

## **Sedition!**

required items: small paper bag, designer-created cards, 10-sided dice in 5 colors, map or printout of the United States, social graces

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time period = 1917-1919, in the United States.

politoscape:

As WWI begins, the U.S. government battles the free speech campaigns and unionization of the woman-accepting, miscegenating IWW (wobblies). Hobos drinking wine from paper bags, singing songs, and traveling the country by train are, by and large, union organizers trying to change American society with the government and company thugs fast on their heels. A flawed historical background of the downfall of the IWW during this time, written by the author, is available under the title Repression of the IWW 1917 to 1919 (Appendix, fig. 2).

socioscape:

hobos, wobblies, and the Evil Pinkertons/National Guard/FBI &tc.

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like the ownerless anarcho-syndicalist system the wobblies faught for, ***Sedition!*** does not require a GM. GM-less play works like pretend. Story generation is collaborative. The major plot points can be dreamed up and agreed upon before game play in a short, seperate planning session, or in-game, according to the decision of the group. Successful GM-less play usually requires a group with positive social dynamics. A GM can be used if preferred.

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there is no character sheet. Players are all wobblies, hobos, or otherwise involved with the IWW. Players choose their names, and choose from fixed roles. They describe their starting personalities to the other players, and their characters remain fluid throughout the game, like human beings in real life.

players choose from seven different roles available:

***Accuser*** (conspiracy theorist, paranioid, inside mole, or natural interpersonal shit-stirrer are all ***Accuser*** roles),

***Invincible*** (leaders, martyrs, heros, blusterers, scrappy fighters, and steely cowboys) All 'Invincible' characters must be killed, thrown in jail, or turn to alcoholism by the end of a campaign or the character's story arc --which can end after the campaign or well before,

***Companion*** (dutiful husband, fellow ex-sharecropper, fellow immigrant, bereved mourner, pet) ***Companions*** may play their roles independently of --but highly influenced by-- the NPC they are devoted to or may be devoted to a PC within the campaign,

***Outside Agitator*** (class traitors, illegal aliens, burnouts, misogynated spouses and mulattos, alcoholics, --people that you can tell 'aren't from around here' or aren't from your side of the tracks),

***Orator*** (soap boxers, big talkers, folk singers, storytellers, bigmouths, public figures, salesmen, religious leaders),

**Morally Driven** (pacifists, preists, passionate youths, socialists, ex-pinkertons, union boosters, anarchists, inside moles),

**Liberated** (fiery feminists, immigrants, blacks, non-protestants, native americans, homosexuals, and polyamours who are determined to change society to accept them as they have accepted themselves)

any number of players can play the same role, but they must defend their choice of role with story or character descriptions.

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entomology = insects fortell and recall both good and bad omens. Insects include beetles, fireflies, moths, millipedes, flies, grasshoppers, maggots, inchworms, ladybugs, praying mantises, ants, spiders, and fleas. It can be difficult to discern whether a few sweat bees sipping at the players means a friendly community ahead, or if moths flocking together at the ground means blood was shed here, but insects always indicate social meaning.

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cards = face down on the table are a short deck of cards of the hobo signs (see Appendix, fig. 1)\*.

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hand signals = hobo signs. Successful hand signals between players can mean food, shelter, locating kind informants, or avoiding danger. The player initiating the sign is checked by the player to their left, who picks up and fans open the deck of cards as a reference, and determines a successfully communicated sign by placing the corresponding card face-down on the table. The player who made the sign then states the intended meaning out loud, turning over the card to see if the signal was received correctly.

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colors = players must pool their dice to have five 10-sided dice, one of each of the following colors: red, blue, green, purple, and orange (or yellow).

Red= danger

Green= insect signal

Blue= religious or moral message

Purple= help made available

Orange/Yellow= need arises

players can change these meanings or add additional colors at the beginning of every game session, but the agreed upon meanings must be written down.

