

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

THE TRUTH

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

Who is it speaks of Defeat?
I tell you a cause like ours
Is greater than defeat can know
It is the power of powers.

As surely as the earth rolls round
As surely as the glorious sun
Brings the world moon wave,
Must our Cause be won!

No. 32

14.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 6, 1920

WHOLE No. 162

FIVE CENTS.

INTERCHURCH IMPEACHES JUDGE GARY

Press, Pulpit and Army Broke Steel Workers Strike, Interchurch Shows

Christian Investigators Visit Steel Trust Factories to Proclaim Conditions Worse Than Prelude To British Revolution. Spy System In Unearthed

TRESTLE NOTCHES MARK MOB MURDER OF LITTLE

Impressions of Ropes on Wooden Tie Stand Out as Grim Monuments of Brutality Against Crippled Organizer—Police Let Loose Murderer, Despite Evidence.

By JOHN NICHOLAS BEFFEL.
(Correspondent Federated Press.)

BUTTE, Montana.—I went with an old-time copper miner to the trestle bridge where Frank Little was hung in the night, after he had been dragged from a sick bed by men who stood for "law and order", the established order.

The road over which the mobmen dragged him behind their automobile curves down from the vast Anaconda hill through Placer Gulch and the "flats" to the trestle, over which the trains of the C. M. & St. P. back into Butte.

Two notches in the wooden guardrail indicate here the rope was tied. Carved into the hard wood are the words: "Frank Little Hung Here, August 1, 1917."

Little was murdered in cold blood. There is substantial evidence that the thing was planned carefully for days and that some of the lynchers are local business men who had been working hard at the business of being super-patriots.

There had been a strike on here since the Speculator Mine disaster on June 8. It was not an I. W. W. strike but had been sponsored by the newly-organized Metal Mine Workers' Union.

Little Not Implicated.

Little, an I. W. W. organizer from Arizona and member of the I. W. W. executive committee, had nothing to do with that strike. He had come to Butte simply to look over the ground, as did other labor executives.

The miners demanded adequate safety provisions to prevent a recurrence of the Speculator holocaust, in which 164 men died; proper ventilation of mines; installation of a water system to lay the dust, chief cause of miners' consumption; abolition of the black list system; \$6 a day flat scale, and other reasonable conditions.

Copper production had ceased. The miners were peaceful. It was a strike of folded arms. Late in July the Anaconda Copper Mining Company tried to stampede the men back to work by an offer to modify the blacklist system and to grant an increase in wages on a sliding scale basis. But there was a wide gulf between the company's offer and what the workers wanted. They didn't take the bait.

Desperately the company tried to find some way to break the strike. Once more it fell back upon its favorite weapon—terrorism.

Little Picked as Victim.

Little was picked out as the victim. Among several others, he had made speeches to the miners, and in these speeches he uttered harsh truths about the Anaconda.

He pointed out that the mines were being worked almost without timbers, so that for lack of sustaining framework the earth frequently caved in, killing or maiming the ore-diggers.

For years, he said, the inquests over men killed in the mines indicated that practically every miner was a suicide, and thus the company escaped paying compensation. These inquests were invariably held by professional juries dominated by the Anaconda.

And in one of these speeches Little referred to the militia as "uniformed scabs." That had long been a common term in miners' conversation here. Repeatedly, at the behest of the Anaconda, the state troops had been used against the mine workers throughout Montana.

Immediately the copper press set up cries of "sedition," "enemy of the government," "German influence," "I. W. W.," "treason," and kindred accusations, although none of the miners nor their speakers had been guilty of any of these charges, as admitted by United States District Attorney B. K. Wheeler.

Kidnappers Misrepresented. Next door to the I. W. W. hall on North Wyoming street, which climbs the hill toward the biggest of the Anaconda properties, is the old darkened brick Steel boarding house where Frank Little roomed. At 2 in the morning six men drove up in an automobile, entered the house and woke up the landlady.

Representing themselves as of-

The Interchurch World Movement, an organization of all churches, made it its special business to investigate the recent steel strike. The report that they made, it is stated, is responsible for the breakdown of the O. M. Big Union movement amongst the churches.

Judge Gary and the financiers of this country endeavored to have the report suppressed, but they were unsuccessful and so we are able to present to our readers the main extracts from it. The report is a long one and forms a bulky and portentous volume, containing 90,000 words.

Here are some of the outstanding features of conditions before and during the strike, the mere suggestion of which caused the U. S. Steel Corporation to cry "Bolsheviki!" at the Interchurch investigators, and which brought the full force of their suppressive machinery to bear against the men engaged in tracing them to their sources, and ultimately brought about the collapse of the organization:

Inhuman Hours Were Chief Cause.

1. "The causes of the strike lay in grievances which gave the workers just cause for complaint and for action. These unredressed grievances still exist in the steel industry."

2. These grievances, broadly outlined, included the inhuman 12-hour day; the seven-day week; the low wages of 72 per cent of the steel workers, which were below the animal subsistence or bare-

comfort level; the denial of suppression of the right of collective bargaining; the autocratic control by the steel interests of the lives and the condition of the lives of the workers.

3. The steel interests had built up and used a huge system of spying, including the use of agents provocateur, which carried right through into the United States Government. Every man who thought along union lines, who affiliated himself with unions, or who even attended meetings where such questions were discussed; was discharged, although he may have been in the industry from its very inception. Many were beaten, imprisoned and held for deportation as "Reds."

4. Public officials, the police, the magistrates, the press and the pulpit were either brought up by

the steel interests, or through affiliation, interests, or because they were powerless against steel, operated against the strikers and in behalf of the steel interests.

U. S. Government Aids Steel Rulers

5. The United States Army, under Gen. Leonard Wood, withdrew from Gary, Ind., only after the steel strike had been broken. The Pennsylvania state police was used to break the strike and to destroy all civil liberties. Agents of the Department of Justice, acting under Attorney General Palmer's orders, co-operated with the steel masters.

6. The strike was broken because of a number of factors:

(a) The disunity of the 24 international unions of the American Federation of Labor, which through indifference, selfishness or narrow

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LARKIN AGING FAST IN CRUEL DANNEMORA

Three Months' Imprisonment Has Aged Irish Labor Leader 10 Years — Visitor, Not Allowed to Speak to Him, Sees Him Sad and Lone at Untouched Meal.

DANNEMORA.—Dannemora prison, the "punishment prison" of New York State, the place of which the worst types of convicts are transferred from other prisons throughout the state, has been selected as the place where James Joseph Larkin, Irish labor leader and founder of the Citizen Army of Ireland, shall spend his dreary days.

Here Benjamin Gitlow, Harry Winitsky and Gus Alonen; the Finnish I. W. W., are also confined, after conviction under the state criminal anarchy law for holding beliefs in a new social order.

Dannemora, dark, gloomy, with an atmosphere of merciless, rigid discipline, of studied cruelty to men, is said by prison investigators to be a place from which few men escape without contracting tuberculosis, or without going insane.

Larkin's Hair White.

After three months' confinement, Larkin is 10 years older, his hair is now entirely white. And he is very pale. He has been assigned to the worst type of work in the prison, in the cotton shop, where the lint and dust always fill the air and break the health of men. Hours are short—eight hours—they say. But this is because, at best, the life of a cotton worker is short.

Aside from the grim walls of stone and steel which rear for 50 feet into the air, jeering at the unparallelled beauty of the landscape about it, an extra ring of steel has been flung about Larkin. Orders have gone forth that this "damned Irish agitator" is to get all that is coming to him. His mail, along with that of Gitlow's, is now held up "because of its volume."

Special orders are in full force that only special permission from the State Prison Superintendent can friends or relatives see either Larkin, Gitlow, Winitsky or Alonen. These men, whom prison authorities sneeringly declare "are no better than any other criminal," are subjected to restrictions and humiliations which are not forced upon other prisoners in Dannemora.

Dannemora Built to Break Men.

ra—murders, forgers or rapists. Dannemora was built to break men. The record of the prison makes the blood run cold. Men transferred from other prisons have said that they would prefer death to coming here. Prison reformers still say that prison is a "terrible place," although a number of them have forced the abandonment of such methods as the yoke, the ball and chain, the handcuffs, the guns and the lash.

But they have not forced the abandonment of the more refined methods of torture, or dozens of conflicting rules, of iron discipline, petty persecution, of the fundamental issue, the penitentiary system which takes weak, unfortunate or defective men and crushes the soul out of them, leaving them, if not broken in health and mind, at least broken in character and in those human qualities referred to as the soul.

