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FORD AND SUHR CASE UP TO GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA

Pardon Hearing Scheduled to Take Place in San Francisco on March 5th. I. W. W. Men Busy on the Job.

(Special to Solidarity)
San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 25.

Ford and Suhr's freedom hangs on the decision of Gov. Johnson. Their cases will be heard in this city March 5. All the labor organizations and many of the radical and sentimental bodies will be represented by delegates, who will demand an unconditional pardon for these two men, whose only offense is that at Wheatland on the bloody Sunday, August 3, 1913, stood for solidarity of the working class. Gov. Johnson has already stated that the conditions against which they fought were such that the English language has not words to describe it.

That staunch paper of the capitalists, the Sacramento Bee, declared that the methods of their convictors, the torture of men, the imprisonment of more than twenty without charges and the whole affair was "blot upon the State of California, a stain upon the nation and a blemish upon civilation itself." Yet these two men have been nineteen months in jail and are now condemned to spend their lives in the penitentiary of Folsom.

Although one dectective, Henry Cradlebaugh, was convicted and sentenced to one year in jail and a fine of $1,000 for brutally beating Alfred Nelson, while in his custody, Cradlebaugh has not served a day or paid a dollar. He is a Burns detective. Ford and Suhr belong to the working class.

In order that Gov. Hiram W. Johnson, of pickhandle fame, may not forget the interests of his real supporters—the ranchers of California—the I. W. W. have got out and have issued the following stickers:

FORD AND SUHR MUST BE FREE!
Therefore a boycott is on against the Hop-fields, Fruit Canners and all Ranching

Beware especially of Canned Goods made in California

Hoboes know how to act
BEWARE
California Canned Goods
Don't stick copper nails or tacks in Fruit Trees or Grape Vines
IT HURTS THEM

More reliance is placed upon the influence of these stickers than upon all the eloquence which will be spilled by the heads of the labor bodies, the sob sisters, the radical clubs and the kindly natured among the petter bourgeois. If Johnson could sit idly by for nineteen months, while these men lay in jail and prison it will be well to remember Ford and Suhr on the job. In the November issue of the International Socialist Review Dick Ford's wife asked that all workers remember Ford and Suhr on the job. In the December issue Suhr's wife showed the pretty home which Herman D. Suhr had provided out of his wages as a common laborer for her and his children and renewed the appeal to remember them on the job.

Well, if Johnson does not see to it that these men are unconditionally pardoned, there will be something doing in California.

Owing to the economic campaign of 1914, which cost the hop growers one million cool dollars, put Ralph Durst out of business, and showed the power of direct action, E. Clements Horst, the richest of the hop barons, will appear with members of the A. F. of L. to tell the governor that he does not think the boys had a fair trial. Had he made such a statement prior to the Marysville verdict, Ford and Suhr would be free.

DES MOINES UNEMPLOYED MAKING PROGRESS

(Special to Solidarity)
Des Moines, Iowa, Feb. 28.

The Des Moines unemployed have at last come into their own; that is, as far as the right to organize is concerned. Why even the authorities are helping us; the mayor, chief of police Crawford and others. Not through any love for the ONE BIG UNION, you may well believe. No. They are aiding us because of the pressure that has been brought to bear on them during the past two months, and because it makes them less trouble to accede to some of our demands. Of course we are wise enough to not ask them for the whole cheese at the present stage of the game. We want the right to organize the workers unmolested by petty officials. The workers will do the rest later.

The members of the Unemployed League or the I. W. W. couldn't remain in the local bastile more than ten minutes now, short of a murder charge, owing to an oral agreement with the chief. "I'll let you know when I get any of your boys and you can send a man down to vouch for them. If I want them later I'll let you know," said the chief. We informed the chief that this would be agreeable, also that he was welcome to sap up on any stew-bum caught soliciting money or food in the name of the Unemployed League who didn't have an official credential of the league. The result of this has been that numbers of unmployed who are persecuted by the cops because they haven't a red card in their pocket are forced to join the League for their own protection. No stew-bum dead timber is allowed to join. We put doubtful cases on probation for a few days before we issue them an unemployed card. In this way, too, several stools have been detected and kicked out.

Up to date, more than $150 has been solicited for the Unemployed League, not to mention the mass of food, clothing and furniture that we have deprived the industrial departments of the Starvation Army and the Vultures of through our soliciting activities. The good work still goes on and all the boys are doing their share nobly. "Beans" Donlan and "Shorty" Ames have proven themselves the peers of the commissary department

(Continued On Page Four Cols. 1 and 2)

ST. JOHN PLEASES SIOUX CITY REBELS

Makes Good Talks That Help To Enlighten Workers Regarding The Labor Movement.

(Special to Solidarity)
Sioux City, Iowa, Feb. 23.

The propaganda meetings held here Feb. 26 and 27, by Vincent St. John, were from every viewpoint except that of the boss, an unqualified success.

On the 26th, Craft vs. Class Unionism was dissected. The surface indications of modern industry were disregarded for the basis. The speaker, with a knowledge of conditions, the result of decades of experience in the storm centers of the labor war, in the most significant period of industrial history; with a logic divorced from the husks of emotionalism and an avalanche of words only—a logic inexorable as fate, showed class unionism as fate, and that fate industrial organization and industrial emancipation.

Last evening the subject was "The Workers' Road to Power." Fellow Worker St. John again used the scalpel on the various methods advocated, without attacks on individuals and petty considerations, that the unthinking consider causes, but which are, to him who has gone deeper where the significant facts are hidden, effects.

He analyzed the arguments for and against revolutions by guns, and revolutions by ballots. He showed the job as the place of present working class enslavement. He showed the job as the only and sufficient medium of working class emancipation. His conclusions were as irrefutable, as foolproof, as a proposition in geometry, and as devoid of surplus words and emotional fireworks, as it was rich in light on conditions and methods.

Both lectures were more like a clinic's or the analysis of a chemist, than the average lecture. Both were of immense benefit not alone to the unorganized, but also to the membership of the I. W. W. here, as giving a wider outlook and a deeper insight into industry and the labor movement.

PRESS COMMITTEE.

CONDITIONS AMONG OIL WORKERS

(Special to Solidarity)
Yale, Okla., Feb. 23.

Recently I had been employed by the Texas Oil Co. in constructing a pipe line which extends from Droright, to Yale, Okla., the construction of which commenced on Feb. 1. The very first day we worked, part of the slaves were compelled to walk eight and a half miles after working hours, in order to be able to find a place to sleep that night, while some more of the slaves slept beside and underneath the boilers in a pump station.

This is one of the great American oil fields. There are others of the same kind in the good old U. S. A. I cannot understand why the American workingman should holler about his great and glorious country. When I asked some of them why they did not organize, the answer was they were perfectly satisfied. Still this same bunch of workingmen were dissatisfied with the conditions under which they had to work.

There were seven members of the Industrial Workers of the World employed on the same job, including myself, and you bet we found a comfortable place to sleep. We were furnished some very fine sleeping quarters in the home of a private family. When they discovered we were members of the I. W. W., nothing was too good for us. It is a plain fact: a member of the I. W. W. can get along fine where the unorganized working mutt will freeze and starve to death. The wobbly has got to get credit for having a strong nerve.

I have tried to get those men to revolt against those conditions, but when they found I was an I. W. W. they did not want anything to do with me. The reason they gave was the claim that I was non-religious, and I doubt if any one of the same bunch had seen a church in at least five years. But they were willing to work hard for nine hours, then sleep on the floor of some boarding house. I as a new member would like to do something to change those rotten conditions, and help bring about civilization.

