MAGAZINE The Sun SECTION

SECTION 7 NEW YORK, SUNDAY, JUNE 15, 1919.—Copyright, 1919, by the Sun Printing and Publishing Association. TWELVE PAGES.

ON THE TRAIL OF THE BOMB PLOTTERS

VIEW of FACTORY FIRED by I.W.W. for PURPOSE of DELAYING WORK ON GAS MASKS.

I.W.W. LABORATORY for MANUFACTURE of EXPLOSIVES and CHEMICALS. CAPTURED by UNITED STATES OFFICERS on the "ARK" at STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA.

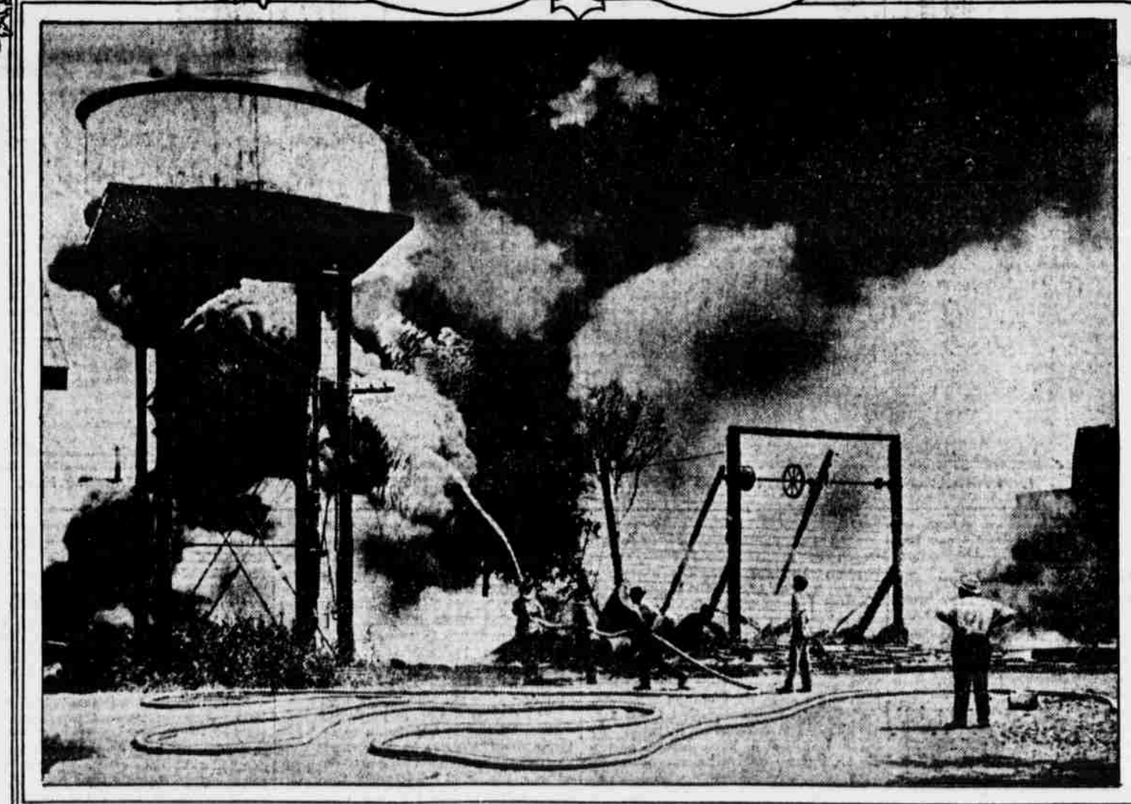
FIREMEN FIGHTING BLAZE WHICH DESTROYED LARGEST FACTORY in WORLD for MANUFACTURE OF BY-PRODUCTS of FRUIT PITS at FRESNO, CAL.

Review of Unceasing Fight Against the Enemy at Home Shows How I. W. W. and Its Pro-German Reenforcements Were Held in Check During War

By GEORGE N. MURDOCK.

