

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL"

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Shall Fellow Worker Shaffer Be Legally Murdered?

The state of Montana, aided by one self-confessed gunman, is seeking to legally murder Fellow Worker Frank Shaffer. THIS IS YOUR FIGHT!

A Paterson Experiment Intended to Head off I. W. W. Endorsed by Silk Manufacturers, City Officials and Other Leading Citizens

(From the Paterson Press) Substitution of arbitration for strikes in the silk industry in Paterson, and the whole of the State, is to be made possible through the organization of the Brotherhood of American Silk Workers, which filed articles of incorporation with County Clerk John J. Slater today.

The formation of the new association, which is independent both of the American Federation of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World, comes as a complete surprise to the general public. The preliminary work has been done very quietly, but none the less thoroughly.

Of great interest to the public in the plans of the Brotherhood will be the arrangement made for the settlement of labor disputes. Arbitration must be resorted to, and all differences the question at issue will be taken up by a board composed of five manufacturers and ten members of the association.

The formation of the association was pressed today by the silk manufacturers of the city, on being notified by the P. of its purpose. Samuel McCollon, president of the Paterson Silk Manufacturers Association, made a statement commending the plan, and many other employers expressed their pleasure at the plan as it was afforded today.

A Press representative this morning interviewed Samuel McCollon, president of the Silk Manufacturers Association, and the following statement was made: "I have read with interest the plan as outlined in the preamble of the I. W. W. workers to be published in the Press. It has many points of merit to commend it, and as a business employer can object to its provisions, if the plan as outlined is carried out."

Reporters of the Press also interviewed several of the other silk manufacturers, and all of them looked with favor on the new organization. Frederick S. Cowperthwaite, treasurer of the Weidman Silk Weaving Company, said he was heartily in sympathy with any movement that would bring about a better understanding between the employer and the employee closer to each other, declaring that he believed a census plan of the organization formed a platform on which both capital and labor could stand for the good of both parties and the stability

of industry generally. Charles L. Auger, president of the National Silk Company said his company would favor any responsible organization, intelligently governed, that would carry on its work in a lawful and orderly manner. Mr. Auger added that it was evident to him from reading the preamble of the association that the brotherhood aimed to be just that kind of an organization.

Others interviewed were: C. H. Straus of Frank & Dugan, Charles Slingland, president of the Ribbon Manufacturers' Association and J. Bentley, of the Bentley Silk Company, and all expressed themselves as favoring any plan that would bring the workers and the manufacturers into closer relationship.

Thomas Brown, one of the incorporators of the Brotherhood and a member of the Dakota Farmers' Association, expressed himself to a Press representative this afternoon regarding the organization.

"Having been working at the silk trade for eighteen years and having been in strikes several times, and not having gained anything by them, I really possess a great deal of sympathy for a plan that would bring the workers and the manufacturers into closer relationship."

After 25 years of working in the Helvetia mill, said George the incorporators who also is employed in the Helvetia mill, said George

DAKOTA FARMERS IN "HELL-OF-A-FIX"

A traveling agent, who has been moving about extensively among the rural sections of North Dakota the past few months, drops this note to Solidarity: "The farmers in North Dakota make me laugh every day over 'them that fear the I. W. W. fear the rabbit. The right answer floors them every time. I tell them they haven't the spirit to possess a rabbit that fattens off them, then they would not be haggling over the paltry 50 cents to \$1.50 more in wages per day demanded by the wage slaves who have awakened."

"I tell them they may look for more of the wobbles and each harvest they will be more exacting in their demands for the rabbit that fattens off them, then they would not be haggling over the paltry 50 cents to \$1.50 more in wages per day demanded by the wage slaves who have awakened."

CLEVELAND UNEMPLOYED

The extent of unemployment in Cleveland has until this week been considered a puzzle to us, on an account of the physical character of the city. Covering a large area, and having a different spirit toward every body congregates, the out-of-workers were not so much in evidence. Now, however, we have some statistics that are really appalling. The leading capitalist paper, the Plain Dealer, furnishes the figures, or rather quotes Supt. W. F. Hennessey, who has made a study of the employment bureau, as having made a careful survey of the situation, estimating the unemployed in Cleveland at 61,000. This shows that at least one in every ten of the city population are unemployed. These are wage-earners, not including their families. According to the Plain Dealer, of Dec. 21, in connection with the unemployed survey, fifty-percent look for at fifty paltry. Reports showed that 8,901 men applied for work and only 4,106 were hired.

EMANCIPATION

STRIKING TIMES IN THE SAILORS UNION OF THE PACIFIC

(Special to Solidarity) San Francisco, Cal., Dec. 17

For a number of years the craft unions, sailors' union included, have led the workers that they could not work unless they joined their respective craft unions. Today, approximately 50 per cent are out of work, so you see only half of them are allowed to work. This is merely to show you that the sailors' union (fair is telling the workers) want to join the Eastern and Gulf Sails' union, they will be able to get job.

The principle at stake is wider than any organization. It is the interest of all who sell that is at stake. Is it a workingman? It is your fight. The Shaffer Defense Committee appeals for funds—it demands funds.

The evidence is that a number of I. W. W. men tried to disarm gunman. This is a virtue for, a duty of the ordinary citizen. Is it a CRIME for members of the I. W. W. to be non-combatant was killed. All the evidence of the coroner's inquest is conclusively that it was not a member of the I. W. W. who shot Giantvalley. This is the evidence of W. H. Licker, a special officer of the Northern R. R. All the witnesses were not agreed to accept the fact that Fellow Worker Shaffer did the shooting. He only said that Fellow Worker Shaffer could have done it, also could the governor of Montana have been there and had a gun. There is no more evidence against Shaffer than against the governor of Montana except that Shaffer was not one of some 60 others who were on the ground.

There is no evidence against Fellow Worker Shaffer. He is not a shipper for murder. He is there for a crime in the view of the capitalist class greater than murder. He is a member of the working class who belongs to the Industrial Workers of the World.

