seattle branches of the organization:

"There are employers, great and small, who are taking advantage of present conditions to vent their animosity against the I. W. W. and other organizations of labor, and are disguising their brutality under the cloak of patriotism.

"The I. W. W. is a labor union. It has no hatred for the workers of any nationality, but it most distinctly is not pro-German. Thousands of I. W. W. members registered, were drafted and are now in the training camps; others proclaimed themselves to be conscientious objectors and are paying the penalty for having taken that stand; some did not register at all; this is the record of practically all organizations, religious, political and economic.

"I. W. W. speakers and the I. W. W. press have been careful to confine their efforts entirely to the work of education and organization along industrial lines, and any opinion expressed that is at variance with that policy is an individual matter.

The Charge of Pro-Germanism

After a considerable press campaign to identify

the I. W. W. and German propaganda, the newspapers carried last summer a semi-official denial in the form of statements from the Department of Justice.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Times sent the following despatch on July 16, carried on Tuesday, July 17, under these heads:

Doubt Teutons Paid Agitators of I. W. W.

Federal Agents Fail to Verify Rumor of German Financing of Western Strikes.

"Washington, July 16.—Reports that the activities of Industrial Workers of the World in the West recently had been financed by German gold have failed of substantiation after an exhaustive investigation by agents of the Department of Justice.

"Officials said today they believed that nearly all the German money in this country had been located, and that virtually none of it has been used in that way.

"Reports from various parts of the west today told of arrests of members of the I. W. W. under the President's alien enemy proclamation. It was said, however, that the percentage of German sympathizers found in the organization was believed to be no higher than that in many other organizations."

There is obviously a sincere effort to put the case right from the I. W. W. standpoint in this statement recently issued officially by an I. W. W. organization: "To the Public, and Particularly to Working Men and Women:

"The I. W. W. wishes to warn society in general that, despite the lying statements in the capitalist press regarding this organization, society has nothing whatever to fear from the I. W. W. We wish you to understand that the I. W. W. has no intention of resorting to violence in any form in retaliation for the numerous outrages perpetrated on our members throughout the country.

"There is nothing destructive in the policies or tactics of the I. W. W.; in fact, our policy is to

elevate, not to tear down. The history of the labor movement will show that the I. W. W. has never used violence in their strikes or struggles for better conditions and more of the good things of life. The I. W. W. has been accused of every act of violence imaginable. Our members have been murdered, beaten, thrown in jail, subject to every abuse that the master class could hire thugs to do. And, always remember that the excuse for so doing was the crimes that the I. W. W. was supposed to be going to do, not for crimes or acts committed, but for crimes that the I. W. W. was supposed to do in the future. Tulsa, Okla., and Aberdeen, S. D., are good examples of the hysterical condition that society has been wrought up to by the lying statements and insidious rumors of the capitalists' tools and the press. Don't believe them."

Robert W. Bruere, of New York City, writer and lecturer. Mr. Bruere accompanied the President's Mediation Commission on its recent trip through the West to get first hand facts about the industrial situation. He went as special correspondent for the New York Evening Post, where his articles have been published under the head, "Following the Trail of the I. W. W." Mr. Bruere was a former teacher at the University of Chicago, and later executive of one of the largest agencies of charitable relief in New York. He was an advisor to the unions in the cloak and suit strike in New York City in 1916. The quotations are all from his recent articles in the New York Evening Post.

Robert Bruere quotes this significant statement made to him by lumber operators in Washington in the fall of 1917:

"In discussing the situation with me, certain large lumber operators said in effect: Every large labor organization like the I. W. W. in this state will draw to itself a certain small percentage, say 2 per cent, of irresponsible men. The proportion of such men aligned with the I. W. W. is about the same that we find in our own business organizations. But in war—

and a strike is war—anything is fair. We have fought the I. W. W. as we would have fought any attempt of the A. F. of L. unions to control the workers in our camps. And, of course, we have taken advantage of the general prejudice against them as an unpatriotic organization to beat their strike. To bring the charge of violence against the I. W. W. as an organization is not only wrong in the face of the facts, but it is unsound and short-sighted business policy. And as for the charge that they will not enter into time agreements, while it is true of them, it is equally true of us. We have been consistently opposed to collective agreements and we are opposed to the recognition of any labor organization now.”—Robert Bruere.

John Graham Brooks, of Cambridge, Mass., economist, author and lecturer; former lecturer at Harvard, University of Chicago, and University of California; former expert for the United States Department of Labor; Honorary President of the National Consumers' League; author of "American Syndicalism, the I. W. W." (1913), "The Social Unrest" (1903), etc., etc.

What They Want

"The rebelling spirit of the I. W. W. is at least a wholesome disquieter of this sleep. If we add to this its own awakening appeal to the more unfavored labor in which its propaganda is carried on, we are merely recognizing forces that are useful until a wiser way is found to do their work. This we have not yet found, neither have we greatly and searchingly tried to find it. So many are our social inhumanities that the rudest upsetting will do us good if the shock of it forces us to do our duties.

"With much of the motive of the I. W. W. we may also sympathize. The goal at which they aim is one from which every parasitic and unfair privilege shall be cut out. I asked one of the best of them 'What ultimately do you want?' "I want a world," he said, "in which every man shall get exactly what he earns

and all he earns—a world in which no man can live on the labor of another.”

“It is not conceivable that any radical person should deny the justice and reasonableness of that ideal. Every step toward it is a step nearer a decent and more self-respecting society.”—John Graham Brooks.

“To associate the I. W. W. with a ruffian clutching a smoking bomb is a silliness that need not detain us. It is true that no revolutionary movement is without its criminals. They were ubiquitous in our War of the Revolution. They followed the wake of Garibaldi, and Mazzini was never free from them. They were among the English Charists, and never have been absent from Ireland’s long struggle for self rule. The I. W. W. will not escape from this common destiny. It will attract to itself many extremely frail human creatures, but the movement as a whole is not to be condemned by these adherents or by the shabby device of using panicky terms like anarchist.”—John Graham Brooks.

