

ORGANIZE RIGHT

ORGANIZE YOUR MIGHT



# Industrial Worker

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## AGITATE—EDUCATE—ORGANIZE—FIGHT FOR THE EIGHT HOUR DAY

### PRIEST AIDS THE BOSS

TELEPHONE COMPANY FEARS INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM—BE LOYAL TO COMPANY, SAYS BOSS.

CHICAGO TELEPHONE COMPANY General Offices, 203 Washington Street. Chicago, March 2nd, 1911.

To the Telephone Operators of Chicago: A call is being sent to you to attend a meeting tonight to organize a union. It asks you to stand together and says the linemen and others now out on strike will "stick with you."

Not one of the union organizers' names in this notice has ever visited a telephone exchange or knows about your work. We ask you to stand together as loyal employees and continue in your work of giving telephone service to the city of Chicago.

We know of no grievance now existing, but if you have any cause for complaint we will consider it with you at any time, and assure you of fair and liberal treatment.

We ask you at this time to refrain from meeting with agitators. Do not be misled by false statements. You are rendering a service necessary to the entire public and the company feels certain that you will be faithful to your trust.

H. N. FOSTER, Supt. of Traffic. N. ANDERSON, Traffic Chief.

Approved: A. S. HIBBARD, General Manager. S. J. LARNED, General Supt.

Chicago, March 1, 1911.

To Our Plant and Traffic Forces:

In order to properly conduct the operations of the telephone exchange in Chicago, the company must have the sole allegiance of all its employees. It has no quarrel with union labor and has for years employed union labor to a considerable extent on construction work, but it has not and cannot do so with reference to the handling of the telephone traffic in Chicago, which it must always keep within its own control.

When it was found that efforts were being made to unionize all of the men in all of the offices, notice was given to the repair men and to all inside men in the outlying offices, that such organization was against the interests of the company and against their interests, and they were instructed not to join such a combination. About fifteen men, in spite of these instructions, secretly joined the union and they at once engaged actively in the effort to unionize the remainder. These men, in accordance with the previous notification, were discharged and their places filled, and the downtown men who had been active in the effort to unionize the others were also let out.

The demand was made by the union officials that the company immediately restore all of these men and withdraw its objection to unionizing the entire force in the city. The company could not properly carry on its business under these conditions and so expressed itself and as a consequence the officers of the union called a strike. As a result of this a number of repair men, linemen and installers left our employ. It was agreed that there was no issue with the company about wages or conditions of labor, but only the demand that the entire force should be unionized. This arbitrary action itself shows the impossibility of conducting our business under full union control in which a walkout like the present would completely shut down the telephone business in the city.

The strikers or their sympathizers immediately began cutting cables of the company and endeavoring to interfere with its service. They are picketing our offices and endeavoring in many ways to induce operators and other employees to leave their posts. The company does not know of a single grievance existing on the part of any of its employees. It has endeavored to treat all of them considerately and as liberally as its income from telephone service permits.

Our employees do better work for themselves and the public in working together as a unit, loyal to the company and its interests, and they should not be dominated by outside influences. Our employees should not be disturbed by untruthful rumors or threats. The present misunderstanding with a small number of our men does not warrant any disturbance in the relations which now exist between us and our other employees in the city.

Statements have been made that on a settlement with the union, non-union employees will

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### PARLIAMENTARIANISM

[WHICH?]

### DIRECT ACTION

### MASTER CLASS IS SCARED



ORGANIZE ON THE JOB WHERE YOU ARE ROBBED

## FOSTER REPLIES TO ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE

### THE SOCIALIST AND SYNDICALIST MOVEMENTS IN FRANCE.

#### Politicalism or Direct Action—Jobs for the Politicians.

In the January number of the "International Socialist Review," in an article entitled "How to Kick," Mr. Robert Rives La Monte sketches a program of action that the American workers must adopt if they are to achieve their economic emancipation. His theory is the well-known one of combined political and direct action. Whilst organizing and using in our daily struggles "such unions as the W. F. of M." we must also pay our dues into the Socialist Party and vote its ticket.

Mr. La Monte lays much stress on the necessity for the development of what he calls the "New Unionism," but which is known in France, its birth place, as "Syndicalism." He considers the condition of the workers as "indeed hopeless" if they don't develop strong fighting unions of this Syndicalist character; unions "that use all their weapons at once" and which in aim, form and tactics are radically different from the conservative A. F. of L. trades unions. Political action of itself, however revolutionary or extensive it may be, can accomplish but little if not backed by real economic power, he tells us. Our economic might must be organized into this modern and potent form of labor organization. However, he hastens to assure us that these Syndicalist unions by themselves cannot accomplish the "miracle" of overthrowing capitalism, nor do they aim to try it alone. They must assist and be assisted by the Socialist Party. The working class direct action and political action organizations must go shoulder to shoulder together to the assault of capitalism. On this condition alone is success assured.

To lend weight to his theory and to illustrate the beneficial effects of this political-economic co-operation, Mr. La Monte cites French labor history as follows:

"In France, where 'New Unionism' has reached its highest development, the political movement, the Socialist Party, preceded it and prepared the ground for it, and was fortunately strong enough to give it much necessary protection in its early years."