THIS IS HIS CRIME, AND IF THE WORKING CLASS DOES NOT TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION THE PENALTY MAY BE DEATH!

The defense of Shaffer will take a large amount of money. You cannot get justice unless you buy the state of Montana will spend thousands to convict, but not one cent to defend the fellow worker in the legal struggle for his life.

Do not wait till it is too late. The time is now. Send all communications and funds to the Shaffer Defense Committee—G. J. Bourge, Secy-Treas., whose name and address is on the list.

LOS ANGELES I. W. W. PLOWING THE SOIL

(Special to Solidarity) Los Angeles, Cal., Dec. 17

It is with pleasure that we report the progress of the Los Angeles Propaganda League. In the past month we have taken in 110 new members, and things are going along well. Held a smoker which was a success both financially and in point of attendance.

In fact the slaves are waking up so fast here that we will be forced to move into a larger hall the first of the month. The street meetings are well attended and we are taking in new members at a remarkable rate. We held two meetings a day when weather permits, and as we have plenty of speakers, we have the enthusiasm. Engle, Trout, Sullivan, Minko, Gordon and Wright are the speakers to go to hold a smoker on the 24th. All rebels on the coast in this vicinity are expected to be there.

The general conditions on the Pacific coast are the same as in other parts of the country, only a little worse, but the slaves are showing a different spirit toward every body than usual. Last Saturday, a business agent of "God and the King" was endeavoring to get the unemployed to accept a ticket for some free (?) soup; many of the boys who are members of the I. W. W. took the tickets and tore them up, some of them threw them back into his face. That is what will show the masters that we will no longer accept the crumbs they offer, but are determined to take our full product. We will not be demoralized by our former secretary with some of the League's money which he had been writing a letter to the boys showing the right spirit, and are digging better than ever to make the League more abundant for the benefit of the workers. P. S.—Fellow Worker Sullivan is our new secretary. Address all communications to him. A. S. B. P. O. Box 1481, Los Angeles, Cal.

CHICAGO PAUPERS TOTAL A TENTH OF POPULATION

Report of Cook County Board President Shows 250,000 Aided in the Current Year. Private List Runs High.

By Henry M. Hyde, in Chicago Tribune

One out of every ten people in Chicago is apparently a pauper. A pauper, according to the dictionaries, is a destitute person who receives aid from public charity.

The annual report of the retiring president of the board of county commissioners, stated that during the current year partial or complete support was given at public expense to 250,000 residents of Cook county.

The total population of Cook county is approximately 2,500,000. Of the 250,000 public charges about 50,000 were cared for in public institutions. Food, clothing, and fuel were given to 200,000 more.

To these must be added a certain percentage of the enormous number of people who applied for aid to the private charitable organizations. In many cases the same people received aid from both public and private charity.

80,000 ASKED AID LAST YEAR The last report of the United Charities shows that applications for aid were received during the last fiscal year from more than 200,000 people, representing some 80,000 individuals. How many of these people are also represented on the list of the county charities it is impossible to state.

Still in addition there are the tens of thousands of cases—so far as they are not duplicated—which are handled by the Associated Jewish Charities and the 1,500 or more other agencies for the distribution of private charity.

Altogether it seems certain that at least one out of every ten people in the city receives more or less aid during the year from either public or private charity.

NUMBER INCREASES EACH YEAR Each year the number of such applications increases. In 1912-13, for instance, the aid of the United Charities was asked by 124,644 families, representing some 56,000 individuals. This year the number of families applying for help jumped to 20,828, with more than 80,000 people involved.

Fortunately the United Charities is a great social laboratory, as well as an agency for the distribution of aims. It has made a careful study of the causes which brought so many people to the point where they were willing to appeal for charity.

Last year the number of families which were made destitute because their wage earners were out of work was 2,000 out of 14,000. This year, of 20,000 such families more than 9,000—or nearly one-half—are forced by lack of work to become charitable charges. There are, of course, many other causes, but the other show no great change in proportion to the total number of applicants.

NEW BABIES MUST HAVE HOMES There is one notable exception to the rule. Last year the arrival of a new baby obliged 1,800 families to apply for help. This year there were nearly twice as many such cases, in which the added expense due to childbirth drove a family to ask for charity.

Just noticeable in connection with the great lack of employment is the fact that 12,000 families made their first application to the United Charities during the present year.

ANALYSIS OF CAUSES For the benefit of people who take more than a sentimental interest in the subject the analysis prepared by the United Charities is here given.

(Caution: These figures should not be added together, for frequently more than one kind of trouble was found in one family.)

Table with 2 columns: Cause and Number of Families. Includes categories like 20,628 families, 1913-1914, 9,514 instances of unemployment, 8,675 instances of acute illness, 2,530 instances of maternity, 1,630 instances of tuberculosis, 1,247 instances of intemperance, 1,237 instances of chronic physical disability, 1,484 instances of insufficient earnings, 817 instances of death, 476 instances of improvidence, 772 instances of acute illness, 657 instances of old age, 470 instances of accident, 339 instances of subnormal mind, 386 instances of immigration within three years, 247 instances of immorality, 281 instances of immorality, 309 instances of moral deficiency, 284 instances of venereal disease, 259 instances of illegitimacy, 247 instances of tendency to beg, 224 instances of industrial accident, 193 instances of idleness or shiftlessness, 168 instances of bad housing, 161 instances of epilepsy, 62 instances of incompetence, 76 instances of occupational diseases, 53 instances of idleness or shiftlessness.

