IWW "Silent Agitator" Stickers

Rebel Voices

An IWW Anthology

Edited, with introductions, by

Joyce L. Kornbluh

New and Expanded Edition

With a new introduction
and an updated bibliography by
Fred Thompson
and "A Short Treatise on
"Wobbly Cartoons" by
Franklin Rosemont

Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company

This new edition of *Rebel Voices* is dedicated to the memory of our great rebel worker friend Fred Thompson (1900-1987), Wobbly and scholar, guiding spirit of the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, and tireless promoter of the cause of workingclass emancipation.

For information on IWW activity today, write:

Industrial Workers of the World
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Ypsilanti, MI 48197-5438

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ERRATA

¶ *Page 2, column 1:* The hall used by the Haymarket anarchists moved (apparently more than once), and at the time of the IWW's January 1905 conference it was at North Clark and Chestnut Streets. ¶ *Page 29, column 1:* Kipling's "Song of the Dead" was written to support Britain's claims to rule the seas. ¶ *Page 86, column 2:* In fact, very few if any IWWs and, indeed, few real hoboes, used these signs. ¶ *Page 135, column 2:* Subsequent research has shown that Riebe's "Mr. Block" comic strip inspired Joe Hill's song. ¶ *Page 157, column 2:* Joe Hill was cremated on November 27, 1915. ¶ *Page 326, column 2:* "Christians at War" first appeared in the ninth (1916) edition of the *Little Red Song Book.*

—Fred Thompson

The original edition of this book was designed by Quentin Fiore.

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Introduction: What Is This IWW?

The Industrial Workers of the World was founded in Chicago in 1905. It took that name to declare its hope that organization could end the use of workers against each other anywhere—in the same plant, or in the same industry, or across oceans, in peace or in war, either to cut each other's pay or to kill each other's kids.

That is still its aim today.

In 1905 American unions divided workers (except at coal mines) by craft. It was a time of extensive immigration, and many trade union locals turned away newcomers—Blacks and women as well as foreign-born. The IWW wanted to arrange that all workers in the same mine, mill or factory could bargain as one unit and, where it would help, bargain for an entire industry across a large area. They wanted to avoid long strikes and employer starve-out tactics by arranging for support from workers in all industries across the country as One Big Union. Early IWW strikes in eastern textile centers, among steelworkers at McKees Rocks, and in the young auto industry, gave the old unions the choice of either being replaced by this new radical union, or bargaining for these previously excluded workers.

In the far west at that time a largely hobo workforce born in many lands spoke a common lingo and found a common enemy in the employment agencies, or sharks, through whom they had to buy jobs building the country. Sharks split fees with foremen to get them to fire these workers before they had been on the job long. The IWW took to the soapbox urging wide refusal to hire through the sharks. Employment agencies got the Salvation Army to drown out IWW soapboxers, and the Wobblies responded with their own songs sung to the tunes that the Salvation Army bands played. The cops arrested the IWW speakers, and soon hundreds who had never made a speech in their lives mounted the soapboxes and filled the jails until the authorities decided to allow free speech.

Thus the IWW laid the basis for its complete transformation of the lifestyle of the western lumber worker during the first world war, as well as the organization of copper miners and agricultural workers that brought the enmity of the government and a series of federal and state trials that put many of its active members behind bars for years.

Despite this mailed-fist treatment by employers and government the IWW continued to grow. It started the 1920s with its major strength in the northwest woods, the mines in Butte and on the docks of Philadelphia. Release of the union's "class-war prisoners" became the number one demand in the IWW shipping strikes of May 1923, the lumber strikes of that year and various construction strikes called primarily for economic purposes.

In 1927 the IWW called numerous one-day stoppages to protest the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, followed by the first strike ever to bring out all three coalfields in Colorado. This was a decade in which unionism on the whole was going downhill, and the IWW, hurt by a 1924 split over such issues as strikes called for non-economic reasons, declined too, especially as the combine replaced the harvest hands whom the union formerly had organized by the tens of thousands each year.

In the big depression the IWW organized the unemployed both for survival and to assure those workers who still had jobs that the unemployed would strengthen their picketlines, not take their jobs, if they struck to resist wage-cuts. For the first time in history unions grew instead of shrinking during a depression. Wobblies pioneered a new wave of sitdown strikes, first at Hormel in Austin, Minnesota, November 1933, followed by Hudson Body, Detroit, in March 1934.

The IWW pioneered the organization of the Detroit auto industry in 1934 with radio programs, the daily distribution of thousands upon thousands of leaflets ("Sit Down and Watch Your Pay Go Up" was one), soapboxing at plant gates and the Murray Body strike.

In the 1930s depression decade Wobblies organized lumberworkers in Idaho, and tried organizing railroad extra gangs, WPA projects and Boulder Dam. Its major achievement in those years was

in the metalworking plants of Cleveland, where it built up solid job-control at American Stove and several other plants enduring to 1950. The IWW was also involved in the prolonged defense of miners in Harlan, Kentucky, and of men convicted during the strikes in Cleveland.

IWW metal miners organized and won recognition at U.S. Vanadium in Bishop, California in 1941. It refused to take the wartime "no-strike pledge" and won some gains in its Cleveland shops with very brief stoppages. When the Cleveland city government refused to negotiate with streetcar employees, the IWW urged a continuation of service while collecting no fares; rank-and-file streetcar employees favored the proposal and the city agreed to negotiate—the first use of this tactic copied soon after in Japan. IWW Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union 510 won some NLRB elections on the Gulf, and maintained a "Respect All Picketlines" policy during the AFL and CIO rivalries.

When the Taft-Hartley "Slave Labor Law" was enacted in 1947, the IWW urged that all unions undo its restrictions by refusing to sign the silly "non-Communist" affidavits. Since only the IWW, International Typographical Union and United Mine Workers stuck to that policy, the IWW was subject to raiding by other unions.

In April 1949 the U. S. Attorney General, refusing to give his reasons for doing so, added the IWW to his "subversive list." Throughout the 1950s and '60s, the IWW persisted in efforts to require the government either to make public its reasons for putting the IWW on this list, or to remove it. Later this became a dead issue when the Department of Justice killed the list, but it resulted in a prolonged period in which the IWW focused on other matters than organizing and improving the job. In the 1950s its picketlines were mainly of a protest nature.

IWW on-the-job organization revived in the 1960s, initially at small restaurants and other places not covered by the National Labor Relations Act. 1964 brought a new agricultural workers organizing drive in Michigan, where IWW fruitpickers waged the union's first strike in many years, resulting in higher wages and better conditions on several neighboring farms not involved in the strike. The next year this drive extended to Yakima, Washington, where Wobblies are still active today.

In the 1960s the IWW became an organization of young people with a few old-timers. By referendum in 1967 it decided to accept college students into membership on the basis that they were apprentices to their future work, a policy it still follows. Wobbly students had earlier led a successful free-speech fight at Roosevelt University in Chicago in 1964, and were active in the much larger one in Berkeley, California, a year later. The IWW's major campus growth was at Waterloo, Ontario, where it successfully bargained for advantages for the student body; there and on other campuses the IWW engaged in extensive support of strikes by other unions.

