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# GREAT DEMONSTRATION OF INDUSTRIAL POWER

## A First-Hand Story of the South Wales Coal Strike, Which Put the British Government on the Defensive, and Won Everything Demanded by Miners

(Special to Solidarity)  
Nantyllyn, South Wales, Aug. 4.  
In my last letter I reviewed the labor situation in the South Wales coal field, giving some details of matters up to the time of the two weeks ultimatum by the miners. During that period it was apparent that the coal owners were having powerful influence on the government; and at a conference of the South Wales miners on July 11th it was carried that "down tools" would be resorted to on the 14th of July unless something more substantial was forthcoming.

In the meantime the government replied by "proclaiming" the South Wales coal field under the Munitions Act; and which declared a fine of \$25 a day per man for every day lost. At this stage, some of our "leaders" developed "cold feet" and went out of their way to advise the men to continue working pending further effort to secure terms.

This advice, however, was negatively applied. So on July 15th the news was flashed world-wide that the miners had rebelled. And they did it thoroughly, too. All members of the Federation were instructed to hold tight, regardless of consequences. Even the underground men that cared for the horses, withheld their labors, and everybody winked at Lloyd George's proclamation posters plastered everywhere.

The strike started on a Thursday, and for the remainder of the week matters stood at a deadlock, the government vainly waiting for the strike to fizzle out. On the contrary, however, the miners not only stood pat, but demanded the withdrawal of the proclamation as the initial step before anything further was discussed. Needless to say, the capitalist papers howled all kinds of denunciations at the miners, and to quote: "it was the irresponsible anarchists and syndicalist pro-Germans who were controlling affairs." One London daily capitalist sheet offered \$25,000 for information leading to conviction of German agents. All the howling of the press, plus government injunctions, made no impression on the 150,000 South Wales miners of the rank and file. As I mentioned previously, we had to "push" our leaders forward; only four of them (out of four and twenty) hold out solid and uncompromisingly with the rank and file. One of them, "Noah Ablett," kept the flag flying in fine style. By the way, he is a great believer in the I. W. W. system of organization, plus their methods and tactics, and is continually waging the class war, at every opportunity. In an article in the London "Herald" on the strike, he said in part:

"We are emphatically not pro-German, but we are working class."  
Seeing the total failure of bullying methods, the government by the Monday following began to climb down. Realizing that the world's richest coal field was not producing an ounce of coal, our members of the Cabinet, Lloyd George included, journeyed down to Cardiff to meet the men; and I am pleased to report the men won almost all the original demands. The Munitions Act was sidetracked at the outset.

How is that for an instance of economic power, to control the political?  
Regarding our demands, I may say a great part of them were for the purpose of raising the standard of the lower paid men, some grades of which have benefited to the extent of 30 per cent; we have also a minimum which is 5 per cent better than the previous maximum. We have also established the principle of six shifts for every five worked, to include all on afternoon and night shift surface and underground. As far as I am aware that's something unique for a large coal field. This time, also, the problem of rounding up the "cheap guy," the unionist, is solved for good.

The strike lasted exactly one week. Although it was evident the terms would be accepted, there was "nothing doing" until the whole of the rank and file were consulted, which necessitated a further day's delay. So, when everything was secured, we went back as we came out, together!  
In conclusion, I hope matters are going favorably with the I. W. W. and the flag flying at full mast.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,  
DAVID EVANS.

## "WHAT ARE YOU RIDING ON?"

By Maurice Mitkin  
I don't believe in the sham of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. But I do believe in the Brotherhood of Man implanted in you and me by the Mothers and Fathers that bore us and in the Mothers and Fathers before them.

What am I riding on?  
I am riding on the railroad that I and my brothers built.

I am riding on the caboose that you ride in that I and my brothers built.

I am riding on the bread that you ate today, for which I and my brothers gathered the harvest last year.

I am riding on the cradle which I and my brothers built in which your baby is now sleeping.

What am I riding on?  
I am riding on an empty stomach, patched overalls, and torn shoes.

I am riding on the sore feet of looking for a job on paved city streets.

I am riding on the starvation and misery suffered by the working class these thousands of years.

I am riding on the broken skulls, lousy heads, jail confinements, and dead martyrs of Wheatland, Paterson, Lawrence, West Virginia, Calumet and Colorado.

I am riding on you a Fellow Worker and Fellow Man.

And if not by God—I am riding anyway!

## UNITED ACTION BRINGS RESULTS

### An Incident in the Harvest Belt of South-Dakota Shows What "Sticking Together Will Bring to Workers.

(Special to Solidarity)  
Dakota, N. D., August 15.  
Just to show what a little sticking together will do, I would like to mention something that happened a couple of days ago to a bunch of I. W. W.'s in Redfield, S. D.  
It was in the morning about 9 o'clock. There were about a hundred men in the jungles, all ready to brook their breakfast. Among them were only about 25 I. W. W.'s. Suddenly the chief of police that turns four-by-four, the sheriff, the mayor and a couple more with star-bells, were kicked over, and the whole bunch of these harvest hands making their morning meal. Dishes were kicked over, and dozens of "scissors" ran in every direction.  
Seeing what was coming off, the 25-wives gathered close around their nearly five dollar wages, and went stiff—some of it just put on the fire. The bulls soon got over to work, but the men were kicked over there. Oh, no; after a couple of minutes arguing with these, "the fathers of the town," they were soon made to understand that if they tried to fool around with us, we would just turn the "lock" loose on that burg. And that's what brought home the bacon.