American Socialists, who will form the bulk of the readers of Mr. La Monte's article, are noted chiefly for their gullibility and unsophistication when the subject of Socialism is in question. With them the expression "The Socialist Party" is one to conjure by. It covers a multitude of sins oftimes. The "revolutionary" farmer in Kansas, the "class conscious" layer in Kalamazoo, the "proletarian" millionaire in New York, the disfranchised worker in the West—Socialists all—how their hearts beat in glad union when they learn of some new and beneficent ex-

plot of "The Socialist Party." What matter what country it occurs in or what the nature of the Socialist Party is that performs it, or even if it ever occurred at all. They will never investigate. Suffice it for some one to say that one of the great international family of "The Socialist Parties" has done such or such a noble act. Only a vandal or iconoclastic intellectual would be sacrilegious enough to doubt it, and to tear the veil from the beloved "The Socialist Party" in question and find out the facts. Therefore, when Mr. La Monte makes his statements about the French, "The Socialist Party" having "prepared the ground for" and given "much necessary protection to" the redeeming Syndicalism and also broadly hints (though he would hardly dare say so) that the Socialist Party and Syndicalist organizations still continue to preserve the former fond relations, he will be implicitly believed by the faithful. Such good deeds on the part of "The Socialist Party" are perfectly natural. However, being long since classed amongst the heathen, I will uncover for a few moments the clay feet of this French "The Socialist Party" idol and show the incorrectness of Mr. La Monte's statements and inferences.

#### THE SOCIALIST PARTIES

The French Socialist Party was organized in 1879 at the congress of the National Federation of Syndicates (local labor unions). Two years later it split into two factions and these quickly divided themselves into still more factions, or "parties." Some of these "parties" were the Guesdists, Broussists, Alleanists, Blanquists, Millerandists, Jaurests. They represented every shade of thought in the Socialist political rainbow from the rankest opportunism to the most impossible impossibilism. They waged an incessant warfare on each other for years. All naturally sought the support of the syndicates and these for about 10 years reflected all the quarrels of the politicians. Many, torn by these dissensions, disappeared, others falling under the control of some "party" were either turned into voting machines or "study clubs."

But the great mass of the syndicates, weakened by the incessant political dissensions, gradually developed and insisted on a policy of "No politics in the union." Some seven of these independent and fighting Socialist Parties were tinkered together into the present nondescript Socialist Party in 1905, nine years after the formation of the General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.).

Mr. La Monte's "The Socialist Party" during the "early years" of syndicalism, therefore resolves itself into a sort of hash of "Socialist Parties," which not only didn't directly aid in the development of the budding labor movement, but distinctly retarded it. They were too busy helping themselves to waste time helping the syndicates.

#### SOCIALIST ASSISTANCE

The later neutrality policy of the syndicates toward political action was very unpopular with politicians. The International Socialist Congress of London in 1896 illustrates the latter's attitude towards it. The French Socialist deputies (congressmen) attended the congress with no other credentials than their deputies' cards. The syndicates also sent delegates. To whip the French syndicates into the political line, Millerand, Jaures, Guesde, Gerault Richard Viviana and other prominent Socialists proposed that all neutralist syndicates be excluded from the next congress. The motion lost by a vote of 57 to 56. The French syndicate narrowly escaped being "protected" out of the International movement. Many similar instances of opposition to the neutrality policy could be cited. The Socialists' policy towards the Bourses du Travail also bears witness to the amical relations existing between the political and economic movements during this early period of Syndicalism.

#### THE SOCIALISTS VS. THE BOURSES DU TRAVAIL.

After the passage of the much discussed "law of 1894," which gave the workers the legal right to organize, (1) a general policy of steering the labor movement was adopted. Many municipalities built fine buildings, subsidized them, and turned them over to the local syndicates to serve as a general headquarters. These ungrateful organizations formed themselves into local unions of syndicates. These unions are commonly known as the title of Bourse du Travail, although this is really the name of their headquarters (labor exchange).

The Bourses are real CLASS UNIONS, including workers of every trade and from their first appearance have been strongly revolutionary. They were the real beginnings of modern syndicalism. They particularly distinguished themselves in the revolt against political domination in the unions. Many municipalities seeing the anti-political viper they were nursing in their bosoms attempted to kill their local Bourses by withdrawing the subsidies or even by closing the Bourses altogether. Emile Ponget says (La Confederation General du Travail, page 14): "It is to be noted that these persecutions are not peculiar to municipalities of reactionary or simply republican opinions, but that the Socialist municipalities have persecuted their Bourses du Travail with the most vigor."

Probably these Socialist tactics should be classed as "giving much necessary protection" to the "New Unionism," as Mr. La Monte puts it.

The popularity of the all-class Bourses in Socialist circles is well evidenced by Georges Sorel—one of Europe's most prominent economists—who, writing in 1896, eleven

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### REVOLUTION THREATENS FRANCE. THE MASTER CLASS IS FRIGHTENED—FRENCH WORKERS LEAD IN ORGANIZATION.

(Under the heading, "Is a New Revolution Threatened in France?" a syndicated article by Frederick Burlingham was recently published in the Sunday edition of some of the leading newspapers. It appeared in the Denver Republican, an ultra-conservative sheet, having but slight circulation among wageworkers. The copyright laws preclude the possibility of producing the entire article without inviting damage suit, so I am adapting it to my own language, not hesitating, however, to use many parts precisely as they appear in the original.)

Is France really on the verge of a new revolution? This question is agitating France since the great railway strike, when the government ordered out the troops and mobilized the railway employes under army regulations. Naturally among forty million people there are divergent views as to what may happen tomorrow or next day. Royalists, republicans, socialists, anarchists, all are putting forth their ideas with courage and more or less dexterity.

That the government is face to face with a serious revolutionary plot to overthrow the republic is the official view of the situation expressed by M. Briand in the chamber of deputies.

Gustave Herve, who is now serving a four years' sentence for articles published in La Guerre Social (the Social War) has been placed in solitary confinement; a number of leading syndicalists are still in jail, and Peter Pataud, chief of the union of electricians, has fled to Belgium to escape a warrant. For the moment the revolt is crushed.

Those who think the matter ended are unaware that the very silence is ominous. By employing violence the government has alienated itself from the "progressive" movement, which will be heard from again in a short time. Whether the movement develops along legal and orderly lines or breaks out in revolutionary violence remains to be seen.