Beginning in the 1960s and continuing today, workers at many "alternative" and "movement" printshops and periodicals have joined the IWW's Printing and Publishing House Workers Industrial Union 450. In 1971 the old California Criminal Syndicalism law was invoked against IWW members on the San Diego *Street Journal*, but was at last declared unconstitutional.

The same year in Chicago a strike at Hip Products won NLRB orders for reinstatement of IWW strikers; in an election at International Wood Products in Long Beach, California, it lost to the scabs. In 1973 some members wanted to bar the IWW general secretary-treasurer from filing the Landrum-Griffin reports required for the union to have access to NLRB service, but this move was defeated in a referendum. Organizing at several fast-food outlets around the country won some new members and some gains, but no permanent job organization.

In 1976 IWW assistance to strikers at a nursing home near the IWW office in Chicago led to Wobbly involvement in other strike support, an activity that has continued into the '80s as Wobblies have taken part in picketlines, mass rallies and other actions in support of PATCO, P-9 at Hormel, the Watsonville cannery-workers, United Farm Workers, TWA flight-attendants, Chicago *Tribune* strikers and many others. Through the union's General Defense Committee, IWW members have also defended imprisoned American Indian activist Leonard Peltier, Black South African unionists, and others.

An IWW-initiated petition drive to exonerate martyred Wobbly songwriter Joe Hill was taken up by the Illinois Labor History Society and other groups and received wide labor support throughout the U.S. and Canada as well as in Sweden. Utah Governor Matheson refused to act, claiming that the Hill case was still unclear. The IWW asked

in reply: If the case is unclear, why was Joe Hill executed?

In 1979 workers at University Cellar bookstore in Ann Arbor, Michigan, chose the IWW because they felt it best fitted their needs for union democracy. Under a series of union contracts this job-branch grew to include some eighty workers, until early 1987 when the business was swallowed up by a conglomerate and closed down.

The IWW today has organized shops, general membership branches and/or delegates in some forty cities of the U.S. as well as in Australia, Canada and England. In addition to workplace and unemployed organizing, IWW members have taken part in anti-apartheid and antiwar agitation, and other efforts to help assure the survival of life on this planet. "Two-card" Wobblies—those who also belong to other unions—have been active in the rank-and-file movement against concessions. Bruce "Utah" Phillips and other Wobs have produced notable records of labor songs. During the past year a large exhibition of Wobbly art, organized by Carlos Cortez, has been touring the continent. The IWW produces a yearly labor history calendar and, as this book goes to press, is readying a new printing of the thirty-fifth edition of its famous *Little Red Song Book*. The monthly IWW newspaper, the *Industrial Worker* ($4 for a one-year subscription from IWW, 3435 North Sheffield, Room 202, Chicago, Illinois 60657), covers world labor news, rank-and-file activity and other matters of workingclass interest not readily available elsewhere.

Though its membership has seldom exceeded a few thousand, more books and articles have been written about the IWW by labor historians than about much larger unions. *Rebel Voices*, which preceded most of this literature, will also outlive most of it, for in this anthology Joyce Kornbluh captures, as few historians have been able to do, the zeal with which the Wobblies battled for textile workers in Lawrence, steelworkers in McKees Rocks, lumberjacks and harvest hands, longshoremen and seamen, and incidentally free speech for themselves and others. Here is a generous sampling of the songs and stickers and speeches they made, the news as they wrote it, the poems and cartoons and philosophy they put in their periodicals, with each chapter clarified by an introductory essay.

An updated guide to the extensive literature on IWW history since *Rebel Voices* was first published appears at the back of this book. Why has so much been written about so small a union? Circumstances—as well as outlook—put the IWW into a pioneering role, organizing the immigrant and lesser-skilled workers that early trade unions tended to exclude, and the industries and areas not then tackled by the larger unions. IWW members (and its members have always been its organizers) were free to try non-traditional methods, and had to do so—thus the stickers ("silent agitators") and the songs, the sit-down and the stay-in strikes, the thousand-mile picketline and other strategies that the IWW developed. Flexibility and innovation have always been the hallmarks of this union.

These are matters of more than historical interest. Keeping workers in different countries from being used against each other in peace or in war—that old hope of the IWW has become the supreme but neglected imperative of the labor movement today. As multinational corporations shift jobs across continents and oceans, global labor solidarity has become an obvious and urgent need, and it is on this need that the IWW still focuses its spotlight.

Contrary to the premature obituaries that started appearing as long ago as 1906, the Industrial Workers of the World are still doing their best to fan the flames of discontent, to organize the working class, to build the new society in the shell of the old, to make this planet a good place to live.

Joyce Kornbluh brought out this remarkable anthology in 1964. A new edition has long been needed, and it is appropriate that the Charles H. Kerr Company should have the honor of producing it. 'Way back in the 1910s Kerr books were my own and many others' introduction to socialism. Kerr published writings by Big Bill Haywood, Ralph Chaplin, Joe Hill, Vincent St. John, Art Boose, Mary E. Marcy and many other Wobblies, either as pamphlets or in its *International Socialist Review*, and many IWW-related titles have been added to the Kerr list in the last few years.

The Charles H. Kerr Company is proud to start its second century of publishing pro-labor material by bringing out this new and expanded edition of a most significant book.

Fred Thompson

Chicago,
January 1987

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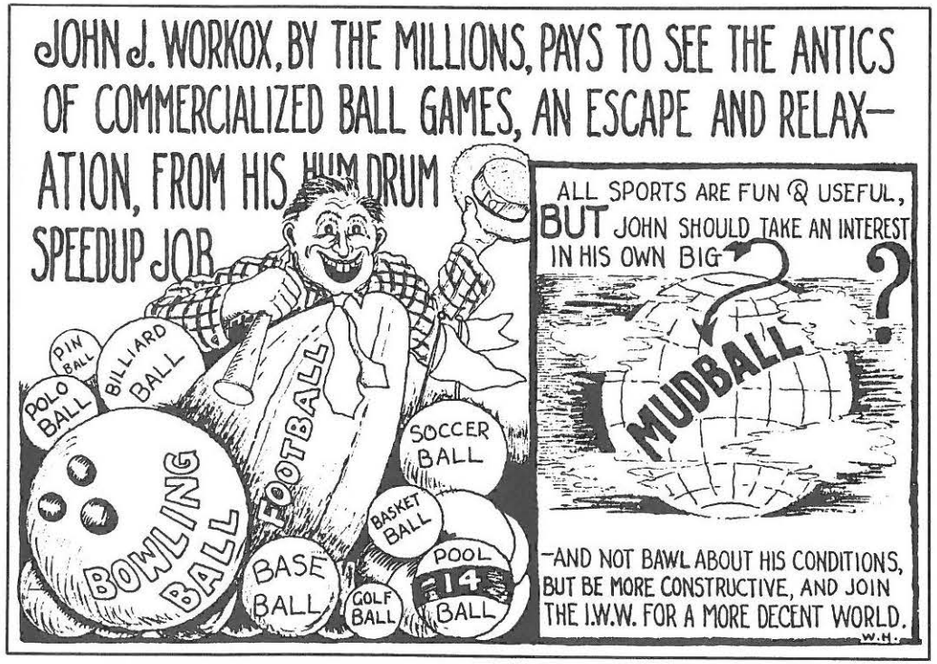


William Henkelman (*Industrial Worker,* April 9, 1947)

The Industrial Workers is organized not to conciliate but to fight the capitalist class. . . . The capitalists own the tools they do not use, and the workers use the tools they do not own.