"VOICE" SUSPENDS

Portland, Ore., Dec. 16 Solidarity: The "Voice of the People" is now dead. I enclosed a mailing list in the hope that you will be able to fill out the unexpired subscriptions. I will write a short letter to the boys closing financial statement to be inserted in the next issue. I hope that the suspension of the Voice will have the effect of adding to the number of Solidarity, so that we will be able to keep one paper in the field anyway. Yours for the Universal Freedom, B. E. NILSSON

Table with 2 columns: Crime and Number of Cases. Includes categories like 1912, 1913, 1914, 1,151 Burglary, 1,015 Robbery, 2,824 Petty larceny, 2,938 Just how intimate may be the connection between these figures and those of the United Charities is difficult to prove. They may be studied in connection with the further fact that on Sunday night there were 3,700 penniless men sheltered in the municipal lodging house, being several hundred more than ever before.

SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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 General Headquarters—Room 397—148 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

GENERAL OFFICERS: J. W. Kelly, F. H. Little, M. F. Fox, Vincent St. John, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.; G. W. Woodruff, Gen. Sec'y; Wm. D. Haywood, Gen. Organizer; Edward Koettgen, C. H. Edwards

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD: J. W. Kelly, F. H. Little, M. F. Fox, Vincent St. John, G. W. Woodruff, Wm. D. Haywood, E. Koettgen, C. H. Edwards

FUTURE OF SOLIDARITY

As will be noted elsewhere, the "Voice of the People," the I. W. W. paper published formerly in New Orleans, and the last few months in Portland, Oregon, has decided to suspend publication. All unexpired subscriptions to the "Voice" will be filled by Solidarity.

This latest addition to the list of "silent" I. W. W. papers affords an occasion for sober reflection. A press is absolutely indispensable to the existence and development of any organization. There is no group of people seeking to represent any idea or principle which fails to establish a paper to propagate its idea. There is no other better means by which its members may be kept in touch with one another, and outsiders brought to a knowledge of the movement. Of course there are also public meetings, lectures, and word of mouth means of communication and propaganda. No doubt, every reader of Solidarity will agree with this. But "agreement" is not enough, as the experience of the "Voice," and other I. W. W. papers which have preceded it to the graveyard shows. We must have ACTION—concentrated, and directed persistently to the purpose of building up our press.

SOLIDARITY is the oldest of I. W. W. papers still in the field. It will be FIVE years old next week. In point of duration this paper has existed longer by nearly a year than any previously-founded I. W. W. paper. This is perhaps due to a number of causes—one of which is the timely support received by us at critical periods, from individual members and sympathizers. On several occasions during the past five years the paper would have suspended had it not been for such "lifts" from I. W. W. men with a few dollars in their possession. Another cause is found in the fact that we have in part succeeded in building up a literature and job-printing industry, which has helped to make up part of the natural deficit on the paper alone. This has been a slow and painful process, however, and has by no means reached the point of putting us out of financial danger. Still another explanation of our "powers of endurance" is obtained from the circumstance that we found it necessary back in 1910, to buy our own press and set up our own printing plant. Though this probably seemed impracticable and foolish to some at the time, it has really proven to be one of the best bulwarks of our continued existence. Capitalist creditors are prone to look with more favor upon a business establishment with some tangible property behind it, than upon a man behind an office desk only. At the same time, the cost of running the plant has been much less than would have been the cost of paying for having all the work done outside on the paper and job-printing industry. Advertising matter for our own use—circulars, sub cards, blanks, etc., has thus been done practically at cost. This printing plant still exists, in good condition. Outside of our cylinder press, on which we print Solidarity and other literature, the machinery and printing material is not encumbered with chattel mortgages. The press in question is more than half paid for, and the monthly installments are being met promptly. The plant is sufficiently equipped to handle all necessary work, and just now we are not contemplating any additions thereto, except to replace from time to time the wear and tear on type and other printing material. We feel more than certain that we have demonstrated the necessity and practicality of an I. W. W. printing plant, and that the same should by all means be kept going.

But just now the situation is not altogether encouraging. In the last six months, receipts of the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau have averaged about \$650 monthly. This average has been greatly enlarged by July receipts which ran up over \$1,000. The average was cut down by those of September, which fell below \$500. This slump, following the opening of the European war, left us still handicapped at the end of November, and December receipts again show another slump. Meanwhile we have contracted some good-sized paper bills, which will be due in January and must be met. That is going to require all the money due us from locals, and more besides. We hope our supporters will not fail us in this emergency, and thus endanger the existence of their printing plant!

In the six months mentioned, we have not only issued the paper regularly, but have also printed 50,000 Song Books—the first edition of 20,000 having been completely paid for and sold out; the second and larger edition still remaining to be paid for. We have also printed a 10,000 edition of St. John's "History," and the same number of Woodruff's "Advancing Proletariat," both paid for in full. These achievements have been made possible by careful financing, on a really narrow margin. We want to continue getting out more new pamphlets, thus strengthening our position financially, and getting nearer the point where calls for donations will be unnecessary.

To this latter end, several things must be done at once:

1. THE THOUSAND DOLLAR FUND must be completed within THIRTY days. Receipts on this fund have helped us greatly at times the past year, and they are needed now more

than ever.

2. Bundle and literature bills now owing must be paid at once. Locals should strive to keep their bundles up as high as possible, in spite of hard times, and pay for them promptly. A few locals may possibly be able to stock up on Song Books, by taking advantage of our special offer in thousands of \$30.00 BIRLS. THOUSAND. They will help us to pay our paper bill on time, if the locals act promptly.

3. Some effort should be made by each and every local to build up the subscription list of Solidarity in their respective localities. We venture a modest suggestion that 100,000 BIRLS, there are at least 100,000 workers in the United States who could be induced to subscribe for Solidarity, if the paper were called to their attention with some emphasis a few times only. Efforts along this line seem pitifully few. We get plenty of "lifts" which are no doubt necessary, but little evidence of enthusiastic sub-hunting. At least every reader of Solidarity could send us the names and addresses of some fellow workers, to whom we might send sample copies. If you feel yourself unable to get subs personally, send us a small invitation along with your name, and we will give them the advantage of our Five Weeks' Sub offer. Our secretary will have some further and very practical suggestions to offer sub-getters, in a week or two.