John A. Fitch, of New York City, industrial editor of the “Survey” since 1912, formerly connected with the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Are the I. W. W. Entitled to a Fair Trial?

“‘Equality before the law’ is a much quoted phrase supposed to sum up America’s principles and practice. Is there a provision anywhere in our charter law allowing the police to suspend the rules in the case of ‘agitators’, ‘disturbers’, or ‘anarchists’? Are there people in America whose beliefs and manner of living are so repugnant to popular ideals that they may be said to have no rights that any good citizen is bound to respect. If it is generally believed that a negative answer may unhesitatingly be given to these questions it is pertinent to consider a little recent history concerning that new and revolutionary organization, the I. W. W.

“Against this body are arrayed the forces of present day society. It is denounced by the press, thun-

dered at by the pulpit, and anathematized by the spokesmen of the business world.

"There is an opposition that thinks it sees in the philosophy underlying the movement not constructive change but class war and ruin, and so resists the organization's advance. But this resistance is by legitimate means, for if these people see peril in this new philosophy, they believe there is greater peril in setting aside the law to suit the convenience of those in authority.

"There is another opposition—and today it seems to be the larger and stronger—that regards the I. W. W. as a peril that must be resisted to the end. But this element, partly through ignorance, partly through the excitement of fear, and partly through a consciousness of illegitimately acquired possessions, is willing that the organization be repressed even illegally and with flagrant disregard of the constitutional rights of the individual."—John A. Fitch, in the "Survey."

Testimony of the peaceful character of the great I. W. W. strike is given in the following account of the Paterson silk workers' strike in 1913.—John A. Fitch, in the "Survey."

"There have been during the strike more than 1,000 arrests of strikers, and yet I have the word of the chief of police of Paterson that, considering numbers and duration, this is one of most peaceful strikes on record. No silk worker desiring to return to work, the chief told me on May 22, has ever needed police protection against the pickets, and there has not been a single case of assault on a 'scab', by a striker that has come to the knowledge of the police."

George P. West, of New York City, associate editor of the "Public," formerly publicity director of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations; author of the commission's report on the Colorado strike; formerly special writer for the San Francisco "Bulletin" on the Lawrence strike, the California hop riots and the San Diego free speech fight, in all of which he made an intimate study of the I. W. W.

2. The Employer's Attitude

We have, in that situation, the background for what occurred in the summer of 1917. Preaching doctrines that seemed startling enough during the peace times, the I. W. W., at the first sign that its members would join in the universal demand for more wages, fell an easy prey to reactionary employers, who could now rely, not only on the peace time prejudice which the I. W. W. had created against themselves, but on the intense popular feeling so easy to stir up against any group that could be placed in the position of disloyal obstructionists.

I. W. W. doctrines have not changed. For twelve years the federal government has left them free to preach their philosophy from coast to coast. **But on the outbreak of the war it became easy for interested employers to place those doctrines in a new light—a light that gave them the appearance of rank treason.** The mistake made by many is in taking too seriously the admittedly wild and foolish utterances of a few leaders who do not adequately represent the rank and file, who merely want a square deal.

3. Violence Against the Workers

The first open violence came in July with the Bisbee, Arizona, deportations by the copper companies. Miners on strike were rounded up at the point of revolvers and rifles, herded in a corral, loaded into box cars and transported to the middle of a desert in an adjoining state. More than 400 of them bought Liberty bonds; large numbers had registered for the draft. Many were married and had children. When finally released, they found their way back to their homes barred by armed men, acting with no authority save the arbitrary power of the great copper mining corporations. The agents of these corporations had seized the local telegraph and telephone stations and censored out going dispatches. They held kangaroo court and passed judg-

ment on who should be permitted to remain in the district, who should be forcibly ejected, and who should be permitted to enter from without. This condition continued in defiance of the protest of the governor of the state.

The President's commission, after a full investigation, reported that all these illegal acts were without justification either in law or in fact, as the striking miners had kept the peace and showed no evidence that they intended to break it. On the contrary, they had met and resolved to return to work provided the government would take over the operation of the mines.

More specifically, the President's Commission charged the mining corporations and their agents with specific violation of the federal statutes in interfering with interstate communications and obstructing registered men from reporting for examination for the draft. It brought these violations of the law to the attention of Attorney General Gregory at Washington. What action did his department take? To date (March, 1918), Mr. Gregory has made not a single arrest and not one of the perpetrators of the Bisbee crimes have been indicted. On the contrary, a high official of one of the copper companies, himself directly concerned in the deportations, has been commissioned a major in the army, and another has been appointed to a high position in the Red Cross.

Other flagrant instances during the war of organized violence against the I. W. W. by employing interests, with little or no attempt by public officials to bring the defenders to justice, have been:

(1) The hanging of Frank H. Little at Butte, Mont., on August 1. Little was a member of the executive board of the I. W. W., and was in Butte acting as a strike leader. He was taken from his bed at 3 a. m. by a band of masked men, dragged to the outskirts of the city, and hung to a railroad trestle.

(2) The whippings and outrages at Red Lodge, Mont., committed on workers suspected of being members of the I. W. W. by organized representatives of the employers, who held their mock court and inquisitions in the court house, and committed the outrages in the court house basement.

(3) The whipping, tarring and feathering of seventeen I. W. W. prisoners at Tulsa, Oklahoma, November 9, who were taken from the police by a masked band of "Knights of Liberty," in an endeavor to break up the I. W. W. organization of the oil workers.