EUGENE V. DEBS
Grand Central Palace, New York
December 10, 1905, in
E. V. Debs, *Industrial Unionism*
(New York: New York Labor
News Co., n.d.), pp. 4–5.

Chapter 1

One Big Union: The Philosophy of Industrial Unionism

At 10 A.M. on June 27, 1905, William D. Haywood, then secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, walked to the front of Brand's Hall in Chicago, picked up a piece of loose board and hammered on the table to silence the whispers in the crowded room.

"Fellow Workers," he said to the delegates and spectators in the room, "This is the Continental Congress of the Working Class. We are here to confederate the workers of this country into a working-class movement in possession of the economic powers, the means of life, in control of the machinery of production and distribution without regard to capitalist masters."[1]

In the audience were nearly 200 delegates from thirty-four state, district, and national organizations—socialists, anarchists, radical miners, and revolutionary industrial unionists. They were united in opposition to what they called "the American Separation of Labor's" craft unionism, conservative leadership, and nonclass-conscious policies, and by their desire to establish an industrial labor organization that would ultimately overthrow the capitalist system and create a "cooperative commonwealth" of workers.

On the speakers' platform were Eugene Debs, leader of the American Socialist Party, Haywood, and Mother Mary Jones, a little lady of seventy-five with curly white hair and gray eyes, who had been a labor agitator for almost half a century. Other well-known delegates were Daniel De Leon, the sharp-tongued, erudite leader of the Socialist Labor Party; A. M. Simons, editor of the *International Socialist Review;* Charles O. Sherman, general secretary of the United Metal Workers; William E. Trautmann, editor of the United Brewery Workers' German-language newspaper; Father Thomas J. Hagerty, a tall, black-bearded Catholic priest who edited the American Labor Union's *Voice of Labor;* and Lucy Parsons, widow of one of the anarchists condemned to death following the 1886 Chicago Haymarket riot.

Rapidly expanding machine technology, the growth of large-scale corporate enterprise, and the class-war character of many industrial struggles west of the Mississippi had led to several previous attempts to organize workers into industrial unions and to oppose the conservative orientation of the American Federation of Labor. Shaken by crushing strikes in Colorado and Idaho, leaders of the Western Federation of Miners which broke from the A.F.L. in 1897, formed first the Western Labor Union, then the American Labor Union to strengthen their organization and broaden their base of support.

Late in 1904, W.F.M. leaders initiated a meeting in Chicago of six radical spokesmen to consider plans for a new national revolutionary union. They invited thirty prominent socialists and labor radicals to meet for a secret conference in the same city on January 2, 1905. The invitation expressed hope that the working classes if correctly organized on both political and industrial lines were capable of successfully operating the country's industries.[2]

The January Conference, as it came to be known, was held for three days in a hall on Lake Street often used by the Chicago anarchists. Most of those invited were present. They drafted a manifesto, an analysis of industrial and social relations from the revolutionary viewpoint, which spelled out labor's grievances, criticized existing craft unions for creating a skilled aristocracy, and suggested "one big industrial union" embracing all industries" and "founded on the class struggle."[3]

Printed in great quantities, the Industrial Union Manifesto was sent around the country. All workers who agreed with the document's principles were invited to attend a convention in Chicago's Brand's Hall on June 27, 1905, to found a new, revolutionary working-class organization.

The Western Federation of Miners was the most important organization represented in this founding convention. Others were the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance; the American Metal Workers Industrial Union; and a few former A.F.L. locals. Individuals came from the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Party.

"Big Bill" Haywood, chairing the sessions, a massive, stoop-shouldered man, had been a cowboy, homesteader, and miner. Blinded in one eye in a mine accident, Big Bill left the Silver City, Utah, mines at the turn of the century to become an organizer for the Western Federation of Miners and the Socialist Party. He was, as historian Foster Rhea Dulles has phrased it, "a powerful and aggressive embodiment of the frontier spirit." From the start of the convention Haywood expressed his interest in organizing the forgotten unskilled workers, those without votes and without unions.

"I do not care a snap of my fingers whether or not the skilled workers join the industrial movement at this time," Haywood shouted at the meeting. "We are going down into the gutter to get at the mass of workers and bring them up to a decent plane of living."[4]

Speaker after speaker rose to elaborate the theme that since machinery was rapidly eliminating the craftsman's skill, it was necessary to organize workers made unskilled by advancing technology into integrated industrial unions paralleling the integrated structure of modern industry. This was vital to wage effective war on the great combinations of capital. To the philosophy of industrial unionism, an essentially American contribution to labor theory and practice, the I.W.W. added a new concept: that industrial unions would become the basis for a new social order.

For ten days the delegates debated issues and voted on resolutions and a constitution. Although they were united in opposition to capitalism and craft unionism, they were divided as to the tactics of bringing about an end to capitalism and the wage system.

Secretary to the constitution committee was Father Thomas J. Hagerty, a Catholic priest from New Mexico who had been converted to Marxism even before his ordination in 1892. Suspended by his archbishop for urging Telluride miners to revolt during his tour of Colorado mining camps in 1903, his formal association with the church ended at this time, although he insisted that he was still a priest in good standing. Hagerty, who helped frame the Industrial Union Manifesto and composed the chart of industrial organization ("Father Hagerty's Wheel"), is also credited with authoring the famous Preamble to the I.W.W. constitution with its provocative opening sentence, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common."[5]

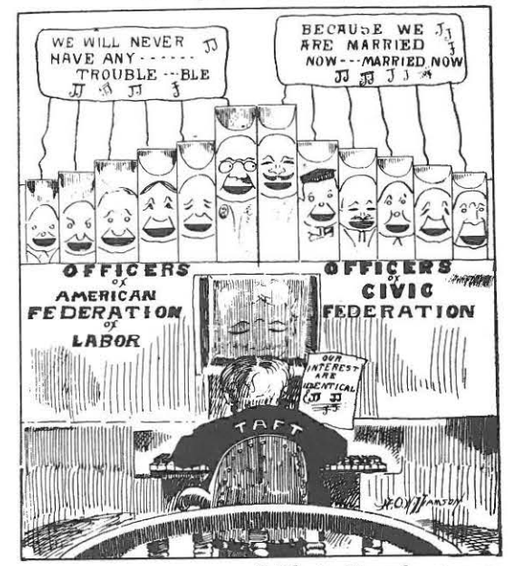
For much of the convention, debate focused on the political clause of the Preamble whose second paragraph, as presented by the constitution committee, read: "Between these two classes [capital and labor] a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party."

For the most part, the western delegates were against "political action at the capitalist ballot box"; as itinerant workers, many had never voted in a public election. In addition to their antagonism to all types of politicians, they feared that the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party would dominate the new organization and ultimately use the I.W.W. as a political adjunct.

Daniel De Leon, making the longest speech in favor of the political clause, argued that political action was "a civilized means of seeking progress." He emphasized the Marxist position that "every class struggle is a political struggle." It was necessary, however, he stated, "to gather behind that ballot, behind that united political movement, the Might which alone is able, when necessary, 'to take hold.'"[6]

When the political clause came to a vote, it was

The Employers' Pipe Organ



Solidarity, November 5, 1910.

sustained by a sizeable majority, yet the controversy over direct vs. political action led to major cleavages in the I.W.W. which came to a head three years later at the 1908 convention.

