





### Tulsa, Oklahoma Starts Organization

Tulsa is a town which would call a "boom town" owing to the fact that it is an oil industry center. Just recently a certain certain bank recently opened for business and received \$1,000,000 deposits the first day. The bank was organized by a group of "plug-uglies" making it a fine example of the boom town. On the next day thousands of dollars across the street were being paid out to hundreds of men, women and children are suffering right here in Tulsa for shelter and food. It is an absolute fact that 45,000 of the 60,000 inhabitants of Tulsa are far below the level.

There has been much agitation in this city lately, and it so happened that a few of the men of No. 10 high school on the scene and noting the possibility to organize, immediately began with the result that Fellow Worker Ed Fraser was sent here, and he was organized by the branch No. 400, 203 Main Street. Fellow Worker James Duffy, 220 W. Washington, was unanimously endorsed by the members here for Secretary, and by the way Duffy will be a very capable fellow. He can cover the ground on the industrial field of five or six miles.

Men are organized here in Tulsa and we are here to stay. Our object is to later establish branches in Oklahoma, and we will do it. There are a number of first class field delegates here and room for lots.

The workers in the oil fields as well as all other industries are looking for more than ever before, that the capitalist class and the workers have "nothing in common" and that they are beginning to realize the fact that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

Like a bolt of lightning from a clear sky, the murderous news was flashed across the headlines that the following workers were killed, massacred if you please, and many others wounded. Washington, by a band of plucky cut-throat cars, composed of the "oil" men, and the "pimps" from every slimy train leading to their sacred towns.

Such a degradation only adds fuel to the flames of Industrial Unionism, and brings to the workers a realization that all outlaws that have been doled out to our many, many heroes, who are living, and we realize that it is all only the eliminating fruit of that hydra-headed monster.

Solidarity is the word, the seeds of destruction will be gathered and justice will come to the workers of the world through the One Union.

### Iowa Job Notes

(Special to Solidarity)  
Des Moines, Iowa, Nov. 12. There is lots of construction work going on in northern Iowa at present, such as the building of the new bridge very plentiful at this time, and chances are good for getting a job. The work is being done in Iowa, and it is all piece work.

The prices are 75¢ a spade, two maces wide and one long; that makes you 15 cents a day. This work is no snap, but if a man works eight hours, with board \$8 to \$7 there is a big train a few days ago. I also want to state that this work will be going on for some time.

There are also some big country jobs around Humboldt, Iowa, and also in Iowa, and the workers from Iowa from Britt to Fort Dodge, on the M. & St. L. Ry.

There are some concrete our forces on these jobs and make them day in and day out. Then we can have a good deal of corn to be poked yet, and the price for that is a jitters yet. All you have to do without job come to Iowa. W. C. KING.

### Rebel Girl Defenders

Denver, Colo., Nov. 13. Editor Solidarity: In the issue of Solidarity of Nov. 11, appears an article under the heading "Denver Homeless Union List." The writer tells of attempts of white slavers to secure information from among the girl members of the union. But the article fails to give credit to the fellow workers who foiled the white slavers and drove them away from our movement.

Some of the white slavers, though repeatedly threatened with bodily violence at the time of their arrest, still refused their ground and defended the girl. Credit should be given to Dan and the other workers who foiled the white slavers. Jacob, Meyer, Friedman and Phil Engler. Our rebel girls are the best. W. DENNIS.

### BENEFIT DALL IN MILWAUKEE

Milwaukee, Wis., Nov. 13. A grand benefit ball for the defense of our fellow workers who are in the hands of the Meats Range strike. The ball was held under the auspices of the Meats and Fishery Industrial Union, at the Elite Hotel Rink. Fellow Worker Louis G. Stevens donated the hall and arranged for everybody had an enjoyable time, and we raised over \$350 for the defense of our fellow workers. We are going to repeat in the very near future. PRESS COMMITTEE.

Ray and Floyd Edgely, members of Local 400, A. W. O. please communicate with me at once. It is very important that I hear from you as soon as possible. J. A. Sullivan, P. O. Box 560, Omaha, Neb.

# THE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

By Abner E. Woodruff, C. E.