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starting play:

play begins with a player stating the phrase "Fellow workers and friends--". The setting is then determined to be a soap box in the center of a town, a box car, a host's home or barn, an open field, an IWW hall, a crowded jail cell, a mine shaft, an un-unionized field, a courtroom, or any additional place the group has pre-set as an appropriate setting. If the speech does not go on, and no one can determine what happens next, all 5 dice are rolled, and the color of the highest die noted. If there is a tie, include both colors' meanings.

in the unlikely event that the person who originated the speech has a **Companion** within the game, that person will either continue the speech or narrate the next events based on the color. Otherwise, anyone playing **Orator** will describe what is happening or continue the speech based on the color's meaning. If there is more than one **Orator**, start to the left of the original speechmaker. If no one is playing **Orator**, then **Accuser, Invincible, Morally Driven, Liberated** and **Outside Agitator** will each roll one 10-sided die. The player who has the highest roll will then narrate, still guided by the original color result. ( If there is a tie, the highroller closest to the left of the person who started the speech will narrate.)

the higher the narrator's total, the more the next event will involve their character (or, if they happen to have a **Companion** in the game, it is at their discretion to make it about the **Companion** instead).

this process can be initiated during play at any lull with the phrase "Fellow workers and friends--".

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wine: there is a small paper bag on the table. Should a player wish to interject an idea into game play, they indicate this by grabbing the paper bag and pretending to take a swig. If they want someone else to narrate, they hand to the bag to them instead -- which can be accepted or declined.

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antagonists: at any time a 1 or a 10 is rolled, an antagonist becomes part of the story (but it can be a recollection, warning, or premonition of an antagonist if the time is not right for a full-on conflict). Antagonists include judges, bosses, policemen, train engineers, Pinkertons, a man with a gun, Herbert Hoover, company goons, vigilantes, FBI guys. When an antagonist becomes a part of the story, one of the players takes the bag and puts it on their head, as their hat of authority while they're acting the part of the antagonist. Anyone playing a mole must wear the bag if they reveal themselves. No one can take the bag off of anyone else's head, but you can take it off your own head and offer others some 'wine'.

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death: Should a character die, the player has the option to introduce a new character.

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map: play on a map of the United States (one is included in the Appendix as fig. 3 -- but a big one would be best) . The state where the purple die lands is where the train brings you.

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suggested music: duh. Labor songs, esp. "The Ballad of Joe Hill"

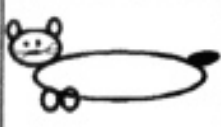


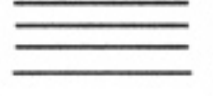

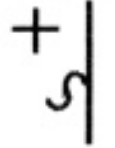






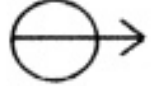
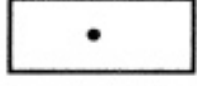



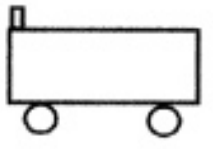
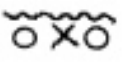


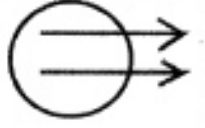






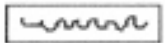



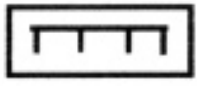
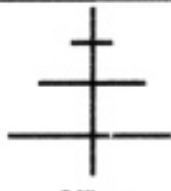




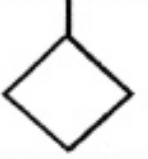



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how the game ends: when the players agree the story is over, or they have to stop and pick up the story another day, the bag is turned upside down as a libation to the dead, folded up, and placed on the table.