The constitution and resolutions passed during the first convention attempted to link the immediate struggles of workers with a class-conscious, revolutionary aim. Any wage earner could be a member of the new organization regardless of occupation, race, creed, or sex. To the I.W.W. it "did not make a bit of difference if he is a Negro or a white man . . . an American or a foreigner."[7] An immigrant with a paid-up union card in his own country was eligible for immediate membership. Initiation fees and dues were set very low.

Labor-management contracts were viewed as an interference with labor's only weapon—the strike. Contracts were also rejected because they hampered workers from declaring strikes at the most critical times for employers. The "social general strike" was recommended as the most effective weapon to overthrow the capitalist system, and May 1 adopted as the Labor Day of the new organization. Militarism was condemned, and membership could be denied anyone who joined the state militia or police.

The constitution provided that the structure of the I.W.W. would prepare for the eventual establishment of the trade-union state. Thirteen centrally administered industrial departments composed of unions of closely related industries were proposed. In this way, when the "one big strike" was called, and won, the I.W.W. would have control of each of the major industries of the country. Socialism would be established through action by workers at the point of production, and thus, "the army of production [would] be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown."[8]

An I.W.W. poet was to make this philosophy enduring with his famous stanza from the labor hymn, "Solidarity Forever":

> In our hands is placed a power greater than
> their hoarded gold;
> Greater than the might of armies magnified a
> thousand fold.
> We can bring to birth a new world from the
> ashes of the old,
> For the Union makes us strong.[9]

Less than six months after the first I.W.W. convention Frank Steunenberg, the anti-union, ex-governor of Idaho, was killed by a bomb as he opened the gate to his house during the Christmas holidays. Within a few days after Steunenberg's murder, police arrested a man who called himself Harry Orchard (born Albert E. Horsley) and turned him over to James McParland, head of the Denver Pinkerton Agency and a "consultant" to the Colorado Mine Owners' Association. Orchard confessed to the murder, as well as twenty-six other crimes which he claimed had been plotted by a radical "inner circle" of the Western Federation of Miners. Several weeks later, Idaho officials without warrants, seized Charles Moyer, W.F.M. president; Bill Haywood, W.F.M. secretary; and George Pettibone, a blacklisted miner turned small businessman. The men, arrested individually at night, were taken by a special railroad car to Boise, Idaho, charged with the murder of Steunenberg, and put in the death cells of the federal penitentiary.

The Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone case outraged the I.W.W., other labor organizations, and the labor and radical press. Frantic activity focused on raising thousands of dollars to defend the prison-

ers. Rallies in large cities netted enough money to engage Clarence Darrow and other prominent attorneys. Agitation in labor and radical newspapers resulted in improved treatment for the prisoners, including their transfer to cells in the county jail.

Fifteen months after his arrest, the trial of Haywood began in Boise on May 9, 1907. Defense lawyer Darrow was matched against prosecuting attorney William Borah, the Idaho attorney who was later to become a powerful senator from that state. In a brilliant courtroom performance, Darrow exposed Harry Orchard as a perjurer, produced witnesses to contradict his statements, and charged that McParland of the Pinkerton Agency had deliberately "fixed" Orchard's confession to throw blame for the murder on the W.F.M. The jury found Haywood, the first to be tried, not guilty. Moyer and Pettibone were later acquitted and released. Orchard was sentenced to be hanged, with a recommendation for clemency.

Haywood left Idaho a popular hero. Turning down lucrative offers from theater managers to lecture about his prison experiences, he toured the large cities, preaching the gospel of industrial unionism to hundreds of thousands of workers.

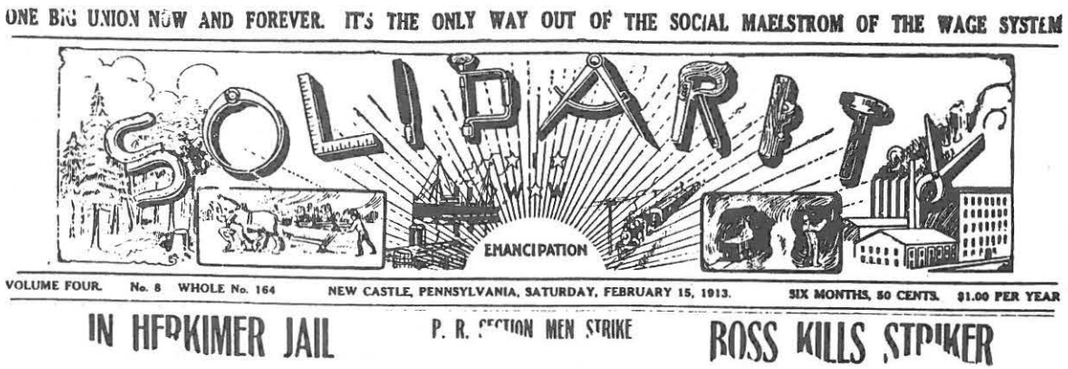
However, despite the emergence of Haywood as a national labor figure, the Idaho trial was a paralyzing blow to the newly organized I.W.W., which had invested tremendous funds and energy in contributing to the defense. Ideological factionalism and personality disputes split the new organization in the tense first years of its existence. Dissension developed almost immediately between the members who favored the tactics of direct economic action and those who advocated political action. Describing his views, direct-actionist Vincent St. John wrote:

> The first year was one of internal struggle for control by these different elements. The two camps of socialist politicians looked upon the I.W.W. only as a battleground on which to settle their respective merits and demerits. The labor fakirs strove to fasten themselves upon the organization that they might continue to exist if the new union was a success.[10]

Quarrels erupted in a chaotic 1906 convention held while Haywood and Moyer were in prison. The "wage slave delegates" led by Daniel De Leon, William Trautmann, and Vincent St. John opposed the "conservative" faction, which included I.W.W. president Charles Sherman and most of the delegates from the Western Federation of Miners. In the process Sherman was charged with misdirected use of funds, removed from office, and the office of president was abolished. W.F.M. delegates bolted the convention and control of the organization remained with the "revolutionists."[11]

At their 1907 convention, the Western Federation of Miners voted overwhelmingly to withdraw from the I.W.W., whose revolutionary views had tinged the national newspaper publicity of the Idaho trials. Growing increasingly more conservative, the miners' federation was to rejoin the

Masthead of Solidarity*—letters are formed from tools.*



Mr. Block

He Learns Something About Craft Jurisdiction

Industrial Worker, March 27, 1913.

A.F.L. four years later. Meanwhile, it fired Bill Haywood who had been going around the country agitating for class solidarity, militant direct action, and a new social order. Vincent St. John, a W.F.M. executive board member, stayed with the I.W.W. in spite of the withdrawal of the miners' federation. The stage was set for the final clash between the direct and political actionists.

