

The McNamaras

LIBERTY, what crimes are committed in thy name! Thus may labor apostrophize the crime of the McNamaras. In the name of light they brought the darkness. They answered violence, injunctions and anti-picketing ordinances with dynamite, and humanity shuddered because it came from below instead of above. Civilization did not recognize her child wearing the rags of the toiler. It should have come wearing the purple of wealth and power. Then the halo of legitimacy would have surrounded it. The precedents of long centuries would have stretched forth their slimy, skeleton hands to bless the deed that propped the tottering throne of wrong.

But doubly welcome it is now to the foes of freedom. Capitalism may glut its hate on labor's blood-bought rights and at its gory feast point to the bronze monument of the victims of the Steel Trust, Otis and the McNamaras, while Labor bows her head in tears and shame for the abortion at her gate. The thoughtless mob, thirsty for blood as in the days when they turned their thumbs down in the arena, blind to the sinister figures that tower above the McNamaras, cry for vengeance as they forge another link in the chain of human slavery.

But organized labor and the Socialist party must not forget these figures. They must not allow the world to forget that the crime of the McNamaras is of the same class as Chicago, Hazelton, the West Virginia coal fields and a thousand others, where the earth has drunk the blood of men whose only crime was that they stopped making dividends to claim a man's place in the scheme of things. But violence from the worker is not an answer to violence from the employer backed up by the state.

Labor is forever the victim of violence, whether committed directly against them or by one of the workers. Thrones are propped by bayonets, mankind is held down by force. Labor can only rise through united effort, and this comes through education. Labor must put the teacher and the press in the cannons' place; the ballot, not dynamite, will mould the new order.

Whatever amazement capitalism may express is because the act came from below instead of its customary source. It served those above. Capitalism's sorrow is feigned. Whatever tears were given the victims at Los Angeles came from the workers; the masters were too greedy for revenge—and profits—to weep over workmen. Why should the victims of Los Angeles claim their tears rather than those in the Triangle shirtwaist factory, the Iroquois fire or the Cherry and Monongah mine disasters, along with thousands of other victims claimed by Mammon's greed?

Did they weep because life is sweet?? Listen to the cry of the children in their mills. Was it because life is dear? Behold the white slave!

The victims of the McNamaras will not sleep less peacefully than those of Homestead, nor are the hands of these brothers more bloody

than those of the man who has endowed a Peace Congress, an institute and written his name above a thousand libraries. But what a difference in the punishment! What a contrast between the mastery of the world's greatest industry, freedom to ride the world's highways in state and levy tribute from every land and age and the two narrow cells in San Quentin.

What a difference it makes whether a man hires detectives to kill or does it himself!

What a difference in the attitude of the two classes toward two crimes that shocked the world. Labor drew back in horror and amazement from the Los Angeles tragedy, doubly hurt that the blow was from one who held a place in her councils. With pity touched by love she bowed her head above their graves; the victims were the children of her breast. Then with stern resolve she turned upon those who had betrayed her trust, violated her honor before the world, denounced her betrayer and repudiated the principle embodied in the bloody deed.

But there was no horror nor amazement in capitalist circles when the Winchesters of the Pinkertons gave their answer to the strikers at Homestead. There was no regret for the dead. There was no pity for the living. With broken ranks they went back to tasks that were to grow ever longer with wages ever less. An industry that is a shambles, a fearful protest against industrial despotism, a cry of warning to all the world against the irresponsible control of a master.

The employing classes have not abandoned the tactics they used so effectively at Homestead. They have improved their rifles and revised their methods. They now use detectives in the unions, and when their work is done the militia or the regular army is called, from Chicago to Coeur d'Alene, from 'Frisco to Tampa their bloody trail takes its way. Their injunctions extend across states and last until a corporation's vengeance is satisfied.

And now, masters of the bread, labor is ready to give her answer to the tragedy at Los Angeles. Her greatest sorrow is that one of her sons should have used your weapons. Her regret is so deep that the offending names will be stricken from the list of sons, no loyal brother's hand will be stretched to clasp theirs, no voice lifted in their behalf, the memory of their crime a fearful monument to ignorance, driven to bay by greed, a warning that will cry through all the embattled ways to the peace-crowned heights.