Nor has it forced the abandonment of little wire mesh cages in which relatives or friends must sit and look across at the prisoner, while, a guard stands, watching and listening, that no word of truth about prison conditions may be uttered. It was one of these little cages in which Mrs. Gitlow was forced to sit and talk across to her son, in another one, although other visitors had been permitted to sit with the men whom they had come to see, in another room.

After going through the prison as an investigator last week, I asked to see the little solitary house upon the hill, the little isolation house, where men, it is reported, have been held in solitary confinement for not only weeks, but months and years.

Isolation House Not Shown.

"Madame will you give me your card?" Edward Burby, the head keeper demanded. "Who are you?" "Madam, will you give me your card?" "That place is not in the show," he continued. Then, casting about, he remarked, "we don't use that place any more. It is locked up. You have seen all there is to be seen."

Other so-called abandoned places had been opened for show. John Healy, sergeant of the guard, resigned to prison advancement, had shown them.

"May I go through the cotton shop and see the men at work?" I

(Continued on page 2)

MEMBERS COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY GUILTY

Eight Receive Penitentiary Sentences, Remainder County Jail.

CASE TO BE APPEALED. DATE SET FOR NEW TRIAL.

Chicago, Ill., August 2nd. — Twenty members of the Communist Labor Party were tonight found "guilty" of the charge of advocating the overthrow of the United States government by the use of force, crime, violence and other unlawful means.

Over the protests of the State, the judge allowed the defendants out on bail, until the motion for a new trial is heard. It will be argued on September 25th. The following is a list of the comrades and their sentences:—

One to Five Years and \$2,000 fine
William, Bross, Lloyd; L. E. Katterfield; Arthur Proctor.

One to Five Years and \$1,000
Max Bedacht; Ludwig Lore; Jack Carney.

One to Five Years in Penitentiary
Eldar Owens; L. K. England; Niels Kjar.

One Year in County Jail Cook County
Samuel Hankin; Morris A. Stolar; James A. Meisinger; Charles Krumbein; Samuel Ash; Dr. Brown; Dr. Sandberg; Edwin Firth; Niels J. Christensen; John Vogeland; Perry Shipman.

NOTICE!—Jack Carney will speak at the Bricklayers' Hall on Sunday Evening, August 8th, 1920, at 8 o'clock.

(Continued on page 2)

U. S. Steel Company Honeycombed Labor Union With Vast Intricate Spy System

In the bitter struggle to crush unions in the steel strike early last fall, the U. S. Steel Corporation honeycombed the union movement with one of the most elaborately organized spy systems ever evolved by the big business interests. The boring from within tactics of this system played a large part in the terrorism that attended the great strike.

This is the way the Interchurch investigators describe the workings of the system:

"Espionage was of two general classes: spies directly in the employ of the steel companies; and spies hired from professional 'labor detective' agencies. The Steel Corporation plants shew their own detective forces; one case of hiring outside agencies by a corporation subsidiary became public during the strike."

"Espionage was of two general characters: spies pure and simple who merely furnished information; and spies who also as propagandist strikebreakers, mingling with the strikers and whispering that the strike was failing, that the

men in other towns had gone back, that the union leaders were crooks, etc. The Monessen 'labor file' contained some six hundred daily reports by 'under-cover' spies of both characters, mere detective and strikebreaking propagandists.

"These company spy-systems carry right through into the United States Government."

"Federal immigration authorities testify to the commission that raids and arrests for 'radicalism', etc., were made especially in the Pittsburgh district on the denunciations and secret reports of steel company under-cover men, and the prisoners turned over to the Department of Justice."

"The Monessen 'labor file' enabled the student to follow one such paper through to the government. It is given here as offering light upon the question why many workmen, especially steel workers, have come to suspect that the government, as government, has taken sides in industrial warfare; has taken sides against workmen."

DEFEATED POLAND OWES U. S. FULLY \$100,000,000

Bought \$4,780,240 War Supplies—America's Interest In Polish-Soviet Peace Keen.

WASHINGTON.—The extent of financial interest the United States has in the negotiations between the Bolshevik government and Poland, is shown by figures made public by Secretary of War Baker.

According to these, Poland is the debtor of the American War Department alone for \$71,920,111 worth of goods. Her other obligations to the United States Grain Commission, the emergency fleet corporation and the Navy Department, for example, are conservatively estimated at enough to bring her total obligations to this government up to at least \$100,000,000.

Bought \$1,780,000 War Supplies.

The United States Liquidation Commission, in the year following the armistice, sold to the sycophantic Polish Republic goods amounting in value to \$59,365,111.97. The Secretary of War was at great pains to state that these transactions took place "long before the Polish offensive against Russia," and that "only some \$4,780,240 of the amount was for what might be considered war material." The Poles contracted for \$795,506 worth of air service material, and bought \$3,984,735 worth of ordnance, chemical warfare equipment and the like.

Other items in the bill for the overseas supplies, originally intended for the use of the A. E. F., for turned over to Poland by the liquidation commission include:

Buy Much Clothing. Clothing and textiles, \$20,288,158; subsistence, \$13,855,252; household furniture, machinery and other merchandise, \$3,918,340; transportation equipment \$13,170,143; hospital fixtures, medicines, and the like \$2,713,267.

In addition to these supplies all contracted for on the ground in France, the War Department insists, and shipped from the A. E. F.'s big inland supply base at Is-Sur-Tille via Switzerland, German Austria and Czechoslovakia to Warsaw, the office of the director of sales of the War Department has sold the Polish Government \$12,555,000 worth of non-military supplies which were in America at the time of purchase.

The largest item in this amount was \$8,616,000 for 4,600 freight cars, made to fit European gauge tracks. The remaining \$3,939,000 went for such items as cranes, oleomargarine, corned beef of the army variety, army bacon and the like for which there was no American market.

For the supplies purchased abroad Poland according to Baker, has promised to make good in equal payments at the end of three, four and five years, putting up its notes as security. For the supplies contracted for here, the Poles have put up six-year notes of their government, paying 5 per cent interest. These notes, Baker said, had all

been deposited with the Secretary of the Treasury.

Were Still Making Purchases.

The sales both in Europe and this country were made by the authority of the Secretary of War, "by and with the advice and consent of" the State Department, following out a rule of long-standing that the War Department shall not sell its supplies to a foreign government without the concurrence of the diplomatic branch of this government. Nothing was sold to Poland, Baker reiterated, which was at all adaptable for use in this country.

Even at this late date, he admitted, the Poles still had under way negotiations for more War Department supplies.

Baker's announcement of the size of the Polish indebtedness to his department came so late in the afternoon it was impossible to procure accurate figures from the other government agencies which also hold notes of the Warsaw "Government."

When the bill of the Emergency Fleet Corporation for the transportation of Polish troops is figured in, as well as that of the grain corporation, it is predicted that the sum total of the Polish indebtedness to the United States for supplies and service rendered will come to at least the \$100,000,000 already forecasted.

FLOWERS AGAIN TO STAND TRIAL

By The Federated Press

LOS ANGELES.—A third attempt to put Sidney Flowers in a felon's cell is soon to be staged here. Dist. Atty. Thomas Lee Woolwine has served notice on Attorney John Beardsley that Flowers must stand trial again on the charge of criminal syndicalism. Undaunted by his failure to secure a conviction in the two previous trials that cost the tapayers \$30,000 and in which his chief witnesses were self-confessed agents provocateurs, stool pigeons and hired tools of the Merchants and Manufacturers' association, the district attorney will make another effort to send to prison the young soldier who refused to stop fighting for democracy after coming home from two years on the battlefields of France.

The announcement of the intention of the district attorney has not intimidated Flowers. The night of the day he received the news he addressed a labor meeting breaking the silence he had imposed upon himself during the months since the office of his paper, "The Dugout" was raided and he arrested. "On the advice of friends who thought it would hurt my case, I have kept quiet," he said, "I've taken my punishment lying down; but now I'm going to fight!"

SOVIETS OPEN SCHOOL FOR INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE IN MOSCOW

Esperantists Have Chair—Information Bureau Under Evstifeyef, Noted Linguist.

LONDON, July 16 (by mail).—The official Russian Communist journal Izvestia, announces that the government of the Soviets has just erected a special building in Moscow for the instruction of an international language, under the name of "Dom de Esperanto."