Despite organizational schisms, across the country from Tacoma, Washington, to Skowhegan, Maine, the message of "One Big Union" stimulated strikes among loggers, miners, smeltermen, window washers, paper makers, silk workers, and streetcar men. Wobblies staged the first sitdown strike in America at the Schenectady, New York, plant of the General Electric Company in December 1906. In the frontier town of Goldfield, Nevada, where Vincent St. John had been a zealous organizer, an I.W.W. strike won a minimum of $4.50 a day for most of the cooks, waiters, and bartenders. In Portland, Oregon, the I.W.W. helped win a nine-hour day and a wage increase for sawmill workers and dramatized itself as a new force on the industrial scene of the Pacific Northwest.

Led by Jack Walsh, a former Socialist Party soapboxer, some twenty of these vigorous Westerners—loggers, sawmill workers, and seasonal harvest hands—beat their way across country to Chicago, to attend the 1908 I.W.W. convention. Traveling in freight cars, and camping in hobo jungles, these men, who were dressed in denim overalls, black shirts, and red bandanna neckerchiefs, held I.W.W. propaganda meetings along the way, selling I.W.W. pamphlets and song cards to finance their expenses.

In Chicago members of the "Overalls Brigade" numbered about twenty of the twenty-six delegates in a convention whose delegate strength was reduced because of membership splits and the 1907 financial depression. De Leon was offended by their lack of sophistication and little knowledge of socialist theory. He dubbed them the "rabble" and the "bummery" because of their singing of "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum" at convention sessions and accused them of trying to make the I.W.W. a "purely physical force body." "Most of them," he noted soon after the convention, "slept on the benches on the Lake Front and received from Walsh a daily stipend of 30 cents. This element lined the walls of the convention."[12]

In turn, the Westerners joined Trautmann and St. John in ousting De Leon from the convention on the parliamentary technicality that he was a delegate to the convention from a union other than his own. De Leon and his followers withdrew to set up a rival I.W.W. with headquarters in Detroit, which became a propaganda arm of the Socialist Labor Party. In 1915 it changed its name to the Workers International Industrial Union and was finally dissolved in 1925. As editor of the S.L.P. newspaper, *The Weekly People,* De Leon continued until his death in 1914 to attack the anarcho-syndicalists, "labor-fakirs," craft unionism, and Samuel Gompers.

One of the first actions of the 1908 convention delegates after De Leon's ouster struck out all reference to political activity from the Preamble. Detached from both the Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party influence, the pragmatic Westerners helped in the next few years to shape the fundamental long-range policies of the I.W.W. The goal was industrial democracy in a worker-controlled, cooperative commonwealth. The basic tactic to achieve it would be the weakening of the capitalist system through "action at the point of production" which would form "the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."[13] The vehicle would be the One Big Union which, when strong enough, would carry through a general strike of all workers in industry to abolish the wage system, take over the means of production, and establish the new social order.

"We have been naught, we shall be all," sang the delegates to the 1905 founding convention.[14] Inspired by the social idealism of the Manifesto and Preamble and the militant spirit of the Western rank-and-filers, the radical documents, slogans, songs, and poems by Wobblies in the years to come reflected the antiauthoritarian, anarchistic thrust set in that epochal 1908 convention.

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel could turn;
We can break their haughty power, gain our freedom when we learn—
That the Union makes us strong.[15]

A NOTE ON SOURCE CITATION

The source cited in the note to each selection is the earliest date I have found the item in print in an I.W.W. publication. Many of the items were frequently reprinted in the I.W.W. press and a large number of the songs have been included in other editions of the I.W.W. songbook after their first appearance. The latest edition of the I.W.W. songbook is the twenty-ninth. It was issued in 1956 in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the organization. I have marked with an asterisk those songs and poems which were selected for inclusion in the twenty-ninth edition. The addition and deletion of various songs and poems from the songbooks over the years would make an interesting, and valuable folklore study.

1

In January 1905 about thirty prominent socialists and labor radicals met in Chicago to lay the groundwork for a new industrial union. They included Eugene Debs, A. M. Simons, and Ernest Untermann from the Socialist Party; Charles Moyer, Bill Haywood, and John O'Neil from the Western Federation of Miners; Clarence Smith and Daniel McDonald from the American Labor Union; and Frank Bohn representing the Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The meeting drafted a Manifesto, spelling out labor's grievances and calling for an organization that would help overthrow the capitalist system. Father Thomas Hagerty, a Catholic priest who shortly before the Manifesto conference had become the editor of the Voice of Labor, *the publication of the American Labor Union, is credited with taking a leading role in writing the Manifesto. The Manifesto was signed by those present at the January meeting and sent to all unions in the United States and to the industrial unions in Europe. A discussion of the "Origin of the Manifesto" was printed in the* Proceedings of the First Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World *(New York, 1905).*

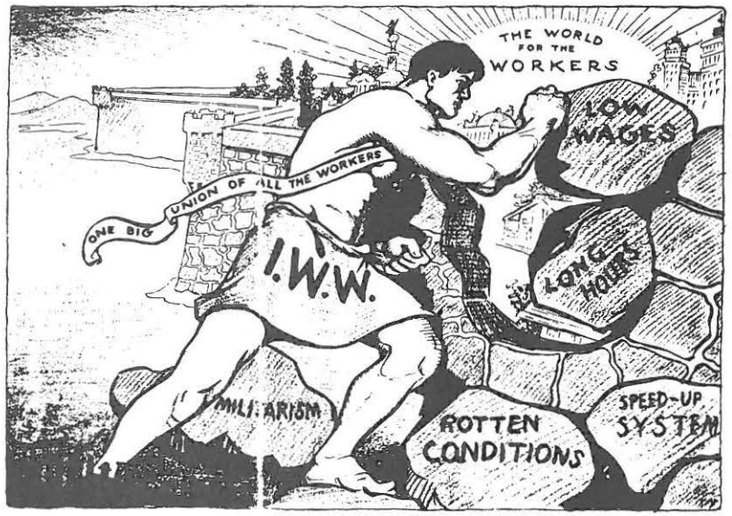
MANIFESTO

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

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

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

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all differences among themselves and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations, they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the injunctions of the judiciary, and the use of military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable, they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic



Solidarity, April 28, 1917.

Federation and hoodwink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of the mechanical and industrial concentration, while laborers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions. The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The *textile* workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the *butchers* of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions; the *machinists* on the Santa Fe, unsupported by their fellow-workers subject to the same masters; the long-struggling *miners* of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battle-field, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotency of labor as at present organized.

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

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

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

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

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

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are thereby fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

All power should rest in a collective membership.