This crime was the spawn of despair, the desperate act of a man who could drop no plummet to the depths of oppression's abyss, who saw no star in the toilers' night, so he groped in the dark for a weapon and found a fearful one. It could not reach so far as your injunctions or rifled guns nor speak so often as your Maxims, but it was an awesome thing. By devious ways he took it, and in the dark he placed it, and the awful deed was done. Masters, behold your son!

GUY E. MILLER.

Editorial Comments from the Labor and Socialist Press on the McNamaras' Plea of Guilty

(St. Louis Labor.)

J. B. McNamara pleaded guilty and was sentenced to life imprisonment. J. J. McNamara was sentenced to fifteen years of imprisonment. This ends the drama of the Los Angeles trial. Had the McNamaras been class-conscious Socialists they would never have become the victims of the tragedy in which they were the principal actors.

Personally, we are convinced that way back behind the scene of the horrible work there hides the crime-breeding agent provocateur whose mission it was to lead others into the trap. The Harry Orchards and McManigals are the class of criminals who work for the glory of the Pinkertons and the Burns; who prepare the fields for operation; who suggest, scheme, conspire; who worm themselves into the confidence of foolish and inexperienced workmen; who co-operate in all kinds of criminal work and gradually get the other fellows deeper and deeper into trouble. Finally the trap is sprung, the crime-breeding scoundrel is on the safe side and the poor fool is caught.

For years the powerful corporations have conspired to break up the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union. No doubt paid police agents were sent into every local union. These scoundrels usually act very cautiously. They have the interest of the union at heart. They will fight for the union, if need be, with dynamite. Mr. Drew, the high mogul of the National Erectors' Association, saw fit to notify Prosecuting Attorney Fredericks and Judge Bordwell, before the McNamaras were sentenced, that in all the many dynamite explosions in which McManigal was involved, together with J. B. McNamara, there were no human lives lost, except in the Times explosion. Now the question might be in order: Why was J. B. McNamara pushed to the front at the first time human lives were at stake? Why did McManigal not take part in this work?

The Russian revolution had its Father Gapons, its Aseffs and other agents provocateurs; the American labor movement has its Orchards and McManigals.

The dynamite work of the McNamaras in the alleged defense of

their organization was the work of despair of men whose conception of the aims and objects of the modern labor movement was very limited. The union man who understands Socialism has a higher conception of the labor problem. He sees the historic mission of the proletariat, is ever anxious to strengthen his trade union by also building up the political organization of the working class. He recognizes the great value and necessity of the political class struggle, recognizes the growing power of his class on the economic and political field and will work unceasingly to gather the millions of wage workers under the banner of the Socialist party, with the object in view to conquer the political power in city, state and nation and make the government a government of the working class.

The man or woman engaged in this great work will never fail to point out the folly of McManigalism and Orchardism, which will help the capitalist class and demoralize and disrupt the bona fide labor movement.

The men who are placed in responsible positions in trade unions should realize that their proper place is in the Socialist party. There is the backbone of the trade union movement. We are not childish enough to claim that the Socialist movement has always and everywhere done the right thing toward the trade unions. Mistakes and errors were made on both sides. The time has come when closer relations and stronger ties of solidarity become absolute necessities. There are two powerful weapons: the trade union and Socialist party. Now let us use these weapons for the benefit of the working class. These two forms of organizations are necessary for the success of this great, grand, world-wide labor movement.

The combined forces of capitalism will do all in their power to break up the legitimate labor movement. They will let loose their hordes of detectives, agents provocateurs and other criminals; they will find more victims, and unless the Socialist party succeeds in reaching the masses of the wage slaves and gather them under its banners we fear the McNamaras will not be the last victims caught in the capitalist trap.

(United Mine Workers' Journal.)

We know now that McNamaras are guilty. With their own lips they have confessed of having committed a fiendish outrage, the magnitude of which is such that it challenged the credulity of millions of intelligent people; for to commit such a stupendous crime requires the lowest kind of moral depravity.

Labor's sympathy was with these moral degenerates, because it thought that they were falsely accused. But now that sympathy, which has always been a shield against oppression and persecution, has been displaced by condemnation of these two miserable miscreants.

They want to live now after they have consummated with satanic calculation a monstrous design whereby a score of people were hurled into eternity. The lives of these unfortunate victims were just as sweet to them; but they were foully killed by the McNamaras who, when the hand of justice was upon them, despaired for their own lives.