J. M. HEALY,
Member 61.

Jewish Branch, 6, Local 85, Chicago, has moved to 1072 W. Taylor St. Also Local 341, R. R. Construction Workers. All mail for these two organizations should be sent to above address.

I. W. W. FREEZES OUT EADS HOW

Wobblies Capture Frisco Convention of I. B. W. A. and Pass Some Radical Resolutions.

(Special to Solidarity)
San Francisco, Calif., Feb. 25.

No front page heralded his coming; no columns or poses greeted his self-loving soul. No, nothing but the ominous silence of the press, which bespoke some terrible calm before the storm. Thusly did James Eads How make his debut among the unemployed of San Francisco. Straightforward How, D. D., Ph. or is it B. W. D., notoriety seeker, millionaire hobo, jitney philanthropist, disciple of Christ and honorary president of the Psychological Hobo Union (I. B. W. A.), procured from our city fathers a convention hall at the Civic Auditorium, the two and a quarter million pile which is to house the conventions of the great fair. In this wise he proceeded with his convention of the unemployed, and as such held forth from February 16 to 23. Cora D. Harvey acted as chairman pro tem until Albert B. Prashner, an I. W. W. from Denver was duly installed. Then truly did the so-called Tolstoi of America show his fangs. As soon as working class ideas from fraternal delegates began to take shape and form, Downing, one of the local soapboxers, submitted the following resolution which was hailed by a mighty burst of applause:

"Whereas, Charles H. Kelly, otherwise known as Gen. Kelly, in this convention, on the floor, declared that he was not looking for a job, did not intend to take one and had something better; therefore be it resolved, that this convention recommends that said Kelly be hereafter barred from all meetings of the working class."

Upon the reading of this, How was on his feet instantly and used every parliamentary means a politician could resort to in trying to defeat the resolution. It passed, however, with only How's and Cora D. Harvey's votes against it.

Ever since the organization of the I. B. W. A., How has been the rank and file, the spokesman and the financial backing. The foregoing action of the convention therefore came as a storm bursting over him.

The vagrancy bill was next discussed, and George Speed in the characteristic vernacular of the West certainly told us all what was what.

Among the delegates were one of Tonopah's Flying Squadron, H. E. McGuckin, Jack Law, Alex. Mackay, Chas. Lavinne, Mrs. A. Blair and Fellow Worker Mousesker, who was elected as a fraternal delegate to the Harvest Workers' Conference, to be held in Kansas City April 15.

The convention quickly showed itself to be a real class conscious body. When all the debates had cooled, the resolutions adopted called for greetings to the McNamaras, Albert Ryan, Dublin Bob, Roberts and Niles in San Quentin; Pancner in Nevada, Ford and Suhr and Dodson and Stanford in Folsom, and all other prisoners of industrial war, "whether in Siberia or the glorious U. S. A."

They also demanded that Ford and Suhr be remembered on the job; denounced the vagrancy laws, demanded the freedom from persecution of Margaret and William Sanger, and called upon all migratory workers to quit carrying blankets and compel the bosses to give them beds.

Such a windup took How's breath away. It was the first time that the I. B. W. A. had voiced such resolutions. When the convention assembled, many A. F. of L. leaders had consented to speak; but when the assistant Fair Commissioner in welcoming the delegates intimidated that the unemployed might have saved part of their earnings for this rainy day, and promptly got his so that he could not reply, not another of the pure and simplers wanted to talk and read out.

How tried to organize a local here, but left for Los Angeles with his local resting on the curbstones of the city.

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HUGE LABOR ARMY TO BE MOBILIZED FOR WHEAT FIELDS

National Farm Labor Exchange Plans Systematic Organization Methods In Garnering This Year's Crop In West.

(Capitalist Press Report)
Omaha, Neb. Feb. 20.

The 100,000 emergency harvest hands necessary for gathering the great western wheat crop will be handled with the speed and precision of a regular army if arrangements made last week in Omaha by the new National Farm Labor Exchange are carried out. The exchange is an organization of the wheat states of the central west to supervise the vexing harvest hand problem, and its work will be entirely free both to the farmers and the harvester. Its board of directors is composed of the state employment departments and state agricultural boards of the twelve big western wheat states —Missouri, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Texas, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado and Montana.

All of these states took part in the organization of the exchange and are "charter" members, but the membership is not to be curtailed to the farmers of those states. In fact, the organizers hope to extend the work to every state in the Union. Already the United States bureau of agriculture and the newly formed industrial relations commission have applied for representation in the exchange and they will co-operate in every way with the new organization.

All the big railroad systems which operate in the country west of the Mississippi sent the heads of their industrial departments to the meeting, and all promised assistance in every way possible. Charles Moffree, commissioner of immigration of the state of South Dakota, was made president of the exchange; E. S. Neale, commissioner of immigration of North Dakota, vice president, and W. G. Ashton, commissioner of labor of Oklahoma, secretary and treasurer.

The sole object of the organization is to so mobilize the great industrial army of 100,000 men in the grain raising states that the movements toward the wheat fields of the country will not in any way interfere with each other, but that the entire force will be concentrated in the districts where men are needed for the work. The workers will be thrown into the Texas fields when the grain begins ripening in that state, early in June. As the harvest extends northward the harvest hands will keep pace with it, and when, late in August the wheat of northern North Dakota and Minnesota is ready for the reaners the big army of harvesters will be on hand to gather it before the early frosts damage the grain.

THREE BIG CENTERS PLANNED

The great centers of harvesters will be formed—Kansas City on the south, Sioux City for the central division and at Minneapolis for the extreme northern state. These cities will be used as clearing houses both for labor and for farmers. It is proposed by the labor commissioners and others who are enlisted in the harvest hand cause to send out an "S. O. S." call to the farmers of every community in every state, using the rural telephones and the live wire business man found in each small town, asking that an approximate estimate be made of the number of men required to handle the wheat crop in that immediate neighborhood. As the time of harvest draws near this estimate will be revised and an actual list of wheat raisers will be made, together with the number of men required by each individual farmer and the length of time the farmer will have need of the emergency hands. These figures will be gathered at the county seats and copies will be sent to the clearing house of the district.

In the meantime the exchange will have been busy obtaining the names of men who expect to assist in the harvest. Through the federal department of labor and the postoffice department a vast amount of advertising matter will be distributed to every section of the country giving information as to the arrangements made for the distribution of farm hands. Every college in the country will receive the information, so that the thousands of young college men who annually go in the harvest fields during the summer may know where to report to be assured of "jobs" for the entire season. Newspaper advertising will be heavily utilized in disseminating the same information.

The part which the railroads will play will be to distribute this great army of workers to those parts of the country where they are assigned by the exchange and the railroad industrial commissioners who took part in the big meeting promised to see that special trains were forthcoming whenever they are needed.

EQUALIZES DISTRIBUTION

"By carefully carrying out these arrangements," said President McCaffree, "the jobless man" will be brought to the job just when that job is ready for him. No one community will be overrun with workers and another community left to get along as best it may with local assistance. There will be a job for every man, and there will be no job without there is a harvester ready to take it when it is ready for him. The enforced illness due to the great influx of harvest hands where there is no need for them causes hobos. The man who is a week behind the harvest is just as badly off as he who is a week ahead of the game; there is a job for neither. Under the provisions of the new exchange all that will be eliminated and the workers will keep right up with the harvest."

The first work of the exchange will be to handle the 1915 wheat harvest. When that is completed and off its hands its officers will turn their attention and machinery to other crops and the organization will be continued thoroughout the year. At the proper time the cotton states are to be invited to enter the membership, which, the commissioners intend, will in time include every state in the Union.