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

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

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

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

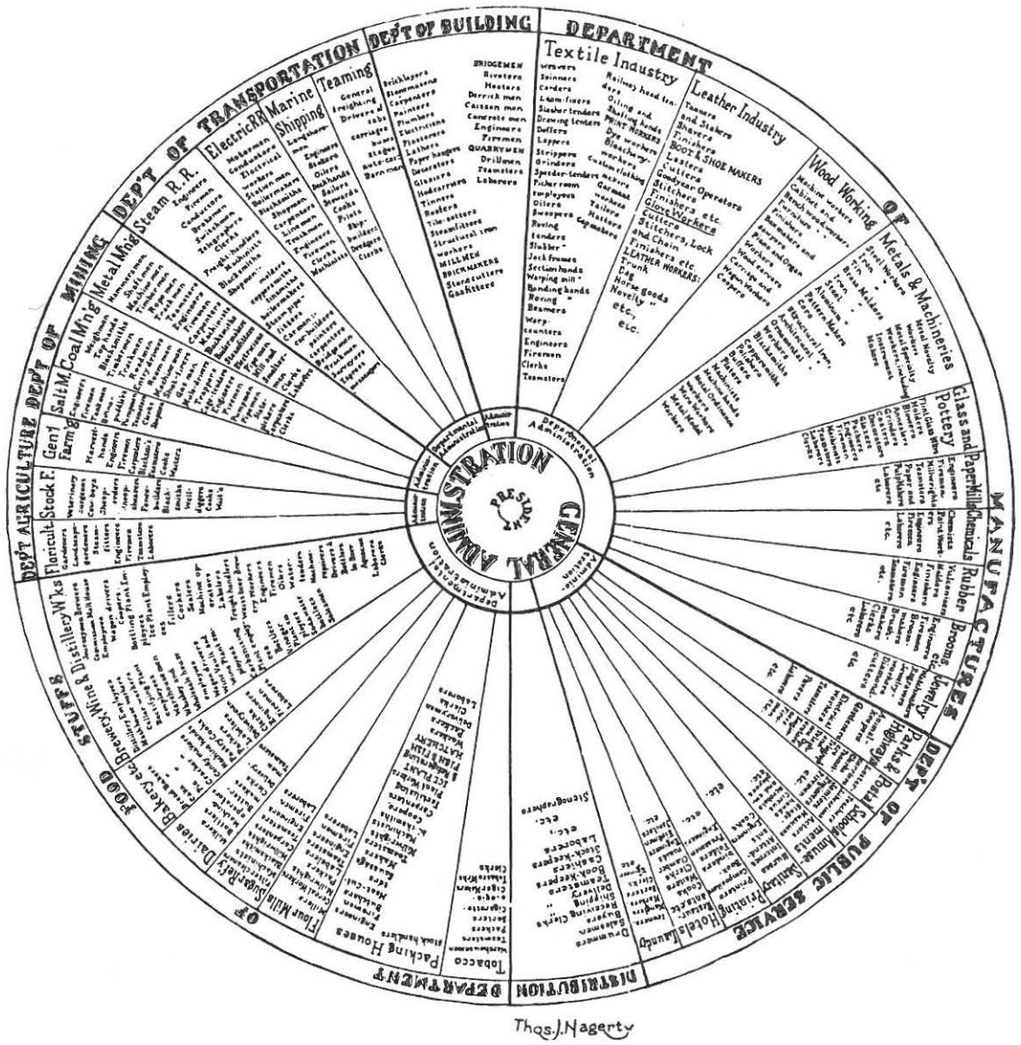
A *central defense fund*, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained.

All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth, will meet in convention at Chicago the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this Manifesto.

Representation in the convention shall be based upon the number of workers whom the delegate represents. No delegate, however, shall be given representation in the convention on the numerical basis of an organization unless he has credentials —bearing the seal of his union, local, national or international, and the signatures of the officers thereof—authorizing him to install his union as a working part of the proposed economic organization in the industrial department in which it logically belongs in the general plan of organization. Lacking this authority, the delegate shall represent himself as an individual.

Adopted at Chicago, January 2, 3 and 4, 1905.

A. G. SWING
A. M. SIMONS
W. SHURTLEFF
FRANK M. MC CABE
JOHN M. O'NEIL
GEO. ESTES
WM. D. HAYWOOD
MOTHER JONES
ERNEST UNTERMANN
W. L. HALL
CHAS. H. MOYER
CLARENCE SMITH
WILLIAM ERNEST TRAUTMANN
JOS. SCHMIDT
JOHN GUILD
DANIEL MC DONALD
EUGENE V. DEBS
THOS. J. DE YOUNG
THOS. J. HAGERTY
FRED D. HENION
W. J. BRADLEY
CHAS. O. SHERMAN
M. E. WHITE
WM. J. PINKERTON
FRANK KRAFFS
J. E. FITZGERALD
FRANK BOHN



Thos. J. Hagerty

2

In the Voice of Labor (*May 1905*) *Father Thomas J. Hagerty graphically illustrated the structure of the new organization that would eventually become the basis of a new industrial society. The chart which was shaped in the form of a wheel, included every wage earning occupation then in existence. Hagerty divided them into eight departments: Manufacture, Public Service, Distribution, Food Stuffs, Agriculture, Mining, Transportation, and Building. The major departments formed the periphery of the wheel and their subdivisions constituted the spokes which led to a hub titled General Administration. School teachers, librarians, nurses, chambermaids, salesmen, and landscape gardeners were included in the chart. In his article on "Thomas J. Hagerty, the Church, and Socialism" in* Labor History (*Winter 1962*), *Professor Robert E. Doherty called the chart the most comprehensive scheme of labor organization ever envisaged. A.F.L. President Samuel Gompers dubbed it "Father Hagerty's Wheel of Fortune."*

FATHER HAGERTY'S "WHEEL OF FORTUNE"

The Structure of the Industrial System

A labor organization to correctly represent the working class must have two things in view.

First—It must combine the wage-workers in such a way that it can most successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the working people of today in their struggle for fewer hours, more wages and better conditions.

Secondly—It must offer a final solution of the labor problem—an emancipation from strikes, injunctions, bull-pens and scabbing of one against the other.

Study the Chart and observe how this organization will give recognition to control of shop affairs, provide perfect Industrial Unionism, and converge the strength of all organized workers to a common center, from which any weak point can be strengthened and protected.

Observe, also, how the growth and development of this organization will build up within itself the structure of an Industrial Democracy—a Workers' Co-Operative Republic—which must finally burst the shell of capitalist government, and be the agency by which the workers will operate the industries, and appropriate the products to themselves.

One obligation for all.

A union man once and in one industry, a union man always and in all industries.

Universal transfers.

Universal emblem.

All workers of one industry in one union; all unions of workers in one big labor alliance the world over.

3

As secretary to the constitution committee of the first I.W.W. convention in June 1905, Father Hagerty was influential in framing the original Preamble to the I.W.W. constitution. Dissension arose at the meetings over the sentence, "Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party." Hagerty was among the group which opposed political socialism. In a convention speech he said, "The Ballot Box is simply a capitalist concession. Dropping pieces of paper into a hole in a box never did achieve emancipation of the working class, and in my opinion it never will."

Although the Preamble, with its controversial political clause was adopted at the 1905 convention and published in the Proceedings of the First Convention of the I.W.W. (*New York, 1905*), *subsequent additions and changes were made in it at the 1906 and 1908 conventions. In 1906, the clause, "we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old," was inserted, and in 1908, following the split with Daniel De Leon's group which favored political action, the controversial sentence was dropped from the Preamble. In its place was substituted, "Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system."*

Hundreds of thousands of copies of the 1908 Preamble were printed over the years by the I.W.W. and distributed throughout the world. The Preamble is printed in every I.W.W. publication and songbook. With its provocative first sentence, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common," it has been one of the organization's most influential propaganda pieces. In his autobiography, Wobbly: The Rough and Tumble Story of an American Radical (*Chicago, 1948*), *Ralph Chaplin wrote, "The Preamble came first in our affections. It was at once our Declaration of Freedom and the Tablets of the Law. Exploited, homeless, voteless, frequently jobless, and always kicked about from pillar to post, the American migratory worker nailed the I.W.W. Preamble to the masthead and took his stand against the great and powerful of the earth to work out his economic and social destiny without benefit of respectability or law. . . . That was what the unrestrained exploitation and injustice of the early decades of the Twentieth Century did to us."*

PREAMBLE

as adopted by the 1905 I.W.W. Convention

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

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor, through an economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trades unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trades unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. The trades unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

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

4

The Preamble to the Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World as amended appeared in the Proceedings of the 1908 I.W.W. Convention *in the I.W.W.* Industrial Union Bulletin (*November 7, 1908*).