Free courses of lessons in the international language are to be given, and the Esperanto Societies of Moscow are authorized to institute a professorship there, as well as the "Central Committee of the Federation of Russian Esperantists," the "Union of Young Esperantists," the "Co-operative Esperanto Society," and the "Esperantist Community of Workers," whose aim is to bring into effect the summons, "Workers of All Nations Unite."

Here is to be found a bookshop of Esperantist literature, a library, a reading-room, and several classes for conversation. The information bureau is under the direction of Evstifeyef, a Russian Esperantist of European fame.

Soviet Emissary With \$80,000,000 in Chicago

Lieut. Col. B. Roustan Beck, representing the soviet government of Russia, arrived in Chicago yesterday with \$80,000,000 that he is trying to spend for machinery and supplies necessary to the reorganization of Russian industries. He wears the uniform of the Red army, armed only with a cockade and the hammer and sickle imposed upon the red star of the republic. He said Russia would soon be on its feet commercially, attacked England and France for what he called their attempts to gratify imperialistic aims in Russia, hoped for increased friendliness and commercial relations between America and his country and suggested an American-Russian alliance against Japan.

Frestle Notches Mark Mob Murder of Little

(Continued from page 1.)

ficers, they got Little's room number, then broke in his door, and took him out. He was lying in bed with a broken leg when they got him, and had been on crutches for some time. He weighed only 125 pounds and suffered from a rupture.

Tying Little with a loose rope to the back of the automobile, they dragged him through the streets, heading for the Milwaukee trestle, where they strung him up by the neck. He fought back wildly; that was evidenced by bits of flesh found under his finger nails when his body was discovered at dawn by a railroad man.

Cold-blooded murder, but the authorities did nothing.

They were given the number of the automobile by persons who saw portions of the ghastly spectacle. They knew, as many others in Butte know, who drove the machine out of a prosperous garage; knew the names of the Anaconda mine foreman and Anaconda gunman who were in the lynching party. But no effort was ever made to punish anybody.

Impostor Appears on Scene.

Let us turn the wheel of this narrative back a few weeks to the beginning of the strike. At that time a ragged man was turned out of his boarding house because he was broke and couldn't pay his bill. He used the name of Charles McCarthy, but (as it became known later) his real name was Charles Albright, and he had served a sentence in Deer Lodge penitentiary.

Appearing at the hall of the mine workers' union, he represented himself as a miner in hard luck, expressed a great desire to help in the fight for better conditions, and got himself put on the strike committee. Here he had access to all the plans of the strikers.

On the night, Little was hung. Albright was seen in company with an Anaconda gunman. He visited police headquarters with the thug. Later, when questioned about this visit, he asserted that he was arrested that night for vagrancy. This was proved untrue. He was not arrested that night at all.

About 1 o'clock in the morning a woman who resides across the street from the Steele boarding house where Little roomed saw an automobile pull up in front of her home.

Recognizes Albright.

Under a city area light she recognized Albright. The men in the car put out their lights. Al-

bright walked away, returning in 15 minutes with a bundle, which resembled a coil of rope. Presently the other men got out of the automobile and entered the boarding house, bringing their victim out struggling and beginning their torture which ended in his death.

Albright had received only a meal ticket from the union for his services on the strike committee, but on the second day after Little was hung, this ex-convict blossomed forth in a new suit of clothes, and put up at another boarding house, equipped with a new trunk full of fancy underwear, shirts, neckties and other luxuries.

And now he had plenty of spending money, with which he bought drinks for acquaintances.

Evidence of all this was brought to the authorities by members of the Daily Bulletin staff. Under the pressure of threatened publicity, the local officials had Albright arrested. He was held a few days and then turned loose. The county prosecutor refused to prosecute him.

Ten thousand men, women and children marched for five miles behind the coffin in which the body of Frank Little lay, transported to one of the company-owned cemeteries out in the "flats."

Death Multiplies Influence.

Alive, Frank Little was a man of ordinary talents, an organizer with his heart in the cause of labor, but one whose influence was comparatively small. Dead, says William F. Dunn, editor of the Bulletin, Little's power is multiplied ten thousand times.

Murdering this man gave new impetus to the labor movement in Montana. It expanded the passion behind the activities of the I. W. W. in the metal mining regions; it lends ardor to the organization work of the One Big Union, the metal mine workers' unit of which has gained large power in Butte.

In all the working of bindi, the metal miners solidly together for progress, the American Federation of Labor has no part. On the door of the One Big Union headquarters, on the auditorium floor of the old St. Paul's M. E. Church, is the legend:

"The A. F. of L. is dead. All it needs is a coffin. The O. B. U. is alive in all the glory of its youth."

And the I. W. W. also is youthful and alert, with a great belief in its principle of industrial unionism as opposed to craft unionism, and with endurance to stand the onslaught no matter what the enemy may do. Its hall has been raided time after time, but it survives, and defies all those who would destroy it.

Germans Free Bela Kun; He Starts For Moscow

BERLIN, July 30.—Bela Kun, former communist dictator of Hungary, who was seized by the German authorities while on his way from Austria to Russia, has been released and departed for Moscow, said a dispatch from Swinemunde today.

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10 N 6TH AVE WEST
A. Kyyhkynen

JACK CARNEY WILL SPEAK AT THE BRICKLAYERS HALL SUNDAY EVENING COME AND HEAR THE STORY OF THE CHICAGO COMMUNIST TRIAL

Interchurch Impeaches Judge Gary

(Continued from page 1.)

habit, failed to give the necessary support to the strikers, battling for the right to live as human beings.

(b) The steel interests, having control of all channels of publicity, created the impression that the strike was failing. The men became discouraged in the face of possible public non-support.

(c) The United States Steel Corporation was too strong, having ramifications into the "independent" steel companies, into railroads, into mines, into shipbuilding and ships, into general industries, into banks, into the press, into the pulp and into the government.

Press and Pulpit Helped Defeat.

7. When the strike was broke the workers in the steel industry knew where they stood. They expressed their beliefs with ferocity. They knew that the Federal Department of Justice, the state and Federal officials and the United States Army helped break the strike; they knew that the newspapers and the churches helped to break the strike.

"Many were in dumb, deep-seated suspiciousness of everything and everybody connected with public executives, courts, Federal agents, army officers, reporters or clergy. The steel strike made tens of thousands of citizens believe that our American institutions are not democratic or not democratically administered."

After a short, terse summary of the entire volume of 90,000 words, in which the conditions of workers in the steel industry are shown to be almost identical with conditions in England during the Industrial Revolution, the Commission makes a series of recommendations. The recommendations include:

Ask Probe of Spy System.

1. That the Federal Government initiate the immediate undertaking of a settlement between the steel interests and the workers, by forcing a conference, which has been refused by Gary.

2. That the Federal Government establish a Commission similar to the Commission resulting from the coal strike, for the elimination of the 12 hour day, the 7 day week, and for free conferences.

3. That the Federal Government make an exhaustive study and a report of the abrogation of civil liberties in Western Pennsylvania, particularly of the activities of "labor detectives", of spies and of agents-provocateurs.

4. That the Federal Government publish facts concerning the co-operation of Federal Departments with steel company spies, and that it publish the amount of public money so expended; and that the Government explain why it has suppressed two reports of recent investigations of conditions in the steel industry.

Strike Was not "Bolshevik" Plot. The steel report denied the nationwide publicity, financed by the steel companies, that the strike was a plot of Bolsheviks, supported mainly by "radicals" who were largely alien. The report says:

"Evidence on this interpretation of the strike as a Bolshevik plot failed entirely to substantiate it. On the contrary, it tended to show that this conception was without foundation in fact."

The rumor found its origin in the interests of the steel companies and in the ignorance of the public. The report reads:

"Analysis of the data collected proved that neither the United States Steel Corporation nor organized labor, nor governmental agencies have considered it their normal business to ascertain the current facts regarding conditions of employment, etc., in the steel industry and to take the public constantly into their confidence on such facts. The corporation's annual report is made public, but the facts therein which deal with labor are confined to a few lines and are not illuminating. Organized labor has never understood the business of gathering facts about the industry nor the advisability of presenting such facts to the public. The government's bureaus for collecting such statistics as hours, wages, working conditions, costs and profits, are ridiculously inadequate, are almost invariably undercut by Congress in appropriations, and are not primarily concerned with popularizing such facts as they

possess. What might be considered as a prime business of any government, i. e., the discovery and current publication of fundamental facts of the country's basic industries was not considered the national government's business in relation to the steel industry. Uncover Network of Secret Service.