Meanwhile, let us do something with our presswork. We view not only to keep it alive, but also to extend its influence. You have Solidarity now; determine to KEEP it, and to make it count for something in the critical period we are now approaching in the American labor movement.

A Paterson Experiment

That is an interesting development, our readers will observe elsewhere, which is taking place in Paterson, New Jersey. "The Brotherhood of American Silk Workers" is the name of the proposed new organization being now promoted in that former silk-reeling city. The most interesting feature of the proposed organization is the "Brotherhood of American Silk Capitalists and Their Slaves." For the initiative, to form this marvelous "union" of silk workers and silk bosses, obviously has come from the side of the bosses. The "union" is not a union of workers, but of citizens of Paterson, including Mayor Fordyce and Chief of Police Bimson. Yes, that is no typographical error; and it's the one and only Bimson. All these leading citizens, including the Mayor and Bimson, were interviewed by the Paterson papers, and expressed their approval of this new "union" of workers and "bosses." Here is the Preamble to the constitution of the "Brotherhood of American Silk Workers":

"The object of this organization is to obtain for its members all advantages necessary for a high standard of living in accordance with the dignity of labor, without resorting to the use of such antiquated weapons or methods as the strike, boycott or sabotage on the part of the workers and the lockout and blacklist on the part of the employers."

"We can only accomplish this by realizing the fact that the interests of Capital and Labor are so closely interwoven and of such a common nature that the least disturbance of their friendly relations must react like a knife upon both."

"The interest of the two being alike, so must their organization be alike, i. e., both must organize for this common interest."

"Until now Capital and Labor have regarded one another as enemies and gigantic struggles with untold sufferings have resulted therefrom, settling disputes between them, but through the ever-increasing education of the people we are fast coming to the point where we realize the madness of former years and the great possibilities of co-operation as a remedy for all economic evils."

"Brain and brawn, when placed in their proper relations, are destined to rule the world, to abolish war and poverty and give labor the place it deserves."

"Class system and class hatred built up through false theories and created an apparent enmity between Capital and Labor, will disappear and there will come an era of peace, nourished by a healthy competition in which all mankind will strive to reach the loftiest heights of human civilization."

"Therefore, we call upon all silk workers to join us in our efforts to improve present conditions, well knowing that we shall call down upon our heads the wrath of all professional I. W. W. leaders who are thriving upon the ignorance of the people."

"Relying upon the fact that the people are tired of being fooled by such irresponsible renegades, and believing in the righteousness of our cause we are convinced that we shall reach our goal only through the efficient co-operation of Capital and Labor."

This is a very interesting document. Perhaps a minor point to be noticed first of all is the expression "Capital and Labor," which occurs several times in the "preamble," with "Capital" always placed first. There is nothing like frankness to reveal the state of an author's mind. The whole document is of course in the same vein. The silk workers, organized in this wonderful "brotherhood" are going to discard such "antiquated" weapons as the "strike, boycott or sabotage," in return for the bosses' dispensing with the "lockout and blacklist." No one need question the course, if the workers refuse to fight in any way, the bosses won't need to; the latter will gain their point without any fuss.

The workers can only bring about this desired state of peace for the bosses, by adhering to the assumption that "the interests of Capital and Labor are closely interwoven and of a common nature." Of course that assumption is fallacious, as the history of Paterson for twenty years has clearly enough proven. The "gigantic struggles" mentioned in the "preamble" have not been accidents due to the failure of both "Capital and Labor" to recognize their "common interests." On the contrary, those struggles and that suffering have been due to the FACT THAT THEIR INTERESTS WERE OPPOSED. The bosses wanted ever more profits (they still mean to have them, don't forget that), while the silk workers demanded more of the good things of life, which their labor had created in the equivalent of silk goods. No matter what these present dues of the silk bosses may say to the contrary, this fact will remain: that more profits for the masters mean less wages for the slaves: There are two ways in which this fact may be ascertained. Either the money wages are lowered without any decrease in production; or to produce the same quantity of goods in the given labor time, without any or an insufficient increase in wages. These are the only ways in which more profits may be obtained. Reverse the process, for wage increases. Now, how in the devil's name are you going to "harmonize" these two purposes—of "Capital" and the other of "Labor"? This relationship of the classes also explains why "until now Capital and Labor have regarded one another as enemies" and fought each other in "gigantic struggles." And they will continue to do so, unless "Labor" is prepared to give up the struggle and, in like manner, jettison the "brain" to the capitalist lion. We may, with reason, expect the silk workers to modify their methods, but not in the direction of giving up their fighting weapons. This, lest is exactly what the bosses want the workers to do, as is evident by their endorsement of this new union.

We are told, further, that "Brain and brawn, when placed in their proper relations, are destined to rule the world, to abolish war and poverty and give to labor the place it deserves." The sounds very good, but what are their "proper relations"? It is obvious from the context of this preamble, that its author conceives all the "brain" to be on the top of the bosses' spinal columns; and all the "brawn" in the frames of the silk workers. That is exactly what every boss thinks, even when he is pretending

to do his work or rather help create his profits for him. But no intelligent or self-respecting slave will admit such a fallacy. On the contrary, such a worker will insist that all his kind should organize to demonstrate that the working class has all necessary brain as well as brawn to run industry, without the necessity of having profit-taking capitalist slugs dry their bones. He will insist that when the workers combine their brain and brawn "in their proper relations," they will indeed "rule the world" abolish war and poverty and give every human being the place he deserves. But to combine the "brain" (intelligence and rapacity) of the capitalists with the (unthinking) "brawn" of the workers will mean only a continuation of the present intolerable relations of the two classes in industry.