No mercy should be shown such criminals. It is a serious mistake to commute their sentences. The maximum penalty prescribed by law should be administered.

Some people are inclined to believe that this will hurt labor. It will not with intelligent people. It is true that labor went to the support of the McNamaras; but this attitude was largely dictated by the circumstances under which these criminals were arrested and their repeated affirmations of their innocence. Had the officers who made the arrest observed the law, the credulity of millions of people, union and non-union, would not have been imposed upon. It should not be necessary to break the law in order to punish a crime.

Now that this distasteful case is ended some method should be adopted to dispose of the funds contributed by generous working people for the defense of the McNamaras. The aggregate amount is said to have been \$190,000, of which considerable was expended in conducting the trial. The balance, we think, should be distributed among the widows and orphans of the Times victims. If labor's sympathy was outraged in one case, let it be properly applied in another.

We hope that the labor movement will be purged of dynamiters forever. The conduct of this degenerate type of mankind is as dangerous to the union cause as to society. But dynamiters in general should be exterminated. There are also dynamiters among the capitalists, as Ida Tarbell has shown where oil refineries were blown up in order to crush the Oil Trust's competitors.

Labor is no more responsible for the unlawful acts of the McNamaras than capital is for the unlawful acts of John D. Rockefeller's agents who blew up the oil refineries.

(The Milwaukee Leader.)

When the McNamaras confessed on the eve of the municipal election at Los Angeles, the defeat of the Socialist ticket became one of the certain consequences of the disclosure that sympathy for them had been misplaced and that they were guilty of the villainous crimes of which they were accused. It was not that the Socialists of Los Angeles in any way had given countenance to violence that they were made to suffer from the anarchistic acts of the McNamaras. Organized labor for the moment stood discredited and the Socialist party as the political arm of labor was obliged to suffer with it. The character of the campaign waged against the Socialist candidates is indicated by the appeal made on the eve of election by the Los Angeles Realty Board in behalf of the "nonpartisan" ticket:

"We implore you to drop all other business from this time until 6 p. m., Tuesday, December 5th, and keep your mind and eyes upon the work of electing George Alexander as mayor of Los Angeles, and all of the candidates on the Good Government ticket. Do you know that there is now congregated in this city the greatest gang of professional criminals, crooks and outlaws to be found in any city of the United States? Why are they here? Why have we from 2,500 to 3,000 strikers from all parts of the West in this city at this time? Why has Los Angeles prospered more than its neighbor on the north? It is an open shop city and a free city—a nonunion city. You must know that that alone is the issue."

A great body of women electors had just been given the ballot. Women, far more than men, are moved by their emotions. So intense had been the conviction of organized labor and the Socialists, both within and without the ranks of the organized workers, that the McNamaras were the victims of a conspiracy, that they so identified themselves with the defense of the accused men that the confessions coming immediately before election placed a club in the hands of their enemies which was used with disastrous effect. In a dispatch to the Chicago Tribune Monday it was stated:

"A radical change has taken place in the political complexion of thousands of Harriman supporters as the result of the McNamara confessions. This was indicated this morning when thousands of Harriman buttons were swept up in the downtown districts by the street cleaning gangs."

Without opportunity to look beneath the surface or to consider the situation in its fuller aspects, the voters whose sympathies were with the Socialists, were moved to give what they supposed to be a rebuke to the crimes committed by the McNamaras, by voting for the "Good Government," "Nonpartisan" candidates placed in the field by the capitalistic interests which seek to hold labor in political subjection. And this was especially true of the newly enfranchised voters, whose sensibilities were shocked by the confession of villainy by men high in the councils of a great labor organization.

If the voters of Los Angeles had been given time to consider the situation in all its aspects, they would have seen that Socialism is the one great hope that is offered to the American people and to the civi-

lized world of escape from the anarchy which threatens if capitalism is permitted to develop without any conscious and organized effort to direct its course. The fatalistic theory that Socialism is inevitable—that it will come whatever we do—needs modification. Unless based on the presumption that the workers will be educated to the significance of the industrial revolution which has proceeded with the growth of capitalism it might prove deceptive. It is quite possible that with an uneducated and unprepared proletariat we might relapse into barbarism and be compelled to retrace our steps in the evolutionary stages through which we have been passing, before we should be able to move upward to a higher stage of civilization. Such is the mission of Socialism—to educate and prepare the workers that they may assist in the peaceful readjustment of our industrial and social life.