(4) The arrests by the militia of hundreds of I. W. W. workers in Washington, without warrants or declaration of martial law, followed by their illegal detention for long periods without charges or trial.

(5) Various outrages on individual members of the I. W. W. committed by organized interests, in several instances assisted by public officials, in the places as widely separated as Aberdeen, S. D., Franklin, N. J. and Klamath Falls, Oregon.

Harold Callender, of Detroit, Michigan, a writer on the "Detroit News," formerly with the "Kansas City Star." Mr. Callender made a personal investigation into the labor situation during the war in industries where the I. W. W. is strong. The investigation was made for "Labor's National Defense Council," of which Frank P. Walsh, of Kansas City, former chairman of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, is the head. The quotations are from the pamphlet report made by Mr. Callender.

2. Its Organization

"The Industrial Workers have an organization that is national and embraces a dozen great industries. It is not very compact; it cannot be, dealing with men to whom a home is an impossible luxury, men

who are made migratory by their work. The membership fluctuates widely, but has been increasing steadily. It is something like a bank account, deposits and withdrawals offsetting each other, but not varying that greatly. Its members come and go, joining during a strike but dropping out afterward. It is difficult for the officers themselves to tell what the membership is at a particular time.

"There are eleven industrial unions, with others in process of formation: Marine Transport Workers' Union No. 100 (Atlantic Coast), Metal and Machinery Workers, Agricultural Workers, Lumber Workers, Construction Workers (composed mostly of laborers on railroads and the comparatively unskilled in similar industries), Railway Workers (embracing men employed in any way in transportation), Marine Transport Workers' Union No. 700 (Pacific Coast), Metal Mine Workers, Coal Miners, Textile Workers. A union of domestic servants has been started on the Pacific Coast.

"The Industrial Workers operate chiefly among the unskilled and immigrant workers whom the trade union does not reach. They organize the men who dig tunnels and lay railroad ties and fell trees in the forests—the most poorly paid and ill treated. They speak for those whom a shortsighted society ignores; theirs is a voice from the bottom. And it is answered with military stockades!"—Harold Callender.

Their Philosophy

The whole revolutionary philosophy of the I. W. W. is summed up in the "Preamble" to their constitution. Here are the class struggle, the relation to syndicalism, to the craft unions of the A. F. of L., and the ideal of a world wide union of the workers abolishing the competitive industrial system.

I. W. W. Preamble

"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 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 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 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."

The I. W. W. Position on "Booze"

"Any officer or employee of any part of the Industrial Workers of the World seen in public in a state of intoxication shall, upon sufficient proof, be at once removed from his position by the proper authority having jurisdiction over such officer or employee, and upon conviction, shall not be eligible to hold office in any part of the organization for two years thereafter."

Send 10 cents and get a copy of the I. W. W. Constitution and By-Laws and see for yourself what the I. W. W. stands for. Address General Secretary-Treasurer, 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

TESTIMONY OF A FEW OF THE WITNESSES IN THE CASE OF THE UNITED STATES VS. WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD, ET AL., DEAL- ING WITH CHARGES OF DESTRUC- TION IN WHEAT FIELDS, FOR- ESTS, MILLS, ETC.

Ernest P. Marsh, a witness called on behalf of the defendants, and being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

Direct examination by Mr. Vanderveer.

Q. Your name is Ernest P. Marsh?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Marsh?

A. At Washington, D. C. at the present time.

Q. And what is your present position?

A. I am a member of the the President's mediation commission and an official in the department of labor.

Q. Where did you live before you took up your official residence in Washington, D. C.?

A. My office was in the city of Seattle, Washington; my home in Everett, Washington.

Q. How long have you lived in the state of Washington?

A. Since 1889.

Q. Married man?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What official business did you have with organized labor in 1917?

A. I was the president of the Washington State Federation of Labor.

Q. And had you any connection, Mr. Marsh, with the State Council for Defense in the state of Washington?

A. I was a member.

Q. Appointed by whom?

A. By Governor Lister.

Q. About what time?

A. Shortly after the declaration of war; possibly within a fortnight, I would not be positive.

Q. You were at that time still president of the State Federation of Labor?

A. I was.

Q. And a member of the State Council for Defense?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. After the strike actually commenced, what, if any, further efforts, Mr. Marsh, were made to effect an adjustment of the strike issues?

A. Efforts were made continually by the State Council of Defense. May I interject at this point, Mr. Attorney—

Q. Yes, sure; I wish you to explain this situation fully.

A. (Continued) That the International Union of Shingle Weavers had held a special convention in the city of Seattle on June 30, and at that session voted for an immediate strike, and upon my personal request that the State Council of Defense be given further time to attempt to bring the parties together, the strike was held off two weeks to July 15. After the strike was called on June 15, for a period of

weeks the State Council of Defense worked steadily in an attempt to bring both parties together, using the State Council as the medium, going back and forth between the parties, to effect an adjustment.

Q. What was the outcome of those efforts?

A. Fruitless.

Q. Do you know of any recommendation made by the war department or Secretary Baker, or by the state officials?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Regarding any of the issues involved in the strike?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Please tell the jury, Mr. Marsh.

A. Secretary of War Baker sent a personal telegram to the operators urging them, as a war measure, to make sure the production of the spruce needed in the airplane program, that they grant the basic eight-hour day in that industry.

Q. What response did he receive from the operators?

A. The operators expressed a feeling of regret that they could not comply with the secretary's wishes, but refused to comply.

Q. Refused to do it. Did they at any time during the pendency of that strike express a willingness to observe his wishes?

A. They did not.

Q. Respect his wishes? What, if anything, was left undone by the strikers or their representatives to effect an adjustment of the issue?