The author of the preamble assumes that "we shall call down upon our heads the wrath of all professional I. W. W. leaders." We don't think so; at least there will be some exceptions. Quite a few I. W. W. "leaders" and other members have a keen sense of humor, and will be disposed to watch with quiet amusement this new experiment in "harmonizing Capital and Labor." We might easily pretend its inevitable failure; but what's the use of knocking? Let the Paterson workers, who have been through twenty years of "gigantic struggles" for better conditions, take care of this foolish attempt of their masters, while it fosters their fighting spirit. If the unbelievable should happen, and the bosses succeed, then we can afford to dismiss the Paterson silk workers as unworthy of further consideration by the workers on the outside. Meanwhile, we are waiting for the howl of disappointment, which we know is sure to come, from the silk owners and other leading citizens of Paterson.

Toleration

By J. Gabriel Soltis.

It is but natural, in the beginning of any movement, for intense fanaticism and prejudice to be born. Perhaps some may argue that it is proper good to have a little fanaticism, founded upon the logic of one's proposition, is justifiable. This may seem absurd; space is too valuable, however, to allow of a lengthy argument.

A labor movement is not a mushroom growth. It is a steady development, and sometimes violent in its changes. Whether we personally like it or not, it is true nevertheless, that the labor movement includes all activities of labor regardless of any specific labels. As to whether this or that division of the labor movement is more important and really functioning in the interest of the workers, is a horse of another color.

Many of us have stripped ourselves of powerful weapons which we could use in our work of agitation and organization, simply because we let our prejudicial feelings get the best of us, thereby making ourselves utterly impossible. In other words, we have neglected the human element in life.

As an organization we are, I believe, founded upon scientific principles and the empirical data of wages. Here we are invulnerable. But as regards the presentation of our principles and the method of approach, our field has been cruelly limited, in countless cases, because of our intolerance.

What do I mean by intolerance? I know of a certainty, where a single labor officer, with the local organization, was unable to attain certain ends, but was turned down because he was a single trade. This is pernicious intolerance.

Then I know of another case, where an anarchist was billed to lecture and many so-called rebels advised his friends to boycott the meeting, on account of its being anarchistic. This was intolerance, par excellence, as a Frenchman would say. Someone might say they were not real rebels. I agree to that; certainly they were fools.

Rebels, who are criticised by an individual or a group, do not serve as an excuse for us to jump at their throats. Let us forget, it is well to remember, that we are the critics of the critics. Therefore in these things we should be extremely tolerant, as we can afford to be tolerant.

We should and we do unmercifully expose the rottenness of any division of the labor movement, from the standpoint of a critic and a class conscious worker. On the other hand, in my humble judgment, we should not make any special endeavor to make our movement more attractive and successful than any possible chances which, in the course of things may arise, for us to do good in the labor movement.

We know that the A. F. of L. is venomous; that the anarchist is impotent, and that the iron bourgeois; nevertheless, as I view it, to pre before them as often as possible is in the interest of I. W. W. propaganda.

Let us be tolerant without compromising our principles, and in all our efforts to do so, let us not abandon the human element, but let the contrary take advantage of it. We are here to stay and our actions should always bear that out.

Steel Trust Clears Deck For Action

For the first time in more than ten years the employees of the United States Steel Corporation (the Steel Trust) will be given an opportunity to subscribe for shares of the corporation. The stock subscribing plan became effective in 1913. About 50,000 employees are stockholders.

The reason announced for this lack of opportunity is stated by Judge Gary to be "unsettled conditions." One employee is reported as saying that "he could do without stock, but not without wages."

Here is indeed a peculiar situation. The stock subscribing plan of the United States Steel Corporation was heralded both far and wide as an ender of labor troubles. It made the employes partners and sharers in profits, so it was said. But here comes a condition which demands a wage reduction, whereupon the partnership is broken, and the stock is sold out for further participation in partnerships and profits. And where they are so situated that wages are more to be desired by them than stocks. One would think that after ten years of stock ownership in the U. S. Steel Corporation, the employees would be so wealthy, as a result of dividends paid, that they could have their wages cut without desiring to strike, or else could live a long time without starving; besides being in a position to buy more stock, despite unsettled conditions. As the facts show, though, the humbug has failed.

But the situation is more serious than the mere collapse of a capitalist humbug. The iron and steel industries are fearful of German victory, in the advent of which German iron and steel makers would dominate the world, to the decline of English and American production, including cheaper labor, with an employment great. Now is the time to make the labor possible by cutting wages. Hence "profit sharing" stock owning plans must go by the board. The decks must be cleared for action by capital. How will labor reply?

Industrial unionism is needed now more than ever before. J. E.

The "Little Green Book," 80 pages, every page a boost for the I. W. W.

The Des Moines I. W. W. local is booming, according to word from the secretaries. It has a permanent hall at 207 Commercial Block, Des Moines, Iowa. All live wires are invited to stop off and give Local 574 a call. Spoker and entertainment every Wednesday night.

Watch Your Number

EACH subscriber will find a number opposite his name on the next issue of SOLIDARITY. For instance 255. This number is to be used in all live wires, and you should renew at NUMBER 259

IMMIGRATION LABOR

Freight rates having increased, will railroad wages be raised? A "Happy New Year" for the working class. The Italian commerce market and colonies necessary.

"Peace on earth, good will to men" is the good economic system. W. will make practical.

The fact that the railways of the Federal Reserve system Morgan's home on Dec. 10, 1914, is a proof that the system is a system by and for the wealthy without Morgan control.

The New York police the I. W. W. in view of the played situation. It is called to the attention, only taken as Paterson, during his last. Push it along a more so.

Eastern newspapers articles on "How to Family Cheaply." It is also a sign of the coming of the Girl Live on \$5.00 a week. articles and letters not so much as contrived scientific, but a tendency to a lower wages and living.

Dr. Karl Liebknecht fasting to vote the recent session of the tag, accountant, not strong personality, the able weakness of the Socialism of the Germany.