Socialism is the very antithesis of anarchy. The McNamaras had no sympathy with Socialism. They have stood with Gompers and Mitchell as its bitter opponents. They have been pure and simple unionists. When the weapons of craft unionism failed them, hope was blotted out. With no knowledge of economics or the forces which are rapidly revolutionizing our civilization, living within an eighteenth century mental horizon, they have been incapable of understanding or grappling with the forces with which they have so ineffectually contended. The Tripolitan garrison firing its brass cannon at the Italian fleet of steel-clad ships did not present a more pitiful or impotent spectacle than that of the men who have labored under the delusion that in this age the battles of labor are to be won by brute force rather than the intelligent use of labor's economic and political power.

In Milwaukee where labor is organized in both the economic and political fields, where it comprehends the significance of our industrial development, there has been a marked absence of violence in disputes between the worker and the employer. The leaders in the labor movement are students of economics. They know well enough that under a capitalistic system of production, profit is the motive of production and that to strip the employer of his profit is to leave him without incentive to operate.

Men who understand the forces that are active in our industrial life can cope with them more intelligently and more successfully than men who have an idea that the solution of labor's problem lies in perpetuating the existing system and leaving the worker to bear its burdens and suffer its cruel injustices.

The result in Los Angeles in its larger aspect is a victory for the Socialist movement. Its enemies have won a skirmish only to weaken their position in the battle which is impending. They have made more distinct the issue and have emphasized the value which they place upon the ballot as a means of continuing their mastery of labor, which Socialism alone has challenged.

(Colorado Industrial Review.)

All labor stood aghast when the awful news of the Times explosion and the consequent loss of life was wired from Los Angeles. When the accusation was laid at the door of labor unions, not one but what honestly believed that it was a conspiracy to destroy labor. When the McNamaras were first accused, a roar of protest from the ranks of labor, world-wide, was voiced at the supposed outrage.

Meetings were held in every community to arouse public sentiment against the illegal deportation of them from their homes. Strong men sobbed in sympathy for these toilers who were to be offered up on the altar of capitalism. Money was raised by the tens of thousands for their defense. When their mother journeyed to Los Angeles, the hearts of all went out to her in her anguish, and prayers went up from the hearts of thousands that this mother might not be made childless through conspiracy.

None doubted their innocence, for none through whose veins coursed the red blood of manhood could conceive of a soul so depraved as to hurl into eternity scores of human lives, to satisfy a desire for vengeance. Few in labor's ranks but would have staked their lives on the innocence of these men, and none but would have pledged their last dollar to have guaranteed a fair trial. What was considered the master legal mind of America, a man who had engaged in innumerable labor cases, and on whose honesty and fair dealing all were willing to bank, was engaged to conduct the defense.

When he demanded a free hand and stipulated that no attorneys except those he chose should be associated in the case, labor wondered, but their confidence was such that no question was raised. Every week the labor press volleyed charges of "conspiracy" at the heads of those who had caused the arrests, knowing that such conspiracies had been consummated in the past.

Labor in Los Angeles had built up a powerful political machine, in order to carry the city for the workers, and insure a fair trial for these men. Job Harriman, one of the associate counsel for the defense, one not in Darrow's confidence, by the way, was nominated for mayor on the Socialist ticket. The recent A. F. of L. convention had given a vote of confidence in the innocence of the accused and had received a wire assuring the convention of their persecution.

All labor was watching with bated breath the great trial, hoping against hope that the men might be liberated and the fair name of labor cleared. The progress of the workers' campaign for control of the city was reported in every labor paper in the country. Thousands, yes, millions, eagerly awaited the tidings from the election, knowing that if victory perched on the banner of Socialism, a square deal for the imprisoned would be assured.

And in the midst of our hopes, when it seemed to all the sun of victory was to rise on labor's banner, when the fair flower of hope blossomed in every heart, their confession came like the knell of doom

itself. All the fairy-like structures of persecuted innocence dissolved like a mist. Then the reaction; men strong in the right who believed in the innocence of their brothers, made frenzied by this betrayal of their confidence, joined hands with the arch enemies of labor in their demands for the blood of the workers.