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\*the source of the hobo sign images is: <http://www.worldpath.net/~minstrel/hobosign.htm>

Appendix  
 Fig. 1: Sedition! Cards

					
Kindhearted Lady	Cops Inactive	Cops Active	Housewife feeds for chores	Sit Down Feed	Food for work
					
Be Quiet	Talk religion get food	Bread	Good For a Handout	Gentleman	Wealthy
					
Go	Danger	Good Road to follow	Tell Pitiful Story	Work Available	Railroad
					
Good Water	Unsafe Area	Sleep in barn	Get Out Fast	Good Chance to get money here	Safe Camp
					
Help if sick	Doctor No Charge	Telephone	Poor Man	Bad tempered owner	Dishonest Man
					
Man with a gun	Dog	Bad Dog	Officer	Police Officer Lives Here	Judge
					
Hoboes arrested on sight	Doubtful	Be ready to defend yourself	Courthouse or Police station	No One Home	Someone Home

\*All images stolen from <http://www.worldepath.net/~minstrel/hcb/esign.htm>

Repression of the IWW 1917 to 1919  
Carrie Bernstein, August 2000

## Introduction

Between 1917 and 1919 a huge number of federal acts, state laws, and city ordinances, both new and existing, were used to prosecute several political and labor groups. There was also an upsurge of violence, particularly mob violence, against radical leftist groups. A number of groups, with purposes ranging from increasing patriotism to removing unwanted elements from towns, cities and sometimes states, were founded in cooperation between citizens, state and city provisions, and business leaders. The organization, Industrial Workers of the World, was legally and literally very hard hit during this period.

As I reviewed this period in history as it pertained to the IWW, I began to wonder if the government suppression I had originally supposed was the only actor in the suppression of the Wobblies (members of the IWW) was singlehanded in this endeavor, or if there were other factors and groups in play. Was the U.S. government taking action on these laws on its own behalf, for business interests, or because of conservative wartime public opinion? Was the illegal violence directed against the Wobblies brought on by the defamation of the IWW by legal prosecution or by other interests and inspirations?

Academic opinion varies on who, or what, is to blame. Some historians argue that the IWW began its decline with the split between the socialist party and the IWW, weakening them both and leaving them both open for repression during World War One.<sup>1</sup> Others emphasize the active role of the federal government and the ideological distance of the IWW from other unions of the time. Many instances of IWW action upsetting the status quo with sit-ins, free speech fights, and sabotage appear in accounts of public opinion becoming dead set against the IWW.<sup>2</sup> One convincing account documents the initiative of state and local politicians constructing new politics and new political machines in California at the end of the popularity of populism<sup>3</sup>, and numerous others focus on the illegal actions taken by independent groups formed of business leaders.

Evidence suggests that a combination of public opinion, state and federal government, and mob activity backed by business interests, each acting in both independent groups and in collaboration, supported the lawful prosecution and the wrongful persecution of the IWW and other radical groups between 1917 and 1919.

During this time, government actions, both state and federal, often working independently of voters, and sometimes operating illegally, repressed the IWW on numerous occasions; public opinion was often conservative to the point of overriding the law, as clearly illustrated by a conviction by jury in a trial of leader "Big Bill" Haywood and over one hundred others on no proper evidence<sup>4</sup>; and business leaders, acting in private groups, and influencing legal proceedings, made legal and illegal actions against individual Wobblies and the IWW as a whole.

There is little doubt that overall the period between 1917 and 1919 was a particularly difficult one for the IWW. It seems to me that the individual initiative and the co-participation of several groups working against the IWW overwhelmed the organization and its members and is key to understanding how the IWW was nearly annihilated at this time.

## The Industrial Workers of the World

The IWW began as an organization with an agenda on both American political and American Labor fronts. Originally both change through political elections and immediate change for the

conditions of laborers were joint objectives. However, within the first few years of self-definition, direct action in a range of labor issues was the chosen single course<sup>5</sup>. The IWW was an anarcho-syndicalist industrial union, run quite democratically.