SOME NOTES FROM SALT LAKE CITY

(Special to Solidarity)
Salt Lake City, Utah, Feb. 26.

Local 69 is again coming to the front. We are now holding street meetings when the weather will permit. Fellow Workers Burke, Glennan and Sec'y Rowan are doing good propaganda work on the street. The sale of literature is increasing, as much as literature and song books being sold in one day.

Fellow Worker Burke was pinched about two weeks ago, but when they found out that he had an I. W. W. card they turned him loose. That kind of hurt the dignity of the fly dick who pinched him, and the former had been waiting for his chance to have Burke arrested again. The opportunity arrived Feb. 25, when about six fly cops were taking notes of what the speakers were saying at our meeting. They said the speaker was using vulgar language. We showed them that what the speaker said was the truth. Fellow Worker Burke was chairman of the meeting, and happened to be the bad guy. The same bull who pinched him previously, arrested him again. They had all the evidence down in black and white, but we told the chief of police that where they had five or six witnesses we could get 200 witnesses to prove it was not vulgar language. So they finally said that they didn't want any trouble and turned Burke loose. The fly mug was well prepared. He went to work and got a warrant, thinking that on account of Burke's having been arrested before, the judge would give him about 30 days. But it didn't work, owing to the solidarity of the fellow workers.

At present we are up against it for a hall, having to hold our meetings in a very small basement. We hope to have a better hall before spring. The I. W. W. Harvest Workers' convention of April is being discussed at every business meeting and we expect to have Local 69 represented at the convention.

PRESS COMMITTEE.

What Every Mother Should Know

By Margaret Sanger

This is another good book of which we have only a few copies. The author has taken a number of articles, beginning with flowers and leading on up to the human family in story form, so that the mother can show the process of reproduction in such a manner that, although the child absorbs the knowledge, it does not realize that it has received any "sex" instruction. 60 pages. 50c postpaid.

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To Our Increasing Number Of Readers

Solidarity has for some time been running a series of articles on the textile industry in the South, by M. G. R. They should interest cotton textile workers in all sections of the country. They are well-written, full of information and of no small value in an understanding of the South as a rapidly developing and important textile section. We bespeak for them a more extensive circulation and a greater number of subscribers to Solidarity as a result.

We would also like, at the same time, to call attention to the projected publication by Solidarity in serial form, of a history of the textile industry in its various branches and entitled "Warp and Woof." The author is Francis Miller, a woolen weaver of Providence, R. I., an I. W. W. member, who has been connected with the labor movement for well-nigh onto two decades. It is hoped to publish "Warp and Woof" later in book form, as it is believed serial publication will interest enough textile workers financially to make this possible.

Of "Warp and Woof," Justus Ebert, who read the original manuscript, speaks in terms of the highest praise. He declares that "as a workingmanfs production, it is astonishingly good; in fact, splendid. It is a comprehensive work, dealing with the cotton, woolen, silk, hosiery and knit goods and carpet textile industries. It is an historical work, tracing the beginnings of the textile industry back into 'the night of antiquity,' and from thence across Europe over to modern America. It is an economic work, showing the cause and effects of such development on the workers directly interested and society in general. It is a statistical work, being replete with figures from census reports and the findings of various investigations and commissions. It is an interesting work, absorbing the attention of the non-textile worker by its simplicity of statement concerning technical matters and its straightforward style. In my opinion, Miller has done a piece of work that is a credit to the industry and the great movement he so ably represents."

This is great praise, indeed; but we believe that our readers will find the work all that Ebert claims it to be, for it is a record, not only of textile development, but of working class development ever since it began to exist. It is a typical industrial progress that Miller portrays, with typical working class remedies suggested, for Miller treats of the medieval textile guilds and of the more modern unions, too. In all it is a work worthy of a more extensive circulation than at present afforded by our increasing list of subscribers. We would like to see "Warp and Woof" read by at least 10,000 textile subscribers to Solidarity. Will you help us to get them? Lawrence, Lowell, Boston, New Bedford, Fall River, Providence, all the Connecticut textile towns, Paterson, Philadelphia, all the Pennsylvania textile centers, even the poverty-stricken South, should be represented among them. Roll up the list. Begin now! More in future issues.

The Working Farmer And The I.W.W.

From a personal letter to the editor of Solidarity, we glean the following, which is worthy of attention by all I. W. W. men interested in the coming harvest. It comes from a man who has traveled extensively throughout the wheat belt the past year:

"I've just read Solidarity of the 20th and note your 'Call to the Wild' for April 15. Let me suggest an activity on the part of footloose rebels prior to that time. The principal source of supply of harvest scabs is the large and small colleges of the middle west. You know the bourgeois dope that is shot into these kids each year; and each year out comes a new crop of them to nullify the revolutionary work done among their predecessors the year before.

"I suggest that flocks of well-posted young rebels be sent soon to every college town in Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota, and get their work in on the college students before April 15th. A list of the colleges may easily be obtained by writing to the secretary of state of each state.

"Every wobbly that undertakes this work should familiarize himself with the statistical facts regarding the increasing amount of mortgages, and the increase of renters in each state. (U. S. Census Reports.) Also differentiate between the farm SLAVE who rents or is mortgaged and the parasite who is the retired land hog—big and little. That is important. The renter and the mortgaged mutt are in the same fix as the migratory worker. Further, those farmers of the exploited class who have been awakened KNOW all this, and there is a bond of natural sympathy between all such and the wobbly. They are on the same side of the class struggle. This is a fact that too many of our agitators and writers lose sight of, and the consequence is that advantages are lost each year in the harvest campaign.

"Just observe how the land sharks today are calling for the governor of Missouri to send the militia to southeast Missouri to quell the night riders there. Those night riders are simply a lot of class conscious renting farmers who struck recently for a heavy cut in the cash rent demanded by the land sharks. A lot of poor unorganized and terrified negro farm slaves stayed on and stood for the robbery, hence the direct action of the better organized white farmers. It is not a color question down there; it is purely an economic one. So it is in Texas and Oklahoma, and so on through the agricultural states.

"Let no one try to tell me that the exploited farmer is not capable of seeing the revolutionary ideal. I know better, for I have been among them in a capacity that enables me to know. The point I want to emphasize is that the migratory worker who is class conscious must learn to cultivate the cooperation of the other equally exploited farm slave. I know lots of farmers in North Dakota who will have nothing but wobbly crews, but the difficulty is in knowing in advance when and where with certainty to get them. All these things should be threshed out at the K. C. meeting."

We don't think any of our readers will take exception to the above suggestion regarding the college students. Although, according to the writer's observation, they are not as a rule very promising material for One Big One propoganda—being mostly middle class, they are inclined to regard labor unions as "un-American" and to agree with a noted college president that "the scab is a hero"—still we think it would be worth while to spread some literature among them, in advance, and try to get them to line up with their fellow harvest workers for better conditions next season. In fact, this effort should not be overlooked, by any means.

But with the latter part of our correspondent's conclusions, the writer among other wobblies will have to take exception. Our observations of Middle West farmers, extending through a period of some 15 years, makes us loathe to believe that their psychology has so completely changed in the last decade, even with the rise of tenantry and the intensified exploitation by the loan shark and other capitalist parasites who feed upon the working farmer. We can imagine a farmer understanding the whole process, even to the end where he and his kind disappear into the abyss of wage slavery. But so long as he persists in trying to maintain his status as a farm owner or renter, in which capacity he employs labor, he cannot be expected to ignore the consequences of that status. That is, he is bound to wish to get labor power as cheaply as possible, and to get as much out of the worker on the job as he can. How else, in fact, can he hope to meet the incessant and insatiable demands of the capitalist sharks who surround him and constantly threaten his existence? In the long run, even the intelligent farmer will not take kindly to the I. W. W.'s demands for more wages and a shorter workday in the harvest.