The great campaign in Los Angeles is at an end and Job Harri-man, the candidate of the Socialists and union men, was overwhelmingly defeated. Capitalism of the City of Angels has accomplished its ends. The workers feel that they have been betrayed into the hands of their enemy by those they considered their people. The "Good Government" forces, who have stood for graft and corruption, were returned to power because two traitors from labor's ranks had betrayed their fellows.

Traitors they are to labor's highest ideals; traitors to the mother who bore them, who still believes them innocent; traitors to the cause of labor itself, which is builded, not on violence or outlawry, but on the peaceful solution of all economic and political problems. Violence, murder and bloodshed are the direct offspring of ignorance, are the weapons of those whose intelligence is darkened by the blackness of bigotry and hate. The McNamara crime is not a crime of labor; it is a crime against labor, by individuals, and as any other similar crime it merits its just punishment.

They have betrayed those who believed in their innocence. It were better for their honor had they hung, convicted of murder, than to tell their mother, who has always believed in them, that they had betrayed her confidence. The case has worked on the sympathies of organized labor like no other case in recent years, and small wonder if their nerves are out of "tune." A week from now and a great pity will sweep over human hearts at their misguided intelligence. When you can't remedy your wrongs by the ballot, it is because of ignorance in our membership. Violence begets deeper violence and hatred and he who advocates its use is a dangerous factor in society.

(United Labor Bulletin, Denver.)

The dynamiting McNamaras have been sentenced, but behind they leave a nation of workers rent with heartaches; millions who are heartsick because of misplaced confidence; they leave a great world-movement broken asunder—shattered by dynamite.

From the Atlantic to the Pacific; from the Dominion to the Gulf there were few of the workers of the world who did not believe implicitly that a great game was being played that would fasten on the McNamaras a crime which they had not committed, and for which their lives would be forfeited. Demonstrations were made in their behalf; thousands upon thousands of columns were printed; large sums were saved and donated for their defense; and in many sections prayers were offered up to the Creator of All Good to save them. The masses were taught—and they believed—that the McNamaras were innocent.

And then, as dynamite shatters its nearest opposing force, the confession wrung from the men shattered the very souls of their friends and created the greatest sensation and exposed the greatest conspiracy of a decade.

What can we think? What can we say?

They have confessed—and their confession came on the eve of what was expected to be the greatest political labor victory in the history of the world—the election of a mayor in the City of Angels. The election was lost by a majority of 33,000.

If they were guilty, they should have received more than the sentence imposed; if they confessed through some connivance of attorneys for the state and defense with "big business," then no sentence is too severe. But let it be said that a bargain was made, and that bargain was lived up to by the attorneys and the presiding judge. Under the law of California the McNamaras are subject to parole in seven years from the time sentence was imposed.

The damage to organized labor cannot be guessed at until the extent of the dynamiting conspiracy is exposed—or until the trickery is shown up.

We want a full investigation that dynamite and corruption in the labor movement may stop.

(Brauer's Arbeiter Zeitung, Cincinnati, Ohio.)

The McNamara trial came to an end with the sentences passed upon John J. McNamara and James B. McNamara last Tuesday. The confession of the defendants to have caused the destruction of the Times building and the Llewellyn Iron Works, unexpected and therefore surprising as it came, created a sensation almost as great as did the dynamite bomb which caused the death of twenty-one human beings.

Millions of men, and with them the Brewery Workers' Journal, firmly believed the McNamara brothers innocent. The similarity of the McNamara case with the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case, the demeanor of the accused and other incidents and circumstances fully justified such belief. Even such a short time ago as during the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlanta, Ga., the accused assured organized labor of their innocence, and only a few days later they made their confession. There can now be no more doubt as to the guilt of the McNamaras. Although still reluctant, the latest developments forced us to change our opinion. It seemed to us utterly incredible that there could be men so degraded as to be guilty of such enormous crimes. In our edition of October 8, 1910, only a few days after the Times explosion, we said:

"It is true that there may be some feeling against the Times of Los Angeles on account of the extreme hostile attitude that paper chose to assume against organized labor, but all human feeling resists

the thought that there could be a man who would think of taking revenge in such devilish way—a way by which the destruction of lives of persons innocent of the actions of the Times could not be avoided. We are unalterably opposed to all violent actions in the economical struggles of the workingmen, and we cannot believe that a labor organization as such should have done something which could give reasonable ground to charge it with the perpetration of such horrible crime. We hope the investigation now under way, if conducted honestly, will bring to light the real cause of the disaster. Should there be a crime at the bottom of it, then no punishment could be too severe for the inhuman monsters who committed the crime."