"The commission's investigators, asking the officers of a company in the Pittsburgh district for information concerning their machinery for ascertaining their workers' needs, encountered this: 'Bring in the labor file.' The labor file, this company's basis for a labor policy, consisted of the secret service reports of various detectives and of 'labor agencies.' Here were hundreds of misspelled reports of 'under-cover men,' operatives 'X,' 'Y,' and 'Z,' contracts for their services, official letters exchanged between companies giving lists of strikers, commonly known as 'blacklists.' In some instances original pencilled scraps of paper contained secret denunciations of workers, which denunciations, raised to the dignity of typed documents, were then circulated to other companies and even to the Federal Department of Justice. The names of independent concerns and of subsidiary companies of the Steel Corporation appear on letterheads showing how this information or misinformation was passed along."

"Was there Bolshevism in the strike? Was there radicalism?" "The allegation was not offered by the strikers nor by the government. It was traced chiefly to two sources: first, the newspapers; and these led to the second and main source, the steel companies."

"Mr. Gary warned the Commissioners to remember that any statement they might make about the U. S. Steel Corporation and the strike should be 'gravely considered,' inasmuch as 'the foundations of the United States Government were involved.'"

Radicalism Lugged In to Break Tie Up.

"The first facts persistently brought up were Mr. William Z. Foster, secretary-treasurer of the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers, and his 'Red Book,' the above-mentioned tract on 'Syndicalism.' The two must be separated. The 'Red Book's' actual relation to the strike is undisputed. No copy of the original book, out of print for several years, was found in possession of any striker or strike leader. A reprint, which was a facsimile in everything except the price mark and the union label, was widely circulated from the middle of September on by officials of the steel companies. The absence of the union label indicated that the reprint was not in behalf of any labor organization. What organization bore this expense of reproducing the book was not investigated. There was no need to investigate who distributed it. Steel company officials openly supplied it to newspapers, to preachers and investigators. In McKeesport, for example, it was mailed to all the pastors in the city, who were then summoned to a meeting with the Mayor, attended also by representatives of the sheriff, the State Constabulary and the Steel Corporation. The representative of the Steel Corporation, who was the superintendent of the local corporation plant, came well supplied with 'Red Books' and read extracts. In cities like New York and Boston, far from the strike areas, newspapers carried extracts from the book as the principal news of the beginning of the strike. The book's relation to the strike, therefore, was in no sense causative; it was injected as a means of breaking the strike."

Despite the fact that no proof could be offered by the steel companies in justification of their charges and their nationwide publicity, no leaders of the strike were convicted of "radicalism" in court. Hundreds of strikers, however, were rounded up like cattle by local authorities, after which the Federal authorities stepped in. Federal officers testified that the arrests had been made by plant detectives and "under-cover" men of the steel companies, many of whom had been sworn in as sheriff's deputies during the strike.

Snuffing at Police Is Rave Crime.

The report states:

"In Western Pennsylvania in 1919 steel workers were tried and fined in cases where the major

allegation was 'smiling at the state police.'"

"In the course of the strike deputations of workers sought the government with petitions. Attorney General Palmer, they considered, gave them the government's only answer in his letter, published on November 26, commending a patriotic society's efforts to run labor 'agitators' out of Pennsylvania. 'It is a pity,' the Attorney General wrote, 'that more patriotic organizations do not take action similar to that of your order.'"

The 12-hour day, now only a horrible memory in advanced industries in the United States and in England, still exists in the steel industry, as shown by overwhelming evidence presented by the Interchurch report. Here a picture is presented which seems to have been taken from histories of conditions in the middle ages or in the early days of the industrial revolution of England.

Here men, three in a bed, crawl out in response to the call of a whistle in the very early dawn, returning after a whistle blows after dark. Through their filthy alleys and around the old frame ramshackle shacks sprawling along hillsides and in the valleys, they crawl to and from their daily work. Without education, without a knowledge of better conditions with which they could compare their own situation, they exist in poverty, in sordid misery, driven only by economic necessity, by the cries of six, eight or ten children for food.

Twelve Hour Day Is Compulsory.

Quoting directly from the report: "Approximately half of the employees in iron and steel manufacturing plants are subjected to the schedule known as the 12-hour day (that is a working day from 11 to 14 hours long.)"

"Less than one-quarter of the industry's employees can work under 60 hours a week, although in most industries 60 hours was regarded as the maximum working week 19 days ago."

"In the past decade the United States Steel Corporation has increased the percentage of its employees subject to the 12-hour day."

"It must be clearly noted that the 12-hour day schedules are compulsory. The Steel Corporation's 'basic eighthour day' is a method of paying wages and in no way concerns hours. The 12-hour day workman cannot knock off at the end of eight hours, if he wants to retain his employment. Neither can he escape the 18-hour or 24-hour 'turn,' usually every fortnight, which goes with most of the 12-hour day schedules. He can 'take it or leave it,' but he cannot bargain over his job's hours."

"The term '12-hour day' is precise only where the day's work at the blast furnace, open hearth and other more or less continuous processes is actually divided into two shifts of 12 hours each. But in many plants it is divided into an 11-hour day shift and a 13-hour night shift, or a 10-hour day and 14-hour night. Usually the shifts alternate weekly and men must work the 'long turn' of 18 hours or 24 hours—a solid day at 'heavy' labor. In some plants the 36-hour turn is still not unknown."

52 Per Cent Work the Long Shift. In combating Gary's testimony before the Senate Investigation Committee, during which time Gary states that "26 1/2 per cent of all employees work the twelve-hour turn, and their number is 69,284," the report states that these figures are misleading.

"The total of all Corporation plants, that is, in the strike areas," reads the report, "is 191,000. Yet this 36 per cent of men working 12 hours or over fails to account for a large number working 11 hours, then on alternate weeks working 13 and 14 hours. This system is following in the steel works. Such a system, when averaged, brings the number of men working 12 hours up to 52.4 per cent of the whole plant."

Of the "independent" plants, supposedly not connected with the U. S. Steel Corporation, but yet subservient and under the moral control of the Corporation, the only exact figures of hours obtained were in the Youngstown Sheet and Tube. These hours are:

"On 8 hours.....10 per cent.
On 10 hours.....35 per cent.
On 12 hours.....55 per cent."

The report, writing of the Corporation, states:

"The large continuous-process producing departments—the pace setters of the industry—were being run largely on a 12-hour day basis and largely 7 days a week."

"The resultant hours approximated 12 hours daily for about half the employees."

"That to these must be added about a quarter more, making three-quarters of all employees whose hours per week were 60 or over, that is, beyond the generally accepted maximum for most other industries."

Trade Epigram:—Steel a Man Killer

"In May, 1910, the percentage of employees working 72 hours and over per week, i. e., at least 12 hours a day, was 42.58 per cent. How much the 1919 percentages of 12-hour men may have increased over that 42 per cent cannot be exactly determined. The average of weekly hours for the industry in 1910 was 67.6; for 1919 it was 1.1 hours higher. The average weekly hours for the Pittsburgh district in 1910 and 1919 for three departments for which 1919 statistics were available were:

Year.	Furnaces.	Hearth.	Mills.
1919	78.7	75.3	67.3
1910	82.1	76.4	71.1

"These were the hours in 1919, which must be compared with the industry's own hours for 1914 and 1910. Five years ago the steel week was 2.4 hours shorter; 10 years ago 1.1 hours shorter. Steel hours have lengthened in a decade when other industries were shortening hours."

"It is an epigram of the industry that 'steel is a man killer.'"

"For the workers who are held for years to the 12-hour day a phrase has been coined which is well understood by them: 'Old age at forty.' Especially they understood it when a corporation plant made the rule of hiring no man over forty years of age."

The actual schedule of a steel worker, when employed in the mill, wrought department of the Carnegie Steel Company last spring, and one which is typical and which causes so many men to give out under the strain and to be fired, follows:

"Five nights at 13 hours, regularly, 65 hours."

"Saturday night, regular, 15 hours."

"Sunday double turn, regular every other week, 24 hours."

"Total, 104 hours."

"Add to this half an hour each night for dinner means three hours more, or 107 hours under the plant roof in the 168 hours in the week."