PREAMBLE

of the Industrial Workers of the World

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

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

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

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

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

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

5

"Workingmen, Unite," and the following song, "The Banner of Labor," were first published in the I.W.W. press in the Industrial Union Bulletin (*October 24, 1908*) *under the headline, "Songs Sung by the Industrial Union Singing Club on Their Trip Across Country to Convention." The Industrial Union Singing Club, no doubt, was made up of the men, led by J. H. Walsh, who traveled by freight trains from Portland to the 1908 I.W.W. convention in Chicago.*

E. S. Nelson, who wrote "Workingmen, Unite," was a Swede who was active in the Northwest in the eight-hour day campaign. He wrote two popular I.W.W. pamphlets, The Eight Hour Day, *and* An Appeal to Wage Earners: A Statement of I.W.W. Principles and Methods. *The author of "The Banner of Labor" is unknown. Both songs were included in the first edition of the I.W.W. songbook.*

WORKINGMEN, UNITE!*

By E. S. Nelson

(*Tune: "Red Wing"*)

Conditions they are bad,
And some of you are sad;
You cannot see your enemy,
The class that lives in luxury.
You workingmen are poor,—
Will be forevermore,—
As long as you permit the few
To guide your destiny.

Chorus:

Shall we still be slaves and work for wages?
It is outrageous—has been for ages;
This earth by right belongs to toilers,
And not to spoilers of liberty.

The master class is small,
But they have lots of "gall."
When we unite to gain our right,
If they resist we'll use our might;
There is no middle ground,
This fight must be one round,
To victory, for liberty,
Our class is marching on!

Workingmen, unite!
We must put up a fight,
To make us free from slavery
And capitalistic tyranny;
This fight is not in vain,
We've got a world to gain.
Will you be a fool, a capitalist tool?
And serve your enemy?

6

THE BANNER OF LABOR

(*Tune: "Star Spangled Banner"*)

Oh, say, can you hear, coming near and more near
The call now resounding: "Come all ye who labor?"

The Industrial Band, throughout all the land
Bids toilers remember, each toiler's his neighbor.
Come, workers, unite! 'tis Humanity's fight.
We call, you come forth in your manhood and might.

Chorus:

And the *Banner of Labor* will surely soon wave
O'er the land that is free, from the master and slave.

The blood and the lives of children and wives
Are ground into dollars for parasites' pleasure;
The children now slave, till they sink in their grave—
That robbers may fatten and add to their treasure.
Will you idly sit by, unheeding their cry?
Arise! Be ye men! See, the battle draws nigh!

Long, long has the spoil of labor and toil
Been wrung from the workers by parasite classes;
While Poverty, gaunt, Desolation and Want
Have dwelt in the hovels of earth's toiling masses.
Through bloodshed and tears, our day star appears,
Industrial Union, the wage slave now cheers.

7

"Union Scabs" appeared as an article in the I.W.W. Industrial Union Bulletin *(March 14, 1908) and was made into a pamphlet by the organization around 1910. It was advertised in the January 22, 1910, issue of* Solidarity *as a "red-hot satire on the Craft Union methods."*

Oscar Ameringer (1870–1943) was a socialist writer and editor who had come to the United States from Germany at age fifteen. A member of the American Federation of Musicians, he organized for the Knights of Labor before editing a series of publications which included The Labor World, *the* Voice of the People, *the* Oklahoma Pioneer, *the* Illinois Miner, *and the* American Guardian. *He was active in Socialist Party politics, and in 1912 was the Socialist Party candidate for governor of Wisconsin. He was the author of many colorful and earthy pamphlets and articles, including* Socialism: What It Is and How to Get It *(Chicago, 1908) and* The Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam *(1909).*

Ameringer included "Union Scabs" in his autobiography, If You Don't Weaken *(New York, 1940).*

UNION SCABS

By Oscar Ameringer

There are three kinds of scabs: the professional, the amateur and the union scab.

The professional scab is usually a high-paid, high-skilled worker in the employ of strikebreaking and detective agencies. His position is that of a petty officer's in the regular scab army.

The amateur scab brigade is composed of bums, riff-raff, slum dwellers, rubes, tramps, imbeciles, college students and other undesirable citizens.

The last, and by far the most important class is the union scab.

Professional scabs are few and efficient. Amateur scabs are plentiful and deficient, and union scabs both numerous and capable.

The professional scab knows what he is doing, does it well and for the sake of the long green only.

The amateur scab, posing as a free-born American citizen, who scorns to be fettered by union rules and regulations, gets much glory (?), little pay and when the strike is over he is given an honorable discharge in the region where Darwin searched for the missing link.

The union scab receives less pay than the professional scab, works better than the amateur scab and don't know that he is a scab.

He will take a pattern from a scab patternmaker, cast it in a union mold, hand the casting to as lousy a scab as ever walked in shoe leather, and then proudly produce a paid-up union card in testimony of his unionism. Way down in his heart he seems to have a lurking suspicion that there is something not altogether right in his action, and it is characteristic of the union man who co-operates with scabs that he is ever ready to flash a union card in the face of innocent bystanders.

He don't know that the rose under any other name is just as fragrant; he don't know that calling a cat a canary won't make the feline warble, and he don't know that helping to run the shop while other workers bend all their energies in the opposite direction is scabbing. He relies on the name and seeks refuge behind a little pasteboard card.

When a strike is declared it becomes the chief duty of the organization to effect a complete shutdown of the plant. For that purpose warnings are mailed, or wired, to other places, to prevent working men from moving to the afflicted city.

Pickets are stationed around the plant or factory, or harbor, to stop workers from taking the places of the strikers. Amateur scabs are coaxed, persuaded, or bullied away from the seat of the strike. Persuasion having no effect on the professional strikebreaker, he is sometimes treated with a brickbat shower. Shut down that plant, shut it down completely, is the watchword of the striker.

Now while all these things are going on and men are stopped in ones and twos, a steady stream of dinner pail parades pours through the factory gate. Why are they not molested? Oh! they're union men, belonging to a different craft than the one on strike. Instead of brickbats and insults it's "Hello, John; hello, Jim; howdy, Jack," and other expressions of goodfellowship.

You see, this is a carriage factory, and it's only the Amalgamated Association of Brim Stone and Emery Polishers that are striking, the Brotherhood of Oil Rag Wipers, the Fraternal Society of White Lead Daubers, the Undivided Sons of Varnish Spreaders, the Benevolent Compilation of Wood Work Gluers, the Iron Benders' Sick and Death Benefit Union, the Oakdale Lodge of Coal Shovelers, the Martha Washington Lodge of Ash Wheelers, the Amalgamated Brotherhood of Oilers, the Engineers' Protective Lodge, the Stationary Firemen, the Portable Firemen, the F. O. O. L., the A. S. S. E. S. Societies have nothing to do with the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers.