That is still our standpoint today.

Whether the sentences pronounced by Judge Bordwell are sufficient atonement for the crimes committed is not for us to dwell upon.

For the stand taken by us all the time until up to the confession of the McNamaras, namely, that the accused must be considered innocent until proven guilty, and that until then organized labor had to render the defendants all possible help and assistance, we have no excuse to offer. That we and all organized labor were deceived will not induce us to take any other stand should an opportunity arise in the future, which we sincerely hope will never be the case.

Several statements contained in the reports from Los Angeles need further explanation. It is stated, for instance, that Clarence Darrow on the day he was engaged for the defense already knew that the defendants were guilty. It is further stated that certain officials of labor organizations also had knowledge of that fact. It is predicted that the McNamaras are not the only guilty persons and that arrests of others will follow. Doubts about the honesty of Darrow and even the suspicion is whispered about that the McNamaras permitted themselves to be used as tools by the capitalists to deal a crushing blow to organized labor. Before all this can be discussed intelligently—and especially the motives for the role Darrow has played and why the confession of the McNamaras came at the most critical moment, on the eve of the election in Los Angeles—more light is needed.

(Toledo Union Leader.)

The Union Leader has nothing to regret in the humble part it played in arousing interest in the McNamara defense. We are appalled at the confessions of these murderers, and now ask Mr. Burns and his "open shop" crew why he kidnapped these men and thus forced labor to their defense when he had in his possession at that time all the evidence necessary to take them out of Indiana in a lawful manner?

It was this that aroused organized labor and resulted in the notable decision at Indianapolis of trade union officials to have the American Federation of Labor take charge of the defense.

Burns stands today under indictment for kidnapping by a Marion county, Indiana, grand jury. This point must not be forgotten, for labor would be untrue to itself if it did not protest against such a denial of constitutional rights.

Now the interesting question arises: Did Burns guess what labor would do, and did he see in this case a chance to involve the organized workers of America, who looked on his outlaw and unnecessary act as a confession that he was not sure of his men?

Does Burns believe that Indiana public officials—or even organized labor—would support dynamiters if he presented enough evidence in the extradition proceedings to warrant an assumption of guilt?

The Union Leader refuses to lower the dignity of organized labor by declaring we have no sympathy with dynamiters or murderers. To our mind this is a reflection on citizens who are members of the trade union movement.

We call on organized workers to hold up their heads and be more determined than ever that their cause is right. We have been tricked in a most cruel manner, and it is hard to predict the result of conditions that will be taken advantage of by our enemies.

At this time it is impossible to predict the future, except that our unions will be forced to depend more on logic, reason, education and literature and less on sentiment and hysteria, to combat the forces that will take fresh courage in their fight against us.

Our movement will continue. It has survived greater tests than this.

Burns led us into a trap by kidnapping a dynamiter he could easily extradite before any court in the land.

We put the McNamaras and McManigal, dynamiters and murderers, in the same class with those who grind the lives from emaciated forms of little babes, women and men in the sweat shops, mills and mines.

Our only regret is that we have been tricked, and put in a position where we defended murderers, but the gods of Mammon may do the same thing again.

A fear of this, however, will not change our course or alter our views on the righteousness of our cause, which must always abhor force of all kinds and ever insist on an observance of constitutional guarantees.

(Free Press, New Castle, Pa.)

The McNamara brothers pleaded guilty to the charge against them at Los Angeles, they have been sentenced to prison, Harrison Gray Otis is temporarily satisfied, but the conditions and forces which gave birth to the state of mind of Otis, the labor hater and labor baiter, and the McNamara brothers, the dynamiters, remain untouched.

There's the rub at the close of the most dramatic case in the history

of class conflict in this, or any other nation, and there's a lesson to be learned from the McNamara case, a big lesson for workers.

Why did the McNamaras use dynamite?

When John J. McNamara began learning the structural iron and bridge building trade every branch of the iron and steel trades was organized, and the craft unions in the different branches were strong organizations.