A woman is suing & Co., one of the large store corporations, for to examine its records. She is a minority shareholder in a company. She wants to find out if the Girl Live on \$5.00 a week. that the Greenhut family of the father and son, aries aggregating \$1,000,000, \$500,000 respectively. How many family in other forms closed.

The cause of the corporation profits a diverse method, but it is not a method, but it is a method, while employees wages, and the food "the public" is being conducted, to believe in the basis.

The First National Bank in its monthly that it reads to the good for the people. It is alleged, it says in an New England. It is soon after the turn general increase in the and this opportunity regardless of whether ends during 1915 or longer period. A man looked for, more an uncertainty, but conclusions upon an own domestic situation and with reason, and that underlying cost were present just and which might be a increase of business, as these conditions, it is evident that will still have to reckon the struggle for labor's day.

The Navy League's propretorship to allegation manufacturers of the new "national industry" movement. One well say that it is the who in the Navy League articles for C. Standard Oil. Capitalists are so disinterested spending money to own interests, they check looking to the conditions that will their own detriment. The nation manufacturers who prefer to sacrifice to the good of the country than the slaughter to the slaves are a much abused thoughtless; they need to rush to their well it.

War is good to the Co. Stockholders of the C. O. Steel Co., Ltd., larvae, look forward to the new year. It is paid; this year it is larger. The company is bringing a large oil French and British and supplies from the company is larger than that of any distributing United Kingdom. I monthly, the high price of oil continues to be the world in respect from the U. S. The demand for the nine months,ember being 65 percent. The demand, and that the leading countries in conditions. Thus, busts small capital, capital to grow big.

The big capitalist immigration at the they hope to destroy us by means of the other hand is a strict immigration of the Bureau of Immigration with the Anti-Con-

THE BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION

I. W. W. GROWTH IN ST. LOUIS

From a Back-Room Proposition, Local is Becoming a Center Whose Influence Radiates All Over the City.

(Special to Solidarity)
St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 16.

The I. W. W. is becoming a bigger influence in St. Louis this winter than it has ever been before. One hears of it everywhere, in the pulpits, lecture halls and papers.

Rev. L. M. Birkhead devoted a Sunday evening recently to this subject, at his church. After delivering a favorable sermon, he gave the floor to members of the I. W. W. and the staid Methodist audience listened to our speakers for the first time.

Two weeks later, Rev. E. Y. Ghidoni of another church advocated the I. W. W. point blank in his sermon. This was at the same time that the I. W. W. won their record-breaking free speech fight of three days. Prominent men in St. Louis civic circles appeared before the police commissioners protesting against the crime against free speech. The police evidently realized that they were not dealing with a defenseless group of pariahs, but with an organization which has created for itself an immense group of admirers in this city. Free speech has been supreme ever since.

Two days later, Fellow Worker Edwards was invited to explain the I. W. W. and free speech before the ultra-exclusive City Club. His explanation of our philosophy brought favorable comments from all sides.

An Open Forum is held every Sunday evening in our hall. Intellectuals of all shades of prejudice crowd to this meeting and standing room is usually at a premium. We have had an unusually able list of speakers, and I. W. W. propaganda is a conspicuous part of the program.

The writer has been actively familiar with the St. Louis movement for several years and at no time in his experience have prospects been so bright or the movement so strong. From a back-room proposition, Local 84 has become a center whose influence radiates all over the city. It has passed the Utopian stage; it is now a reality.

HAROLD L. VARNEY.

NEW YORK UNEMPLOYED MAKE OFFICIALS NERVOUS

(Special to Solidarity)
New York City, Dec. 20.

The unemployed of this city are again holding outdoor meetings. These take place at Rutgers Square, and at East 110th and 5th Ave., on evenings when weather permits. A big meeting was held at the former place on December 11th, and was squelched by the police.

The latter are active in preventing the holding of all meetings, especially indoor unemployed and I. W. W. meetings. They have ordered proprietors of halls to cease letting them out to radicals of all shades, on pain of breaking their license. They have also intimated that they will use other laws against landlords renting apartments to men and women active in the radical labor movement. It is evident that they intend to pursue a policy of repression.

The unemployed have decided to take the bull by the horns. They will meet at Union Square, on Jan. 1st, at 2 p. m., to denounce the charity abuses to which the unemployed are being subjected and the capitalist uses to which the unemployed are being subjected.

It is reported, on good authority, that the capitalists are frightened at the unemployed situation in this city. A former city magistrate, Wahle, is reported as saying that bread riots are inevitable, because of the terrible conditions prevailing in this city. The situation has been discussed at the meetings of the municipal magistrates, who seem helpless to alleviate it, though they are disposed to treat offenses arising from it with the greatest leniency possible.

Further developments will be awaited with interest.
NEW YORKER.

UNEMPLOYED REFUSE TO STARVE IN ST. LOUIS

(Special to Solidarity)
St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 17.

The unemployed crisis in St. Louis has reached an acute stage this week. With soup lines of 1,500 to 2,000 men waiting for hours daily in front of the Four Courts, with the municipal lodging house and various missions thronged nightly with crowds which they cannot accommodate; with deaths, suicides and larcenies of homeless men filling the pages of the daily press, the demand for a definite course of action became imperative.

So, on Dec. 16, a delegation of I. W. W. men visited the offices of the State Labor Commissioner, the Provident Association and the Jewish Alliance, demanding work. Receiving the customary refusal, they informed the authorities that if work was not provided in 24 hours, they would issue a call to the unemployed to break into the warehouses and restaurants and take food.

The newspapers were full of the I. W. W. next day. That afternoon six men entered Schertz's restaurant on Grand Ave. and ate 50 cent meals. Taking cigars at the counter they informed the manager that they were broke and that he could charge it up to Mayor Kiel. Schertz indignantly called the police and the men were taken to court. Upon being tried, although so able a lawyer as Sheridan Webster volunteered to defend them, they were convicted and fined \$25 each.

A second delegation repeated the performance today, and the intention seems to be to continue this form of direct action until it brings results. All rebels in this part of the country are expected to come to St. Louis and participate.