(Continued From Last Week)

The capitalist system of machine production requires the workers to possess considerable dexterity and education in order to function to the best advantage. Also, the capitalist method of absentee ownership throws a great part of the burden of management upon the workers, so that they have, not only a large technical training, but executive ability as well. It is any wonder that such a class should become critical of its condition and surroundings? Is it strange that, finding itself in practical control of industry, it should commence to inquire why it continues in poverty while the proprietors mount to the position of millionaires? If it amazing that this class, having the wealth of society within its grasp, should seek to take possession?

History teaches us that, in each epoch of the world since the advent of private property, one class has been dominant; that the civilization of each epoch was the product of the then ruling class; and that a subject class expanded and within that civilization and finally made itself the dominant class. The new class created a new society and, in its turn, was displaced by yet another class which set up another society in its turn. Following the parallelism, it is quite unbelievable that the proletariat—a class having large intelligence and a militant spirit—should continue to submit indefinitely to the domination of a dividing few, who, from every practical viewpoint, have become absolutely parasitic.

### CRAFT UNIONISM

Immediately the capitalist class settled itself into power, it began to have trouble with the wage slave class. The "iron law of wages," which decrees that "wages shall always tend to sink to the lowest point at which the worker can maintain the efficiency demanded by the development of industry and reproduce his kind," began to operate forcefully. The wage workers awoke to the fact that the boasted freedom of the capitalists meant, for the workers, an unlimited freedom to starve. Private property in the lands, tools and machinery of production gave the proprietors a right of exclusion and, unless the workers accepted the terms laid down by the masters, they would starve.

The individual worker found himself helpless, and the early history of the factory system is too shocking and too shameful to be repeated here. It is enough to say, that out of the suffering and humiliation of the workers, the first Labor Unions arose. Originally, these were Mutual Aid Associations, with the design of conforming to the worker to his environment by providing sick and burial benefits, and in other ways assisting him to make his own meet; but later, the craftsmen, finding the automatic machine encroaching upon their skill, converted them into defensive institutions with the purpose of protecting the craft.

The craftsman now set up the plea that "skill is a property" and, therefore, possessors of skill should have the same rights as other property holder; and, so long as the machine processes were crude and imperfect and the organization of the master class was equally imperfect, these craft unions were able to secure small concessions for themselves. The theory that skill is a property led easily to the effort to monopolize that property and many were the dodges and subterfuges adopted to make the monopoly effective. Limitation of apprenticeships, high initiation fees and dues, difficult and technical examinations for membership, gentlemen's agreements with the employers and closed books in closed shop cities and towns, were a part of the protective and exclusive measures adopted, but beyond this property idea the craftsman apparently could not go. The hand tool limited their vision to the mere thing they hold in their hands—they could not see the great world of industry grouping around them, nor catch the inspiring message of the machines to the struggling masses.

The American Federation of Labor, the Australian Workers Union, the Amalgamated Societies of the English workers and other nationalistic organizations of their kind seem never to have come to a realizing sense of the great fact that *production is a social process* and that the organizations of the workers must take on an all inclusive or universal character in order to conform to that fact. Their pretensions of industrial vision and organs are mere hollow phrases belied by their persistent separation of the workers into craft or district organizations that render them helpless and futile in the total industrial sea in which they are submerged. Without doubt, they continue to accept the wage system as a finality and seek only to maintain themselves as integral parts of that system. While they struggle and fight for a larger wage, there is no apparent knowledge that the wage is merely a portion of the worker's production and not a reward for services rendered—their cry is "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," the only question being "what is fair?"

Collective bargaining is a principle with the craftsmen and, since they choose to accept the laws and standards of the master class, it is but natural that they should regard their bargains, or contracts, as holy and sacred, even when such contracts force them to work alongside of men who are "seabring" or "black-bagging" on other craft unions who may be out on strike. They are thus forced into the paradoxical position of fighting strike benefit assessments with one hand while they pay wages with the other by working with the scab or black-leg and aiding the boss to crush the strike. Such strike-banded morality certainly shows the impotence of the structure of capitalist society and the mission of the working class of these workers will lead their way to influence the minds of these workers who lead their class in an ever-descending spiral.

So long as the capitalists competed vigorously among themselves and the various shop confined themselves to

the manufacture of single articles, or closely related articles, or only one of the processes of transformation was carried out by the one shop, the craft unions had a measure of success; but when, through the process of elimination, competition centered wealth into fewer hands and machine production took on the form of industry (following the raw material through all the processes to the completed article) craft unionism lost its force and effect.