The expression of democracy in the IWW permeated its structure. It was inclusive in both its membership and its leadership, mostly serving people ignored by, or intentionally excluded from, the conservative and politically limp American Federation of Labor. The IWW's low, sliding scale dues were sometimes waived, and its union cards were made interchangeable with several other unions, including One Big Union (of Canada). This made it possible for unskilled, temporary, and migrant workers to begin and continue memberships more easily than in other unions. Additionally, the Wobblies welcomed non-native persons, nonwhites, and females-- groups hugely, often intentionally, under served by other unions of the time.

The Wobblies routinely practiced slow downs, strikes, civil disobedience, and endorsed other forms of resistance and sabotage in furthering IWW and labor goals. They also employed the use of the General Strike, and expressed themselves in conventions, soap box speeches, plays, newspapers, art, pamphlets, articles, political cartoons, and songs to let the voice of the IWW be known.

From the inception of the IWW, all of these practices were either specifically outlawed, or frequently persecuted as if a law against the practice was in place. By the time World War One began, in many places they were all illegal 'by the book'.

The IWW was philosophically against war, which many members viewed as for the benefit of the owning class:

“A leaflet by Walker C. Smith ... advised the Wobblies: ‘General Sherman said: ‘War is Hell!’ Don’t go to Hell in order to give the capitalists a bigger slice of heaven.’”<sup>6</sup>

However, after some discussion, the IWW chose to be ‘low key’ about opposition to World War One-- the official position taken was that there was no organizational opposition to the war<sup>7</sup>.

## Oppositional Groups

Aside from traditional kinds of opposition to other unions, who accused them of ‘dual unionism’<sup>8</sup>, the IWW also had three other kinds of opponents in the U.S.; the public opinion, the government, and mobs frequently backed by business owners, business interests, and other community leaders. I shall treat these categories as best I can, but let us not forget that, as with all attempts to characterize humans into groups, these groupings are fuzzy, as this quote from Fellow Workers and Friends, in the historical context of the free speech rights fight (1908-16), demonstrates:

“A shocked citizen (Grant S. Youmans) of Minot, North Dakota recorded the following conversation with Judge Davis, a leading light in the community and a magistrate in the city courts: ‘Judge, can’t you do something to prevent the beating down of innocent men?’ I asked. ‘Prevent Hell. We’ll drive the G-- D--- Sons of B----s into the river and drown them. We’ll starve them. We’ll kill every damned man of them or drive them together with the Socialists from the city,’ he thundered back.”<sup>9</sup>

One can see how difficult an inquiry this truly can be, because the exceptional Judge Davis occupies all of these categories at once, as a community leader, justice official, and private citizen.

Of these three, public opinion is the sort of opposition most difficult to demonstrate. Several historical sources report in retrospect that during World War One, much public opinion was against the Wobblies. This is, however, rather unscientific. Illegal expressions of negative public opinion of the Wobblies were also pursued, and often went unchecked by local authorities and uncriticized by journalists. On September 19, 1917, the Los Angeles Wobbly headquarters was destroyed by what

both the *LA Times* and *San Francisco Examiner* called “an orderly mob” on September 20, 1917.<sup>10</sup> No police action was taken to find or punish the perpetrators.

Public opinion and official ‘legal’ action sometimes worked together, as they did in the trial of over 100 Wobblies and “Big Bill” Haywood. This sample of twelve ostensibly ordinary citizens serving as jurors in a case against Wobblies shows how anti-IWW the public opinion could be. These citizens chose to rule against the Wobblies on trial despite the fact that it was against the proper legal process.

Charged with a hundred separate crimes apiece, prosecutors entrusted a jury to convict each individual for particular crimes of espionage, when the only ‘evidence’ offered by the prosecution was general information on the politics and published works of the IWW as an organization. Despite the legal requirement to identify particular acts of espionage and link them to each of the defendants, which could not be fulfilled by the evidence presented, the jury returned a guilty verdict for each of the over 10,000 crimes in under an hour of deliberation<sup>11</sup>.