It may be well for the I. W. W. agitator to be armed with all these facts regarding tenantry and the forms and methods of exploiting the working farmer, and to spread them out before the latter whenever the opportunity is afforded. But the protest against the suggestion of a "trust-busting" campaign in behalf of the small farmer. We well remember the rise of "populism" in the middle west. It started primarily as a result of very low prices for farm produce along with what were regarded as excessive railroad rates and interest rates on loans. In 1889, corn on the Nebraska farm was selling for as low as nine cents per bushel, and wheat at 30 cents or less. Prices for hogs and cattle were so low as to make feeding unprofitable beyond a few months of the animal's birth. Corn was burned for fuel by the farmers of Nebraska that winter. The Farmers' Alliance grew by leaps and bounds; followed by the People's Party, which was going to "regulate the railroads," issue loans to the farmers at 2 per cent interest, and otherwise curb the power of the rising corporations and trusts. That movement was completely and quickly shattered on the rock of higher prices a few years later. After some feeble attempts to regulate railroad rates on the part of the state legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, and notwithstanding that tons of literature on "flat money," "free trade," "government ownership of railroads," and various other aspects of the "populist" movement had been spread broadcast in the rural districts—the movement disappeared with the advent of higher prices and became an easy prey to Bryan's "16 to 1."

Since then, conditions among the farmers have somewhat changed, but in the aggregate, not for the better. Prices have been climbing year by year, and got an exceptional boost following the opening of the war. Market conditions have improved by dint of development of greater efficiency in handling crops. Droughts and insect pests have been less destructive of crops on a wholesale scale. Improved machinery and methods of soil culture have made possible greater production with less labor. But, far from preserving intact the old-time status of the farmer as an independent proprietor, these changes have been accompanied by an increase in tenantry, a heavier burden of mortages on "free holdings," an increase in the number and acreage of farms owned by "absentee farmers," and a generally greater hopelessness and dependence on the part of the old-time American "yeoman."

Still, the psychology of the working farmer has not materially changed. He is still, for the most part, obessed with the illusions of old. He is still fighting the inevitable; still trying to preserve his vanishing status as an "independent American citizen." With far less chance of success than in the days of populism, the farmers are still seeking a "political expression" for their middle class aspirations. Hence the opportunity of the Socialist Party to get votes in the rural districts, by emphasizing in particular those planks in its platform which appeal to the instincts of the "farm owner." Hence the formation of "land leagues" or "renters' unions" to fight against concentration in agricultural holdings, high rents, usury and other forms of capitalist exploitation of the small farmer. Hence "night riders" and other futile forms of "direct action."

Into this atmosphere breathed by the small farmer, comes the I. W. W. proletarian, with his demand for more wages and a shorter workday in harvest time. This, so the farmer reasons, is only adding another burden to his shoulders. Unless he can, somehow, keep up the tradition of low wages, and a workday extending from the "dark of morning to the dark of evening" he is doomed. The I. W. W. cannot forego its demands; its members refuse to work for their board, or for any less than they can get through concerted action; neither can they offer the farmer any consolation in the direction of "busting the trusts," because the I. W. W. does not want to "bust" the trusts, but rather to take possession of them, and improve the machinery of production, in agriculture and well as in manufactures of all kinds.

So, we fail to see how there can possibly be an "entente cordiale" between the working farmer and the wobbly. Any possible exceptions, will only serve to emphasize the rule. But for all that, good judgment should be used by I. W. W. rebels in the harvest lelds. No useless or fruitless sabotage should be indulged in against such farmers as are disposed to yield to I. W. W. demands without a struggle. Every effort should be made to gain a permanent foothold for our organization in the agricultural industry. We should keep in mind that the time is fast approaching when the control of that industry must pass not only from the hands of the small farmer; but also from the hands of the big capitalists, to ONE BIG UNION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS, which will be best fitted to take charge of that industry and continue its logical development, as a part of social production. If any farm owners can be made to see how things are shaping themselves, and to assist in the process, so much the better. But let no wobbly join hands in any reactionary attempt to restore the old-time illusion of "the independent farmer" whose status has vanished never to return.

Local 179 of New York City keeps its spacious headquarters open day and evening, at 350 East 81st St. Branch 1, English speaking, holds a business meeting there every Tuesday at 8 P. M.

Will Edmond Stafford, last seen in Kansas City free speech fight of 1913, communicate with Wayne Walden, Crystal Springs, Florida.

Information wanted about Arthur William Pepper, better known as Joe Pepper. Address F. C. Pepper, 77 Burrell Road, Ipswich, Suffolk, England.

J. A. Sullivan has resigned as secretary of Los Angeles Propaganda League, and Wm. Stockinger elected to take his place. Address Box 1481.

The Speed Of Capitalism

New York, Feb. 28.

Editor Solidarity:

As a socialist, some thirty years in "the movement," I was very much interested in the editorial in your last issue, "Capitalism's Culminating Point." The point contained therein was well made. It would seem as if capitalism had at last reached its "jumping off" place, that is, the end of its development as an expansive commercial force; and must now welter in its own mire.

What made the editorial particularly interesting to me was the recollection it brought up. By means of it, I recalled an article by Belfort Bax, that went the rounds of the socialist press some 25 years ago. Bax showed how capitalism still had great room in which to grow and thus save off its own downfall for an indefinite period. He dwelt particularly on the possibilities in this direction which Africa then offered; for Africa was then a country of comparatively recent internal discovery and, accordingly, rife in capitalist prospects. We often smile at what happened in those 25 years! How, not only Africa, but Japan and other countries have left capitalism devoid of exploitative fields; in other words, how fast capitalism races on to its doom in all parts of the earth. Surely this is an encouraging thought!

As you well state, capitalism's productive capacity outstrips the absorptive capacity of the world's market. This creates war, that is, the struggle for such markets as there are at present in existence. Consequently we see civilized nations turning on each other, to subjugate each other, a la Germany and Belgium, and to compel the subjugated to become the markets that formerly the so-called "backward races" furnished by the same method. Hence, in the future, we may expect to see more wars among civilized nations, instead of those of civilized nations on undeveloped savages and countries. "Colonization" having exhausted itself may not competitive warfare among and on advanced countries now become the rule?

It certainly will, UNLESS the workers solve the problem by demanding such wages and conditions that, even though production has gone the veriest limit of capacity there is nothing left to be absorbed, or consumed. By this I mean that the workers should demand all that they produce, not to sell, but to use for their own progress and pleasure. They should, to this end, gradually endeavor to control industry from within industry. This latter thought has caused me to convert myself from a political into an industrial socialist. In other words, I believe that the I. W. W. has the correct viewpoint and method. Until the workers control the workshops, the cause of war will prevail and so will the methods by which it is made possible. The workers won't need to seek absorption of any surplus with themselves, receiving all that they produce. And, with industrial control, they can stop all war when they so determine.

Is this too far away? In answer, let me ask, Did Belfort Bax have to wait long to realize how foolish were his own lugubrious prophecies?

AN OLD SOCIALIST.

Milwaukee, Wis., Feb. 27.