The machines break up the skill of the craftsmen and spread it out in the hands of groups of unskilled workers, who do simple tasks in connection with the machines. And since such skill as these machine workers require is mostly in the nature of mere nimbleness and can be acquired in a very short time, the craftsman's notion of "property in skill" can never obtain any foothold with them. The essence of property is a right of exclusion, and the machine tender's skill (?) is too easily acquired for exclusion to be practiced at the machine.

The craftsman's opposition to the machine—developing its use apparent and the machine attendants, defaulting under varied and different conditions, has a new and different viewpoint—to them, the old craft notions of property, mutual interests, contact and defense are just so much ancient and useless "junk."

### THE MACHINE PROLETARIAT

With the development of the machines they also developed the groans of the machines—the machine proletariat (workers possessing no specialized skill). These workers have always been denied recognition by the craftsmen, because the craft attitude was one of contempt for the unskilled; and further, the craftsmen have always had an instinctive aversion to the presence of the machine, because the machine meant the loss of their skill and the machine attendants, defaulting under varied and different conditions, has a new and different viewpoint—to them, the old craft notions of property, mutual interests, contact and defense are just so much ancient and useless "junk."

The machine proletariat recognizes itself as the product of the machine, and, just as the craftsmen organized into craft unions, on the basis of the hand tool, because it was the source of their living, so do the proletarians organize into industrial unions, on the basis of the machine, because it is the source of their life. They do not recognize skill as a property, giving anyone an aristocratic standing in labor, for the conquering machine rapidly destroys such skill as yet survives. Manual training, industrial school, and the modern system of training a worker for his place at the machine, so the industrial union practices no exclusion, but accepts all who will enter at any nominal fee. It regards the wage system as a passing phase, and instead of offering "a fair day's work for a fair day's wage," it organizes and endeavors to build up the co-operative and communal instincts of its class. It demands the full product of its collective toil, declaring that modern conditions and modern needs have set aside all the rights of private property that may have existed in the past.

As a result of this attitude of the machine proletariat, the machine proletariat, doing nothing to earn his keep. It accepts collective bargaining, but sets no time limits to its agreements and holds no contract sacred—in fact, it abhors the contract with a master—and stands ready to disregard all contracts when an observance of the same would force it into the attitude of a strike breaker, or compel it to give countenance to organized slavery.

The machine proletariat, recognizing its subject position in modern class society, stands squarely on the class struggle, organized to carry on the class struggle, and has prepared itself to direct industry and administer society when that struggle shall have been won.

In all the various social systems of the past, the wealth and power of the ruling class has depended upon the wealth of the property of the workers. The more the degree to which it could be exploited. If the tools were simple and the portion of the wealth remaining after the workers were provided for was small, then the master class which took this surplus was relatively poor. But when the machine came and the worker's productivity increased and the surplus of wealth vastly increased and the master class actually wallows in a glut of wealth. The gulf between the workers and the masters yawns wider and deeper, and the workers, increasing in intelligence, ever more bitter and impatient with their poverty.

The chattel slave and feudal serf might well have toiled and suffered in silence—they knew no better—ignorance, superstition and bestial conditions held them thrall, but not so the machine proletariat. He must be quick of body and alert of intellect—only as a trained man is he useful to the masters—therefore his reactions on his environment are more intelligent and more vigorous than those of any servile worker that has preceded him. He takes up the cudgel to defend himself. All the tools that the world is at his command and he quickly learns that labor power applied to the materials of the earth is the source of all wealth, and that the source of the master's riches lies in his appropriation of the surplus of wealth remaining after the workers are miserably paid. Conversely, he learns that the worker's poverty arises from the fact that he does not retain the surplus of his own labor for himself, but allows it to be taken by another. The proletarian learns that governments and laws are built up in order to submit to the ruling class, and that school and church and press are used to lull him into quietness. In their struggle that he despises governments, contemns courts, rebukes teachers, loathes editors, abhors priests and seeks only to seize the materials and machinery of production that the system has built up for its own advantage and, through them, destroy the domination of classes and the governmental laws, priests, presses and pulpits that uphold class domination?