Workmen's Clergy Tell the Truth. In its study of long hours, the Interchurch commission investigated many pastors and priests. A number of these, whose congregations were made up entirely of working class families, told the truth. The long hours and the seven-day week was the cause of their complaint, also, since it left them without any men in their congregations.

In showing that within 10 years the steel interests have increased the number of hours, instead of bettering conditions, the report quotes the following figures, taken from the corporation plants:

	1914	1919
per week.....	70.3	74.
Skilled and semi-skilled.....	57.	66.
All employees—hours per week.....	66.3	68.7

"In the Pittsburgh district, thus eliminating the principal eight-hour independents and confining the comparison more to Steel Corporation conditions, the figures are:

	1914	1919
"Blast furnace, common labor.....	73.1	82.
"Open hearth, common labor.....	71.3	78.5

"Increases of nearly nine hours in one class and over seven in the other."

Man Silenced by Company Spotter. "It is in the face of such facts, buried in statistics usually unread by the public, that Steel Corporation officials from Mr. Gary down assured the commission that 'seven day work was a thing of the past.'"

"Such statements were maddening to the strikers. A Homestead worker whose evidence happened to be in the shape of the note book in which he had recorded all his hours and 'turns' for eight months and 20 days previous to the strike, went to the Senate committee hearing in Pittsburgh to read what the notebook showed. It showed:

	2,330
"Hours worked.....	18
"Number of 24-hour turns.....	17

"That is, he wanted the 12-hour day in 10 1/4-hour shifts by day and 13 hours by night for 37 weeks, with the 24-hour shift every fortnight and one day off every fortnight. These were the hours of his department in a corporation mill; the schedule of that department allowed its employees 17 days off out of 244."

"He did not testify. He explained to an investigator that he saw what he feared were corporation 'spotters' in the room. He owned his farm in Homestead and he said he could not afford to testify and run the risk of being blacklisted."

The inefficiency of the steel interests in operating their plants is shown by the finding of engineers' reports, quoted by the report:

Object Is: Get Cheap Labor—Keep It Cheap.

"Engineers' findings are: that the steel industry being run for the making of profit and not primarily for the making of steel as the country needs it, favors (a) spells of idleness during which the country and the steel workers pay for the maintenance of idle machinery, and later (b) sports of long hour, high speed lab."

That there seems not the slightest disposition on the part of the steel masters to tackle the 12-hour evil from the standpoint of civic or human welfare is shown by the report. The "well-to-do" work of the Corporation is shown to be merely a farce, to keep the worker in subjection. Men submit to the 12-hour day because, by working for so much per hour, they can help keep downright starvation from their doors for a time longer, although 72 per cent of them live below the comfort level set by the Government estimates.

Larkin Agins Fast

In Cruel Dannemora

(Continued from page 1.)

asked. Larkin was in the cotton shop, the worst shop in the place, where dust and lint are said to endanger the lives of men. It is a bad place, say the villagers, and prisoners hate to go there. Tuberculosis is bred there after two or three days.

"You've seen all there is to be seen, Burby remarked in a voice."

"You'll Not See Jim Larkin."

"You'll not see Jim Larkin, either," he snapped. "Only lawyers and relatives can see him."

I presented an attorney's letter.

"You can't see Larkin until you get a special permit from the State Board. You can't come in here and run this prison." And Burby, the keeper of the King's prisoner, closed the discussion. He stood, his stomach protruding and blotting out the landscape, his thin, cruel lips tight and angry, his cold, fishy eyes glaring at me.

For 25 years he had been a subordinate officer, a mere guard, and only last year was he promoted to his present position, it is said, as a personal favor from a friend. He is now superior to all the guards, and all the prisoners are at his mercy. All this he tells, that no one may doubt his authority. Like most petty officials, he takes infinite pleasure in having men superior to himself under his control. He is the sort of man who is an enemy of prison reform, and he believes that children should be beaten. He did not say what he thought should be done to prison. But his attitude left no doubt.

Believes in Licking Them.

"I think corporal punishment ought to be put back in the schools," he had said the day before. "They had corporal punishment when I was a boy."

But Burby was only taking orders—from officials higher up, who are responsible for Larkin's transfer to one of the worst prisons in America. Yet he undoubtedly enjoyed his work.

The prison guards find their counterpart in the grim walls surrounding the prison. The walls shut out all view of the green hills, lakes and valleys for miles around. Guardhouses, three in front and six in the back, surround the walls, and here uniformed guards, with Winchester awning in the croak of their arms, pace back and forth.

Insane From Imprisonment. Outside of the walls, a bit to the north, a huge new insane asylum has been built. And on the hill a tubercular hospital for the prisoners. In the hospital the prisoners are treated well—but this is because the physician in charge is said to have tuberculosis himself.

This insane asylum receives the

THE MIGHTY REBEL

I AM THE REBEL—the mighty Rebel!
My soul has burst its bonds with love.
In me is all power, all strength;
In me is that which is unconquerable but which conquers all;
In me the dream of beauty;
In me the perfect faith.

I am the Rebel—the mighty Rebel!
I am he who hopes all, dares all, wins all.
I am the Lover of men.
I will shake down every king from off his throne;
I will humble every empire to the dust.
The chains of men I will break asunder;
The prison doors I will fling wide.
The outgrown creeds and laws I cast aside.
The implements of war and death I burn up with the passion of my love.
Man shall be free—
He shall be free at last!

I am the Rebel—the mighty rebel!
Over the world I hurl my song—and well may the Masters tremble!
Thruout all time they sought to bind me;
They hounded me and threatened;
They builded for me prisons;
They crucified my body;
But I was far above it;
My soul they could not touch.
The earth is fertile with my blood—
And from it shall spring Freedom!

I am the Rebel—the mighty Rebel
Destructive and constructive—both am I.
With the potent passion of my love I burn all evil, ignorance, and lust;
All tyranny and greed to ashes turn.
Beneath the mighty passion of my love
The souls of men burst thru the husks
And dare!
Dare to be free, to know, to love, to live—
Dare to be men
After the centuries of pain.

I am the Rebel—the mighty Rebel!
I am the builder of the world!
I build with courage and with strength;
I build with beauty and with love;
I build the Dream into the hearts of men;
I build the great new world of Brotherhood;
The world where poverty is not,
The world that has forgotten war and greed,
The world where every soul shall live its fullest life
Unhindered and unbound—
The world of freedom and of joy.

I am the Rebel—the mighty Rebel!
I am the Lover of men!

RUTH LE PRADÉ.

vigilant and ruthless—doing their "duty" to the state.

Inside the bastille, the guards, fearing that their guns may be turned against them, carry heavy polished clubs, fashioned like walking sticks, the end tapering to a long, steel point.

From the top of the wall, two striking contrasts are presented—one the work of nature, the other the work of man. Lake Champlain stretches to the northeast. Cool, heavily-wooded hills roll north 20 miles to the Canadian border. To the south, the Adirondacks raise their heads, obscuring Lake Placid, Saranac Lake and the hundreds of little lakes which nestle in the valleys. Here the fashionable from New York and surrounding cities go to steady their nerves. Here they may have not only the satisfaction of existing in the midst of thousands of acres of unoccupied forests, but of knowing that Jim Larkin, a man who has fought such monopoly all his life, is safely "put away" within a radius of 10 miles.

Saranac valley, opalescent in the early morning and the late afternoon, stretches north and south for miles. On the side of this valley, the village of Dannemora has sprung up around the walls of the prison.

Swinging around, with your back to the productions of nature, you face the productions of man. A group of surly red brick and gray stone buildings have been hurled together here. Trees and grass have been uprooted except at the entrance.

Insane From Imprisonment.

Outside of the walls, a bit to the north, a huge new insane asylum has been built. And on the hill a tubercular hospital for the prisoners. In the hospital the prisoners are treated well—but this is because the physician in charge is said to have tuberculosis himself.

This insane asylum receives the

criminal insane from the state prisons—not all the defectives, or that would be 65 per cent of the entire prison population. There are now about 800 men in the insane asylum. Dannemora prison contributes its full quota. It is no uncommon thing to send men from the prison over the road to the insane asylum.

"You never know just when a cog is going to slip in a man's head," a guard said. "Sometimes it slips a number of times before it is noticed. Then one day it slips altogether, and we send him over. A great many of the old men, or old offenders, go insane. And most of the tubercular men are old offenders, also."

Japan Newspapers Suppressed for Views On Siberian Policy

Military Authorities Ob- ject to Opposition On Nation's Attitude.