Editor Solidarity:

Solidarity's recent editorials on the European war have been illuminating; "Capitalism's Culminating Point" particularly so.

Ever since the war began I have tried to puzzle out how a stable peace might be maintained under capitalistic industry. Evidently, the cause, unco-ordinated production, must be eliminated root and branch. This done, imperialism will disappear automatically. Unco-ordinated production causes industrial anarchy, international antagonisms and military clashes. Perhaps, production for the world market may be co-ordinated with consumption by introducing the principle of the international trust, if first privately owned and then collectively owned. It must be evident to any clear-sighted observer that permanent industrial, political and military peace must be preceded by a regulative apparatus of industry in the world market.

As a globe-trotter I have had first-hand glimpses of the workings of group exploitation—the skinning of backward peoples. It is "first the missionary, then the trader, then the gunboat." In my opinion the present unrest in Latin America as in the Far and the Near East is simply the prelude to the coming development of native industries. Industrial development in England was preceded by the revolt under Cromwell; in France, by the Revolution of 1789. The movements of Pan-Islamism and Asia for Asiatics are in large part engineered by those who hope to eliminate foreign or group exploitation in order to establish native industries.

With you I say, "God (or rather the working class) forbid that capitalism should ever reach that culminating point" (i. e., the conquest of the remaining backward peoples). Were capitalism to succeed it would keep the backward peoples purely agricultural forever. To check progress artificially is to inaugurate real slavery. Capitalism never will reach the culminating point, because it makes three classes of enemies:

(a) The industrial nations of the world are themselves now one another's bitterest enemies.

(b) The exploited workers at home.

(c) The exploited backward peoples abroad.

Within a few years the agriculturalist peoples of Canada, Latin America, Asia, Africa and Australasia will have developed their own industries. From being useful customers of the existing industrial nations they will become the keenest competitors in both the home and the world market. The intensity of competition for the world market will then be terrific. Presently, the industrial workers in, let us say, the United States, Germany and China will head a successful revolt against capitalism at home. Shortly after the exploitation of the backward peoples will collapse—profits at a vanishing point will no longer pay the piper. Then, throughout the world, real democracy, industrial democracy, will be at the out. England will probably reach democracy with the least turbulence.

A grave cause of friction will be emigration and the relations between white workers and yellow and brown workers. Without advocating inter-marriage the white man must learn to accord his yellow, black and brown brothers all the rights and privileges of human beings.

Vive la Revolution,

CHARLES D. TOWSLEY.

Chicago I. W. W. Active

The I. W. W. locals of Chicago are making preparations for the spring agitation, and have an exceptional opportunity of arousing the slaves to the necessity of industrial organization, owing to the fact that unemployment has started them thinking.

As a starter a mass meeting was held Sunday, Feb. 28th, at Workmen's Hall, under the auspices of the Joint Locals, with Fellow Workers Ettor and Walsh, in English; Shrager, Polish; and a Russian, addressing the meeting. The speakers impressed the audience favorable, judging from the enthusiasm manifested.

A large Russian branch of Local 85 was organized, with more to follow.

Local 341 is to start street agitation as soon as the weather permits.

At the above mentioned meeting, Fellow Worker Ettor emphasized on the hungry slaves being damned fools to starve, telling them there is more than enough food and clothing to go around.

The I. W. W. has a great future ahead, and if we but do our part, the results will astonish the most optimistic.

In my box car tour from the South here, I never in all my life saw the workers in such numbers, unemployed and suffering from the pangs of hunger.

In the breadline in St. Louis, were bookkeepers, stenographers, and others who for the first time in their lives were forced to accept the garbage of charity. Let us hope that Hunger will be a good educator, and that nevermore can the paregoric of the politician, knockout drops of the preacher, and black bottle of the reformist, lull the slaves to inaction, dissolution and death!

W. H. L.

Our New Heading

No doubt most of our readers were surprised on tearing open the wrapper on their Solidarity this week. We hope it was an agreeable surprise—that New Heading that adorns the first page of this issue. For five years and some weeks the old one had been doing service, until it had become somewhat battered in spots, and otherwise appeared a bit out of date. So we finally decided to get a new one, and to make some changes in the general layout that now seem more clearly necessary than in 1909. Some of these suggestions were noted by the office force, and sent to Fellow Worker Ralph H. Chaplin of Chicago, who produced the drawing for the engraving as it now appears. We consider it very nifty, and hope that all our readers will be equally pleased. The old heading will in time be enclosed in a glass case with plush lining, and placed on exhibition in the museum of the Revolution.

The Seattle locals are arranging for another big smoker at their headquarters at 208 Second Ave. S, on March 17, beginning at 8 P. M. There will be boxing, wrestling and other amusements, together with a Big Dutch Lunch. Admission 25 cents.

A. Westdyke and Van Duin are requested to get in touch with the secretary of the joint locals at 114 Eye St., Sacramento, Calif., as soon as possible. This is of the utmost importance to both of you.—C. L. Lambert, Sec'y.

All mail intended for Local 64, 232 Cedar Ave., Minneapolis, should be addressed to C. Wm. Anderson, Sec'y.

Woman's Work— Other News And Views

"Woman's work is never done"—
And the pay is "on the bum."

Woman's work is now done,
By a machine, electric run.

Feminine reformers who say workingwomen can live on $6.50 a week are advised by the latter not to try it as a steady thing. As an experiment it's a possibility; but as a permanency it is a nightmare.

What is "woman's work," in the modern industrial sense? It is but one of many subdivisions of labor, in which men, women and children are alike exploited. Under the circumstances, why "women's trade union leagues"? Why not industrial unions, regardless of race, color, creed or sex; and including all?

The Eastern workingwomen are in rebellion against that $6.50 a week wage ideal. They say $8.00 a week should be the minimum. Don't stop there, girls; organize together with the boys, and make the minimum all that you can get; and the maximum all that you produce.

According to Prof. Howard Woolston, head of the wage investigation made for the New York State Factory Commission: "Out of 55,000 women workers investigated, 1,500 get less than $3 a week; 11,000 less than $5; 19,000 less than $6; 27,000 less than $7, and 37,000 less than $8. Yet authorities say it requires from $8 to $18 a week for a worker to live like a human being. Its not the work itself that causes low wages, but the mobs waiting outside the gate for jobs. That puts the level of wages down, for the employer can have his choice. He can recruit new and more underpaid workers from the grammar schools and tenement houses. Twice as many women are hired and fired than hold a job a full year,, showing that many lose many weeks and months by having to drift from job to job.

The trouble with the professor is, that two out of three of his "remedies are no good, viz: "intelligence among employers and a "minimum wage law." What "intelligent employer" refuses the cheapest labor? And what is "a minimum wage"? But when the Prof. advises "organization," we have no criticism; we O. K. that remedy; it's all right.

"No women or girls should come to San Francisco who have no assured position awaiting them here, or sufficient funds to carry them over a period of four or five months," is the conclusion of a lengthy report on "Unemployment of Women in San Francisco," issued by a committee of college women. The report states that the manager of the employment bureau of the exposition says there are on file in his office between 90,000 and 100,000 applications for positions. Of these, between 9,000 and 10,000 are applications of women while the number of posters for women to be filled directly by the exposition authorities is limited to 1,000.

Because of the large number of unemployed women, a general cut in wages is also reported. Chambermaids who formerly received $8.50 now get $7, without room and board. Children's nurses, who last year earned $35, get $15 and $20. The same condition applies for store and factory workers.

And they say Frisco is the land of the golden sunset. Evidently other things have set there also; including the workers' welfare. Workers of Frisco, unite as you should, in one big union, to end these conditions.