The machine proletariat also realizes private property as a *social institution*. It recognizes the fact that through that institution all the other institutions of modern society have their force and effect, and nothing short of its destruction as an institution will ever be satisfactory. The proletarian knows that it can build a better society only by the seizure of the means of production and distribution of goods, and that it is thoroughly determined to build it. (To be continued)

# Victims of the Big Business Vigilantes of San Francisco

Shortly after the United Railroad and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company were arrested in connection with the Preparedness Parade explosion, their District Attorney Fickler advised that he was prosecuting not union men but plain black criminals. He conveniently forgot to catch-ery of his masters. "Down with the union bomb-throwers!" He conveniently forgot to prosecute for murder or for arson!

Tom Mooney (a member of Molders' Union No. 164 for fourteen years, who comes to trial on the 27th of November, has long been a thorn in the flesh of the public utility corporations. Just before the explosion, Mooney had been engaged as organizer of the Amalgamated Street and Railway Workers of America in a determined but unsuccessful effort to organize the wage slaves of the infamous United Railroad, the most venomous enemy of unions in California. His present prosecutor, supposes that the following people, were elected to office in 1907 to dismiss the graft indictments against Fickler and the members of the United Railroad and other corporate officials: Fickler, president of the Electric Company in their 1913 strike made a determined effort to "railroad" Mooney's strike. The fact was acquired after four trials. What a coincidence that public utilities Detective Swanson, who was arrested to bring up, and the sergeant on the very evening of the explosion on July 2nd, was then with the U. R. E. Co. in a detective and worked hard to convict Mooney.

Mooney was trustee of Molders' Union No. 164, and represented his local in 1912, and represented his local in the International Labor Organization Convention in Milwaukee during that year. There has never been a man in the union principled as to which Mooney has not given generous response. His is the spirit of the most noble and the best in the County Mayo (which gave his little old mother her soft brogue) fought against the land-grabbers. Both Mooney and Nolan are the object of special vengeance on the part of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association and the Chamber of Commerce because of their exposure of the A. & M. plot to plant dynamite during the Stockton "open shop" fight last year. Mooney is a prominent union man—an expense which defeated the open shop force and dispersed the forces of the A. & M. In the indictment of Ed Nolan (Machinists' Lodge No. 68, and San Francisco member since 1907) the prosecution made a stupendous blunder. For Nolan is one of the most active labor men on the Pacific Coast. He is the fire of the labor union propagandist with the order of the mechanic, he holds a position of respect in his affairs. Nolan, original of the caliber of real leadership, Nolan has no equal in California. He is a man of plain but striking strike leader; yet he seems utterly free from the disease of ambition. As a result of his long and hard defense meetings in the past, he is a slight man, sitting quietly with his hands behind his back, and attracting no notice till he had something to say. Then he spoke forcibly and to the point.

Nolan has long been a prominent figure in the labor world. In 1904-10-11-12 he was a delegate to the Los Angeles Labor Council, in 1911-12 he was a member of the San Francisco Labor Council and in 1914 to the San Francisco Iron Trades Council. He had just returned from the International Machinists' Convention at Baltimore four days before he was arrested and went to jail as captain of pickets in the Machinists' strike then drawing to a successful end, and, after his arrest he had made his report of the convention to the labor world and on returning he found his house in possession of a bullying crowd of police, headed by public utilities Detective Swanson.

Mrs. Rena Mooney, wife of Tom Mooney's first wife, and the mother of his children, is a music teacher of conspicuous attainments, and her husband is a member of the principal Panama-Pacific Exposition prize in his classes, not only for piano-playing, but for the new lines of training in stone and ear work. Devoted to her teaching she is. Her presence which so often separates the "artistic" from the common folk. In her presence you know at once that she is a woman of imagination, energy and a warm and liberal spirit. Mrs. Mooney has the devotion of a mother for each of her pupils, and it is this labor movement and made her, after her husband's death, the inseparable comrade and co-worker in attempting to organize the U. R. E. Co. and to bring Mooney helpfully materially to free her husband in 1913; so the "law and order" committee, who had imprisoned last July, were a building crowd of police, headed by public utilities Detective Swanson.

In prison Mrs. Mooney plays her violin for the other women prisoners and also the organ on Sundays. Among her faithful and indignant daily visitors are her music pupils, some of whom are members of recognized musical prodigies, whose playing at a recent protest meeting in San Francisco, was touchingly loyal and a revelation to the huge audience.