Many persons think that the government made a tactical blunder in forcing military service on the strikers and then ordering them as soldiers, under severe penalties for disobedience, to return to work. The government has earned the hatred of the entire working population by taking sides in a dispute between the Northern Railway, owned privately and directed by the Rothschilds, and the employes in revolt, asking \$1 per day from the richest international bankers in the world. The army has been given cause for further discontent and are beginning to realize that they do not exist to repel foreign invasion, as glorious tradition has it, but are used as a band of armed Pinkertons to protect the property of the Rothschild family, the famous bankers, who in France are French, in Germany Germans, and in Great Britain Englishmen. (And in the United States Americans.) One of the soldiers, a labor unionist, was sentenced to six months in jail for refusing to march against his fellow workers, and even the most violent revolutionaries do not ask for better anti-military propaganda than this.

In France there are no longer any pleasant discussions about peace and co-operation between the capitalists and the workers. A class war is being waged and both sides are using every means to gain the ascendancy. Both are organized and acting; more or less in secret.

The "money trust" in France controls the newspapers and stifles criticism. Allied with it are the industrial employers, who are prepared to demand the same recognition from M. Briand as was given to the Rothschilds. The big steamship companies are preparing, secretly, to insist that the government furnish scabs to break the next strike of the sailors and dockers. If a marine transportation strike can be interfered with "on the ground of public interest" the same reason will exist to mobilize the bakers in case they strike; the butchers, and, in fact, the whole industrial army down to the grave diggers, for bread makers and cemetery workers are just as important in their way to the social system as the men who run the railroads or steamships.

The labor leaders know these plans and are fully prepared to meet force with force. Many persons believe that the employers are, figuratively speaking, playing with dynamite, and if they do not desist and seek a working basis of agreement the revolution is only a question of time. Serious men believe the time will be short. Pataud, "King of the Electricians," who, it will be remembered, not long ago plunged Paris into darkness, says the dance

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Entered as second-class matter, May 21, 1910, at the Postoffice at Spokane, Wash., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Every idea gained in a hundred years of slavery remitted.  
—Richard Jefferies.

## UNITED STATES "BUTTS IN."

That 20,000 soldiers have been ordered to the Mexican border line to be in readiness to jump across and protect the interests of a few American millionaires in case Diaz loses his grip, is the general opinion of any one that has kept tab on the revolution in Mexico. It has been generally understood that when an American goes to another country, that he goes under the rules and usages of that particular country. It now develops that when he goes to a foreign country to exploit a lot of barefooted peons, that he has the army and navy of the United States behind him in case the poor slaves dare to rebel against the rule of Gold of his American master. Many fools are offering their services in Spokane and other points to the United States army, with the hope that they will have a chance to get into real action and see the blood of slaves flow across the Mexican desert. The worker that will offer his body as a target just to satisfy a lot of murderer-American parasites, is so low in the depths of degradation that there are not words yet coined that can begin to picture such depravity. We can understand the Mexican peons fighting for some taste of liberty, for something better than being a peon, for something better than suffer the pain of the lash when he does not produce enough wealth to satisfy his greedy master, but the man that will hire out to fight against such slaves is dirtier than a mangy dog and we hope that if ever there is an exchange of bullets between the Mexican peon and the hired volunteer of this country, that the first ball will find its mark in the degenerate that is anxious to protect the property of a lot of greedy parasites that are about as much use in society as a flea is to a dog. May the revolution be a success and the Mexican slave be given a taste of freedom that will induce him to greater efforts until the bastille of capitalism is swept into hell in Mexico as well as in every other God and Gold cursed land.

## THE CONVENTION.

Is your local sending delegates to the convention? It is important that a big convention be held. There is much to do. Many independent organizations will be invited to send representatives to the I. W. W. convention. Send your very best men. Send men and women that are clear-headed and who are thoroughly in earnest in helping to formulate plans that will be to the best interests of the workers everywhere. Those who have done nothing constructive in the last year or tried to do something, leave them at home. Boost for a big convention. The harvest is ripe for the ONE BIG UNION of the workers. See that the result of our agitation is harvested.

## THE HARVEST IS RIPE.

Let us reap what we have sown. We have sown the seed of agitation and have carried it into every cross-road and into nearly every town and hamlet in America. There are few people today but what are acquainted with the aims and objects of the I. W. W. Thousands have heard the message of the ONE BIG UNION. Thousands, yes millions, agree that it is the correct form of organization. Wherever we go we hear men saying that "WE HAVE GOT TO HAVE ONE UNION BEFORE WE AMOUNT TO ANYTHING." Thousands of men in the crafts today realize that it is their only salvation. Why have we not clinched all this discontent? Let every man ask himself the question, HAVE I DONE MY DUTY TO MY CLASS? The I. W. W. is the only organization in America that stands for ONE UNION FOR ALL WORKERS. The harvest truly is rotten ripe and the convention in Chicago in May must make such plans that will result in garnering the huge crop of discontent and place it in the bins of the respective industrial departments, where it can be used effectively. Nothing can be accomplished without organization. Make the I. W. W. national convention to be held in Chicago in May a convention that will be more than a mere committee meeting. Let it be a hummer.

## WHAT ARE YOU DOING?

All local unions are requested to send in a weekly statement for publication, dealing with the progress of the local union and the movement in general around your vicinity. The secretary of Local No. 13 writes in, stating that the "Worker" would take better if it dealt more with conditions in the

different coast towns. This is a good suggestion. The "Worker" cannot contain the news if you do not send it in. Make your articles short and to the point, always remembering that there are others that also wish space. This is a good way to keep all the locals informed as to the progress being made by the different locals. What is your local doing? Tell it to the "Worker."