The incompetence of the city authorities in this emergency is pitiable. A committee on unemployment was appointed by the mayor, Fellow Worker Dittrick being one of the appointees. Instead of recommending the only logical thing, that the city

issue bonds to provide work for the unemployed, the committee wasted its time in speech making and finally suspended action until a census of unemployed could be taken. (Imagine the wisdom of counting hungry men instead of feeding them.) Dittrick left the committee in disgust and nothing more has been heard of it.

There is only one organization capable of handling the unemployment problem, and that is the I. W. W. The newspapers are aware of it, for they are filled with their usual lies. We expect to report results soon in St. Louis.

I. W. W. ON SCHEDULE TIME

Minneapolis, Minn., Dec. 15.

According to articles which appeared recently in Solidarity, there is much regret and despondency prevailing in the minds of a certain segment because of the failure of the worker to respond to intellectual appeals, theories and systems. Have we not boasted time and again that the I. W. W. was a product of the recognition of the fact that all social institutions have their origin and growth in industrial change, and not in the mind? It would seem that the adherence to that law, and a correct interpretation of it, in action, would dispense with a whole lot of wasted energy and material, including the personal regrets of its (I. W. W.) spokesmen.

Let's see, what is that meant by the materialistic conception of history, or historical materialism? Is it some narrow conception based upon popular understanding, or is it not rather a broad principle which applies to human conduct as a whole? To begin with, there is about the evidence to prove that the worker is not moved to action, that will bring lasting and beneficial results to himself, solely by our ability to talk eloquently and correctly about his economic needs. What then is needed to stimulate and arouse the slaves to a form of action that will result in a building of the new society within the shell of the old, except the onward march of machine production in all parts of the world, which in turn will create a corresponding change in the mental attitude of the proletariat.

Briefly, the materialistic interpretation of history consists of a knowledge and correct understanding of the effect of industrial change, or development of the tool of production, upon human society in all its workings and manifestations, in at least of which is psychology. Therefore, in dealing with our fellow slaves, we should, in order to conserve time and energy, properly UNDERSTAND.

The I. W. W. as an industrial organization must function in INDUSTRY. It cannot function for those outside of industry, or for any other than wage workers, not even the "intellectual" aspirant to leadership within the wage working class.

Only the workers, the proletariat, can take the proprietarianism in the affairs of themselves. When we act it is because of necessity and not in accordance with some program which has been laid down by the ultra-knowledge of some great intellect safely ensconced in an upholstered arm chair. If the history of such attempts guide and lead the workers had proven their conception correct, then the bourgeois interpretation of society and history, with all of its accompanying social distinctions, which in the mind would be the order of progress.

The stern and stubborn facts of industrial change in human society are slow but surely showing their effects, and are finally grouping its members according to their economic interests. To the "intellectual" the labor movement consists of a problem that can only be solved by correct thinking and writing, and so of course much depends upon the ability to think and read correctly. However, history shows that revolutionary movements do not depend for their success upon any form of reason or logic based on a prior condition of industrial or social history, but instead upon a psychology which corresponds to the law of historical materialism, or industrial evolution.

What is needed then is not so much the fellow with the protruding skyline and flowing beard to direct us slaves; but a world-wide change in the instruments of production and distribution, which in turn will do much to dispel the superstition that dominates the minds of the workers today, and finally give birth to clear views and conceptions adapted to the needs of this much discussed new society.

So accordingly, there is no cause for despondency because we do not live up to the expectations of its sponsors.

The I. W. W. is not a failure, any more than is the mercury in the thermometer which records the temperature of the weather. It is on schedule time, and right now is seeking its proper industrial bearings.

Those who fail to understand the proletariat and their psychology are usually acting the role of saviours

and when he (the proletariat) refuses to be saved in the regular orthodox manner they throw up their hands in disgust and begin to heap upon him all kinds of abuse, charging him with being stupid, ignorant and corrupt. When in reality he is living up to the letter in every respect and fulfilling the law laid down not by high-brows and savants, but that which has dominated human society since its beginning—the law of industrial change.

E. L. DEWAR.

NEW PATERSON UNION

Paterson, N. J., Dec. 17.

Inclosed find clippings from Paterson Press, which is the bosses' mouthpiece. As you will notice the manufacturers and city officials are all in favor of the new union, which is called the Brotherhood of American Silk Workers. This new union works all blocks, they got their tools busy and started this new organization. As the new union is headed by men who won a fine reputation during the big strike, the bosses will have nothing to fear. These promoters of the new organization will be faithful to the trust which the masses have placed in them.

Last winter these same tools were the cause of breaking the union in the Helvetia Silk Co.'s mills, which was then in arrearsment in the I. W. W. At that time a move was started to form an independent union in that shop. A petition was sent around, which had been typewritten in the bosses' offices, which they tried to rush through, but at the shop meeting it was voted down. However, with the slack season and the assisting change in the tools, the move has at last succeeded.

The bosses have been slashing wages for some time; it seems as though they are about to take a new step, and as they are not quite sure of their slaves, they think this will be a good move to keep them away from the I. W. W. They don't seem many of his employees who have gotten over the big strike, otherwise they would not seem so interested in this new move if it wasn't to their interest.

PATERSON WORKER.

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PATERSON WORKER.

"HOLT'S TEN COMMANDMENTS"

(Special to Solidarity)

Stockton, Cal., Dec. 15. The following extract, headed "Employer's Ten Commandments," is taken from a leaflet issued monthly to the Holt Mill Co.'s slaves of this city:

1. "The labor movement is a failure because it is usually quiet at this season of the year, and no doubt the loss of employment is the reason for this state of affairs. We can, if we will, systematically canvass of the centers where the idle are wont to congregate, and get them to join the movement for the time being, and when they secure a master, have them come into the I. W. W. as members of their class."