### IWW on Trial and Other Government Action

Despite a speedy verdict, the trial started and finished in a leisurely manner. The trial was commenced six months after the original arrests. It continued for five months after that<sup>12</sup>.

Besides being unpleasant and inconvenient, the slow pace allowed time for further raids and arrests of Wobblies. The first and foremost leaders had already been quelled with the first wave of arrests. Now second and third tier leadership from Wichita, Omaha, and Sacramento were also under arrest<sup>13</sup>. Raids and arrests were one way officials at the state, national, and local levels participated in persecution of the Wobblies. Many of these arrests and raids also provided an interruption of the Wobblies’ resources for defense. For example, the defense headquarters in Sacramento was raided by federal agents seven times within a six month period.<sup>14</sup> On November 21, 1917 arrests were made in LA, Sacramento, and San Francisco of 25 Wobblies, including secretaries, working on the defense of other Wobblies for conspiring to intimidate an employer or threatening to strike. The charges were later dropped, but this practice of interrupting the Wobbly legal defense and ‘legitimate’ destroying headquarters by representatives of the government was a devastating tactic, repeated several times<sup>15</sup>.

This trial and series of raids and arrests took place in a context of increasing legal opposition to the IWW. Some groups clearly influenced the laws:

“the N. Dakota state council caused work-or-fight rules to be adopted in the state, and since these rule resulted in the arrest of people who refused to work during strikes, strikes were thus virtually outlawed.’<sup>16</sup>

But the legal woes of the IWW have their roots, according to Patricia Sexton, in the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798<sup>17</sup>. This act allowed President Adams to prosecute and imprison those who criticized the U. S. government in writing or in speaking, and to deport dangerous aliens.

The Acts were a part of Federalist opinion and reaction to the startling turn of events in the French Revolution. People in the owning class and in power in governments, particularly colonial governments, were very disturbed at the prospect of the spread of the French Revolution. Many areas of the world experienced a similar crackdown on groups deemed ‘dangerous’ at that time.

The Alien and Sedition Acts expired under Jefferson, but about 100 years later (in 1902 and 1903) federal and state laws made anarchist speech, opinions, and associations criminal (much like the Alien and Sedition acts) and once again expanded the role of government in repressing political dissent. Sexton frames these changes as a response to the violence at Haymarket, and the assassination of President McKinley<sup>18</sup>. She points out that they also come in the context of a series of important union successes, and several 8-hour day campaigns<sup>19</sup>.

The IWW began when these various laws were already in place. However, only a portion of the legal response to the Wobblies was appropriately pursued under these laws. In fact, it was the IWW

which first launched an offensive against these laws, which they believed conflicted with their right to free speech. Wobblies held protests of the law by setting up soapboxes in the streets and organizing as many of their members as possible to be on hand when the speeches began. The traditional opener of a Wobbly speech were the words, "Fellow workers and friends--". Once one person was arrested, the next person stepped onto the soapbox and opened the 'four word speech' as well. This pattern would continue until the jails and holding spaces were flooded.<sup>20</sup>

Sometimes 'reinforcements' arrived after the original arrests-- as in the story of this man, who came too late:

"One story tells about the harvest hand who dropped off at Sioux City, Iowa, during a free-speech fight, and finding no one in the corner, he decided that the Wobblies were all in jail and that he had better speak for himself. Climbing onto the box, he began: 'Fellow workers and friends.' Nothing happened. He paused and started again: 'Fellow workers and friends.' Again nothing happened. Finally, in an aggrieved tone, the would-be free-speech fighter demanded: 'say, where's the cop?'"<sup>21</sup>

Many legal battles were not on the Wobblies' terms, nor were they ostensibly about free speech. The first false arrest of Bill Haywood in 1907 for the murder of Frank Steunenburg, former governor of Idaho<sup>22</sup>, and Joe Hill's false arrest, trial, and execution in 1914 for the deaths of 2 grocers<sup>23</sup> are good examples of attempts to exterminate IWW leadership through another use of the legal system. These and several other murder trials effectively removed IWW leaders from their activities, sometimes permanently.