The case of Margaret Sanger should interest every working-woman. Mrs. Sanger is a trained nurse; she contends for the right to print and circulate information relating to birth-control among the poorer classes of this country, who are kept in ignorance by the laws; but which the wealthy can obtain from physicians upon payment of the necessary fees. Mrs. Sanger, in pursuit of this contention, has defied the law and is now in danger of a long term in prison. Her cause is well espoused in the March "Masses." Therein, under the title, "Is the Truth Obscene?" Max Eastman eloquently lays bare the class injustice which her conviction would establish. Get the Masses for March, and find out all about the case of Margaret Sanger for yourself.

"M. G. R." is writing some good articles for Solidarity on the textile industry in the South. Her studies, whether in fictional form, or as reports, are worthy of wide circulation among cotton mill workers in all sections of the country. The South is playing an important part in textile history and they should know and be kept informed of its development. We notice that "M. G. R." and "M. E. M.," another noteworthy woman writer, have collaborated in "Machines That Have Made History," an article appearing in the March number of the International Socialist Review. This article is profusely illustrated; it also treats of Southern cotton mill development. It is worth reading.

An old poem, appearing over a quarter of a century ago in the Australian "Workman," entitled "The Web of Life," contains this stanza:

"All day and night I can hear the jar
Of the loom of life, and near and far
It thrills with its deep and muffled sound,
As the tireless wheels go always round.
Busy, ceaselessly goes the loom,
In the light of day and the midnight gloom:
The wheels are turning early and late,
And the woof is wound in the warp of fate."

Sure it is, as long as one is fatalistically inclined. But when one believes in the power of organization the woof of life is wound in the warp of organized strength.

Talking of organization, it is necessary to organize right. To organize right, unskilled labor must be primarily considered nowadays. Unskilled labor is more numerous, and more important from the standpoint of the necessary work performed, than is skilled labor. In the McKees Rocks strike, for instance, the unskilled struck and rendered inoperative large mills. In the current news dispatches we read of the strikes of the Amalgamated Steel and Iron Workers' Association, at Youngstown, Niles and other Ohio points. This association, driven out of the trust mills, because of its refusal to organize the unskilled, is now making its last stand against a wage reduction in independent mills. This once great and powerful organization missed the opportunity to meet the trust and defeat it by believing that the interests of the workers are best conserved by craft instead of industrial and class unions. We cite the fact, not that we believe the skilled will heed it; but to show the growing importance of unskilled, whether in man, woman or child.

We take our hats off to Phillips Russell. While socialist magazines like the New Review seem to have gone completely daffy on the war in Europe, Russell arises to ask in the March Inter. Socialist Review, "Yes, But How About the War at Home?" Any man who can forget the blankety-blank war abroad for a study of the situation at home arouses our enthusiasm. It was a socialist, George Kirkpatricy, in his "War, What For?" who pointed out the hypnotic power of war and its use by reaction to defeat all progress and advance capitalist exploitation. And it is the socialist who, of all men, seems to be succumbed most to this power. Once more, bully for Phillips Russell.

J. E.

Sidelights On The Frisco Exposition

Mother Nature and Capitalism are not always in harmony. The Japanese exhibit at the Exposition has been partly wiped out by the heavy rains of the past few weeks, and, although tomorrow (Feb. 20) is the opening day the skies are overcast and the downpour continues.

Despite elemental adversity, however, the various publicity organs have raised public psychology to the near breaking point. Rain or shine the various social elements have determined to give more or less of their money to the group of capitalists operating the fair, and incorporated for mass robbery. It has been estimated that it will cost $20 to go through the fair grounds and see everything just once.

All of which goes to prove that when a bunch of capitalists determine that they want something, they don't waste much time in factional fight or in splitting metaphysical hairs.

Neither are they at all discriminating as to whom they skin. Catholic or Unitarian, prince or pauper, all are cordially invited to San Francisco, to be gracefully and ceremoniously flimflammed, at the grand grab fest of Pacific coast capitalism.

The wife of one of the officials, it is said, has purchased two blocks of property in Los Angeles recently.

Even the special guardians of property are not expected from the attentions of the fair corporation. The salaries of the guards have been reduced from $80 to $65, upon the ground that expenses must be curtailed. The guards, also are compelled to buy an admission ticket at one dollar, and to pay forty dollars for their uniforms, which must be purchased at a specified tailor's, whose place of business is on Market St.

Policemen and firemen were compelled to buy stock as a reward for their faithfulness.

For months past from 400 to 500 men have stood outside the grounds waiting for a chance to ask for a job.

Men have been killed and injured nearly every day since the erection of the buildings was begun.

Admission to one exhibit, that of Toyland, is to be two dollars. What a chance for children of workers!

Only attractive women are given employment at the fair grounds. What, one might ask, are the plain ones going to do? At one moment capitalism howls for abolition of red-light districts, and at the next the same element which howled, exploits the sex psychology in a slightly more respectable manner. There is invariably a dog back of the howl, and capitalism is true to its canine constitution.

A SAN FRANCISCO RADICAL.

Subjects: Flynn Lectures

Following are some of the subjects for lectures by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, any one of which may be selected by the local under whose auspices she is to speak:

1. War—Can Labor be Neutral?
2. Small Families—A Proletarian Necessity.
3. Sabotage.
4. Direct Action vs. Local Action.
5. The Class War.
6. Women and the Labor Movement.
7. Lessons of the Paterson Strike.
8. Unemployment—A Menace to Society.
9. Solidarity—Labor's Road to Freedom.
10. The Revolutionary I. W. W.—Its Aims, Tactics and History.
11. The Eight Hour Day.
12. The Mexican Revolution.
13. Violence and the Labor Move-

Just Getting Along

By Esther Packard
Assistant Secretary Consumers' League of the City of New York

(As special agent of the New York State Factory Investigating Commission, Esther Packard secured detailed accounts of expenditures of three hundred girls earning a weekly wage of less than $10. The girls were chosen at random from the pay-rolls of the factories and department stores all over New York state. Some names were secured by visits at working girls' homes, settlements, or church clubs. All three hundred girls were seen personally by Miss Packard.—Editor Survey.)

"When I pay seven cents for lunch, I'm extravagant," remarked a girl clerk in a large department store in Buffalo.

A five, six or seven-cent lunch, in and day out, month upon month, year upon year! A sandwich, perhaps, washed down by a cup of coffee, every day in the week! Can those of us whose lunch is seldom so restricted comprehend this mode of living? Can our minds grasp in the faintest degree the meaning of this pinching economy? If we experimented with a seven-cent lunch for a week, "just to see how it really felt," should we even then comprehend? Is it not the psychological reaction of hopelessness and grubbiess that we cannot sense, rather than emptiness from a meager meal, the certain knowledge, which seven cents in one's pocket-book brings, that lunch can never go beyond the limits of bread-and-butter and a cup of coffee?

"Sometimes I just long for a good thirty-cent meal," said one girl who was earning $6 a week. "But I never have the price of it in my pocket-book. I get so tired of those twenty-cent dinners year in and year out, that often I think I'd rather not eat at all."

It was this hopeless attitude towards life—the feeling that expenditure must forever be hedged about by petty saving, which to me stood out most prominently in the stories gathered from working girls by the New York State Factory Investigating Commission. Although the budgets of practically all these 300 workers mirror starved and dreary lives, perhaps most clearly outlined against the background of humdrum existence is the plucky struggle of Annie B.