## THE LAW OF MURDER.

Listen to the "Dick Militia Bill," approved by the President January 21, 1903:

Sec. 1. "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, that the Militia shall consist of every able-bodied male citizen of the respective states, territories, and the District of Columbia, and every male of foreign birth who has declared his intention to become a citizen."

Sec. 4. "That whenever the United States is invaded, or in danger of invasion from any foreign nation, OR OF REBELLION AGAINST THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES . . . IT SHALL BE LAWFUL FOR THE PRESIDENT TO CALL FORTH FOR A PERIOD NOT EXCEEDING NINE MONTHS such members of the militia of the state as he may deem necessary to . . . suppress such rebellion, or to enable him to execute such laws, etc."

This is the LAW. This may be interesting to some one who believes that he is not subject to the CALL TO ARMS any old time the BOSS says so.

Rebellion against the authority of the government of the United States means rebellion against the rule of the boss. The boss owns the government as sure as he owns the slave. When we get ready to rebel it will not be against the government of the boss, but against the tool that the boss owns. The fight will be in the workshop, in the mine, mill and factory. The working class has POWER to do as they like whenever they wake up and take stock of the amount of power they have. They feed the soldier, house and clothe him, and transport him from place to place on the railways. Any time we don't want to work we can leave them at home with their mammas, where the poor imbeciles belong.

## LONDON'S BITTER CRY.

One of England's biggest problems is to provide for great numbers of women and children who are out of work and starving.

They are trying to employ them in London on these terms: Women receive the uniform rate of \$2.50 per week and are supplied with one meal a day, costing 12 cents. If they have children, they receive an additional allowance of 50 cents per week for the first child under 14, 27 cents for the second child, and 25 cents for all others, provided that the entire family shall not receive more than \$4.37 per week.

Really, brethren, this won't do. The test of any civilization is the provision which it makes for the weakest.

The struggle must go on until everybody who is willing to work shall have enough to eat and to wear, comfortable shelter, and at least a little of the joy of life.—Spokane Press.

The struggle must go on until those who produce everything have ALL the joys of life. Yes ALL! If those who produce everything are not entitled to ALL the joys of life, then in all fairness we ask who in the devil is entitled to it? Some parasite probably that does nothing but rob those that do work. When the workers show as much intelligence as a bunch of bees, we will have ALL we produce and ALL the good things of life. You will get just as much as you have FORCE enough to take. That don't mean to talk about it, but to organize INDUSTRIALLY and take it on the job. The man that is not on the job could take nothing, and it's generally the fellow that is not on the job that does the most talking. Fight on the job.

## WORSE THAN WAR.

Mr. E. J. Moynihan, a consulting mining engineer of Johannesburg, South Africa, has recently made some fearful exposures concerning the brutal callousness of the Rand mining companies concerning human life. The death rate of the workers—white and black—is simply appalling, but especially so in regard to the latter. For every 1,200 pounds paid in dividends a human life has been sacrificed unnecessarily. In some of the mines one-fifth of the native workers, all young fellows, are constantly in the doctors' hands, and the death rate is as high as 102.3 per thousand. Thirty thousand persons perished in the mines in the five years ending 1909, and 25,000 of these deaths could have been prevented. The death rate in the Rand mines averages more than the death rate in the Boer war. But what is human life in comparison to dividends?—Melbourne Socialist.

The scissorbill that fought for "flag and country" and received a shilling a day (to be made a target of) and received a tin medal for bravery (?) may now wake up to a realization of the fact that he was fighting a battle for the boss. Poor fool.

## FAIR EXCHANGE.

Mrs. Maudwin Drummond, formerly Mrs. Marshal Field, Jr., of Chicago, has been robbed of \$140,000.00 worth of precious stones from her stateroom while on the way to America from Europe, where she has been lately showing the natives of Europe how easy it is to rob the workers in Free America. The wife of Marshal Field, eh? Heard of a strike there some time ago when a few hundred slaves were asking for more to eat. The boat was stopped and every passenger searched for the plunder. It's wonderful what a lot of "noise" is made when one of these parasites gets robbed, and what a little "squeak" is heard when they are grinding the profits out of the flesh and blood of ill-paid slaves who produce everything. The thief that glomed the pretty stones on the boat has not yet been apprehended. We have a "line on" the thieves that are robbing labor every day, but we cannot get to them yet till we have more organization and intelligence. It will be easy to convict them of having the plunder when we get wised up.

Any errors in the way of not getting receipts for money sent to the "Industrial Worker" or any other matters pertaining to the financial business of the paper, should be taken up with Vincent St. John, 518 Cambridge Bldg., Chicago, as well as with the management in Spokane.

## Priest Aids Boss

(Continued from Page One.)

lose their positions. No settlement with the union is in contemplation and the company guarantees to its employes that it will not be a party to any transaction that does not fully and permanently protect its employes' interests.

B. E. SUNNY, President.  
A. S. HIBBARD, General Mgr.  
S. J. LARNED, General Supt.

The following is a copy of telegram received today from the Rev. E. A. Kelly, pastor of St. Ann's Church, 55th and Wentworth Ave., Chicago, Ill., who is in Hot Springs, Ark.: "Telephone Operators of Chicago, care Mrs. Moore.

"I strongly advise you not to meet together for the purpose of organization or strife at this time. Do not allow others to use you or injure your good name in Chicago.

(Signed) REV. FATHER E. A. KELLY." From the foregoing letters and telegram, it is easy to see that the boss, aided by his old-time ally, the priest, is using every effort to head off an attempt to organize all workers in the telephone service into one union.