Former special agent of the United States Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice and special assistant to the Attorney-General, who had charge of the preparation of the evidence in the case at Chicago where ninety-three defendants were convicted, and assisted in the prosecution of the case at Sacramento, Cal., where forty-six were convicted. He probably has an acquaintance with more members of the I. W. W. and a better understanding of their methods than any other man outside of that organization.

WILLIAM J. FLYNN, ACTIVE HEAD of the GOVERNMENT'S FORCE in the BOMB HUNT.



DESTRUCTION of A FACTORY THAT MADE FOOD PRODUCTS for THE ARMY.

DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL FRANCIS P. GARVIN in CHARGE of the PRESENT HUNT for BOMB PLOTTERS

THE battle against the traitor within the borders of the United States during the two years of the war against Germany is a matter to which little space has been given and to which little attention has been paid, yet an unceasing and effective campaign was waged, which until the close of the war successfully met every attack of the enemy which waited only the departure of the troops to begin its wild career of sabotage and destruction here.

This activity centred in an organization called the Industrial Workers of the World, commonly known as the I. W. W., which from the time of its organization in Chicago in 1904 had drawn to its membership the worst of the criminal element of Europe and America. The doctrine that a member was no longer liable to the capitalistic law of this country, except as a matter of convenience to himself, made it a haven for every evildoer who had felt the displeasure of that same despised law. It was adopted by every agitator, anarchist and outcast labor faker in the country, and soon styled itself "The One Big Union."

Haywood Becomes Leader.

The gist of its teachings was that labor is entitled to all it produces and that the wage system must be abolished. This result was not to be accomplished by legal methods or by political action, but by direct and violent action—the general strike and sabotage—until the employer, no longer able to profit by the labor of others, would be forced to surrender his business to the workers, to be run by them for their own benefit.

Until the outbreak of the European war the sect made little headway, but in 1914 William D. Haywood of Cœur d'Alene fame was elected general secretary-treasurer and became its leader, bringing about a centralization of the scattered membership. Up to this time the "Wobbly," as they fondly called themselves, desired only enough of this world's goods to satisfy his immediate wants, which could be secured by begging or stealing from the "master class," and any one working more than thirty days in any one year was called a "Jobite" and promptly expelled from the order. Haywood, however, changed all this. No more begging. No more "jungling" (sleeping) in the halls. The preamble adopted declared that "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common," and that, "It is the historic mission of the I. W. W. to overthrow the present system, take possession of the earth and machinery of production and build the new society in the shell of the old."

Haywood realized that this mission could never be accomplished by idleness and agitation, so issued the order that each member must "function on the job." This did not mean to go to work, but did mean to collect wages and at the same time to inflict every damage conceivable by a depraved mind upon the property of the boss.

Sabotage became a scientific study, and the most up to date and approved methods of destruction were taught by speakers and literature. The sign of sabotage was the black cat, and the wooden shoe and its threat or use was made known to its victim by a small stickerette bearing one or both of these symbols.

Opposition to all governmental authority caused this class to be opposed to peace officials of every character, and especially to militia or armies of any sort. One stickerette which was widely scattered read: "A policeman is a pimple, a soldier a boil, upon the body politic." From the beginning they had opposed all wars, not from conscientious scruples, but because all wars were considered capitalistic wars, brought about by the capitalists to accomplish the murder of the worker.

This attitude strengthened the order, bringing into its ranks the pacifist element, the moral coward and a great foreign following, so that by the time of their tenth annual convention held in December, 1916, they felt strong enough to issue their "Declaration of War," which read:

"With the European war for conquest raging and destroying the lives, class consciousness and unity of the workers and the ever growing agitation for military preparedness clouding the main issues and delaying the realization of our ultimate aim, with patriotic and therefore capitalistic aspirations, we openly declare ourselves the determined opponents of all nationalistic sectionism, or patriotism, and the militarism preached and supported by our one enemy, the capitalist class. We condemn all wars, and for the prevention of such we proclaim the anti-militarist propaganda in time of peace and in time of war the general strike in all industries."