It is a matter of record that the Executive Committee of the Jitney Bus Operators' Union, is the mark of the union's fight with the United Railroads, and his enthusiastic participation in the principle of anti-union legislation, as Nolan puts it. For instance, during Mooney's trial, the fact that he had a dollar a day on the members of his family, and that Mooney's work and money much of his time to conveying Mooney from one meeting to another.

He was arrested leaving his union headquarters. Unionism is a crime under the United States public utility group—so Weiberg is a criminal! He is a veteran in the public utility group. He was a public utility group for the last thirteen years. Back in 1903 he was a member of the Public Utility Workers' Union, No. 1766, in Cleveland, Ohio, and now belongs to Local No. 483, San Francisco.

In addition to his other "crimes" Weiberg refused Detective Swanson's best bribe of \$10,000 to persuade Tom Mooney into jail for the dynamiting of some U. R. E. Co. high power towers along the way. Mr. Swanson, however, were destroyed in the early morning hours, with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company ready to turn on their power, and when, as you doubtless know, the towers were dynamited (street traffic). "You are a young man," said Swanson, "with a great future before you. If you will probably the only chance you will ever have to get \$5,000. All we need is a little circumstantial evidence against Mooney and we will protect you." But Weiberg could not be bought.

Warren K. Billings, already in danger of life imprisonment at the State Prison, was president of the Shoe Workers' Union and delegate to the San Francisco Pacific Coast Convention. He was very active in his union's strike in 1912 and also in the last Marchists' strike in 1913. He was also in the Electric Company jobbed him during their 1913 strike. Martin Swanson being the creative force of the strike, he was very active in the union's strike in 1912 and also in the last Marchists' strike in 1913. He was also in the Electric Company jobbed him during their 1913 strike. Martin Swanson being the creative force of the strike, he was very active in the union's strike in 1912 and also in the last Marchists' strike in 1913.

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### Pop is in Des Moines

Des Moines, Iowa, Nov. 16. There is a little talk of a general walk in the W. O. branch local at Des Moines, and the "adjacent" properties of the W. O. Co. are being visited. "Get on these jobs and organize, fellow workers!"

Phone Co. at Grinnell, Shannon City, Manson and Lehigh, Iowa; \$1.40 and board. Telephone work in Iowa, \$2 per hour. Get on these jobs and organize, fellow workers!

Stacy City, Iowa—Street work, 20¢ per hour. Camsters and complexers.

Warner, Iowa—Cedar Rapids Electric Co. \$2.50; 9 jobs; \$5.50 board. All winter job.

Spencer, Iowa—Milford, Iowa—Corn picking 6¢ per bu. Tiling, 45¢ per hour. Begging men to go to work at Newton, Iowa—Building construction, 30 to 35¢ per hour.

Alton, Iowa—Corn picking, 6¢ per bu. 25 to 65¢ per acre. Much outside work to be done in Des Moines this winter if weather permits.

### PRESS COMMITTEE

"Pop" Wagner held in "Minn" the other day and assumed charge of the "Minn" and he was very angry to him immediately. Poor "Pop" is having his mitts full supporting the A. W. O. Co. of the entire state, and handling the "adjacent" properties. By the way, every fellow worker who has these properties, ask "Pop" about 'em and he'll show you as soon as you arrive.

Several sets of boxing gloves always in use. Next business meeting, a Snoker Committee will be elected and a series of successful entertainments will be held at the home of the Snoker Committee. More talent will be needed for these. Come on, you thespians, writers and comedians.

"Pop" has just opened a few "boiling up" pavilion, with the help of the "Minn" and the fellow workers have answered from the bunk about the C.P.I. matters. It is against the rule to harbor these undesirable in the "adjacent" properties to the "Minn" and the fellow workers should remove all trace of both mineral and animal kingdom, thus leaving the whole street a clean slate.

If you are employed, "Pop" is unemployed, then beat it for Des Moines and get out of town. The fact of the local will see to it that you don't suffer from ennui, whatever the C.P.I. matters. JOHN E. NORDBUST.

I. W. W. headquarters in Denver, Colo. are at Room 205, Railroad Building—Dan Bailey, Sec'y.

Card and literature belonging to Adam's Gamble, member of the I. W. W., care of 207 Taylor Ave., Spokane, Wash. He can have same by writing to Thor Sheridan at above address.

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