The fact that the employing class is so frightened at any prospect of the workers organizing is proof enough that it is to the best interest of the workers to organize. What is the boss afraid of? Is he afraid that the workers when organized will ask for less wages and longer hours of labor? Certainly not. If such were the case, he would welcome the advent of the organization and would assist to get such an arrangement in good working shape. The boss is afraid that the workers will want better food, better clothing, less work, more leisure and more wages. This "gab" about being loyal to the boss has been worked to a frazzle. The average worker knows what loyalty to the boss means. It means subservency. It means that no objection must be entered against a system that grinds the life out of the workers while parasites sit back and wait for their dividends. John D. Rockefeller was interrupted while playing golf last week down to Georgia, while a servant handed him a check for over four million dollars, as his share of a dividend which came due on Standard Oil. This was unpaid toil of labor. How long will you meekly stand for it? We hope the workers in the telephone offices in Chicago will not be influenced by this capitalist "bunk" and, while we think of it, we might ask, "What is the 'buck' doing at the Arkansas Hot Springs? Maybe it's only the gout.

## AN I. W. W. MAN NEEDS AID

AN APPEAL TO ALL WHO YEARN AND STRIVE FOR A DAY OF FREEDOM.

Comrades and Fellow Workers:

To you, we, your comrades in toil and hope, issue this appeal on behalf of our Comrade, Vincent Buccafiori, who lies in the Raymond street jail of Brooklyn, awaiting his trial and doom for having dared to respond to the true instincts of man in defending his life from the insults and assaults of the man who, not satisfied in being a part controller of our comrade's means of livelihood, sought also to control his actions and thoughts outside of the workshop. Unable to accomplish this by means that would be fair, he became enraged and used his brutal strength.

Vincent Buccafiori, a member of this union, a shoe worker of no mean ability, who had worked in the shop of J. M. Dodd for a long time and was respected and loved by all of his shopmates, was thought well of by Mr. James Wilt, who was foreman of the shop, until Fellow Worker Buccafiori showed the courage and manhood to join a union of his class and become a shop representative for the same, working devotedly for the welfare of his fellow workers. Buccafiori having done this, Mr. Wilt became more and more a merciless driver, wielding his power with arrogance even more over Buccafiori than upon the others who dared to organize in an institution of common defense and for the advancement of workers' interests.

The numerous outrages and insults heaped upon our fellow worker were at last climaxed when on December 1st, 1910, he was assaulted and then discharged from his position. Buccafiori, upon telling his case to the owner of the factory, was re-employed, much to the discomfiture of the foreman, who awaited his first opportunity when the owner of the factory was away and once more discharged Buccafiori, slapping his face and shouting out: "You have reported me to the owner; you have been re-employed by him, but if you don't get out of this shop at once I will throw you out of the window."

The fellow worker went home. The next day he came to the shop to take away his tools and working clothes, and while so doing he was approached by the foreman, who uttered imprecations and curses upon his head, and, unable to satisfy his anger, proceeded to strike Buccafiori in the face, and

## THIS IS NO. 103

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then slugged him with a blow in the mouth, causing blood to flow. It was at this time that Buccafiori pulled out his revolver and shot the brute in human form, who died some days later.

The fellow worker was arrested, and with all the formalities of capitalist-made laws and attended by its retinues, was indicted for murder.

Within a couple of weeks after the shocking a lockout of the organized shoe workers of 10 shops was proclaimed by the Shoe Manufacturers' Association, in which the shop of J. M. Dodd was also involved, to which the workers replied with a strike.

During the struggle the Shoe Manufacturers' Association worked hard and was able to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon the county political officeholders to rush matters, so that if they could have had their way, the trial would have been held amidst the heat and strife of the strike, and who knows, had not the power and influence of the organization and its friends come to the rescue of the fellow worker would by now either be electrocuted or rotting in a filthy dungeon?

Workers of America—men and women! This unknown and yet brave worker is a member of our class; he suffered the same miseries and dreamed the same hopes we all do; he aspired for a better day for all the members of the working class!

While he has languished in prison, his companions of the shoe shops gave heroic battle for 12 weeks to the shoe bosses. They were only beaten after 12 and 13 weeks of struggle, in which the whip of hunger was used most effectively by the employers. They have returned to the shops only defeated for the time being, to work and prepare themselves for another struggle at an opportune occasion, but they have made the shoe bosses pay a heavy price for the miseries and outrages of the past.

The cost to the bosses has been nearly a million dollars as a result of the strike, either in loss of trade, profits and additional expenses in the conduct of the lockout against the members of this organization.

That the manufacturers feel sore and revengeful is but natural. They therefore will bring to bear all the power and influence that money can buy to the end that our fellow worker may not have a fair trial; that he may be sent to the electric chair or to a long term in prison, so that a "lesson" may be taught to all the shoe workers of this district for having dared to openly question the right of the masters to insult, injure and rob slaves without mercy.

Fellow Worker Buccafiori is a member of the rank and file of labor's advance guard; he occupied no lofty position, drew no salary or emoluments from the movement.

Years ago when, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were arrested on trumped up charges and the masters' agents placed upon their banner the watchword of death, "They will never leave Idaho alive," the men and women of labor from one end of the country to the other, from camp to camp and from shop to factory set up a storm of righteous indignation, indignation which was sufficient in the end to force the hand of the employers and after an eventful trial they were given their liberty.

Liberty is as precious and as dear to Fellow Worker Buccafiori as to any one else.

Shall the fact that he is a member of the rank and file be a reason and a bar to him receiving the loyal support of all the thousands of men and women who in the past have done yeoman service to the cause of labor?

Shall it be said and written in the annals of the labor movement that a member of the rank and file was neglected and left to the tender mercies of capitalist courts and hired judges?

We are confident that all the progressive workers as well as all progressive organizations of labor and those in sympathy with the aspirations of the working class will rush to the aid of this brave comrade.

Money is needed to secure able counsel to defend this worker's life and we appeal earnestly to all on his behalf, and we hope sincerely that our appeal will not be in vain, that it will not reach deaf ears and cold hearts.