"Oh, we don't want any trouble like that at all," murmured the sheriff with an anxious look coming over his face as he sized us up.  
"Well, how long will it take you to cook up and eat?" he asked after he had had a little talk with the mayor and the chief—the latter of whom would have just like to see the clubs dance on our heads.  
"About half an hour," said some one. (You see, there were no "leaders" so the whole bunch took turns talking "the upper and lower law and order.")  
"All right, you can go ahead," replied the sheriff—though rather unwillingly.  
So we had our breakfast, which took about two hours instead of half an hour. Then we got the first train out of there, and the mayor and "scissors" scattered out in every direction—most of them had to walk out.

The sheriff became very polite as soon as he saw what he was up against. The chief of police, however, had liked to arrest one or two of the bunch, but when he was told that he took one he would have to take the whole bunch—then he got right! He said that we were the meat and the steppen by the sheriff, and talked to like-men.  
So it happens everywhere. Yes, even in case of hold-ups, organization brings the goods. Personally I never of any kind of hold-up when the stick-up game was played on a bunch of I. W. W.'s. And the one who did it, neither a cop nor a con nor did any shooting—but what he did set was a good beating up by the 12 men he tried to harvest.  
So we see that in every instance—on the job as well as off the job; on the road; in the jungles, and everywhere—it is organization that gets results.

Let this only be a little reminder to you fellows who are still on the outside. Line up. They are joining by the thousands all through the harvest country. Don't wait for the OTHER FELLOW to stick. If you stick, the other gink will stick also. You all line up to work, and the boss come through with five dollars a day. The grain must be harvested, you know, and every one who follows that line of work makes up his mind to get the wages, the farmers will have to pay the wages, too. The only way to stick together is through organization.

Also remember that the I. W. W. is a world-wide organization that aims to include all the workers in all the industries and all the shops—in One Big Union of the whole of the great world's workers.  
Therefore, "join in the march—fall in," and then we shall soon see a brighter day, a day when we shall not have to live in the jungles, or be chased from town to town when our bosses don't want any more men; that day when the ambition of every good fellow shall have been fulfilled—the ambition to blow the whistle and see the boss go to work; when the workers of the world will receive the full product of their toil.  
—NILES H. HANSON.

Chas. Chasen, formerly of Local 64, Minneapolis, and later member of the Los Angeles Propaganda League, please communicate with J. A. Sullivan, 252 Cedar Ave., Minneapolis, Minnesota.

## SOME OBSERVATIONS FROM DETROIT

### The Great Auto Manufacturing Center Shows Big Profits and Expanding Plants for Owners. Low Wages, Long Hours and "Speed Up" for Workers.

DETROIT too is busy turning out material for butchering implements, besides automobiles for the European war. War honors! Nic. A. W. W.'s in Redfield, S. D. Among them were only about 25 I. W. W.'s. Suddenly the chief of police that turns four-by-four, the sheriff, the mayor and a couple more with star-bells, were kicked over, and the whole bunch of these harvest hands making their morning meal. Dishes were kicked over, and dozens of "scissors" ran in every direction.  
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DETROIT LABOR STATISTICS  
Says a Detroit capitalist paper: "The working population of Detroit has increased 140 per cent in 1915. In 1903 there were 65,881 employees engaged in local industries. In 1915 there were 126,678. More than one-half of these were engaged in the automobile industries. Manufacturing output in a question whether Detroit could have realized an annual increase of \$410,000,000 without the immigrant.  
That's why Detroit feels it its duty to educate the immigrant and make him more useful.  
These industries have attracted the immigrant from every corner of the globe. Detroit's cosmopolitan character is now made up of people of every race, every tongue, every class of people inhabiting the globe.  
I. W. W. men we could count at least a good number of these workers to fight, through the efforts of the atherland. Can we have your help?"

AUTO INDUSTRY EXPANSION  
That there is no longer planless production in the auto industry, samples the following:  
The 600-foot four-story addition to the Paigo-Detroit Motor Car Co. plant is nearing completion.  
Three new buildings to cost \$250,000 are under construction by the Reo Motor Car Company, of Lansing, of which the largest is to be used for the storage of the new type of three-quarter ton delivery truck. A considerable increase in the working force is also contemplated.  
Continental Co. enlarges plant. Largest motor factory in world, here plans \$500,000 additions. Company which started by making 50 motors a year, now makes 50,000.  
Improvements now under way at Continued on Page Four

## THE FIGHTING SPIRIT

(Special to Solidarity)  
August 18.  
Some two months ago there was organized in this city, an Italian Proletarian Committee for the purpose of carrying on educational propaganda of the industrial movement to the laager, although small numbers, more than makes up for that deficiency by their enthusiasm and willingness to carry forward the work of education where it is badly needed. It is not generally known the league is in existence, and the members one and all request all fellow workers to come forth to stop and pay them a visit. Also wherever possible, to stop and take on the one of furthering the work of it in the immediate future, picking peaches, prunes and apples. There here which will be of camerates, here which employ a large number of workers.  
The project is to get on the job and try to make this an industrial union stronghold for the I. W. W. The league also wants any Italian or English-speaking soapboxers to be sure and stop here. Get busy you can get cats and help an able body of men who are in the fight that is yours, the one of furthering the progress of the I. W. W. The address is 187 Bush St., New York, N. Y. BEN WITTLING.

## EIGHT HOURS PER DAY, TEN HOURS PAY, AND PAY EVERY WEEK

For All Automobile and Allied Metal and Machinery Workers.

Fellow Workers:  
Take a look around you. Do you not see that the Eight Hour Day is the slogan of all wage earners? Get together into One Big Union. Start a get-together agitation.