A. Nothing.

Q. What, if anything, was done by the employers to effect an adjustment?

A. Nothing. Speaking for the employers as an industry; individual employers did, but they were not strong enough.

Q. Did the State Council of Defense ever investigate conditions in the logging camps, or any other of the camps in the state of Washington?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And about when, Mr. Marsh?

A. Sometime in June, 1917.

Q. Will you please tell this jury—you were a part?—you were in on that investigation?

A. I was.

Q. Tell the jury what you found to be the condition in the camps.

A. I might say, Mr. Attorney, that there was a strike in the logging camps operated by the Balfour-Guthrie people and by the Cascade Lumber Company in the Cascade district, Kittitas county. These logging concerns had contracts to furnish lumber from which 50 per cent of the box shooks needed to pack the fruit output of both the Wenatchee and Yakima valleys; strikes were called in the camps of the companies named by the Industrial Workers of the World. Production was greatly curtailed. There was a fear on the part of the fruit producers that their fruit would be very largely wasted at a time when the food supply was concerning everyone, and it was necessary to get the maximum production of these logging camps.

Mr. Blaine, who was chairman of the Public Service Commission of the state of Washington, made a personal investigation at the request of the governor, later the State Council of Defense appointed a subcommittee of five, of which I was a member.

This committee made an investigation, held hearings in the cities of Cle Ellum, Ellensburg and North Yakima. We heard something like sixty-five witnesses; they were all classes of people. We heard the operators and the superintendents of the logging camps and city and county officials, the men who were on strike, officials of the I. W. W., and men who were on strike who did not belong to the I. W. W.

We made a personal excursion into the logging camps, through the bunk houses operated by these companies.

The Industrial Workers of the World had asked, I believe, for an eight-hour day, with ten hours' pay.

\$3 a day wage scale, and better sanitary conditions, better bunk house conditions, and sanitary conditions in general. We found in some of these camps that the sanitary conditions—

Q. Pardon me; just let me interrupt. I will ask you if the International Brotherhood of Timber Workers had not also demanded better camp conditions?

A. They had; they had. We found in some of the camps visited the bunkhouses were particularly obnoxious, very filthy, illy ventilated; we found in others that every apparent attempt was being made by the operators to better the conditions, sleeping conditions in the bunk houses, to make them as sanitary and wholesome as they could; but, taking it by and large, we found the conditions bad and badly in need of remedy.

Q. So that the demand for improvement seemed to be justified?

A. Absolutely.

Q. How did you investigate as a member of the State Council for Defense, the commission of acts of violence or destruction, or sabotage, as somebody has called it, on the part of the Industrial Workers of the World?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you find any instances where those charges were sustained?

A. Charges were made before the commission by fruit-growers and by others, but they were not substantiated. They were individual charges, and we could not prove either their truth or their falsity.

Q. Mr. Marsh, did you investigate the attitude of the working people, whether the members of the I. W. W., members of the A. F. of L., or men unattached to any organization, with reference to war at that time?

A. We did.

Q. What did you find by their attitude?

A. We found the feeling of labor, generally, whether it was as you say, holding membership in the Industrial Workers, the American Federation of Labor, or unattached, opposed on principle, to war.

Q. Did the attitude of the I. W. W., insofar as you could determine, differ from that of the other labor elements?

A. I think not; more vehemently expressed, I might say.

E. F. Blaine, called as a witness on behalf of the defendants, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

Direct examination by Mr. Vanderveer.

Q. It is very difficult to hear here, Mr. Blaine, so you will have use for all your voice. Your name is E. F. Blaine?

A. It is.

Q. Where do you live?

A. Seattle.

Q. How long have you lived in the state of Washington?

A. Since 1884.

Q. 1884?

A. Yes.

Q. That is thirty-four years?

A. Thirty-four years.

Q. And in what business are you engaged?

A. I am a lawyer by profession.

Q. And in what outside business?

A. Well, I have had a more or less general business.

Q. Are you connected with the Denning Renton Clay Company?

A. I was for a while with the Denning Clay Company.

Q. Are you still?

A. I am not.

Q. How long were you connected with that, Mr. Blaine?

A. Oh, eight or nine years, I think it was, until we sold out.

Q. How many men did it employ?

A. From two or three hundred.

Q. Two to three hundred? Have you also been connected with the development of irrigation enterprises in the state of Washington?

A. I have.

Q. What enterprises?

A. With the Washington Irrigation Company in the Yakima valley.

Q. What is the extent of that project?

A. Why, we handle between thirty and forty thousand acres of land.

Q. What, if any, official positions have you held during the past year, 1917?

A. For a little over—the last two years I have been chairman of the Public Service Commission of the state of Washington.

Q. And what is that commission, what is the general scope of its work?

A. It has charge of the railroads; that is, the regulation of rates, facilities, street car lines, gas companies, water companies, steamboats, telephone and telegraph.

Q. Power companies?

A. And also a grain department.

Q. Power companies?

A. There is some doubt whether we have any—

Q. Irrigation companies?

A. Yes, irrigation companies, where they are renting water.

Q. Now did you, in pursuance of the governor's request, make an investigation into labor conditions in the eastern part of the state?

A. I did.

Q. What was the nature of the investigation you made and how did you conduct it?

A. I went into it as thoroughly as my time would permit.

Q. Well, did you do it personally?

A. Personally.

Q. And if so, how?

A. I went personally. I visited the different communities where there was trouble and in some instances I talked first with the operators and later I would go and talk with the strikers. Sometimes I would go first to the strikers and afterwards to the operators.