Other actions by branches of the U.S. government against politically dissident groups of this type before 1917 included the campaign to deport alien anarchists (although none were found) and the post office's illegal refusal to handle 2 anarchist newspapers, during the recession of 1907-11.<sup>24</sup>

#### Espionage Act 1917 & Sedition Act 1918

World War One was both an opportunity to crack down on dissenting political groups further than before, as well as a stimulant for fear of invasion by communists or other un-Americans. The Espionage Act of 1917 allowed up to 20 years prison and a \$10,000 fine for false reports with intent to interfere with the war, or obstructing enlistment, or causing insubordination in military, and legalized the post office's exclusion of certain mail.<sup>25</sup>

In 1917,

"local army officers were broadly authorized to repress sternly all seditious activity."<sup>26</sup>

Raids, strikebreaking, and spying were a large part of their activities. Persons also infiltrated meetings to incite poor decision making and bait the IWW into taking risky action.

The Espionage Act of 1917 was enlarged in 1918 to become the Sedition Act. It made criticism of the U.S. government or the war illegal. This included people who

"willfully utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of Government of the United States, or the Constitution...or the flag...or the uniform of the Army or Navy."<sup>27</sup>

Both the strikes of the IWW and other strikes were effectively outlawed as well, since "advocating any curtailment of production of anything"<sup>28</sup> needed for the war was also made illegal under the Sedition Act.

State criminal syndicalist laws were also established and used between 1917 to 1920 to



prosecute IWW activities in numerous instances. 1,400 people were arrested and 300 were convicted under these laws. Prosecutions hinged on either speech acts or memberships in organizations. City ordinances followed state law. In Spokane, over 1,000 Wobblies were convicted under criminal syndicalist ordinances in one and a half years.<sup>29</sup>

## Vigilantes and Other Groups

Individual citizens and mobs were increasingly taking action against the IWW between 1917 and 1919. Business leaders frequently acted through the government via local state and federal police, as well as in the justice system, influencing laws. Additionally groups of business leaders formed to organize both legal and illegal methods to arrest, silence, attack, defame, jail, render useless, banish, kill, and engender fear in individual Wobblies. Other groups have been said to have ties to business interests, but it is difficult to say at what level of involvement.

One such organization known as the Vigilantes took both legal and illegal actions against IWW, including beatings and 'banishment' inflicted on targeted Wobblies. This account from Emma Goldman records one such attack:

"The Vigilantes raided the IWW headquarters, broke up the furniture, and arrested a large number of men they found there. They were taken to Sorrento to a spot where the flag pole had been erected. There the IWWs were forced to kneel, kiss the flag, and sing the National Anthem. As an incentive to quicker action one of the Vigilantes would slap them on the back, which was the signal for a general beating. After these proceedings the men were loaded into automobiles and sent to San Onofre, near the county line, and placed in a cattle-pen with armed guards over them, and kept without food or drink for eighteen hours. The following morning they were taken out in groups of five and compelled to run the gauntlet. As they passed between the double line of Vigilantes, they were belabored with clubs and blackjacks. Then the flag-kissing episode was repeated, after which they were told to 'hike' up the track and never come back. They reached Los Angeles after a tramp of several days sore, hungry, penniless, and in deplorable physical condition."<sup>30</sup>

And this personal account of an encounter with the San Diego Vigilantes from Goldman's friend, Ben Reitman:

"As soon as we got out of town, they began kicking and beating me. They took turns pulling my long hair and they stuck their fingers into my eyes and nose. 'We could tear your guts out,' they said, 'but we promised the Chief of Police not to kill you. We are responsible men, property-owners, and the police are on our side.' When we reached the county line, the auto stopped at a deserted spot. The men formed a ring and told me to undress. They tore my clothes off. They knocked me down, and when I lay naked on the ground, they kicked and beat me until I was almost insensible. With a lighted cigar they burned the letters IWW on my buttocks; then they poured a can of tar over my head, and, in the absence of feathers, they rubbed sage-brush on my body. One of them attempted to push a cane into my rectum. Another twisted my testicles. They forced me to kiss the flag and sing the Star Spangled Banner. When they tired of the fun, they gave me back my underwear for fear we should meet any women. They also gave me back my vest, in order that I might carry my money, railroad ticket, and watch. The rest of my clothes they kept. I was ordered to make a speech, and then they commanded me to run the gauntlet. The Vigilantes lined up, and as I ran past them, each one gave me a blow or a kick. Then they let me go."<sup>31</sup>

Vigilantes did not always let their targets go. In Montana, vigilantes tortured and hanged IWW organizer Frank Little and left his body hanging from a railroad trestle<sup>32</sup>.

During this time period there was an increase in mob violence and attacks on Wobblies, to a total of 164 total recorded mob attacks.<sup>33</sup> The American Yearbook of Labor wrote that “the mobs with few exceptions are deliberately organized groups of businessmen, protecting the institutions of property against the menace of radicalism or the protests of the exploited class”.<sup>34</sup>

According to Sexton, mobs were often organized by the American Legion and by the KKK<sup>35</sup>. Other groups were also highly active. The American Protection League was a ‘private’ group with 350,000 members by the war’s end. They took it upon themselves to spy, make arrests and detentions, disrupt socialist and union meetings, infiltrate ranks of suspect groups, open mail, wiretap, and burglarize the suspected<sup>36</sup> .

Another group of actors, known as Councils of Defense, were state established. Councils of Defense were started in California within the three months preceding America’s entry into World War One. Comprised of publicly known owning-class conservatives, they were only a few people, but they often influenced local law and perhaps the way in which it was practiced. Sexton reports that these Councils were made up of “a handful of people, mainly well-to do, conservative elements of the community”<sup>37</sup>.

Other groups known to persecute Wobblies include the Four Minute Men<sup>38</sup>, the “Loyal League” of Los Angeles<sup>39</sup>, and the citizen’s protective league<sup>40</sup>.

These groups had a heavy hand in the suppression of the Wobblies. There have been numerous allegations that business owners were frequently members, organizers and funders. Using illegal and legal methods, these groups persecuted the Wobblies extensively during this time. Although evidence has been thin in much of the scholarship on this subject, the motive is clear and the likelihood is high that business interests came into play in the persecution of the Wobblies. If so, the negative attitude towards the IWW of the general public and the government, on both an official and unofficial level, worked to emphasize the classic struggle between labor and owners.

One story could be an example of the collaboration on all three fronts. A Wobbly was lynched by an unidentified mob, in Everett, Washington, following a fight between Vigilantes and Wobblies. He was released by the warden at midnight. He had returned from the army just a few days earlier, and was still in his uniform. He was set upon by the mob in front of the jail and killed.<sup>41</sup> These circumstances might possibly be an example of an official (the warden) the public (by being known to generally permit such events) and mob activity, all working together against an individual Wobbly, and by extension the IWW. No one knows who killed this Wobbly for sure. However, collaboration against the Wobblies was clearly happening in specific instances between the public, private interests, and government at the city, state, and federal level during this time.

## Conclusion

Business leadership and other unclassified mob activity were not the sole actors in the suppression of the IWW, but they did play roles in acts against it. General public opinion was also a vital part of the opposition to the IWW. Without these intense sources of force, the United States government, acting single handedly, might never have pushed the IWW to near extinction. The momentum for the suppression of the IWW was unmistakable between 1917 and 1919. This period, due to the intensity and variety of sources of opposition, was key to the near total annihilation of the IWW.

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