The I. W. W. is ready to stand back of you in any move you make to bring happiness to your lives instead of misery, which is your lot at the present time. We challenge the world to contradict this statement. Can you not see that the workers all over the country are revolting against the long hours, low wages and miserable conditions under which we have to live? And you are speeded up to the limit by a bunch of woodenheads calling themselves bosses, who will do any dirty low trick the capitalist masters tell them to do against you. Some of the foremen even go so far as to come around and throw the feed up a notch higher on your machines.  
Do not stand for such cowardly acts. Organize in the One Big Union of Automobile and Metal and Machinery Workers—into an Industrial Union of the I. W. W. Demand an eight hour workday with ten hours pay. Don't let the masters get interest on your hard-earned dollars by leaving them in the bank for two weeks, while your wives and children are in need of better clothes and better food, of better houses to live in. Organize; put a stop to this rotten system of wage slavery, and you will be respected instead of being looked upon by your masters as the scum of society, like at the present time.

To those fellow workers who are members of the International Association of Machinists we would say a few words in regards to the agitation you are starting at the different automobile factories and other machine shops. We members of the I. W. W. are your brothers; we do not regard you individual members of the I. A. M. as our enemies. We would say, "Go to it, boys; we are with you." But as I. W. W. men we absolutely refuse to tolerate any interference of labor leaders who will make a settlement with bosses for a few dollars and then come to you and say, "Go on back to work, boys; everything is all right." But when you get back into the shop you find the same conditions as when you went out on strike.

Why not organize right? Educate yourselves by reading I. W. W. literature, and by organizing industrially kick the labor leader out of your union. You can never make any headway by having a bunch of reactionary labor leaders mislead you. Do you not know that they have an official machine built up in your craft unions to defeat every move you make towards building up a strong industrial union? You know how nice and easy they defeated the call for industrial unionism at the last convention of the International Association of Machinists. We members of the I. W. W. know what we are talking about; a good many of us have been members of the I. A. M. and are wise to the game. But we would also have you know that if the machinists are forced to go on a strike for the eight hour day we will absolutely refuse to scab on the job—we will stand loyal to the principle of unionism as represented by the Industrial Workers of the World.

Come now, all you baseball fans and rosters, we would advise you to do a little rooting for the I. W. W., so we can establish a powerful industrial union in the shops to protect ourselves; otherwise some of you will be waiting for our next year, for the snowdrifts looking for a job next winter, after the boss gets his stockroom filled up with the products of your labor; while he, the boss, sits back in his big rocking chair looking out through the office window with a big dirty cent cigar in his face dreaming about the glittering gold he has raked in by manufacturing murder machines for the governments to murder your fellow workers in Europe with.

A few words more, fellow workers, concerning the eight hour workday. We know some of you may not be in favor of the eight hour day because you think your pay will be smaller. But we would call your attention to the fact that in nearly all cases where hours are long, wages are small, simply because you increase the unemployed army by working ten, eleven or twelve hours a day. By doing this you make it possible for the boss to get all the men he wants to take your job for less money. Stop and think it over for yourself. Take last winter for an example. You all know that there were from five hundred to a thousand men around the factory gates every morning looking for jobs, and you were not getting quite as much money as you are at present. But just as soon as the out-of-works became scarce your wages were increased. This is found to be the fact in all cases.

In closing, fellow workers, we would have you understand that we are not getting out these leaflets to fool you or mislead you in any manner of shape or form. We are sincere in our intentions. All we ask is that you will give us your attention while we strive to enlighten you so that no labor organization or labor leader will be able to fool you. And to help train your minds still more we would advise you to subscribe for our newspaper, Address, SOLIDARITY, 112 Hamilton Ave., Akers Bldg. Also you can organize by mail by sending to the above address for application blanks. Initiation fee, \$1; regular dues are 50 cents per month.

Come now, boys, get busy, do a little rooting for your own benefit, and in case the machinists go on strike in Cleveland be sure you all strike at the same time. Do not let the labor fakirs of the I. A. M. pull out each shop separately; if you do, defeat is surely going to be yours. Remember the last strike the machinists had in this town. As a result to the wise should be sufficient. Hoping you will appreciate this work, we are yours for One Big Union of Automobile and Allied Metal and Machinery Workers. AUTOMOBILE WORKERS UNION I. W. W.

**SOLIDARITY**  
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**Only Antidote For The War Spirit**

War with Mexico seems near. Whether or not it can be averted once more, is a question to which the next few days or weeks will doubtless give a definite answer. But it now seems likely that the big American capitalists have reached a point where they will seek to enforce their demands for the protection of their property interests in that country. They will use the American government and the American working class as the necessary instruments of their aggression against the Mexicans. Already, the reports of "fairly tame" and "circulating daily through the papers about "disorders," "anti-American demonstrations," "raids of Mexican bands along the U. S. border," and a still more ambitious "plot" of a "secret society of Mexicans" to "seize portions of our territory," etc. The "public mind" in this country is being prepared for what may follow, in the usual subtle manner.

As pointed out previously by Solidarity, all this is preparatory to a larger and more ambitious scheme of American capitalists—that is, to prepare in a military way for the role of a great world-power for which the United States seems now destined. Already we find the capitalist papers filled with suggestions for increasing "our army and navy." We behold detailed reports of "boy scout" encampments, of military drills of business men; criticisms of U. S. "military inefficiency," and various glorifications of the jingo spirit.

With regard to this recrudescence of militarism, for which the Mexican situation furnishes a fitting background, the working class of America has nothing to say. That is because it is not organized, either in opposition to militarism or to the economic interests that look to military "preparation" as a safeguard. If asked to "clean up Mexico" there will be sufficient U. S. slaves ready to the call of Rockefeller, Guzenheim & Co. If a situation should develop demanding that the American capitalist interests fight for supremacy or advantage with one or several of the national capitalists interest of Europe, the publicity agents of the bosses will easily prove to American workers that "our country is being attacked" and that the slaves must be ready to defend her "to the last man and automobile," to paraphrase the German Kaiser.