2. "This plan has already been out in the papers of the country, which are of a radical type, and it will not be necessary to enlarge upon the statements made concerning those plans. The I. W. W. in this town is doing all it can to have the slaves think, and we use this means to call on all the locals of the country to take it up in behalf of the ideal."

3. "There will be a great many valuable suggestions in the minutes of your local which could be put to good use in this city, and we would like to hear from you concerning any and all phases of our problem which you can help us solve."

4. "Data on the number of out-of-works in the vicinity in which you live would be very valuable. Send them along."

5. "There has been a committee appointed by the Rotary Club of this city, composed of representative business men, who evidently are anxious to see to it that the I. W. W. is kept in order to develop a plan of action beneficial to the idle men of the town, and we would like to hear from your point of view, so as to compare notes with other cities."

6. "If you can help us in any way, please let us know. We are worth anything with it, IF YOU WILL. Let's have it NOW!"

7. "Address communications to Propaganda Committee, 414 Pierce St., St. Louis, Mo."

8. "JACK ALLEN"

At last the cat is out of the bag. The Chamber of Merchants, the great Allah, and all the other gods who have lived with us down through the ages, are being put into the discard and soon will be treated as Mars Jupiter and the other classical myths, remembered only as false theological myths from the real gods in the flesh and blood, who are now asserting themselves.

It can be proved that most of the commandments of the god beyond the

EIGHTH Special "Joe Hill Edition" OF I. W. W. SONG BOOK

This edition is of the same size and style as the former seventh edition. One additional song has been added to the total number, and there are several new songs by Ralph Chaplin and others.

As the case of our fellow worker JOE HILL, who is the author of a great number of the songs in the book, comes up again in January, this edition will be known as the SPECIAL JOE HILL EDITION, and will have a newly printed insert explaining thirteenth and calling for action on the part of every purchaser of a copy of these songs. It is hoped that every local and member will see their utmost to dispose of as large a number of these songs as possible in this time, as they will be found a most effective means of securing publicity and a resulting victory in this case.

THIRTY THOUSAND COPIES THIS EDITION IS NOW READY FOR DELIVERY

Single Copy Ten Cents
One Hundred \$5.00
One Thousand \$50.00
Carriage Prepaid

Send in your order without delay as back orders will be filled in order of date received.

skies and you won't suffer at his hands until you are dead, but break one of Holt's or of the "successful" nature of the eastern city, and you will suffer "immediately if not sooner."

A visitor from Mars would be up to the job to state how they do it and get away with it. What a contemptuous estimation of their slaves' intelligence the bosses must have! Yet they have good grounds for their estimation, for they have been able to get their slaves by the Y. M. C. A.; most of the bosses' offices that in addition, it is interesting to read Holt's "Holt's" each month. Just imagine reading such stuff as:

"Work hard, little blockheads, to come unto me—but bring profits or don't come."

"In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou make me profits."

"The boss does not have false gods before me," where profits are concerned, etc.

Then close the whole with that sacred hymn, "Nearer My Job to Thee."

PRESS COMMITTEE

SIOUX CITY LEAGUE OF THE UNEMPLOYED

(Special to Solidarity)

Sioux City, Ia., Dec. 18. The One Big Union seemed to be on the job to state how they do it and get away with it. What a contemptuous estimation of their slaves' intelligence the bosses must have! Yet they have good grounds for their estimation, for they have been able to get their slaves by the Y. M. C. A.; most of the bosses' offices that in addition, it is interesting to read Holt's "Holt's" each month. Just imagine reading such stuff as:

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The \$1,000 Fund

Total December 16th,	\$774.80
Jack Engelhardt	1.00
P. Thorsen	1.00
D. Nickols	1.00
Nestor Donogio	10.00
Jack Kestler	35.00
J. G. Condon	1.00
E. O. Nelson	1.00
Cliff Nelson	1.00
Total December 23rd	\$818.29

Lets have the remaining \$200.00 to complete the fund in the next two weeks.

Circulation Statement

Previous issue reported	206
Subs going off	5
Subs going on	43
Loss for week	30
Total loss to date	286

PROPAGANDA IN MINNEAPOLIS

(Special to Solidarity)
Minneapolis, Minn., Dec. 17. The Propaganda of this city has determined to make its presence felt here. All winter the League has held successful educational meetings and dances. Last Saturday, Ragnar Johnson arrived from Sweden and told the slaves here the only way out of their misery. Johnson has been a most active part in the formation of the syndicalist movement in Sweden. The S. L. P.'s and their founding the "real" I. W. W. came in a body to the first two meetings of Johnson's, with the determination of "showing up" the I. W. W. As a result of their activities there has been a noted increase in the membership of the League, and the S. L. P. totally discredited.

On Tuesday both in Swedish and English are meeting with great success. There are four or five open forums in Minneapolis every Sunday, but we draw more people than the rest of them put together. Dec. 20, 22 and 23 Alexander Berkman speaks for our open forum. Berkman never spoke in Minneapolis before, so he should be quite a drawing card. First week in January a debate will be pulled off between J. Gabriel Solis and Allan Strong Broma, the leading exponent of political socialism in this city.

The prospects for the I. W. W. in Minneapolis never looked brighter. The slaves are all disatisfied and are listening to the message of industrial unionism more than they ever did before. Keep your eyes on "Scabby" Gray. Watch our movement.

CHAS. GRAY

EXTRAORDINARY OFFER!

To expedite the immediate movement of the Eighth "Special Joe Hill Edition of I. W. W. Songs we are offering one thousand copies at \$30.00 each carriage prepaid, on any order for the amount received before January the first.

Here is your opportunity to realize a profit of \$70.00 to use in your agitation work.

No order will be considered at this price except it be accompanied by cash and received before the date specified.

Take advantage of this offer at once. If the Local does not have sufficient funds, dig the price up from the individual members ever did advance a few dollars each for this purpose.

"We have your number, in the 'Little Green Book.'"