TOKIO, Japan, July 7 (by mail).—Because of bitter opposition to Japan's Siberian policy, the press of Asahi and the Osaka Asahi, two leading Japanese newspapers with tremendous circulations, have been suppressed by the Japanese military authorities.

A number of smaller newspapers have been suppressed, the press of Japan being divided upon the Japanese military enterprise in Siberia.

Editors of the two big dailies say that they expect the suppression to be but temporary. Open criticism has come from other newspapers because of the suppression.

"THIS IS AMERICA"

Chicago, July 31st. The trial of the twenty members of the Communist Labor Party draws to a close, before another week has passed we shall know whether it is Duluth or Joliet.

The verbal fireworks commenced last Monday and will terminate next Monday. Much has been said that is worth while and much that is not worth while mentioning. Barnhart, assistant State attorney, opened up the display for the prosecution. Barnhart is a kindly old fellow, that is if he agrees with you. He is fair minded, that is if he is dealing with his witnesses. He is ever ready to make allowances, that is when he has to make them. He looks like what he is—a monument of smugacity. He commenced his address by telling us that this case is a very serious one. I agree with him. It is very serious. In fact the case is far more serious than even Barnhart is prepared to admit. I will not attempt to deal with Barnhart at any great length, life is too short and I have sown respect for my own intelligence. You can read his remarks and judge him for yourselves.

"Here we have in this matter the very institutions of our country. Our constitutional representative form of government is at stake.

"Whether or not, men in America, not Russia, but in America, have the right to get together to issue manifestos and seek to overthrow the government by violence and unlawful means, is a matter you twelve men have got to decide.

"It is not my case, or my associates' case, of State's Attorney Hoynes' case, except as it is his in the performance of his duty.

"You are an American jury and that is all the state asks in this trial."

Mr. Barnhart stated to the jurors that the defendants on trial disclaimed the ballot as a means of reform, and conspired to change the government by violence.

"They wanted to live under a soviet system and they wanted everybody else to live under it," Mr. Barnhart said. "They wanted to take your property, gentlemen, and mine, without any compensation to you or me for it.

"Some people in this country have thought the socialist party a little radical, but these fellows and their movement condemned socialism.

"These fellows are against the government. They're against the fellow who is willing to work and who saves his money to buy a home.

"They are not ignorant fellows, gentlemen. Read over their writings. They are masterly written, written better than most of us can write, seditiously written, dangerously written, effective on the mind of the radically inclined against the government."

The words "revolution" and "revolutionary," the attorney showed, were used in the left wing manifesto of the party 144 times.

"What kind of a revolution do you think they meant?" he asked. "They say, precisely as in Germany after the war, and in Russia, by the gun and the bayonet. Will you say to the world, gentlemen of the jury, that these men can advocate, by these means the overthrow of our American government?"

Barnhart paid tribute to the patriotic conduct of Seymour Stedman and Adolph Gerner. He told the jury of how these men drove the defendants from the convention hall, BY THE AID OF THE CHICAGO POLICE. These men are good socialists, but these men are???? Let us pull down the curtain and remove the painful scene from your eyes!

Barnhart was followed by Forrest, attorney for the defense. Forrest argued the legal aspects of the case. He made a wonderful appeal for the right of free speech. He told how he was opposed to the ideas of the defendants, and stood for the Star and Stripes, yet he was firmly convinced that free speech was essential. He felt of the opinion that if the defendants were right, they had a right to be heard and through that method we will obtain the truth. He would place a soap-box alongside of every radical soapbox and debate the situation. Forrest spoke for two whole days. He was followed by Lloyd Heth, for the prosecution.

Heth was supposed to reply to the reply to the legal arguments. After speaking for something like three hours, he gave it up as a bad job and allowed Darrow to address the jury. I regret that it is impossible to furnish a complete report of what Darrow said. Darrow's speech will be remembered, when the rattlesnakes are nestling in the skulls of his opponents.

He started out by telling the jury why the twenty defendants were here. They were here because those that would destroy freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom of assembly know that these defendants are fighting to preserve liberty, realizing that 'eternal vigilance is the price of human liberty.'

He went on to point out to the jury, how these defendants, who were arrested in various parts of the country, for an offence committed in Illinois, were being tried. "The prosecution has travelled from New York to Moscow and then to Seattle and from there, you were taken to Winnipeg. Not content with that, the prosecution took you to England and then to Ireland, in order to discover evidence against these defendants," stated Darrow.

"Cut out externals and there is nothing left in this case. The idea that posters that are published in Europe, advertising the contents of European papers, being used as evidence against men who are charged with advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force. What has the Seattle strike got to do with this case? A strike that has been proven to be the most peaceful of any strikes that have taken place in this country. (Here Comerford, representing the prosecution, stated that the State would concede that the Seattle strike was peaceable. "You are almighty late in conceding it. After you have brought witness after witness before the jury, you now concede what you knew before to be the truth," replied Darrow. "You will next concede that the sun rises in the East and sets in the West.")

"We are going to hand to the jury sufficient number of copies of the C. L. P. platform, so that they can read it for THEMSELVES and draw their own conclusions, as to whether this bug-a-boo of the State is well-founded. The State harangues you about the C. L. P. platform. The State tells you that this pamphlet would cause men to go out and throw bombs. No cold matter-of-fact pamphlet ever stirred men to action. Men act according to the manner their emotions compel them to act."

"Conspiracy has been dead in England for over fifty years. The same conspiracy laws have been brought over to this country for the purpose of shackling this country and its people. Conspiracy! The only conspiracy the defendants are charged with is the conspiracy of talking. They met together and conspired to talk through the means of a political party. It reminds one of the Dark Ages. "Darrow went on to describe the tyrannies and persecutions that took place in those black years. As I listened to Darrow, I thought of those memorable words of Ingersoll:—

"Gladly would I give up the splendors of the nineteenth century—gladly would I forget every invention that has leaped from the brain of man—gladly would I see all books ashes, all works of art destroyed, all statues broken, and all the triumphs of the world lost gladly, joyously would I go back to the abodes and dens of savagery, if that is necessary to preserve the inextinguishable gem of human liberty. So would every man who has a heart and brain."

Turning round to where the counsel for the State sat, Darrow, with his whole being in action, dramatically declared, "Good lawyers prosecuted in those days and good judges sustained them. Yet today England holds her head in shame when she recalls the deeds and infamies of those years."

The Seattle strike was made much of. Darrow inquired of the jury as to the reasons for its introduction. "Is there any reason," he asked, "why the poor should not control industry? I submit, gentlemen of the jury, that there is none."

I regret the absence of Ole Hanson, or Ole Olson as Darrow repeatedly styled him. In scathing terms he denounced this "tin mayor and cheap juk pointed" who by his braggadocio was able to exchange \$7,500.00 per year for \$38,000.00 in six months. Darrow next dealt with Heth, one of the lawyers for the State of Illinois. "Heth says too that the strike was peaceful. But the reason why it is introduced, is because the defendants thought it was not. Was there ever such a travesty of law?" Wilson was then dealt with. Wilson was the self-confessed spy who entered the Seattle strike and attempted to make the workers commit illegal actions. He was very soon dismissed by Darrow. Darrow asked the jury to form their own conclusions about a spy.

Witnesses were brought from Winnipeg, to testify as to the nature of that strike, but in the meantime, the leaders of that strike, who are IN PRISON, were elected to the Manitoba legislature and so the prosecution did not allow these witnesses to go further than the State Attorney's office. They got cold feet!

Darrow explained the real nature of the Seattle strike. You are all acquainted with the causes for the strike, so it is hardly worth while repeating. "The prosecution," stated Darrow, "contends that the sympathetic strike is illegal. I have respect for the man who thinks that he needs more of the good things of life. Respect for the men who will lay down their tools and take a chance of losing their job, in order to obtain these good things. But I have infinitely more respect for the man, who has a job, is satisfied with it, as regards wages, hours etc., but lays down his tools in sympathy with his less fortunate fellow-worker. It shows an idealism and a sense of justice well worth emulating. "Greater love hath no man hath no man than he gave his life for man," is the old saying. I say, "Greater love hath no man than he laid down his tools in sympathy with him."

"So long as men have human hearts, human feelings and human emotions, so long will they strike in sympathy with their fellow-man. The love of man for man is as old as civilization itself and there is no law can prevent that love from giving expression to itself. There is something higher than laws and that is, the eternal sense of human justice."