The only antidote to this military poison that is now running like fire through the vitals of the race, is a union of workers on the basis of the class struggle—recognizing no enemy among the workers of any country, and refusing to fight them in the interests of the capitalists of any country. Not only that, but a union with sufficient power to make good such a refusal. Such a union will be able to keep Europe's hands off America, and vice versa. Militarism without industrial control, is impotent. Given the industrial control into the hands of the workers, and the masters will have to dance to their music. Join the union of your class and build up the power that will not only check capitalism in its mad rush into militarism, but also make possible and easy the transformation of present-day war-mad civilization into a higher state of society, where wars will be unthinkable.

**The Evolution Of Optimism, and The Optimism Of The Revolution**

Those who have been writing the obituaries of the I. W. W. should take the trip recently finished by the writer, from Denver to South Dakota and back to Omaha and Council Bluffs. They would learn that easy chair critics can not conjecture or understand the aims, aspirations and ideals that are transforming the hearts of the masses and giving their lives new meaning. The machinery of modern industry with its menace and its promise is preaching co-operation, and the lesson of the machine is being accentuated by the privation and hunger for bread and a wider life that today must be understood to understand the worker.

Critics who at their ease study the worker without living his life or thinking his thoughts, do not realize that the primal instincts of nature are stronger than any laws man-made and man-cursing.

Denied, outraged, as never before workers as a minority more powerful than any obedient majority, are expressing in language not always intelligent, not always grammatical—but always forcible and symbolic—their revolt against enchained muscles and shackled thoughts. Everywhere the writer met this voice of disenchantment and disgust which is growing clearer, deeper and wider in its promises for the future and its menace to the present system. This is not a philosophy born of desire on the writer's part; it is better than a philosophy. It is a fact learned at first hand from a direct contact with the worker where he thinks and acts naturally—on the road. The worker's hunger is deeper than that; often it is loaded with the deep note of hatred. Always it is filled with the dynamics of changing thought and enlarging aims.

Philosophy is zoology, although sometimes it leads to pessimism and hopelessness. No one can get his finger on the pulse of the great army of the disinherited, compared to that of Uncle Sam; but a handful, and no other than an optimist. In fact, Revolutionary Industrial Unionism is optimism expressed on the economic field.

In every town visited, at every water tank and jungle, I brought up inadvertently the subject of industrial unionism; sometimes by criticizing it, as the worker generally prefers agreeing, as it means economy of effort. Everywhere the I. W. W. had its defenders.

These defenses were largely intelligent. The migratory

worker's conception of our basic aims and objects is clearer than ever before. Curiously it is not these aims and principles that are responsible for the changes in thought—the answer is men. Everybody—even the greatest advocates of peace—consciously, more often unconsciously admires the fighter. Strength has its irrefragable appeal, and its militancy, and its willingness to fight for our principles have won the admiration of the workers.

Our organization was a general topic of discussion by those with whom the writer came in contact. Economists became optimists hearing the reports of propagandists by lips unpracticed in the expression of discontent.

Last winter traveling over the same territory the farmer seldom talked of the I. W. W.; when he did he minimized the I. W. W. as a war-mongering organization. He and the members anarchists without understanding either industrial unionism or anarchy. Then he damned the I. W. W., but weakly, compared to the swear words the A. W. O. has since forced him to use. In the farmer's talk when at his ease—and he is never at his ease with a known I. W. W. present—there is in his reference to the I. W. W. an undertone of admiration. The I. W. W. is no longer a joke with the farmer but a grim, unflinching menace. He sees in it an enemy to be taken seriously, a force capable of being fatal to his profits and destruction to his plans.

The farmer is right. The A. W. O. is right. It is a conflict of rights, of interests and aims. It is a conflict with might as arbiter. The farmers have organized the might of the farmers; the A. W. O. is organizing the might of the agricultural worker. Both recognize it as a question of power in which other considerations are minor. It is war and the migratory workers realize that in the first engagement the A. W. O. has won. So also does the farmer, from his cash account.

The idea of class organization is making room for itself in the mind of the worker. The worker has been a man with one main idea—job—and a bunch of secondary ideas, mostly borrowed or made to order. Many of the workers still have borrowed and made to order ideas. Original ideas and original thinkers are few. The important fact that all workers are taking the forward step from the main idea—job—to the revolutionary main idea—job organization on class lines. This change is the forecast of job revolution.

These are the writer's fact-reasons from a first hand study of the numerous causes at work in the mind of the worker; to conclude that the first period of comparative prosperity for the worker will see an increase in membership and efficiency unprecedented in the history of the labor movement.

The natural stagnation in the mind of the worker has been mainly from a realization of his condition to despair and stagnation, from despair to hope and from hope to action. And action is the fulfillment of the law of growth. Workers are in all these stages.

Matters are moving today from the evolution of optimism to the optimism of revolution.

Revolution is not of the future. It is of the now which alone exists. It is of that now in the mind of the worker changing as the reflex of changing conditions, all of them basically economic. J. A. McDONALD.

**War Profits—Labor's Opportunity**

Richard H. Edmonds, editor "The Manufacturers' Record," Baltimore, Md., in a letter to the New York Times of Aug. 13, gives much valuable information regarding the immense profits now being realized by the big corporations engaged in the manufacture of war munitions. According to him, these profits are large enough to permit the erection of new plants and the rehabilitation of old ones.