Rallying Point for Pro-Germans.

War with Germany was then rapidly approaching and Haywood sent his agitators and organizers into every vital industry in the country. Money, heretofore scarce, suddenly became plentiful. The harvest he already controlled through an organization of 40,000 agricultural workers, so he transferred the head man of that body, one Walter T. Nef, a German alien, from that industry to the marine industry and Philadelphia was chosen as the headquarters. Frank Little (later lynched at Butte, Mont.) was sent into the copper regions of Arizona, Utah and Montana. To Richard Brazier and James Rowan was entrusted the organization of the lumber workers and experienced agitators were sent into the coal fields, oil fields, textile, railroad and construction industries.

In early February, 1917, diplomatic relations were severed with Germany and the I. W. W. was again the rallying point for anti-Americans and pro-Germans of every sort. On March 4 the Lumber Workers Industrial Union was organized at Spokane, Wash., based upon the resolution that if Congress should pass a conscription law a general strike would be called. By taking advantage of bad working conditions in the lumber industry, brought about by the strenuous efforts being made to secure lumber for shipbuilding, cantonments and airplane construction, and hiding their real purpose from the honest worker, these agitators in two months secured an immense following among the lumber workers in the States of Washington, Idaho, Oregon and Montana. Their system of terrorism forced the remaining lumbermen either to join or get off the job.

In the East Nef had succeeded beyond all expectations and by April 6 had large memberships in the ports of Boston, New York, Norfolk and Baltimore, and absolute control of the ports of Philadelphia and Tampico. In the copper industry the Austrian, Mexican and Finnish miners readily indorsed the new creed; the first two nationalities because of hatred for all things American, and the last because of traditional opposition to conscription. Legitimate organized labor was almost driven from the mines. The migratory agricultural worker started on the tour from Oklahoma to North Dakota so well organized that no one could ride a freight without his red card.

Along with the organization of the industries went the anti-war and anti-conscription agitation, so that by June 5, registration day, every member understood that he was not expected to register for the "European Slaughterfest" and in many places this went so far as open organized opposition. At Rockford, Ill., hundreds marched to the jail and requested to be locked up for refusing to register, and in the iron and copper regions the refusal was general.

Thousands of members were arrested by the Government authorities and for the first time the "Class War Prisoner" was heard of, and the motto, "Out of the jails, or out of the industries," became common.

War Work Seriously Hampered.

Those summer months of 1917 were serious times for the men in charge of the prosecution and preparation for war. While every effort was being made to raise and equip armies, this sinister conflicting element kept up its nefarious work. Lumber, especially spruce, coal, oil, and copper with its by-products, must be had, and foodstuffs were essential, yet in spite of constant urgings and appeals the production lagged.

On June 12 the copper mines of Butte, the greatest in the world, were closed; on June 18 the lumber workers began a strike which on July 16 became general, tying up the entire lumber production until September 13; on July 4 the immense mines at Globe and Miami, Ariz., closed, and on July 12 the aroused citizens of Bisbee, Ariz., in order to keep the mines there open, deported 1,200 of the agitators and aliens. The coal miners of Pennsylvania, the iron workers of Minnesota, the transport workers of the Atlantic, and the harvest workers of the Middle West were ready to quit, waiting only for the call that should cripple all American industry and eliminate this nation as a factor in the war.

During all this time the movements of Haywood and his associates were closely watched by Government agents of the Bureau of Investigation, working under Chief A. Bruce Bielaski of Washington and Hinton G. Clabaugh of Chicago. The work accomplished by this branch of the Government service throughout the war has never been fully understood or appreciated by those not coming into direct contact with it. Hampered by the lack of adequate laws to punish those who were plotting against the country, for many months the agents could only observe and report, hoping that Congress would pass some statute by which spies and traitors could be reached. The guerrilla warfare planned and practised by the I. W. W. was reported in detail. Past records of the leaders were secured, their speeches were recorded and all activities observed.