(At this stage, Comerford of the prosecution, interjected a remark. He stated that Darrow was irrational. Darrow just shut him up like a claim, by replying, "You ought to know, because you are an expert on irrationality.")

"The law under which the defendants are charged," said Darrow, "has been dead for over one hundred and fifty years. The New York law has been dead since McKinley was assassinated. But the powers that have made dollars out of the blood of the people, and who want to stifle the aspirations and the hopes of the people have resurrected them and passed them in twenty States. SINCE THE ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED. Sometimes when reason regains her throne; sometimes when the human race gains a new frenzy, then these laws will be mourned in sackcloth and ashes."

Darrow ridiculed the contention of the State that one damning indictment of the Seattle strikers was the fact that they did not have sufficient eating houses and milk-houses. "Why should the workers look after other people? Why didn't the jumping-jack Mayor, Ole Olson, do it?" asked Darrow.

As Darrow was proceeding with his address, Comerford again interrupted and asked, "Mr. Darrow, do you contend that nothing is gained by voting?"

"R-A-T-S!" replied Darrow. "I am tired and sick of hearing you talk about the ballot. If you want something you have got to go out and get it. If you get only what you vote for, you will get mighty little. Voting is merely a habit that grows on man. 'Better to vote for something that you want and not get it, than to vote for something you did NOT want and get it.'"

As Darrow was dealing with the question of the ballot, I noticed the editor of "Solidarity", fellow-worker Richards, enjoying himself immensely. Likewise, a few more members of the I. W. W.

"If political and social changes entail bloodshed, it does not mean that these changes should not come about. You might as well object to the building of huge buildings, because some unfortunate worker happens to get killed during their construction."

"If lawyers would frame the laws in harmony with the laws of nature, they would not make such fools of themselves."

Dealing with the question of striking, Darrow said, "It is legal to ask the people to refuse to work until the 18th Amendment is repealed. And furthermore, gentlemen of the jury, if I could urge them to strike I would willingly do it, especially on hot days like these."

"The defendants say in their platform that the ballot is of secondary consideration and upon such frail grounds you are asked to find them guilty of conspiracy. I object to that section of the platform, they give TOO MUCH consideration to the ballot. It should be of much less consideration."

Darrow then went on to deal with what the workers had obtained through the use of the strike weapon. He told the story of the fight for the eight-hour day, which had been waged solely upon the industrial field. The workingclass had never voted for the eight hour day, but organized and by the exercise of their economic power, had succeeded in obtaining a reduction in their working hours. An' stating the argument of the prosecution, Darrow went on to state how fight was over and the victor had been won, the shrewd politicians had passed an eight hour law, in order to obtain the "labor" vote.

Darrow went on to tell of the fight of the railroad. He told of the early fights, led by P. M. Arthur. He made the interesting statement that at one time, Arthur as considered an "outlaw", but when he toned down his tactics he developed into a "sane and respectable" labor leader and came to be recognized as a conservative. He told of how worker after worker went to jail and as a result, the spirit of the workers was made better and they finally succeeded in winning their point. Of how they obtained higher wages, shorter hours and safe working conditions. Not one of these things had been obtained through the ballot. All had been obtained as a result of the action of the workingclass upon the industrial field.

"You can vote four or five times a year in this country," Darrow told the jury, "that is, if you have no more sense." Talking quite good naturedly to the jury he said, "I wonder if you are thinking God for the politicians who gave you something. Men get the good things of life by FIGHTING FOR THEM—NOT BY VOTING FOR THEM."

"I am not objecting to men voting, but I do maintain that there are many other things, of more importance, than

voting. The actions of men and their education are of more importance than voting. Until you have organized men and educated them, their power to vote matters very little."

"Talk about the ballot being the constitutional way. Why in Belgium the workers had no vote. They had to strike to obtain the vote. The Boston Tea Party was a strike against lack of political legislation. If they had not struck we do not know where we would have been. Belgium obtained limited suffrage through the strike and then struck for complete suffrage. During the great political strike of Belgium, there was not one drop of blood shed."

"After the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian workers struck for a constitutional form of government. A strike that covered one fifth of the entire earth. Everything was shut down, the workers simply refused to work until the Constitutional form of government was granted."

"Reference has been made to Palmer, he is neither a lawyer nor a honest man. He is using his office as a means to obtain the satisfaction of his own personal ambitions."

"After the Constitutional form of government had been established in Russia, the Czar suddenly nullified the law that gave it birth. Socialists, Trade-Unionists, Communists etc. of the Russian parliament were sent to Siberia. There they suffered all the agonies of hell. Until finally in the last throes of despair, they overthrew the monster of the ages—the Czar."

"We have had other strikes, the Swedish General strike for instance, that was called for the purpose of bringing about woman suffrage. They refused to work until the efforts of man. As old as civilization. Within recent times we had the strike of the German workers, as a protest against the usurper, Kapp. Kapp sought to bring back the Kaiser and his gang, so the workers of Germany struck. They struck to cripple the efforts of Kapp the usurper. Having the education and organization, the German workers just struck, and without shedding one drop of blood, they prevented Kapp from succeeding in his nefarious schemes and adventures. We also had a strike by the Transport workers of Britain. They downed their tools rather than send munitions etc. to Russia. "If you want to send rifles etc. to Russia to stifle the aims and aspirations of the Russian people, we shall refuse to work," they said. Although they were voting, they did not wait until the next election when they might be swindled and cajoled, they simply laid down their tools and made it impossible to send troops etc. to Russia. They also talking of doing exactly the same in regard to Ireland. The most effective power in the hands of the workers, when they have the intelligence to use it, is the power of the strike."

"We have had the example in this country of the manner in which the railroad workers obtained the eight hour law, known as the Adamson Law. War had not yet broken in America, but its reflex had caused high prices. The men decided to get together and strike as a body. President Wilson called a conference of both sides and settled the strike by passing the Adamson Bill. One example of using the strike weapon as a political weapon."

"Men lived in this world long before they voted. They tilled the soil and raised families. They build up civilization without the ballot. The ballot is secondary to the efforts of man and the things that have made us great. My clients are condemned because they believed that the ballot was secondary. Education and organization come first. Organization with their fellow-men are the things that the progress of society depends upon."

"Men talk to you of legal freedom! What is legal freedom? A piece of tricky catch-phrases, that have been used all through the ages to enslave man. The men who were roasted in the Spanish Inquisition had legal freedom. They were being burnt and torn with the rack with all the legal freedom that the law granted them. Servetus whilst he burned, had legal freedom. Men and women who were burnt at the stake enjoyed legal freedom. No matter who may say it, there is only one freedom and that is freedom of the individual. Men who had their tongues torn and pierced with red-hot irons; men who were boiled in oil and bent on the rack, who had every limb torn from the body, all of these enjoyed legal freedom. THAT IS THE SAME KIND OF LEGAL FREEDOM THAT YOU WILL ENJOY IF THE PROSECUTION HAD THEIR WAY AND THE MEN BEHIND THEM."

"If you send these men to jail, America will be a country to be ashamed of. Go to it. My clients do not care. If it will be you that will care. We dare you to send these men to prison, because we hold the future in our hands."

"The prosecution held the SOVIET FORM OF GOVERNMENT up before you, with the hope of staring you. I am for what the other fellow wants, if it does not interfere with the well-being of the community. Why shouldn't the workers be represented in the country's legislative halls? Why not the farmers and the workers run things, we could easily leave out the lawyers and not feel any the worse?"

Darrow then went on to pay tribute to the wonderful work of the I. W. W. During which time, the prosecution threatened to quote Irwin St. John Tucker against the I. W. W. Darrow's praise of the I. W. W. was worthy of the organization and if the defendants go to prison, they can rest assured that their counsel did not shrink that particular section of the platform of the Communist Labor Party. Darrow went on to deal with the platform at some length. During the trial it was brought out that Edgar Owens had written to Jack Reed, in regard to the musical education of his boy. His boy is a wonderful pianist, in fact he is a genius. Sitting the other evening, listening to his playing, I felt happy as I thought of the wonderful music that will be ours when the creative faculties of the workingclass are developed; when they will not be fettered with economic servitude. This boy of Owens is a wonderful musician. So Owens wrote to Jack Reed and expressed the wish that his boy might be the musician of the revolution and a rebel. The prosecution made much of these admissions. But the spectators, who were fortunate enough to be in court, when Darrow spoke about the boy will never forget the speech that he made. Slowly he pictured the story of the life of the boy Owens. He told of how men and women would be thrilled by his music. He told of the felon's grave that awaited him. Many shed tears during the time Darrow spoke of young Owens. Closing Darrow made a great appeal to the jury. Speaking, in a low voice, rising higher and higher up to a grand climax, Darrow made men sit up and take notice. Even the prosecution were compelled to sit still and closely follow this fighter of the years.