Contribute liberally. Show your spirit of working class solidarity and devotion in an unmistakable way. They who give quickly—give doubly.

Send for subscription lists to use among your fellow workers in the shops and meeting rooms.

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL.

Send all remittances to Charles Linfante, treasurer of the BUCCAFIORI DEFENSE COMMITTEE, Shoe Workers' Industrial Union No. 168, Industrial Workers of the World, 10 Troy Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Sincerely yours, for the cause of a persecuted fellow worker,

JOSEPH J. ETTOR,  
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## Foster Replies

(Continued from Page One.)

years after the creation of the first Bourse, says (2): "The Bourses du Travail, which unite the syndicates without any consideration of politics are poorly viewed by the Socialist deputies; it is rather curious to note that there are no institutions of this character at Calais, Roubaix or Lille"(3). Doubtless the Socialists so busy were "preparing the ground" for the "New Union" that they had no time to found Bourses.

### FORMATION OF THE C. G. T.

The Bourses, in spite of the Socialist "protection," rapidly increased in number and importance, and in 1892 they organized themselves nationally into the Federation of Bourses. This made two national labor organizations; the older National Federation of Syndicats, which grouped indiscriminately syndicates and federations (national trades unions) still functioning. The Federation of Bourses, one wing of the movement, was revolutionary and autonomous towards political action. The National Federation of Syndicats, the other wing, was under the "protection" of the Guesdist Socialist Party. To combine these two rival organizations was absolutely necessary to the development of the labor movement. It occupied several years of the direct actionists' best efforts. They finally accomplished it by holding the national congress of Bourses at the same time and town as the holding of the congress of the National Federation of Syndicats and fairly stealing this organization from the Socialist dictator, Guesde. (4). The following year, 1905, the two organizations were merged, and the C. G. T. was formed. This marked the definite rupture of the labor and political Socialist movements.

Henceforth the Socialist Parties were forced to shower their blessings on the labor movement from a distance.

### HAND IN HAND.

The two movements gradually drifted apart. The working class organizations began to suspect the motives of the politicians and to fight decidedly shy of them. In 1899 the various Socialist Parties held a general congress—preliminary to their unification in 1905. Of this affair Bernard Pelloutier, secretary of Federation of Bourses, one of the founders of Syndicalism, says(5): "The chief characteristic of the Socialist congress is the total absence of the workers' syndicates. This absence struck everybody. And I, myself, although knowing the horror the syndicates have for a long time professed in regard to the political sects, was surprised at the small number of them there was at this first general congress of the Socialist Party." Later on, speaking of the syndicates, he says: "At present our position in the Socialist world is this: Proscribed by the Socialist Party because, not less revolutionary than Vaillant or Guesde, nor less resolutely partisans of the suppression of private property, we are in addition what they are not—rebels of every hour, men truly without a God, master or country, the irreconcilable enemies of all despotism, moral or material, individual or collective."

These statements, emanating from such a high authority as Pelloutier, may be taken as fairly indicative of the friendly relations existing between the multi-colored Socialist Parties and the struggling labor organizations during this period.

### DEVELOPMENTS OF SYNDICALISM.

In 1899, as a result of the Dreyfus affair, the French Socialists secured much political power and Millerand became minister of commerce in Waldeck-Rousseau's ministry. The frightened (?) capitalist class and expectant working class anxiously awaited the beginning of the long-talked of revolution. Millerand answered these expectations by handing the workers a large lemon. By DECRETE he established the "Superior Labor Council," an "advisory body with great moral influence on labor legislation." It is composed of 66 members—22 workers, 22 employers and 22 OTHER PERSONS. It is needless to comment on the merits of this French Civic Federation. In this layout Jean Jaures was one of the "other persons." Millerand delivered himself of many other "social peaces" schemes of similar character. He was soon joined in the ministry by Briand and Viviani, and between the three they have kept up the lemon diet for the workers for 10 years, varying it from Briand's soldier sick to Viviani's famous old age "pensions for the dead." The Socialist deputies have also kept up the good work. They have interpreted "the class struggle" as "the collaboration of the classes," having fused first with one party and then another as opportunity dictated.

The disappointment and astonishment of all but a few of the militant workers at these events was intense. They found themselves in their syndicates forced to vigorously fight

the "Social Peace" schemes of "their" Socialist representatives, the acceptance of which would have stripped their organizations of their power. Hitherto their difficulties with the politicians had been largely due to the efforts of the various "sects" to secure dominion over the syndicates, a national situation, so it seemed. But now that the Socialists were in power and they showed a distinct hostility towards the direct action organizations it put the master in a different light. The theory of political action came in for a serious investigation, and largely as a result of this investigation has come the new Syndicalist movement, with its own plan of working class tactics, which is violently antagonistic to that of the Socialist movement.

### SOCIALISM VS. SYNDICALISM.

The Socialist program, only thinly disguised by Mr. La Monte, divides working class activity into two fields—economic and political. The labor unions operate in the one, the S. P. in the other. This division is arbitrary, however, as all social questions have economic bases. The political and economic "fields" overlap each other; they are the one "field"—the economic. The labor unions in Socialist program therefore have to differentiate between the Socialist so-called "political" and "economic" questions. They must confine themselves to the latter, leaving the former to the care of the S. P. They must pursue a course of "hands off" in regard to the questions that the S. P. considers "political" in nature. It would be manifestly absurd for the working class direct action organizations to FIGHT AGAINST the economic field what the political organization has FOUGHT FOR on the "political" field. (6) Hence the labor unions should be subordinate to the political party and accept the freak laws, social peace schemes, etc., that it secures from the government. Governmental interference in strikes is also a matter for the political party to handle, not the labor unions. Victor Griffuelhes, ex-secretary of the C. G. T., thus states the Socialist roles for working class organizations: they must be "Adversaries of the government on the political field, servitors of the government on the economic field." (7)

The Syndicalist movement, to the contrary, recognizes but one "field" of working class activity—the economic; only one kind of social question—the economic. To solve these economic questions it uses, in all cases, direct action tactics alone. It forces the state to pass laws in the same manner as it forces a private employer to raise wages, or to better working conditions—by strikes, sabotage, boycotts, etc. And not only does Syndicalism feel perfectly sure of its ability to force the state and private employers to grant concessions by its direct action tactics, but—if we are to believe its best writers—it also intends to overthrow the whole capitalist system by the supreme application of direct action, i. e., the general strike. It makes absolutely no provision for the conquest of the political power by "penetration," but aims to overthrow present society completely ending some great labor crisis, and to substitute its own institutions in place of those that have been overthrown.