Q. Did you also interview members of the I. W. W. in jail as well as in the camps?

A. That was later on after they were in jail; when I first—

Q. Whereabouts did you—

A. When I first went they were not in jail.

Q. Whereabouts did you interview members of the I. W. W. in jail?

A. When I started that work I interviewed them at North Yakima.

Q. About how many there?

A. Well, I think in the neighborhood of ninety or a hundred there; I don't know as I ever counted them.

Q. Yes?

A. But, I judge from the number—

Q. What percentage of them did you interview?

A. All of them at North Yakima.

Q. Where else, Mr. Blaine?

A. At Ellensburg.

Q. About how many there?

A. I think there were over a hundred at Ellensburg.

Q. How many of those did you interview?

A. All of them.

Q. Where else?

A. At Wenatchee.

Q. About how many there?

A. Well, it is my recollection now in the neighborhood of sixty or seventy.

Q. Sixty to seventy?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you interview all of them?

A. I did not.

Q. At any other point did you interview these men?

A. Not in jail.

Q. Well, now, you said you would go to the employers and employes, wherever there were labor difficulties pending, and consult both of them. About how many different camps did you visit in that way?

A. Well, I visited the camp at Odessa, both where work was going on, and the strikers' camp. I visited the camp—

Q. How many men did you interview there?

A. There were not many there; they were pretty near all gone out of that place, but I visited those who were there camping.

Q. Some I. W. W.'s there?

A. They were all I. W. W.'s.

Q. Where else did you say?

A. At North Yakima I investigated the strike situation there, and at Cle Ellun.

Q. That was Porter Brothers' strike?

A. That was Porter Brothers' strike.

Q. How many men did you interview there?

A. Well, it is hard for me to say. I had my conference with them in their hall when they were coming and going. I cannot tell you how many I did talk with, but I interviewed pretty thoroughly the strike committee at that point.

Q. And at what other points?

A. At Cle Ellum, down on the river.

Q. As we go along, I would like to—

A. Down at the river, the camp at the river, and the camp back in the mountains or hills.

Q. About how many men do you think were in those two camps?

A. Well, there it is hard to tell again. I visited these men at their hall and they were coming and going at their hall. I talked more or less with the strike committee, although everybody was talking—quite a good many were talking besides the strike committee.

Q. And was there any other point where you investigated the men in the camps, employers and employes?

A. No; I did not have opportunity at Cle Ellum to investigate the camp conditions.

Q. Did you investigate camp conditions at these other points where you also talked to employers and employes? I mean, inspect the bunk houses and inspect the conditions around the camp?

A. Well, wherever I went into the camp I inspected the conditions of the camp.

Q. I will ask you whether you had any previous opportunity to acquaint yourself with conditions in the logging camps and in the construction camps around that part of the country?

A. I have been more or less familiar with the camp conditions and construction camp conditions in Washington from almost the first time I went there.

Q. Now let me ask you briefly, because the matter has some importance in this case, what did you observe from your personal inspection of the camps, whether in 1917 or previous years, what you observed about the condition of the construction camps and the logging camps, the bunk houses, the facilities furnished the men?

A. I found the food—the raw food—good. There was at time I found complaint that it was not properly prepared. I found up at Odessa that they wished hot food instead of cold food at the middle of the day. I found the bunk houses generally bad.

Q. In what way bad?

A. The bunks were—well, it depended. Some of the bunks were in cars, railroad cars, and they were illy ventilated, and the cots were in bad condition;

the mattresses were made up of excelsior, oft-times was matty, uneven, and the blankets as a rule were dirty.

Q. These are construction camps?

A. Construction camps. In the logging camp at Cle Ellum I found down the river a sort of improvised camp made out of wooden planks for a floor, some side boards, above that a tent, and the bunks were built in with boards and the bedding there.

Q. Any springs?

A. The bedding there was poor.

Q. Any springs?

A. I think, as I recollect, there were no springs down there; it was the old-fashioned bunk.

Q. Now of the construction camps investigated by yourself or these men under your employ, how many did you find to be free from vermin, lice, bed bugs and things of that sort?

A. The railroad camps all had vermin.

Q. How many of them, what percentage of them?

A. I think they all had vermin.

Q. Did you investigate into the question whether or not the I. W. W. had practiced sabotage in the sense of destroying or damaging property and had committed or incited acts of violence in the state of Washington?

A. I did.

Q. And what did you find about it?

A. Their declarations everywhere to me was that they were not practicing sabotage or destruction of property; that is, sabotage, so far as it relates to the destruction of property.

Q. Were you ever able to discover a single case where members of the I. W. W. had done such things?

A. Well, our investigation was confined more particularly to the strike period—during the strike period.

Q. Well, I am speaking of the strike period.

A. Of the strike period I was unable to find any destruction of property.

Q. You were unable to discover any?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you question these men about their belief in sabotage and what it meant and about their conception of the way to conduct the strike?

A. Why, I think I discussed every phase of their propaganda, not with one man, but during the whole period of my investigation, I went into every phase of their association.

Q. Did you question them as to their belief in the abstract in destroying or damaging property or committing acts of violence?

A. Well, they tried to explain their literature to me. I called their attention to certain things in their songs, certain things in a little treatise upon sabotage, I think it was, I don't remember all this literature now, and they were putting a construction upon it, and I informed them that I believed the people had concluded that it meant direct action, regardless of what they might have thought or their interpretation of it; that it had that meaning to the people, and probably the press had aided the people in giving a certain construction to their literature, and I said to them—I don't know as I ought to say what I said to them—but I said they ought to withdraw that literature, stop it, that it had at least a double—it was capable of a double construction.

Q. Of being misunderstood?

A. Being misunderstood.

Q. Well, what had they said to you about their interpretation of it, which varied with the interpretation the press had made throughout the state?

A. Well, they tried to show me that it was innocent; that it did not mean direct action. I thought the use of the cat with its claws, while the cat had nine lives, as they contended, I thought that the people had drawn the conclusion from that that it meant direct action.

Q. Well, were they frank in their manner toward you?

A. There was only one man that refused to answer our questions, just one. The others were open in their expressions, and there was no hesitation at all, except in one instance.