Says he: "Many concerns are now building out of profits on their war orders, magnificent plants which they would not have felt justified in constructing for many years to come. This is strikingly illustrated in the case of the great plant which the Baldwin Locomotive Works are building at Eddystone near Philadelphia, to be used for not less than two years for the making of rifles by the Remington people, and which at the end of the contract is to be turned into a locomotive plant which will give this company one of the largest locomotive works in the world, and which in the ordinary course of business they probably would not have built for a good many years. This is typical of many new plants under construction throughout New England and in some places in the West, and to a smaller extent in the South, though in Baltimore and Virginia some big work is being done, the du Ponts having under construction in Virginia a plant upon which about 12,000 to 15,000 men are working."

Again, Edmonds writes, further along in the same letter: "Speculation in stocks and bonds, and the great financial bankers and financial authorities may warn the country against gambling in war securities; but men who are building these plants are not the gamblers in securities, nor will these new works be affected even should there come a collapse in the speculative mania in war stocks and bonds. The great concerns will, as a result of the work which they are doing, secure vastly larger plants than would have been feasible for them to build for many years. This is pre-eminently true throughout New England where many of the long established institutions of the section are being modernized and new machinery are enlarging their plants or building new ones out of profits from this business. The men who are modernizing their plants or building new ones are among the ablest business men of the country. They are not, as a general thing, taking risks. They are making contracts which show a profit which more than pays for the new works they are building; and thus this expansion of industry is being brought about without the investment of new capital on the part of Eastern and Western concerns, who are taking the lead in this work."

Notwithstanding the huge profits thus converted into new capital, the workers' efforts to get more wages and shorter hours from these corporations are condemned by many. It is all right for the capitalists to profit from this new condition, but all wrong for labor. As W. Perkins said in his address, "You know that Geo. W. Perkins is very much concerned about the labor situation? He thinks that if peace was declared before winter, an army of unemployed would again be on our hands. He feels that present war boom for labor is a will-o'-the-wisp. The solicitude for labor is a will-o'-the-wisp. It is a will-o'-the-wisp, kind, though misplaced. With many corporations already granting shorter days, increased wages, bonuses, pensions, baths, etc., it would seem that the war boom is at present a little more substantial than Mr. Perkins' rhetorical comparison would imply. As many of the capitalists are not in the habit of extending over one year and more, it would seem that the cessation of employment, due to the war's end, is not as near at hand as Mr. Perkins fears.

Aside from that, why should not labor take advantage of every opportunity of its labor, no matter what the duration of that demand? Is it not an axiom of capitalist political economy that wages increase when the demand for labor is great, and vice versa, wages decline when the supply of labor is in excess of its demand? Would Mr. Perkins suspend the political economy of his own class of capitalists, and in the interest of the working class, too? Truly, Mr. Perkins is some "friend of labor"—just the kind we've all along suspected him of being; his solicitude is of the usual kind—most profitable to the corporations with which he is both directly and indirectly connected.

Labor will do well to ignore Perkins' solicitude and organize industrially to get all the wages that the war situation will enable it to compel the capitalists to disgorge. This is the opportunity of a life-time. J. E.

**The Bayonne Strike**

By "X" in The New Republic

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey maintains a settled policy of refusing to deal with any "professional labor man or other outsider." At its great Bayonne refinery, where five thousand men are employed in one of the most profitable enterprises in the country, it maintains "almost navy yard discipline." There is no machinery for collective bargaining or the easy adjustment of grievance. The quoted phrases are those of Mr. Gifford, its general manager. He justifies this undemocratic regime on the ground that the workmen are unable to speak English, and of a class requiring firm treatment, and that large quantities of highly inflammable and explosive liquids are stored at the plant. Until the recent strike the company paid its common laborers at the rate of \$1.75 for nine hours' work. Five hundred of the labor force work in shifts of ten hours during the day and fourteen hours during the night, the men changing shifts once a week and receiving 24 hours' rest each seven days.

Adjoining the Standard Oil Company's plant is that of the International Nickel Company, whose product is converted copper and nickel. It employs thirteen hundred men. Until recently it paid its common laborers at the rate of \$1.80 for nine hours' work. About July 1st its employees asked for an increase in wages. To aid them in negotiating with the company they employed Paul C. Supinsky, a Polish lawyer, with offices in Bayonne and Jersey City. Superintendent Stanley met Mr. Supinsky, and after some discussion agreed to an increase of ten per cent. There was no strike. The employees of the Standard plant learned that common laborers at the adjoining plant were receiving 22 cents an hour. Both companies were operating their plants at capacity and exporting heavily to Europe. There seemed no good reason why the Standard Oil Company should pay 19 to 20 cents an hour for the same work that brought International Nickel Company employees 22 cents.

The dissatisfaction first found expression among the still cleaners, a body of one hundred men whose function is to enter the stills soon after they have been emptied and scrape from the interior walls the tarry substances left by the previous batch.

The still cleaners were paid on a piece rate basis and earned from \$2.30 to \$2.70 a day. They work in the stills at temperatures ranging from 200 to 300 degrees. To protect their bodies from the intense heat they wear several layers of clothing, and breathe their faces with fans. They take a shift of seven hours they drink from ten to fourteen quarts of coffee each, to stimulate perspiration the better to withstand the intense heat.

Although the International Nickel Company employs no still cleaners, its operations involve other arduous work, for which proportionate increases have been granted. The still cleaners at the Standard plant decided to apply to the management for a similar increase, and for the discharge of a foreman regarded as insulting and arbitrary.