For Syndicalism to accept the Socialist "double action" theory, entailing the subordination of the economic to the political organization would render it incapable of fighting its most powerful enemy—the government, which is not only by far the greatest employer in France, but also a highly developed strike-breaking machine for the whole capitalist class. Not for a moment is Syndicalism willing to leave this great enemy to the care of the politicians. Experience has taught it that these intermediaries serve only to obscure the outlines of the class struggle, and to act as a shield, not for the workers, but for the government. Syndicalism recognizes in the state its most insidious as well as powerful enemy and rejects all participation in it. Its attitude towards the state is well stated by Victor Griffuelhes: "Adversaries of the state and all its institutions from a 'political' point of view, adversaries of the state and all its institutions from an economic point of view." (8)

The all-class Socialist movement is statist, the working class Syndicalist movement is anti-statist—the one advocates working class conquest of the state by political action and the submission to its decrees—the other, abstention from participation in the state and revolt against its arbitrary laws. The one considers the state as a possible working class friend; the other, as an inveterate enemy. The two movements cannot exist in harmony; they are trying to absorb each other. Syndicalism claims itself as self-sufficient; Socialism says it needs a guardian and helper—a political "shield." It tries to force the guardianship on the unwilling Syndicalism. A Socialist success is a Syndicalist defeat and vice versa. The two movements are competitors for the undivided support of the working class. There can be no co-operation between them; they must fight to a finish.

It is true that the S. P. officially indorses its working class members to join them and that the C. G. T.—true to its function as an economic organization—is neutral towards all political parties, but these are only diplomatic pretenses. Their real sentiments are evidenced by the continual guerilla warfare being waged between the militants of the two organizations. "But," the unsophisticated American Socialist will say: "Why this warfare? If political action is incompatible with the interests of the working class, why not abandon it and adopt direct action tactics entirely—cut out the S. P. and build up the C. G. T.?"

### THE "NIGGER" IN THE WOODPILE.

The answer is simple: The French workers are "seeking salvation;" they have very

hazy ideas of the nature of capitalist governments; they are also gullible and in addition have universal suffrage. A good combination for the ambitious Socialist lawyer, doctor or shop keeper to work on, and the prize is worth while; the French government being particularly rich in "snaps," not to mention the vast amount of patronage and "graft" or the innumerable judgeships, mayorships, post-masterships etc. There are some 1000 positions as deputies and senators at \$3000 per year to be had for the asking—provided it is done skillfully enough.

On the other hand the C. G. T., the direct action organization, offers no inducements to the horde of Socialist intellectuals—who, in the majority of cases not being workers, are not even entitled to membership in it. It has but three regularly paid officers who each receive \$50 per month. Its component organizations are as sparingly officered. There are no soft berths in the direct action movement for the unemployed intellectuals.

These intellectuals have no economic interests in common with the workers. They are not forced to help them build up powerful fighting organizations in order that their own condition may be improved. Their interest lies in building up a strong political organization in order to more successfully "penetrate" the government. The nature of their program demands the support of the working class. The Syndicalist movement, by demonstrating its own self-sufficiency and showing the fallacy and uselessness of political action, pulls working class support from the Socialist movement and is a distinct menace to the latter. The politicians, seeing their lucrative profession thus menaced, consider the Syndicalist movement a legitimate object for attack. Hence the continual warfare between the two movements. French railroad history, like that of other industries, is a series of battles between Socialists and Syndicalists. A few citations from it may be instructive.

### "BRIAND, ROTHSCHILD & CO."

In 1896 the Rothschilds—the French railroad kings—got into the labor movement. Through an intermediary they bought "La Lanterne," a well-known Persian journal. Briand and Count Coueud were placed in charge of it. An unholly trinity, Jew millionaire, Bonapartist count and revolutionary Socialist, operating a radical paper. Millerand and Jaures, Viviani and other prominent Socialists were its principal contributors.

In 1898 Rothschild's railroad slaves threatened to strike. "Friday" Briand hastily resigned his editorial position in order to lead them to victory. A brilliant talker and writer, he soon found himself at the head of the agitation. He advocated the general strike and organized the famous "Knights of Labor"—a secret organization, whose object was to destroy railroad signals, bridges, stations, etc., immediately after the strike was declared. He became the contidant of Guerard, the Socialist dictator of the railroad unions. The strike date was set and Briand "squealed." The government was fully prepared for the strike. No sooner was it declared than Briand announced, through "La Lanterne," the discovery of a great military plot to overthrow the government (during the Dreyfus affair). The S. P. immediately protested against the threatened outrage and elected a permanent vigilance committee to protect the interests of the government. In this great "crisis" the railroad strike was a danger to the republic. Guerard immediately called it off. Needless to say, the "plot" was simply a manufactured one, and never materialized. Briand had earned his seat in the ministry and the political government secured a victory. The direct action movement amongst the railroaders was given a deadly blow, and for 10 years Guerard's domesticated union protested via political channels. It became a common saying that the railroaders would never strike again.