Q. Members of it; did you question members of the I. W. W. either in jail or in the camps about their attitude toward war, Mr. Blaine?

A. When in jail I questioned them very closely in regard to their attitude towards the war.

Q. Will you tell the jury, please, what, if anything, they told you about that?

A. I questioned them very closely; when I say I questioned them, I want it to be understood that Mr. Henderson joined me in the questions.

Q. You were both attorneys?

A. We were both attorneys and we both plied them with questions. Our first visits, we inquired of them about registration and the action of the order as to registration. They said that the order had taken no action upon registration; it was left to each individual as to whether he should register.

Q. And among the men whom you met and interviewed in the jails or camps, how many did you find who had not registered?

A. Not many.

Q. Any more than you found among other classes of people, working people, for instance?

A. Well, that would only be an impression. I am not very familiar on the outside; of course, I know newspapers, reports, and so forth—

Q. What did you find to be their attitude toward war in general?

A. I think they are against war on general principles.

Excerpt from the above-mentioned report of the Public Service Commission of the state of Washington, of which Mr. E. F. Blaine was chairman:

"The governor requested me to go into Eastern Washington early last summer and investigate industrial conditions.

"So far as I was able to discover, there had been no acts of violence on the part of the I. W. W.'s. In talking with them in their halls and in their camps where they were living, they made it very clear to me that this was going to be a folded-arm strike, and that they did not intend to use violence.

"Now, we have tried to trace destruction of property to the I. W. W.'s all summer, and we failed. There were some places, some things that at first looked bad, but investigations revealed that there was not much to it. We could not fix any responsibility upon them."

R. J. Whitaker, called as a witness in behalf of the defendants, having first been sworn, testified as follows:

Direct examination by Mr. Vanderveer.

Q. Your name is R. J. Whitaker?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Whitaker?

A. At Missoula, Montana.

Q. How long have you lived in Missoula?

A. Thirty-two years, nearly.

Q. Do you have a farm near Missoula?

A. I have, sir.

Q. How far from Missoula?

A. About two or three miles south.

Q. How big a place have you?

A. 640 acres.

Q. You have a section there?

A. Yes, sir. It is a little short; a road, and one thing or another, but it was 640.

Q. Have you held public office in that county?

A. I have.

Q. When did you leave public office?

A. I was sheriff there in 1915 and 1916.

Q. Up to January, 1917?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you done your own threshing, sometimes?

A. Yes; I have done my own threshing for about seventeen years, and my neighbors' as well.

Q. Own your own machine?

A. I do.

Q. How long each year have you been engaged in threshing about that part of the country?

A. Well, it depends. Sometimes it is only two or three or four weeks, and sometimes it is three or four months, according to the crops.

Q. How large a place is Missoula?

A. Well, I believe they estimate it at fifteen or sixteen thousand people.

Q. What position does it occupy commercially in Western Montana?

A. Why, it is the center; it is the commercial center of Western Montana, outside of Butte.

Q. During the harvest and threshing season do you get some migratory laborers in that section?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they come into Missoula?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you come in contact with them in past years?

A. I have.

Q. About when did you first observe evidence of the I. W. W. in and around that section?

A. Oh, ten or twelve years ago, I guess.

Q. Have you noticed an increase in the numbers from year to year?

A. There seem to be getting more of them all the time, yes.

Q. Now, in the course of your experience and your work threshing for yourself and your neighbors, have you had occasion to employ members of the I. W. W.?

A. Why, yes, we employed them the same as anybody else.

Q. Did they throw pitchforks through your machines, or iron or rocks?

A. No.

Q. Ever set your machines afire?

A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any such thing ever happening in your country around there?

A. I never heard of a case, no.

Q. Did they ever destroy property or raise hell?

A. Not that I ever heard of, only in the newspapers. The newspapers were full of it.

Q. Did you ever hear any agitation among the I. W. W., its members or officers, against the draft?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Have you had occasion, as sheriff, to go into the logging camps?

A. I have.

Q. Around Missoula?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you some time, yourself, been engaged in logging operations?

A. I have.

Q. About when and how long?

A. The last contract I had in the lumber business was in 1907, the year that the Milwaukee railroad was built.

Q. Now, how recently have you been through those camps? Some other camps?

A. Well, while I was sheriff I was down there probably two or three times a month.

Q. On some official business?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Go into the bunk houses?

A. I have, yes.

Q. Tell the jury briefly what kind of an institution it is.

A. A bunk house is a long building, probably seventy-five to 100 feet long. I never measured the length, and it is apparently sixteen boards cut in half, for the walls. They may be eight feet or may

be nine feet. They are twenty to twenty-five feet wide. They are covered with tar paper, or this black felt paper, whatever it is. There is generally one stove in there; one large stove. The bunks are double decker bunks, with a little alley between, facing each other, and there is a long alley down the center. There was no appearance of springs or mattresses in there and the boys used to apparently get hay or straw from somewhere to put on the hard boards to sleep on. I used to make it a practice, if I wanted men down there, or had papers to serve on a man, I would go in there after they quit at night, when they had come in from the woods, because it would be a long walk, maybe several miles in these big lumber camps, to find a man, except I got there at the time he would come in from work. I have gone in there on cold nights when they have been sweating, wet through, hanging up their socks and their wet clothing over this one stove. It was not a fit place for a human being to have to live in. In the summer time it would be terrible hot. That black paper would draw the heat, and it was almost like an oven. There was no bath house and no dry house that I saw. I have been in several of those camps.

Q. Any shower baths at all, or any bathing facilities?

A. I didn't see any. I don't think so.

Q. What kind of an odor, what was the condition of the air in there from those clothes?

A. Well, you can imagine yourself what it can be when those men came in sweating and wet, drying their clothes in there. It is foul. I do not believe the dairy inspector would allow us to keep our dairy cows in the same kind of an atmosphere.