At the next regular meeting of those societies, ringing resolutions endorsing the strike of the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers will be passed. Moral support is pledged and five dollars' worth of tickets are purchased for the dance given by the Ladies' Volunteer and Auxiliary Chore for the Benefit of the Amalgamated Association of Brimstone and Emery Polishers.

The whole thing is like beating a man's brains out and then handing him a headache tablet.

During a very bitterly fought molders' strike in a northern city the writer noticed one of the prettiest illustrations of the workings of plain scabbing and union scabbing.

A dense mass of strikers and sympathizers had assembled in front of the factory awaiting the exit of the strikebreakers. Out they came, scabs and unionists in one dark mass. Stones, rotten eggs and other missiles began to fly, when one of the strikebreakers leaped on a store box and shouted frantically: "Stop it, stop it, for C——'s sake, stop it; you are hitting more unionists than scabs; you can't tell the difference."

That's it. Wherever scabs and union men work harmoniously in the strike-breaking industry all hell can't tell the difference.

To the murky conception of a union scab, scabbing is only wrong when practiced by a non-union man. To him the union card is a kind of scab permit that guarantees him immunity from insults, brickbats and rotten eggs.

After having instructed a green bunch of amateur scabs in the art of brimstone and emery polishing all day, he meets a striking brother in the evening and forthwith demonstrates his unionism by setting up the drinks for the latter.

Union scabbing is the legitimate offspring of craft organization. It is begotten by ignorance, born of imbecility and nourished by infamy.

My dear brother, I am sorry to be under contract to hang you, but I know it will please you to hear that the scaffold is built by union carpenters, the rope bears the label, and here is my card.

This is union scabbing.

8

In The Call *(May 6, 1920), a British Socialist Party weekly, Jim Connell (?–1929) recalled how he had written "The Red Flag" in 1889. He said that he had been inspired by the London Dock Strike of 1889, the work of the Irish Land League, the Russian Nihilist movement, and the hanging of the Chicago anarchists following the Haymarket bombing of 1887. He wrote most of "The Red Flag" on a fifteen-minute train ride between Charing Cross and New Cross. It was first published in the 1889 Christmas issue of* Justice, *a British socialist publication. Connell, who was secretary of the Workmen's Legal Friendly Society, described himself in* Who's Who *as "sheep-farmer, dock labourer, navvy, railwayman, draper, lawyer (of a sort), and all the time a poacher."*

"The Red Flag" became the official anthem of the British Labour Party and has continued to be popular in England until the present time. On August 1, 1945, it was sung in the British House of Commons following the Labour Party victory in the Parliamentary elections.

Connell composed the verses to the tune of "The White Cockade," a Jacobite song. It was later sung to the tune of "Maryland" ("Tannen-

14

John Brill set these verses to the hymn tune, "Take It to the Lord in Prayer." It was printed in the ninth edition of the I.W.W. songbook.

DUMP THE BOSSES OFF YOUR BACK*

By John Brill

(*Tune: "Take It to the Lord in Prayer"*)

Are you poor, forlorn and hungry?
Are there lots of things you lack?
Is your life made up of misery?
Then dump the bosses off your back.
Are your clothes all patched and tattered?
Are you living in a shack?
Would you have your troubles scattered?
Then dump the bosses off your back.

Are you almost split asunder?
Loaded like a long-eared jack?
Boob—why don't you buck like thunder
And dump the bosses off your back?
All the agonies you suffer,
You can end with one good whack—
Stiffen up, you orn'ry duffer—
And dump the bosses off your back.

15

"Solidarity Forever," the best-known union song in this country, was composed by Ralph Chaplin (1887–1961), an artist, poet, pamphleteer, and one of the editors of Solidarity, *the* Industrial Worker, *and other I.W.W. publications. Chaplin, a commercial artist, joined the I.W.W. in 1913. In his autobiography he wrote that the idea for "Solidarity Forever" came to him while he was editing a labor paper in West Virginia during the Kanawha Valley coal mining strike. He wrote the stanzas in January, 1915, while lying on his living-room rug in Chicago. In* Wobbly, *he recalled, "I wanted a song to be full of revolutionary fervor and to have a chorus that was ringing and defiant."*

"Solidarity Forever" appeared in Solidarity *(January 9, 1915). Since that time it has become, according to Joe Glazer and Edith Fowke* (Songs of Work and Freedom, *Chicago, 1960), "in effect, the anthem of the American labor movement."*

Ralph Chaplin.
Brown Brothers photo.

Chaplin was one of the most prolific of Wobbly songwriters and poets. Some of his I.W.W. poems are collected in privately printed books: When the Leaves Come Out *(1917) and* Bars and Shadows *(1919).*

SOLIDARITY FOREVER!*

By Ralph Chaplin

(*Tune: "John Brown's Body"*)

When the Union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run,
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun.
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one?
But the Union makes us strong.

Chorus:

Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever!
For the Union makes us strong.

Is there aught we hold in common with the greedy parasite
Who would lash us into serfdom and would crush us with his might?
Is there anything left for us but to organize and fight?
For the Union makes us strong.

It is we who plowed the prairies; built the cities where they trade;
Dug the mines and built the workshops; endless miles of railroad laid.
Now we stand, outcast and starving, 'mid the wonders we have made;
But the Union makes us strong.

All the world that's owned by idle drones, is ours and ours alone.
We have laid the wide foundations; built it skyward stone by stone.
It is ours, not to slave in, but to master and to own,
While the Union makes us strong.

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn.
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn.
We can break their haughty power; gain our freedom when we learn
That the Union makes us strong.

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold;
Greater than the might of armies, magnified a thousand-fold.
We can bring to birth the new world from the ashes of the old,
For the Union makes us strong.

16

Ralph Chaplin's song "The Commonwealth of Toil" was printed in the fourteenth edition of the I.W.W. songbook. It was composed to the popular melody, "Nellie Grey."

THE COMMONWEALTH OF TOIL*

By Ralph Chaplin

(*Air: "Nellie Grey"*)

In the gloom of mighty cities
Mid the roar of whirling wheels,
We are toiling on like chattel slaves of old,
And our masters hope to keep us
Ever thus beneath their heels,
And to coin our very life blood into gold.

Chorus

But we have a glowing dream
Of how fair the world will seem
When each man can live his life secure and free;
When the earth is owned by Labor
And there's joy and peace for all
In the Commonwealth of Toil that is to be.

They would keep us cowed and beaten
Cringing meekly at their feet.
They would stand between each worker and his bread.
Shall we yield our lives up to them
For the bitter crust we eat?
Shall we only hope for heaven when we're dead?

They have laid our lives out for us
To the utter end of time.
Shall we stagger on beneath their heavy load?
Shall we let them live forever
In their gilded halls of crime
With our children doomed to toil beneath their goad?

When our cause is all triumphant
And we claim our Mother Earth,
And the nightmare of the present fades away,
We shall live with Love and Laughter,
We, who now are little worth,
And we'll not regret the price we have to pay.

17

Titled "The Cry of Toil," this poem first appeared in the I.W.W. press in the Industrial Union Bulletin *(April 18, 1908). It was credited to Rudyard Kipling. Following that date it was reprinted many times in I.W.W. periodicals, titled "We*