### THE RECENT RAILROAD STRIKE.

In 1909 Guerard was forced to resign, and shortly afterward the railroad slaves began to stir again. They threatened to strike if their long deferred demands were not granted. This agitation was the work of the famous "Syndicalist minority." The agitation rapidly grew and a general strike on all the railroads was planned.

On October 8, before the strike plans were fully developed, the strike burst out spontaneously, and in two days two systems were completely tied up. A general strike on all the roads in France was then called. The key to the situation was the big East railroad system—the unions of which were under the thumb of their general secretary, Niel, ex-secretary of the C. G. T. If this road could be induced to strike, the strike would undoubtedly be a success, if not failure was certain. The other four roads still at work waited to see what the East railroad was going to do. Niel, the Socialist dictator, became the man of the hour; he had it in his power to give Europe one of the greatest strikes it had ever known.

The C. G. T. congress at Toulouse had just ended (October 10). The Socialists, led by Niel, had suffered a complete defeat at the hands of the Syndicalists. The opportunity for revenge presented itself, and Niel, instead of hastening to Paris and doing all in his power to swing the East railroad into line, remained in the South of France, and sent a long telegram to "Le Matin"—a widely read capitalist paper—criticizing the strike as premature and stating that it would not (he meant "should not") be a general one until the strike order had reached every group or local. This, although every paper in France had published the order. His lieutenants on the East railroad took the hint and awaited the arrival of the official strike order. The strike committee at Paris, not being able to trust either the mails or telegraph, sent messengers all over France with copies. Briand had also taken Niel's tip, however, and

arrested these messengers. The result was a grand confusion many of the unions got no orders, others waited to hear from the rest of the unions, etc. The psychological "moment" slipped away. Briand's mobilization order arrived and the Socialist East railroad, numbering 70 per cent of union men—by far the highest of the railroads in France—remained at work and hauled soldier scabs to break the strike in the other roads. The failure of the East railroad to strike undoubtedly caused the loss of the strike.

Niel's telegram was a master stroke, but it was not the only Socialist factor in the loss of the strike. The committee, largely Socialist, using practically as headquarters the office of "L'Humanite"—the official organ of the S. P.—were surrounded and dominated by Socialist politicians openly hostile to the strike. The necessary vigorous action—even had it been wished—was absolutely impossible under these circumstances. (9) Their inertia also contributed greatly to the disaster.

On the warfare between the Socialists and Syndicalists the loss of this great strike marked an important surface victory for the former. Direct action tactics were discredited and 3300 militant Syndicalists discharged from the strategic railroad industry, thus leaving it once more in almost complete control of the Socialists.

The Socialist delegation in the Chamber of Deputies was also given much free advertising by its spectacular defense of the railroaders' right to strike, its criticisms of Briand's tyrannical measures, its pleading for the reinstatement of the discharged railroaders, etc. The railroaders may be expected—for at least a time—to once again protest through political channels.

The real victory, however, in spite of appearances, is on the side of the Syndicalists. They have one more proof that the Socialist movement, like all other political movements, holds its own interest to be superior to that of the working class and that it is distinctly hostile to the direct action movement. It has once again shown its "cloven feet." The object lesson will be of incalculable value in the propaganda of the purely direct action idea. The displaced Syndicalist railroader will soon be replaced by others of an even more virile type.

Mr. La Monte's citation of French labor history, in order to lend weight to his theory of combined working class economic and political action, is without value. Such cooperation does not exist now in France, nor has it in the past.

Whether it was recognized or not, the two movements have always been opposed to each other, as the foregoing incidents demonstrate. The most prominent features of the "New Unionism," that Mr. La Monte extols so much, are its growing consciousness of this opposition, and its rejection of all political action.

As for the I. W. W.—the American Syndicalist organization—its militants, who are imbued with the real Syndicalist theories, will do their best to prevent the S. P. from "protecting" or "preparing the ground for" their organization. They will insist on a policy of strict official neutrality towards all political parties, and as individuals they will vigorously combat the political action theory, be it advocated by the S. P. or any other "party."

Yours for the Revolution.

W. Z. FOSTER.

Paris, January 24th, 1911.

### WAITING.

Like something carved in changeless stone, she waits  
Outside the city's barred and locked gates.  
The men who foot the road, pass idly by,  
Nor deign to turn upon her form an eye.  
In painted face and borrowed trappings, fair,  
Black falsehood leers, and laughs upon her  
there;  
And murmurs glad, "Nay, none shall know her  
none:  
For all their gold, well I my work have done.  
The generations rise, and pause, and go;  
And still the stream of life flows to and fro.  
Unmoving, mighty, still her figure stands,  
With vast, calm brow, and patient folded hands.  
'Tis Freedom, the great mother. She is strong;  
And long can wait, for she has waited long.  
There is the light of knowledge in her look:  
She reads the future as an open book.  
She knows, how'er their wills the tyrants  
wreak,  
That slow their power from day to day grows  
weak;  
That slow the people learn to feel the lie  
Breathed down to them from those who sit on  
high.  
She knows power's ruthless hand in deeds of ill,  
The hand which robs the people, and can kill.  
She knows when men at last shall bid it pause:  
She knows when they shall break the lawless  
laws.  
Sometime, or near or far, the gates within,  
A cry shall rise of dissolution's din;  
And those who scorn her now, will come and  
plead:  
"We knew thee not; thou art our leader. Lead!"  
Then that grand shape shall move; and when  
the last  
The slave's linked chains from off his arms has  
cast,  
She shall be seen there at the leader's post.  
Before the throng, the head of all the host.  
Until that hour she looks, and keeps her peace.  
While all around the turmoil doth not cease,  
She feels not passion nor the touch of hate  
Her work inscribed upon the rolls of fate.  
—William Francis Barnard in "The Agitator."