Q. I see you wear a button on the lapel of your coat. What does that signify?

A. I have two boys in the war; two volunteers.

Q. Where are they?

A. One has been in France since October or November last year. He is driving a truck, a munition

truck. The other one has been over at the Hawaiian islands, the Schofield barracks, until six weeks ago, when they brought him back to Camp Bird, or Camp Lewis.

Q. Did you ever have any connection whatever with the men who conducted fire fighting there for the government?

A. Yes; I hired horses to them, pack horses and saddle horses.

Q. Was last year rather a bad year?

A. Yes, last year was a very dry year. There were a great many fires.

Q. There was a strike on in the woods last year, Mr. Whitaker; I think you know that, don't you?

A. Yes, sir; there was.

Q. Did any members of the I. W. W. come to you during the summer any time and speak to you about making certain provisions to maintain order in the town?

A. There were, yes.

Q. Who was it came to you?

A. It was one of their members there, a big tall fellow; I think his name is Smith.

Q. Arthur Smith.

A. I think so; I see him here in town.

Q. What did he say to you?

A. He just told me that I had been sheriff, and he thought I might know some way whereby they could get the saloons closed up in case the strike came off. And I told him what to do. I told him what means would have to be employed to make it work.

Q. What was the reason he had for suggesting that the saloons ought to be closed?

A. Well, he told me that the boys would all have money and that he did not want them getting drunk and fighting their battles over the bar and getting into trouble. He thought there might be 1,500 or 2,000 of them there, and it might give trouble.

Q. Now, did the boys come to town?

A. Yes, sir; they were coming in very fast for a while there.

Q. Was there any disorder among them?

A. Not that I know of. They seemed to go out right away on the government fire service.

Q. On the fire fighting?

A. Yes, sir.

C. O. Carlson, called a witness on behalf of the defendants, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

Direct examination by Mr. Venderveer.

Q. State your name, please.

A. C. O. Carlson.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Carlson?

A. Minot, North Dakota.

Q. How long in the vicinity of Minot?

A. Since 1904.

Q. In what business have you been engaged there, Mr. Carlson?

A. Farming and threshing.

Q. Did you have a farm there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long did you have that farm?

A. It is my homestead. I filed on it in 1901.

Q. Have you operated threshing machines?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And do you yet?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many?

A. I operate two machines at the present time, or will this fall.

Q. How long have you been operating machines?

A. Since 1905.

Q. Have you had occasion to employ members of the Industrial Workers of the World?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many years have you employed them?

A. The first that I know of that I had any employed was in 1913.

Q. Did any of them destroy any of your property or damage any of your property, or try to burn any of your machines or any grain or anything?

A. No, sir.

Q. How many men, I. W. W.'s altogether, did you or do you think you employed that year on your two rigs?

Mr. Nebeker: Did you have two rigs that year?

A. Yes, sir. I don't know if I could answer that right off hand because I had some that I even didn't know had cards. I found out later they had cards, but I probably had a dozen.

Mr. Vanderveer:

Q. A dozen?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In 1914, about how many did you employ?

A. Well, I had about the same amount, I think.

Q. About a dozen.

A. Yes, I would think so.

Q. In 1915 and 1916?

A. In 1915 I don't think I had quite so many.

Q. In 1916?

A. I don't know that I had any in 1916.

Q. Now, where would you employ these I. W. W.'s; in 1917 you did not run a rig, did you?

A. Yes, I did; but I used some home help in 1917, on account of the light crops.

Q. What quality of service have the I. W. W. members given you in that work?

A. They have given me just as good quality or what was better than the average man I could pick up.

Q. Have they ever destroyed property, or tried to, or damaged it for you?

Mr. Nebeker: This is a repetition. I object to it.

The Court: He just stated a moment ago that they did not.

Mr. Vanderveer: He testified that they did not in 1913. That is all I asked him about. Seven men in 1913.

The Court: All the time?

A. They never did.

Mr. Vanderveer: Now, have you heard of their doing such things in that community, anywhere around there?

A. I have heard lots, but I have never found a man they done it for him.

Q. Where have you heard it?

A. Well, you hear that over—you hear that out west every now and then.

Q. In the papers, you mean?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, I mean have you ever heard of a case or knew a man who claimed that that had happened to him?

A. No, sir; I have not.

Q. One other question: How would you farmers in North Dakota harvest your crops if the people who travel from the South to the North and from the East to the West did not come through there?

A. We would not harvest them.

Mr. Vanderveer: That is all.

Ira E. Worly, called as a witness on behalf of the defendants, having first been duly sworn, testified as follows:

Direct examination by Mr. Vanderveer.

Q. You will have to speak pretty loudly here on account of the noise outside. What is your name?

A. Ira E. Worly.

Q. How old are you?

A. I will be 42 years old tomorrow.

Q. Where do you live?

A. I live in Plentywood, Montana.

Q. How long have you been farming?

A. Well, practically all my life; I was born on a farm.

Q. Now, from 1913 to 1916, do I understand you were farming in Montana?

A. In 1912 I went there, the spring of 1912, and I started threshing that fall.

Q. I see.

A. I operated a threshing machine from 1912 to 1916.

Q. You farmed and threshed four seasons?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Five seasons.

A. 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915 and 1916.

Q. Did you have your own rig?

A. I did.

Q. And about how long did the threshing season last in Montana?

A. Well, it lasted from thirty-two to sixty-five days.

Q. You employ I. W. W.'s during any of those years?

A. I think I employed them every year.

Q. Well, now, how would the numbers run from one year to another, increase or decrease, or remain more or less constant?

A. Well, the different years I employed a different number of men, of course, because the longer the threshing season, why the greater number of shifts, the greater number of changes was made.