With the birth of the United States Steel Corporation, however, a bitter battle was waged against all of the iron and steel craft unions. J. P. Morgan was the master mind of the Steel Trust, and unquestionably it was he who directed the war of extermination against the organizations of the workers in the business run by the U. S. Steel.

One by one the powerful craft organizations went down before the attack of the trust. A billion dollars and possession of the jobs brought the different crafts to the terms of the trust.

The Structural Iron and Bridge Builders' organization, of which John J. McNamara was secretary-treasurer, was the only one of the craft organizations in the iron and steel trades with any strength left. Morgan and those back of him were determined that it should also be smashed.

Out of this sprang the McNamara case.

John J. McNamara was a Democrat; he always opposed Socialism; he could see nothing but his craft organization, and that was threatened with extinction. He couldn't see need, nay not even power of industrial organization among the workers. He didn't understand the class struggle. He was a pure and simple trade unionist, with not the faintest idea of the value of class solidarity at the polls.

John J. McNamara's vision was very narrow.

The Structural Iron Workers' Union was being pressed harder and harder; its death was clearly close at hand, for all the police power of every city in which it fought at great odds against Morgan's minions was used against the union. The union had kept his wages up when he was working at the trade, had given him and his fellows a measure of power in determining under what conditions they would work, that McNamara knew. That the union was not a protection to all workers in the business didn't matter much.

McNamara knew that Morgan was smashing his union.

With no idea of advising the workers to use their ballots to get control of more and more police power, with no idea of how to meet the master mind of Morgan by organizing the workers as a class on both the political and industrial fields, it was as certain as the day must follow night that John J. McNamara, and labor leaders of his type, should become desperate with despair. Out of despair springs the condition of mind which can only see the value of physical force—in this case a crude kind of direct action.

There are two lessons in this case.

First, the toilers must learn to use their political power as a class to capture more and more of the divisions of the capitalist state, must get possession of more and more of the police power now in the possession of the capitalist class. Second, under the protection of the police power in their hands the workers must perfect their organization as a class on the industrial field. The steady triumph of the Socialist party will aid in developing industrial unionism, class organization of the workers, until the time shall come when the workers, fully conscious of their power as a class, will take possession of the nation, its natural resources and the wonderful machinery created by themselves.

The McNamara case serves to show us the need of more hard work in educating the workers along class lines on both the political and the industrial fields. Let us go to our task with more determination than ever. Let us look up; the sun of freedom is slowly rising.

(*Liberator, Sedalia, Mo.*)

When the news was flashed over the wires on Friday night that the McNamaras had pleaded guilty to the blowing up of the Times building and Llewellyn Iron Works it cast a pall of horror over the entire labor movement, not only in America but throughout the civilized world. The union men everywhere believed the McNamara brothers innocent. They knew that dynamite and violence are not weapons of the organized workers. Having fresh in mind the conspiracy against the officers of the Western Federation of Miners to railroad these men to the gallows strengthened them in the belief that another and greater conspiracy had been planned to discredit the organized labor movement. The manner of their arrest and the confession of McManigal, which had all the semblance of a frame-up, the protestations of innocence on the part of the McNamaras, and the former good name of at least one of the brothers, helped to strengthen the belief that they were being made the victims of a foul and damnable conspiracy. In that belief the union men everywhere sprang to their defense. Money was raised and the best legal talent employed to defend them in the courts. For this the union men of America have no apologies to offer. They acted in good faith.

But the plea of guilty on the part of the McNamaras does not clear up the mystery surrounding this remarkable case, it only shrouds it in still deeper mystery. It does not purge those who were instrumental in their arrest and prosecution of the charge of conspiracy against organized labor. It only exposes the dupes or the willing tools of this foul conspiracy.

Two most important factors are to be considered in connection with this case. The one is that for a number of years a labor war has been raging on the coast, which centered in Los Angeles. As the organized labor movement increased in power and influence the employing class also fortified itself behind the breastwork of organization. It was an economic war. Special privilege saw its interests threatened by the growing power of labor. As labor became more thoroughly

organized higher wages and better working conditions were demanded. The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, composed of Los Angeles capitalists and business men, fought like fiends against the forward movement of labor. Higher wages and shorter hours meant shorter dividends and lower profits to them. The conflict did not end here. The union men attacked the special interests at its most vulnerable point. Labor united politically. It exposed the many public steals of these interests and threatened them with loss of public control. The owner of the Los Angeles Times was the chief buccaner of the Plunder Bund. It was he and his associates who were purloining the people of their heritage, and interference with their plans on the part of organized labor maddened them into fury. The Times began a relentless warfare upon organized labor. Its utterances were the outpourings of a cesspool of filth and falsehood. Its editor became a raving maniac in his hatred against organized labor. Thus the war continued for years, until the whole world was shocked with the explosion of the Los Angeles Times building, October 1, 1910.