For ten years—ever since her mother died and left her an orphan—Annie's daily problem has been to juggle $6 into a living wage. She has worked her expenses out in great detail and has figured to the cent just how much she can allow herself for food, clothes, and rent. Annie lives in a furnished room house, paying $2 a week for a small dark room. Her breakfast is planned so that it costs only five or eight cents. It consists of a glass of milk with a raw egg in it, and a few crackers. "That's both healthy and inexpensive," was her explanation. "When I can afford it and want to have a real treat, I get an orange for my breakfast and have that, too, but that doesn't happen very often."

Her luncheons she gets at the store in the employes' lunch room, paying twelve or fifteen cents for some bread and butter, meat and potatoes. In reply to my question whether she ever indulged in cake or pie or fluffy things that most girls enjoy, she answered quickly: "Oh, no; you see I have to get nourishing things." For suppers she pays twenty-five cents, frequenting the cheap restaurants where a "regular dinner" is served. In this way her board and room cost her usually $4.60 a week.

This last year Annie was sick, and a $5 doctor's bill and a $1.25 dentist's bill had to be met. So the occasional orange treat for breakfast was given up. The twelve or fifteen cent lunch was pared down to a ten-cent one, and the cheap twenty-five cent restaurants were looked upon as luxury.

The year had compensations, however, for it was a "good year for clothes," that is, she had to buy very few things, for she wore her last year's purchases. Her expenditures for the year were:

2 dresses, $9 and $2.50	$11.50
1 black waist	.98
1 black skirt	2.90
2 suits of underwear	1.00
1 corset	.50
3 pairs shoes, $2 and $2.90 a pair	6.90
2 pair rubbers	1.35
Stockings, 10 and 25 cents	1.70
	$26.83

The extravagance of two dresses Annie evidently thought needed apology, for she hastened to explain that she wouldn't have bought the $2.50 dress, except that her landlady had a dress given to her and was anxious to sell it. As the material was nice and the price low, Annie decided that it would be a good bargain. She could not pay for it outright, however, so has been paying twenty-five cents on it every week. "It's most paid for now," she added proudly.

She also explained about the ten-cent stockings, saying she knew it was better economy to pay thirty-five or fifty cents a pair, but "when you've got just ten cents in your pocket-book," she asked, "and need a pair of stockings what are you going to do?"

This strict economy and worried planning was shown as much in her recreation money as in the egg and milk breakfast and $2.50 second-hand dress. Fifteen cents a week is the very top-notch for expenditure for "pure pleasure." It occurs only on holidays and very special occasions. Usually Annie has nothing left out of her salary for even one five-cent picture show. As far as could be learned, church on Sunday seemed to be the one relaxation she allows herself during the week.

Her story, conscientiously and painstakingly told, was one of incessant economy, of minute plannings over unexpected bills, and of nerves already worn, stretched taut. There seemed to be no large and free movement of the mind but a dwarfed and circumvented scheming instead. No gay, unexpected pleasure trips, no little lovable extravagances, nothing reckless, bright or colorful crept into her life. Pleasure was obtained only after laborious planning; dresses were bought for warmth and durability, never because they were becoming; and food purchased not for delectability but for nutriment.

This drab monotony is the existence which the $6 wages imposes so ruthlessly on the working girl. One or another item, considered essential in every normal person's budget, must be dropped from her budget in order to make the $6 wage "go." One girl will prefer to scrimp in one way; someone else in another. Mary A.'s expenditure for clothes will be passable, perhaps, but her expenditures for rent will not; Miss T. may allow for savings, but her food bill will be below par; Hilda B. may want pleasure in her life, but will have to draw on the rainy-day fund to get it.

This detailed budget study has shown me that there are various ways of "getting along" on $6 a week; but the one fact which never varies is that it is a mere "getting along." There was variety—plenty of it—in the forms of economy encountered among these working-girls, but a variety of easy expenditure and a free, joyful life I did not once encounter.

One girl explained her ability to make both ends meet, in this manner: "You see, I've figured it all out," she said. "I pay $2 for my room—that bill has to be met every week. Then once a month twenty-five cents is taken out of my pay envelope for the store benefit fund. That also is regular and can't be cut down. I've got to dress decent to keep my job. If I didn't spend $1.25 a week on clothes, they'd fire me, sure. So you see yourself the only thing that is left me on which to economize is food." From experience she had found that breakfast is the easiest meal for her to go without. She cannot afford the luxury of all three meals, so never eats any breakfast at all.

To this girl the $6 wage means "lack of food"; to Mrs. N. it means a cheap little room in the lodging-house section of the city. It is not yet known as the red-light district but as Mrs. N. herself puts it, "the lights are getting pinker every year."

From nine until six, Mrs. N. stands waiting on customers. At six o'clock she walks home through the unpleasant streets to her solitary room, cooks her dinner on the two-burner gas stove, washes the few dishes, sweeps the floor, washes and irons her shirt-waist and underwear, mends her clothes and then goes to bed. In the morning she rises early to cook her cereal and coffee, washes the dishes again, straightens the little room and then hastens to the store. Such is her round—her life bounded by the jewelry counter in the store and the crowded room in the questionable section of the city.

Other economies ranged from sleeping three in a bed to dependence upon friends for food. In going over the accounts of one girl, for instance, I found that her weekly expenditure exceeded her weekly income by some fifty or seventy-five cents. I called this to her attention and she quickly responded: "Oh, but you see I'm lucky, I have a gentleman friend." Upon questioning her further, it was found that this "gentleman friend" called upon her two or three times a week. Whenever she knew that he was coming, she either went without dinner entirely, or had only a cup of tea and some bread and butter, letting his treat of an ice cream soda, candy, etc., make up for the meal. For Sunday dinners, she always counted upon him.

"I get one square meal a week, anyway," she said, and then added most sympathetically, "Gee, but I feel sorry for the girls who haven't got a steady."

Several girls managed a $6 wage by sacrificing all recreation.

"Oh, I just sit at home in the evening and worry about what will become of the family if I can't earn more than $5 a week!" replied a Polish factory girl when asked what pleasure her wage allowed her. Her father is a plumber by trade and when all goes well can earn $9 or $10 a week, but many are the weeks when all does not go well. Last year, when this eighteen-year-old girl was sick with typhoid fever and out of work for four months, the Charity Organization Society had to aid the family.

"And oh, how I hated that!" she said. "Five dollars doesn't seem very much when I'm feeding 39,000 boxes to a machine every day—but when I don't get it at all, it seems like a fortune."

In many cases this total sacrifice of any legitimate pleasure seemed especially disastrous, because girls were carrying a heavy burden of anxiety, in addition to their work, and needed wholesome nourishment.

One girl, for instance, did not want to tell her story at all for fear it might jeopardize her job in some way. "You see, I've gotta work, I've just *gotta*," she declared. "I don't complain about anything in the factory. I just take everything as it comes and pray that I may always have work. As long as I have that I'm all right."

The reason for her clinging so desperately to her job was soon seen as she began to tell her story. Her father is dead, and she, a delicate girl of twenty-four, has to support not only herself, but a sick mother besides. She has been working for nine years at a shirt factory and was just recently "promoted" to $7.50 a week. Her mother has some serious stomach trouble. She is up one day and in bed the next.

The girl spends practically noth-

Continued on Page Four

Industrial Union Literature

THE following is a list of the literature we have in stock at this time in quantities sufficiently large enough to insure immediate delivery. This is the best of Industrial Union Literature with plenty of variety for selection. Prepare for the winter agitation by sending in your order now. All literature is sent carriage prepaid on receipt of CASH with order.