They accordingly held a meeting and decided to engage Supinsky to draw up their demands. These included a fifteen per cent increase in pay and the discharge of the foreman, an answer to be given within twenty-four hours. The written demands were presented to Superintendent Hennessy by a committee of six. Supinsky accompanied the committee when it presented its demands to Superintendent Hennessy. He considered the demands, and denounced the committee's chairman for engaging an outside agent. Members of the committee assert they were peremptorily discharged. This is denied by Superintendent Hennessy. The committee members were allowed to return to the Standard plant, but the strike was renewed. Superintendent Hennessy, after rebuffing the committee, issued a statement warning the employees against "outside agitators" and announcing the company's refusal to deal with any outsider. The strike then quickly developed.

No serious disorder occurred until July 20th, nearly a week after the strike began. On that date the city police responded to the demand of the Standard that the strikers be prohibited from congregating on streets leading to the plant, and serious rioting followed the effort of the police to drive strikers from the public thoroughfares. Thomas Berghoff, a southerner who had refused to join the strike, was hit with a brick thrown by a striker and so seriously injured that several days later he died. On the following day a boy of nineteen was killed by a policeman's bullet. This enraged the strikers. On the same afternoon the Standard Oil Company began to import a large number of armed guards, supplied by Berghoff Bros. & Waddell, a detective and strike-breaking agency in New York City. Neither before this time nor later was there any serious disorder at the plant of the Standard company.

The bringing in of armed guards was a precautionary measure. The Standard Oil Company has a large force of New York paper advertisements and from among men whose names were registered at the offices of the agency. After the strike, when 130 of these guards were arrested, Mr. Berghoff, secretary of the company, admitted that he did not know many of them, as he had never worked in any of the Bayonne plants. He referred to them as "a lot of thugs," and urged the county authorities to discharge them without requiring bail.

By Thursday, July 21st, the strike had spread to the plant of the Tidewater Oil Company, adjoining that of the Standard. The Standard Oil Company "owns not more than 15 per cent" of the stock of the Tidewater Company and has a representative on the board of directors. It also transports oil for the Tidewater Company from the Oklahoma field to the western terminus of the Tidewater's pipe line near Bayonne. The Tidewater plant occupied a more exposed situation in relation to the strikers' homes and gathering places. On Thursday morning its management borrowed a force of armed guards from the Standard plant to supplement its own force, composed of non-striking employees armed with rifles. Enraged by the killing of a boy on the preceding day, the strikers gathered in large numbers and threw stones and bricks over the walls and through the gates of the plant. The guards replied with rifle fire. Some of the strikers then threw cheap revolvers and returned the fire. Two strikers were killed and two fatally wounded in the unequal skirmish that followed.

Sheriff Kinkead of Hudson county arrived Thursday afternoon and began the spectacular campaign of coercion and persuasion by which he finally succeeded in breaking the strike and inducing the men to return to work. He arrested and assaulted J. J. Bally, a voracious socialist from Elizabeth, whom the sheriff himself had selected from among the strikers as one of a committee to negotiate with him and the company. Bally represented himself as a Standard Oil Company employe, and the sheriff's assault on him followed an exposure of the fact that he had never worked in any of the Bayonne plants. The assault was unprovoked, and was admittedly for the purpose of overawing the strikers. The New York Call, a socialist daily, was barred from Bayonne. To gain the strikers' confidence the sheriff arrested thirty of the armed guards at the Tidewater plant, and followed this, after the strike was ended, by the arrest of one hundred more. He promised the strikers to urge the companies to grant an increase, and procured from the Standard Oil Company's superintendent a written promise that he would recommend an increase. (Continued On Page Three)

# Free Speech Down East-- Other News And Views

Twelve hundred business men have gone into a two weeks' military training at Plattsburgh, N. Y. This is done to impress foolish workmen, and get them to enlist in the regular army for three years? Three years for two weeks--that's the proportion of all things that the workers usually give to and get from the capitalists.

Talk about "class distinctions." Why "a business man's regiment"? Are they to be the initiate of the initiated?

Well, business men show their usual lack of patriotism when no strike is involved. I took three cities, Boston, Philadelphia and New York, to contribute that Plattsburgh contingent. This, evidently, is not a case of "fools rushing in where angels fear to tread."

Did you notice the attitude of Gompers in regard to the munition workers' strike at New England? "Council!" Always ready to show a protective leaning toward big capitalist interests, and away from all movements that threatened them.

We've often wondered what keeps Gompers in the A. F. of L. presidency. He is representative of a union that is of no basic importance in industry, in fact, manufactures a luxury--the cigarmakers' union--and yet he bosses more important leaders. What's the secret?

New England seems ripe for a big free speech fight. Not only are I. W. W. men prevented from talking on New England streets, but also are A. F. of L. men. In fact, manufacturers and metal workers engaged in making war material. Especially is this the case in Bridgeport, Conn. All elements of the labor movement in New England are affected by the so-called municipal ordinances regulating street speaking, or more truthfully killing free speech for the capitalists' benefit. Let them get together in New England on the issue as the I. W. W. did out in Spokane and other cities of the Middle West and Pacific coast. Then free speech in New England will be a fact; not, as now--a figure of speech.

The Aug. 1 International Socialist Review contains a review of a speech delivered in Chicago by Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the U. S. Industrial Relations Commission, entitled "Lawson and Liberty." It is worth extensive circulation, especially in view of the mass of evidence gathered by the commission and quoted by the speaker, dealing with the Rockefeller crimes and defiance of the court in Colorado.

Other good articles in the same review are "Among the Harveters," by Fellow Worker Nils H. Sanzon, and "The Reds of Germany," by Frank Bohm. Bohm has just returned from Germany. His opinion of German Socialism is most severe, and surpasses in forcefulness and bitterness anything penned by other observers and critics. There is certainly some flow to it, as it deserves.