"Counsel accuses my clients, my friends, with believing that the people ought to take the land, and not pay for it," Darrow said. "It's true. But are these the only people who ever preached this doctrine? Why, men of the jury, it has been preached for ages. Moses preached it, but he's dead, so you can't prosecute him—lucky for Moses."

"When my learned associate (Forrest) argued that communism was a part of Christianity, counsel for state interjected with the paucity of wit that only a prosecutor is capable of, 'are these Comrades the lineal descendants of Moses and of Christ?'"

Then, turning on Frank Comerford, who had made the remark, he roared:

"Yes, they are the descendants of Christ—for a wage—if you had been in Galilee at the time, the seers of all ages have taught communism, the common ownership of the land and the fruits thereof. And that doctrine has its place in you and you (pointing to the jurors). It's in every state's attorney—though in mighty small degree. It's in everyone who hates poverty—not so much his own poverty as that of others."

"I don't know if Communism will work. You don't know; my clients don't; Lenin and Trotsky don't. But I do know that capitalism doesn't work, that it has turned the world into a frightful shamble, a travesty of civilization. But thing you you can pick out for slaughter and imprisonment 20 dreamers solely because of their belief in this age old dream? Think you you can extinguish that dream simply by imprisoning these men?"

"They say that these defendants have endorsed the plans of Lenin and Trotsky. And they have, gentlemen, they have. What are you going to do about it? I'm willing to stand with them on that proposition. I don't know whether or not Lenin's government is right; but no man who loves liberty, no man who honors the principles upon which our own republic is based, would replace the new government of

Russia with the old. If nothing good came out of the war, the end of the Czar was good."

Darrow's highest flight of oratory was an eulogy of the Red Flag.

"I'll tell you why every tyrant—why every man whose heart is with his money bags—hates that flag," he declared. "The Communist Labor party didn't invent it. The Socialist party didn't invent it."

"It flew at Bunker Hill and at the Battle of Lexington. And Washington, according to Longfellow's poem, used it before the stars and stripes had been devised. But the Red Flag as invented before those times. It was devised even before it was used by the working men when they first were admitted to the armies of ancient Rome. Its symbolism came from the Red Rays of the Sun, before history began to write accurately of mankind. And then it became the emblem of the common blood of all men. As such, it was the flag of the people for centuries. And, whether or not you send these men to Joliet penitentiary, it will continue to be the flag of the common people for generations to come. For it represents the old oppression of the workers. It's the workers' banner and you can't take it away by this verdict. You can't take it away until the ancient oppressions of the masses of men are removed—and then it will fly to symbolize the common brotherhood of man."

"Men of the jury you can send these twenty men to prison and they will not care. They know that ten thousand will arise and take their places. You know nothing of the deep emotions that are a constituent of every fibre man. If you think that you can kill COMMUNISM by sending Communists to prison, do it! You now have the chance. You twelve men have the power to destroy an idea that is as old as the earth itself. An idea that is sweeping through all countries, over mountains, and by the use of electricity sweeps across the ocean, kindling the brain and imagination of man. It is not the FIRST TIME that men have been appealed to, to send men like these to prison. I am interested in Bolshevism. I want to know what it is all about, so that I can, at least, make up my mind. If I did not care for the liberties of America, I would say to you men send them to prison. Aye, kill them if you think it necessary. If I wanted to make their party grow, I would send these men to prison. I am interested in this case, as always, because I do not want you to lose the right to speak and say what you think should be said. "Darrow became so intensely interesting that we could not take notes. But we remember his final words. "Gentlemen this is the age 1112, fight that we are fighting all over again, just as if we were struggling with the emotions of primitive man. We are fighting for freedom, gentlemen of jury. We leave the issue in your hands."

Comerford then followed Darrow and made the closing speech to the jury. Comerford told the jury that the reason why he is prosecuting this case is because he is fighting for HIS country. This virtuous young lawyer would have you to believe that he is what he says he is. "A CHRISTIAN AND A MORAL MAN," COMERFORD FIGHTING FOR HIS COUNTRY! Imagine the nerve of a man who would stand before a jury and deliberately LIE, in order that he might send twenty men to prison for ONE HUNDRED YEARS! COMERFORD WANTED THE DEFENDANTS TO HAND HIM THEIR CASE and now he is prosecuting them. We should have him tried for attempted treason. For if to prosecute is to fight for your country, then to defend such prosecution must be treason!

Comerford is a brave man. Standing before the jury he waved the red flag. A red flag that was made by the deceased wife of Edgar Owens. In order to stampede the jury, he threw the red flag upon the floor and stamped upon it. We were to say to ourselves that he would not have the guts to do that in a small Socialist or I. W. W. local. Comerford is the last excuse for a man. Prates about his Christian feeling and morality. Talks about the work HE did during the war through a spy-glass, watching other men fight. He told the jury of how these men believed in force and said that this war was a capitalist war. Turning around to the defendants he dramatically said, "When you say that this war is a capitalist war you are a lot of cowardly and ugly liars." WONDER WHAT HE WOULD SAY ABOUT PRESIDENT WILSON? President Wilson in his speech at St. Louis, during 1919, stated that THIS WAR WAS A COMMERCIAL WAR. We venture to say that Comerford would not stand up and call PRESIDENT WILSON A LIAR.

Comerford was so miserably rotten in his conduct, that even lawyers, who are opposed to Communism, objected to his remark. He attempted to make a fool of Darrow and only succeeded in convincing us of the fact that you cannot fool nature. How wonderfully he portrayed the story of the war, at he never told of how wars are fought about. He never told of the reasons why men fight. He knew the reasons, but he was out to make money and so he lied and lied and then some more. Comerford the brave and courageous being defies twenty men who are under arrest and are unable to attack him. Comerford is a typical product of the system. You cannot expect angels out of rothels! Rapidly reviewing the trial, whilst the jury deliberates, we have nothing to add to our criticism of the capitalist system. The prosecution has justified everything that the Communists have said about the system. The class instincts of the capitalist class have not changed one iota since Wendell Phillips' time when he exclaimed in anger at their traitorous schemes: "The time will yet come in America when we shall have to hang the bankers, (meaning the capitalist class) "They have not changed since Lincoln's time, when he himself was compelled to say—he who tried to bear malice to none, charity to all—was forced by the infernal looting of the nation's wealth, by the railroad robberies, which bled the country nigh to death—was forced, I say, to cry in bitter rage at the financial speculators, "YOU OUGHT TO HAVE YOUR DEVILISH HEADS SHOT OFF."

Today, masters of America, despite what your servants of the State of Illinois may state to the contrary, civilization has been crushed. The real civilization, whose test is a state in which every man fully realizes his social duty and adequately performs it, does not exist. It will never exist until those whom you exploit rise up and organize society on such a basis. Reason has been dethroned, because you are not reason. Intelligence no longer exists free from greed, bought or bribed by you. No longer does truth rule the affairs, because you are afraid of the truth. The world lies stewing, festering, rotting in misery, vice and crime and you are powerless to heal its wounds. You, masters of America, do not understand, because your minds are too narrow, bigoted and atrophied.

That YOU should send men to prison, because it is alleged that they believed in force is a joke, if it were not a grim tragedy. You, who herd millions of children into the mine, the mill, the coal-breaker, the foul and noisome factory. You, with the profit—just that pants for war; that adulterated food, which poisons the stomachs of millions, in order that you might make a few more dollars. You who employ soldiers and gunmen to shoot down strikers; you, who slug, shoot and even burn women and children; you, who by the lash of starvation drive women to the streets. YOU TALK OF FORCE. N o t well the gods laugh!

You, who have sunk so low in life that in your greed you dry the milk in the workingclass mother's breast; each year you crush and mangle half a million workmen in your slave-driven factories; you who own and operate railroads and hurl thousands of victims to their death, year by year, because you want huge dividends! YOU TALK OF FORCE! GOOD-NIGHT!

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