Q. And what, in your opinion, would be the max-

imum number of I. W. W's you employed during any threshing season?

A. Oh, probably fifteen or twenty.

Q. What?

A. Probably fifteen or twenty during the season.

Q. Probably fifteen or twenty during the season?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, what kind of service did they give you, Mr. Worly, in Montana?

A. Just as good as any of the rest of them did.

Q. As good as anybody else did?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any trouble with them?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did they ever throw hoe downs or pitch forks or scrap iron or rocks into your machine?

A. They never have.

Q. Ever set fire to your machine?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. You have had machines catch fire, have you?

A. I have.

Q. In what part of the country?

A. Montana.

Q. Do you know the cause of it?

A. I do.

Q. What was it?

A. Hot box and sparks from the engine.

Q. Under normal conditions, ordinary crop conditions, what percentage of work is done by outside help?

A. Well, I don't exactly know. I would estimate somewhere around 40 or 50 per cent.

Q. Yes, and during 1915 and '16 and '17, can you estimate what percentage of that help was of that outside element, members of the I. W. W.?

A. Well, I certainly cannot estimate exactly or anything near, because while I know there was a certain amount of I. W. W's in there, I do not—

Q. What percentage of your crews were?

A. Well, probably a fifth, one-fifth, somewheres around there; a fifth to a fourth, or up as high as a third.

Q. Is that all?

A. Maybe a little heavier.

Q. Now, during 1917, in your travels about your county there, did you hear of any depredations committed by the I. W. W.'s?

A. No, sir.

Q. Throwing rocks or iron or matches or anything in threshing machines?

A. No, sir; nothing like that occurred to my knowledge in Sheridan county; that is the locality where I come from.



THE PREAMBLE

Of the Industrial Workers of the World

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 and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

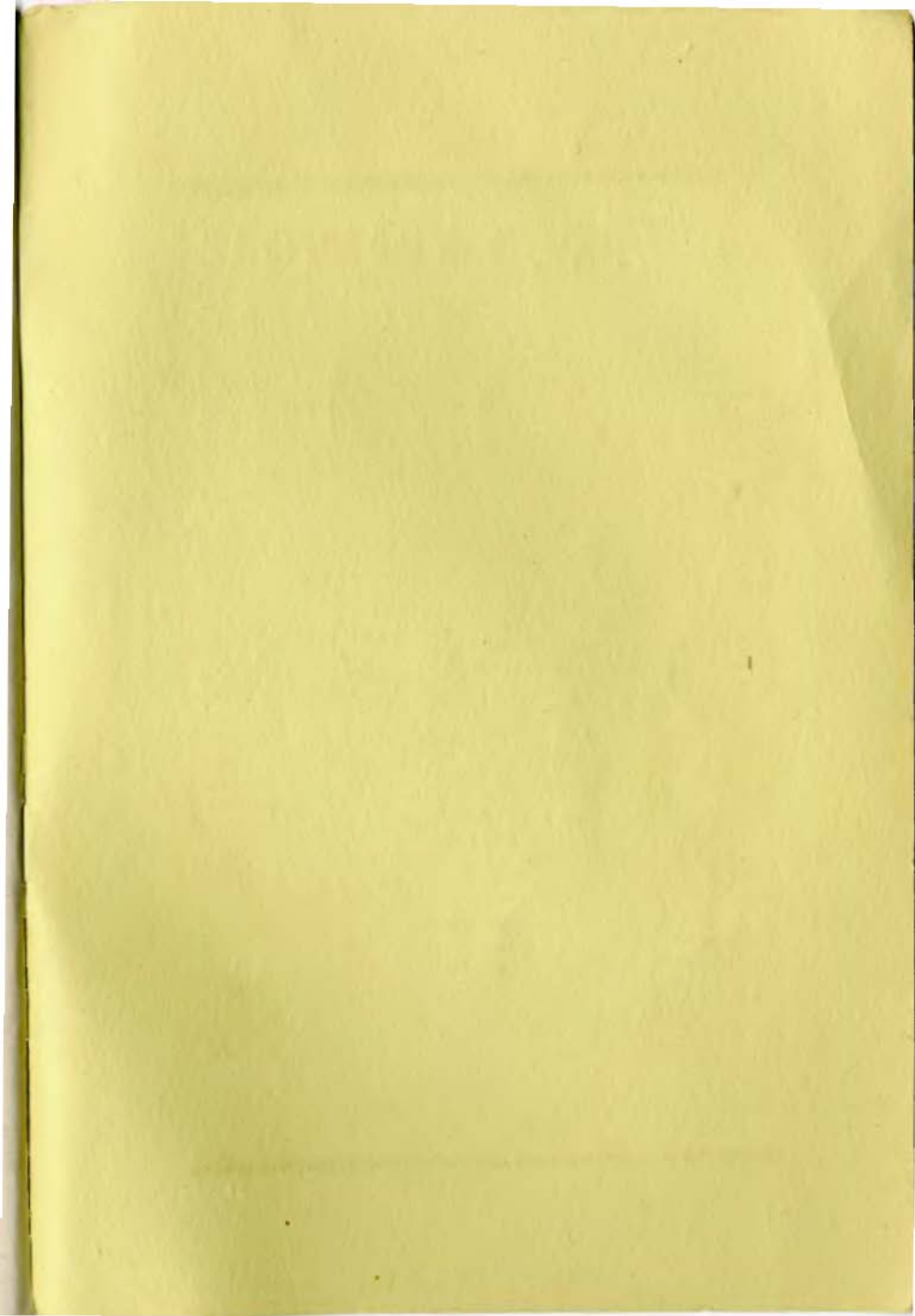
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the 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 their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest 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 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 every-day 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.



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