Even the boxes did it necessary to get together in a protective association. His object was to bring to unite people with mutual and common interests. There are still millions of workers who believe that they can fight the trusts and employers' associations single-handed and alone. The fact that they receive less wages and have fewer rights than those who organize, dem-

## Holdups and Low Wages

(Special to Solidarity)

Minneapolis, Minn., Aug. 14. Already you can hear the noise of Kansas in regard to holdups, as the same gang is following the harvest through from one state into another, so as to be able to harvest the harvesters' little state through a crap game, poker, or at the point of a gun. So far these gangsters leave the I. W. W. pretty much alone, but we cannot tell what they may try to do before the harvest is over. They have respect for the I. W. W., and it would be easy to get after them, but most of the I. W. W. boys say, "Well, let them go ahead, so long as they don't bother us," and so they are going along easily. Our boys take about this attitude: "We, the I. W. W., are here to protect ourselves, and if there are those that don't want to protect themselves, we should worry. The slaves that do not want to organize deserve no consideration from organized workers, and if these trusts are no-growth enough to do all the work for almost nothing, and then get it in the neck, it may teach them a lesson to organize and protect themselves. Let us line up with them. And then the stickups will work, too, if they are getting decent wages."

There are several reports that the farmers want to pay only \$2.50, and are ordering slaves out of the towns. But as soon as the workers do leave the farmers are crying for help. The price of wheat is "small"; only \$1.29 for a great big bushel. And so Farmer John can't pay more than \$2.50, which is less than a two-bushel sack of wheat to a man per day.

Some farmers are paying \$3, and some are coming through with \$3.25, and \$3.50 will be an easy matter in some places.

Line up you harvest workers. Make a stand for more of the good things of life. Organize. Organization is power.

# The Cookies That Mother Used To Bake

In the good old days, not so many years ago, it was one of the household duties of the woman to do the baking of the family. Sometimes they devoted their entire day to this task, laying in a supply of bread stuffs that lasted for weeks; and that was well calculated in advance to satisfy woman's actual needs, and also to gratify some of the finer tastes. For the excellent women of those days, not only baked the more substantial "staff of life," bread, but they also indulged in good, wholesome pies, topping the whole off with cookies and knick-knacks that made the mouth water, and caused the small boy's appetite to grow unduly large and sometimes injurious to his little stomach.

But the good old home is being "destroyed," not by anarchists or socialists, but by modern industrial evolution. Mother and sister, wife and daughter, no longer do our baking and tempt us overmuch with the products of the oven. Gradually we have factors outside of our home been taking from them their old time occupations and glories. First came the small baker, who, in a shop and with an oven in a cellar, employed a helper and a boy. Later came baking companies, who specialized in certain lines, some baking bread, others pies, still others cakes, while the largest of them are the confection and cookie bakeries, which along these lines has been greater than any longer is making suspect.

No longer is the baking of work of one or two women in a household. No longer is it the function of a baker with a small shop that supplies the immediate neighborhood. No longer is it even the aim for a woman to supply one or two city eaters; it is now the aim for companies to organize to supply many companies in many states. And no longer do factors outside of our home take from them their old time occupation and glories. In the early household. But instead machinery of the highest type, containing almost automatic in operation, is required. Where formerly a few dollars were sufficient to purchase the utensils wherein to mix, knead and bake the dough, now the baking company of the highest type costs millions of dollars, and employs tens of thousands of men and women, most largely the latter. These companies have their "factory towns," i. e., towns in which their bakeries are located; and also their "agency towns," i. e., towns in which agencies are located for the distribution of the products of the bakeries. Baking has become a production from millions of hands held "hors" involving small "factories" for a pursuit, to a series of specialized industries, involving millions of capital, equipped with the most advanced mechanical devices and employing tens of thousands in a territory almost synonymous with the entire country. Baking has been transformed from the function of a myriad of very small units to that of an increased number of very large units.

One of the largest companies of the modern baking type--if not the largest--is the National Biscuit Company. We don't know the amount at which this company is capitalized. But to judge from external indications, the capital must be near the 50 million mark, if not above it. Last Christmas this company presented all of its employees with a \$3 gold piece. This gift resulted in the publication of a booklet entitled "The N. B. C. Gold Presentation." In this booklet are published the speeches made on the occasion of the presentation, interwoven with other matter, complimentary to the company and its president. Of course, the whole is a big advertisement; but it is from this booklet that we derived the following facts:

First, the N. B. C. is a paternalistic corporation--that is, a corporation of the most advanced modern type. Its president is a miniature Kaiser, and like Wilhelm of Germany is oppressed with the belief that he is fulfilling a religious trust in exploiting the company's employees. That is evident from the following: "The booklet, which he addresses 'To the National Biscuit Company FAMILY' (the caps are ours). It is also evident in the fact that the idea of the gold presentation of the booklet, was ordered carried out by him. Also in his quasi-religious address to the meeting of the New York employees. The N. B. C. is anything but democratic, as we shall see as we go along.

We find, second, that the N. B. C. had seventeen thousand and eighty-two employees in December, 1914. Third, the plants are located in the words of Salesman R. Skinner of Des Moines, Iowa (p. 22): "From the sunny shores of the Gulf to the bleak border of Canada, from ocean to ocean, there are hundreds of 'factory towns,' to quote the phraseology of one President Earl Babb, of '88, in New York, Chi-

# The Bayonne Strike

Continued From Page Two. The amount of which was not stated, if the men would first return to work. A few men, including Sheriff Kinkead induced the strikers to return. The sheriff's motive was not only to break the strike and prevent further disorder, but admittedly also to increase his political strength. In this he was successful, as the strikers here and "aining much prestige by their return, and the sheriff's political courage. His course had the cordial approval of the Standard Oil Company, which was enabled to maintain its refusal to make any concession until the men had returned to work, and securing a well-aid policy of resisting the duress of collective action by its employees.