In midsummer Attorney-General Gregory called together the most able lawyers in the country to examine the recently passed laws and ascertain if any covered the actions of the radicals.

Arrests of radicals for evading registration had filled the jails and even stockades in the Western States, and in their resentment of this the I. W. W. decided to test their strength. So sure were they of their ability to force the Government to submission and obtain by force the release of these prisoners that hundreds of letters of the tenor of the following one, written by the secretary at Baltimore, passed between them. In commenting upon the arrests he said: "It would not hurt, however, for the general organization to tell the Government that that kind of business must stop—or we will stop it. I think we can accomplish something in that way. Yours for industrial freedom."

Haywood, in his egotism, even telegraphed President Wilson threatening serious consequences unless these men were released.

This threat was to be accomplished by sending out a call for a general strike, which went out on August 11, calling for all workers to strike on August 20. The territory to be affected by the first call was the States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana, and it was expected to result in a complete tieup of the lumber, agricultural and construction industries. On August 19, the day preceding the date for the strike, the military authorities arrested James Rowan, leader of the lumber workers, and ten of his most active agitators. The Spokane hall, headquarters for the lumber, agricultural and construction workers of the West, was closed and turned over to the Department of Justice agents.

It was then that Chief Bielaski began his drive. On September 5, at the same hour of the day, raids were made on national headquarters at Chicago and on every I. W. W. hall in the United States, and the material and records so procured were sent to Chicago for examination by a Federal Grand Jury called for that purpose. On September 28 this Grand Jury returned indictments against Haywood and 165 of his leaders, nearly all of whom promptly were arrested. The radical forces were scattered and the strike was broken.

Trial On for Months.

The removal of these men from all parts of the country to Chicago for trial covered a period of many months, and it was not until April, 1918, that the greatest criminal trial in the history of the United States finally began. The selecting of a jury took one month, the first venire being discharged because of alleged attempts at bribery by the attorneys for the defence. All through the long, hot summer the trial progressed before Judge Kenesaw M. Landis. The jury, locked up and deprived of all communication even with their homes or businesses, became worn and impatient. The Judge caused every issue to be tried, and where witnesses called by the prosecution did not fully satisfy him even called witnesses on his own initiative and examined them himself.

Mystery of Most Helpful Tip Received by Uncle Sam's Agents Is Lifted by Story of Terrorists' Trial—Peril Remains Despite Conviction of Leader

It took two months for the Government attorneys to present their evidence, and then for three months the attorneys for the defence undertook to justify the actions of their clients. Each defendant in turn took the witness stand and testified in his own defence.

The cross-examination usually showed that the man had been in this country from two to ten years. He had never taken out any citizenship papers, as he considered himself a citizen of the world and of no particular country. He had never worked but was employed by the I. W. W. as organizer, speaker or writer. He did not desire to see immediate improvement in the condition of the working classes, but hoped that conditions would become so unendurable that the workers could be made to unite and overthrow this Government and abolish the wage system and capitalism. He believed in the right of the worker to take that which his labor had produced and do with it as he pleased, and could see nothing wrong in the doctrine of destruction and sabotage, as it was a powerful weapon against the property owner. He desired a revolution and hoped to see it come. He had not registered for military service, had urged others not to register, and had advised those who had been drafted either to desert at the first opportunity or stay in the army and there carry on agitation and sabotage.

Only one result could have been possible in such a trial, yet the defendants had been made to believe that a Socialist on the jury had been bribed and that they would not be convicted, so that it was with an air of the greatest confidence that they faced the jury to hear the verdict. A great issue was involved in that verdict. It was there to be decided whether this Government under its laws could protect its own existence. All were found guilty and sentenced by Judge Landis to from two to twenty years imprisonment in the Federal penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth, and the great trial was over.

This trial for the first time made

Continued on Following Page.