Another factor in this nation-wide tragedy was the conflict between the Structural Iron Workers and the Erectors' Association, a subsidiary corporation of the Steel Trust.

The Structural Iron Workers is comparatively a young organization. The nature of the employment of an iron worker is such that only men of great daring and nerve engage in it. The wages up to within the last six or eight years were no more than those paid to common laborers. Seventeen and one-half to 20 cents per hour was all these men received. They organized, and as the number of men who have the physical qualifications to do this kind of work is limited, they were able within a very short period to raise the standard of wages until today they are perhaps the highest paid in the United States, in some cases receiving as much as \$1 and even more, per hour.

The Steel Trust or any of its subsidiary companies does not believe in high wages, it lessens profits and decreases dividends. The Erectors' Association declared for an open shop and began a relentless war upon the Structural Iron Workers. A series of dynamite explosions followed. Bridges and buildings were dynamited, but in no case was any serious damage done to property, which finally culminated in the destruction of the Times building in Los Angeles.

At once the cry was raised that organized labor was responsible for the outrage. It was plainly evident that the purpose was to fasten some crime upon organized labor and if possible crush it.

Two theories were advanced for the cause of the destruction of the Times building. One was that it was caused by an explosion of dynamite; the other that of gas. The Times building was an old, ramshackle building and was about to be vacated by the owner of the Times, who had about completed a new building for his paper. The building occupied was known to contain leaky, defective gas pipes, and visitors frequently remarked on the presence of strong gas odor.

These were the two lines along which the case was supposed to be fought. The prosecution intended to show that dynamite had caused the explosion, while the defense proposed to show that it was caused by gas.

The case had been in the courts for over two months. The trial was on. A jury was being selected.

But let us not forget that a political contest was on in Los Angeles. Job Harriman, the Socialist-labor candidate, had received almost a majority over all his opponents in the primary election. The Plunder Bund was dismayed. They saw a graver danger threatening than even dynamite. They feared a united labor vote. Something had to be done. And here comes the plea of guilty of the McNamara brothers. As to their guilt there can no longer be any doubt. But the so-called confession does not clear up the case. The question now arises, did their organization as such condone dynamiting and the destruction of property? Or were the two brothers duped into becoming the tools of detectives in the employ of the Erectors' Association?

We will venture the theory that John J. McNamara is not guilty of having encouraged the use of dynamite. It is barely possible that he had knowledge of its use, and that is as far as his connection with the outrages went. McManigal is a detective who was employed to inveigle James B. McNamara into committing with him the dynamite outrages to which he is alleged to have confessed. In their visits, purposely made, to the national headquarters of the Structural Iron Workers, John J. McNamara was by design placed in a compromising position. Circumstantial evidence was fixed and at the proper time his arrest followed.

When the whole inside facts of this horrible tragedy are cleared up, we opine, it will be found that John J. McNamara suffered himself to enter a plea of guilty in order to save his brother from the gallows.

There is no need of union men going into hysterics over the denouement in the McNamara case. Just because one person who has even no connection with the labor movement, is not even a member of organized labor, has confessed to dynamiting, should not create any consternation in the ranks of labor.

A nation-wide plot exists to destroy the American labor movement. Already the finger of suspicion is pointed at leading labor men as having had guilty knowledge of these dynamite outrages. The course of battle has been gaged by the enemy. They fear to assail the whole organized working class army, but hope to accomplish its destruction through the downfall of those who are in command.

The fiaseo in Los Angeles is only the beginning of the greatest battle the world has ever known. It has its lessons, and labor, organized labor, will profit by the bitter experience through which it is passing. It will be forced to resort to the most powerful weapon yet devised by man—the ballot. All the capitalist powers this side of hell and beyond Wall street cannot prevail against the men of labor