A few days after the men had returned to work the Tidewater Oil Company announced an increase of 15 per cent. for common laborers and other increases for the more skilled workers of those engaged in more arduous labor. The Standard Oil Company followed this with a 10 per cent. increase for common laborers, an increase of slightly less than 10 per cent. for the strike, and other increases in proportion. (Since this was written the company has announced an increase of 22 cents an hour, or 22 per cent. of the hourly rate transferred the still cleaners' foreman to another department, but did not discharge him.)

The facts of the Bayonne situation contradict the statement of the Standard Oil Company, issued from Broadway, that it pays the prevailing rate of wages or better. Not only the International Nickel Company, but the Pacific Coast Borax Company, also makes no additions to the Standard, paid more for common labor than did the Standard, and today.

Members of the strikers' committee assert that they never have free approval of the superintendent or other executive officials of the company, but rather believe that to do so would be to court certain discharge. Even had they felt free to voice complaints, effective expression and negotiation would be prevented by the inability of the men to speak with confidence, and with self-confidence. The policy of the company in refusing to make any concession because they had employed an English-speaking lawyer, must be regarded as one of the chief facts.

A statement of Mr. Gifford, general manager of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, in connection with the Bayonne strike, is significant. He said that the company did not pay a uniform rate of wages, but that it was set by the poorest and meanest?

It is certain that a lesson in internationalism is being taught by the corporation p. office. What a pity labor will not learn a similar lesson from the purpose of self-protection.

Six, needless to say, labor unionism is not tolerated. No reference is made to it, in "The N. B. C. Gold Presentation." A man from what the writer has learned from other sources, any attempt at labor organization would result in instant discharge, when discovered. The company being paternalistic, must have a right to great discretion in its so is militaristic. Its employees are uniformed, according to the nature of their military and their official positions. They are drilled in military drill, and are drilled down.

Said Mr. Babst in the address: "You are all members of this company, and your managers, foremen and assistant foremen, on the military order with which you are marked, and that the floor and grouped yourselves in this remarkable room. If, at the conference, you have any suggestions, you leave the building in as order, and you will have an example for West Point itself."

"The N. B. C." is not only paternalistic and militaristic, but also pietistic. It pulls the long religious rope which exploits its wage slaves, amid its cant of democracy. Its president preaches submission to conditions as they are, as befits the head of a corporation like his own. (See p. 11): "discharge, when discovered. The company being paternalistic, must have a right to great discretion in its so is militaristic. Its employees are uniformed, according to the nature of their military and their official positions. They are drilled in military drill, and are drilled down."

"When our Lord came out in his public preaching, He came out and preached the gospel of love and the gospel of contentment. That should be impressed on all of you--the doctrine of contentment. Be satisfied with your lot. That is the great lesson that should be taught by the rich man. But by any of the pleasures of youth. Remember the Kaiser, and like Wilhelm of Germany, can not have and be satisfied with your lot."

It is interesting in this teaching from that of true democracy, with its restless ambitions, its push and hurry, its drive toward and upward. It is a position to every obstacle and every barrier to progress and continued development. The president knows that the day of such doctrine has passed, and that only one out of 17,000 employees who can be president of the N. B. C.; and that it is the duty of the president to leave the company to seek promotion elsewhere. This teaching is also being given to the most prominent ripening into revolt and organization, and the president is most kind that will dispute the company's absolute control and establish the right of the workers to elect their own democracy, in which the employees shall rule instead of being ruled.

But enough has been said in showing the immense changes in baking the "factory towns" that have been made. It is symptomatic of industrial revolution, past, present and to come. J. E.

# Jailed On False Charge

(Special to Solidarity)  
Missoula, Mont, Aug 10  
The writer and Fellow Worker Rocco Marmorale came to Missoula about the 10th of July to organize our district. He had been here for about four days when a plainclothesman arrested us on the street and took us to the city jail, without any charge.

In the jail we were charged with breaking into a house and stealing some furniture. The only witness that had a second-hand store proprietor, marked said that the floor and grouped yourselves in this remarkable room. If, at the conference, you have any suggestions, you leave the building in as order, and you will have an example for West Point itself."

Now, we happen to have a socialist who is being prosecuted by the law, and he is trying to starve us to death here. Our menu for breakfast is a cup of green mush, four thin slices of bread and some would-be coffee, and some skim milk. For dinner a bowl of green mush, four slices of bread, and some more would-be coffee.

This grafting politician who calls himself a socialist and is supposed to be against the graft, is a Democrat or Republican would dare to do. They even burn our letters and throw away our papers that come here for us. The prisoners here are reading our literature, and the last few days we have been trying to get the boys together and stand better on our feet. We have been all disaffected with the food, and there appears to be forming a state of solidarity among the prisoners, so I expect to see things flying sideways before long.

From what we can learn of conditions outside, Mr. John Farmer is the only man whose address is in New York City, and he is now definitely announced as the "official" work. He is now in the city of New York, at 218 Hanover Street, it is now definitely announced as the "official" work. He is now in the city of New York, at 218 Hanover Street, it is now definitely announced as the "official" work.

We invite all fellow workers coming through here, to stop in and see the boys. R. A. HULTMAN, ROCCO MAR MORA, Box 1628, County Jail, Missoula, Mont.

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