The Trial of A New Society
By Justus Ebert
IN this book Fellow Worker Ebert gives the best exposition of the constructive and social philosophy of the I. W. W., that has yet appeared in print. It is not a work of fiction nor of speculation, but a matter-of-fact, practical treatment of recent phases of the industrial, social and political life, as revealed by the great textile strike at Lawrence, Mass., and the trials of Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso growing out of same. Handsome, Full Cloth, Gold Stamped Binding, 160 Pages With 8 Page Illustrations. Price Per Copy 75c

The New Unionism
By Andre Tridon
A CLEAR statement of the philosophy and practice of Syndicalism, its history and present status all over the world. Every member of the I. W. W. should have a copy of this book for their own information and to meet the assertions of others as to the status of Industrial Unionism in the different foreign countries. Endorsed and recommended by Tom Mann and other authorities of their respective countries as being historically correct. 200 Pages. Cloth $1.10. Postage Prepaid. Paper 30c

Eleven Blind Leaders
By B. H. Williams
DEALS with "Legislators", "Co-operatives" and "Reformers." 32 page pamphlet; 10c a copy; per hundred . . $3.50

The Advancing Proletariat
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PROPOSED HARVEST ORGANIZATION

(Special to Solidarity)
Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 26.

We have read with interest the article in last week's Solidarity by Chas. Gray, but are among those who take exception to his views. In order to create harmony and unity of action by the several locals involved, the following views are put forward. They are for your consideration.

First there shall be created a Harvest Organization, independent of any local union. The organization shall consist of a General Secretary, Organizers and Delegates who are taking actual part in the harvest.

It shall be the duty of the General Secretary of the Harvest Organization to handle all supplies such as books, due stamps, and literature. He shall at all times be in connection with the organizers in the field. He shall keep a correct account of all finances handled by him. His office shall be located in some convenient town in the harvest belt and shall move with the harvest. He shall receive not less than $15 per week.

ORGANIZERS shall be credentialed to collect dues and issue cards. They shall at all times keep in communication with the Secretary and shall send all monies received to the secretary of the Harvest Organization. Their expenses shall be paid whenever necessary, by the secretary.

DELEGATES shall assist the organizers in agitation and shall take applications for new members but shall not issue cards except when entrusted with them by an organizer and in such case the organizer shall be held responsible for the supplies. The Delegates shall keep in as close touch as possible with the organizers in their section.

All organizers and delegates shall be credentialed from the Harvest Organization rather than from the Local Union from which they are sent.

There shall be selected from the delegates to the convention of April 15th, an Executive Board, whose duty it shall be to gather all possible information regarding harvest and institute a general publicity campaign prior to the harvest, thus stopping a flooding of the harvest belt with unnecessary men. It shall also be the duty of this Board to issue credentials to organizers and delegates, recommended and approved by the several local unions. They shall not interfere with the work in the harvest while they are themselves not in the harvest.

All initiations ($1.00) and donations collected in the harvest shall be retained by the Harvest Organization and shall be used to pay the secretary, the organizers' expenses as they arise, to maintain such jungles as may be necessary, to assist those who may be arrested while agitating, and for such other purposes as may appear from time to time.

All dues collected shall be distributed by the general secretary to local unions in the harvest belt, on the basis of the number of delegates sent by the local union. For example, if Kansas City sends 10 delegates (organizers and delegates) and Minneapolis sends 20, then Minneapolis shall receive $2.00 as against $1.00 received by Kansas City. This is to be regardless of where the member joins, whether in Kansas or North Dakota. It is to be remembered that it makes no difference where the card is originally issued to. The free transfer overcomes that.

No propaganda league shall receive any benefit (financially) from the joint agitation unless it becomes a local union, paying per capital into the general office of the I. W. W.

The holding of public speeches in the harvest should be discouraged, as they are more likely to cause trouble than otherwise.

Organizers shall not be paid on the commission basis. Because a delegate who gets the most members does not prove that he was the hardest worker or the best. There is plenty of work in the harvest other than writing up members that should be recompensed. If the ones who write up the members get all, where do the others come in?

Each city where the migratory workers congregate should have agitators and speakers who will dwell on this line of propaganda, thus preparing the workers for action. This is quite essential. It makes quite a bit of difference what frame of mind the workers are in when they strike the harvest.

Jungles should be established in the harvest fields to catch the stray worker before the farmer does.

Delegates shall come to the convention, April 15th, armed with all information possible, regarding number of men in harvest last year, number of men needed, where, and number of men driven out of towns by vigilantes, wages paid in different sections, hours of labor in different sections, strikes won and lost and the different increases gotten due to agitation and strikes.

E. F. DOREE,
S. ST. JOHN,
G. J. BOURG.

DES MOINES UNEMPLOYED MAKING PROGRESS

(Continued From Page 1)

ment. These fellow workers could talk a widow and ten children out of their last supper, if they were heartless enough. That's why the bourgeois find it impossible to refuse them when they ask them for half the contents of their store for the Unemployed League.

We have a big hall, with basement containing a furnace, at 414 E. Fifth St. Open forum meetings are held here when it is too cold on the streets, and a complete jungle outfit, so complete that we are thinking of calling it a hotel, is the drawing card of the place. Numbers of the unemployed sleep in the hall every night. The telephone company contributed a phone free, so we are running our own employment office. During the past week over 75 of the fellow workers have received jobs through the phone. We are proving to the scissor bills that WE WILL WORK.

Vincent St. John lectures today, afternoon and evening, and tomorrow evening at the palatial EAST HIGH SCHOOL. Some trouble was encountered in securing the place but it was done and we are expecting wonderful results.

JOHN E. NORDQUIST.

ONE MORE APPEAL FOR RANGEL AND CLINE

Comrades and Fellow Workers:

In the trials last fall of J. M. Rangel and Charles Cline the juries disagreed in both cases.

The second trial of these two comrades will take place this month.

For four months the Rangel-Cline Defense Committee has issued no appeal in behalf of the Texas prisoners. The distance from the place of trial and other circumstances over which the Committee had no control have hampered its activity.

Now, however, through the active interest of the San Antonio Socialists, these difficulties have been largely removed.

Socialist Party Local No. 18, San Antonio, whose secretary is Lorenz Peterson, 1216 Garden street, San Antonio, Texas, has elected a Rangel-Cline Defense Committee, which is in a position to take direct charge of the interests of the prisoners and it is arranging with Jno. R. Storms, one of San Antonio's most able attorneys, to conduct the defense of Rangel and Cline at their coming trials.

THEY MUST HAVE MONEY WITH WHICH TO WORK

The expenses of the former trials have eaten up all funds so far collected and we must again ask the workers to assist their brothers in this crisis.

Rangel, from his cell in the Bexar County Jail, writes to the Los Angeles Committee:

"It is only through such aid that we are enabled to fight for the truth of our innocence. It is only when one is unfortunately accused and placed in such position as we are that the great principles and cause of justice and brotherly love are substantially reflected through our new humanitarian ideals and reconstructive endeavor as evidence of the regenerative movement."

THE SAN ANTONIO DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Is composed of John T. Horner, Mrs. Ida Wilson and Mrs. Vera Mayfield. It is authorized by Socialist Local No. 18 to receive funds and, as the time is so short and the need so pressing, funds should be sent to it direct instead of being sent to the Los Angeles Committee.

Comrade Mayfield, secretary of the Committee, writes:

"Realizing that the distance of the Los Angeles Committee from the place of trial is a serious disadvantage, and since this handicap would be eliminated in our case, we believe that we can accomplish more with the same expenditure of money."

With this the Los Angeles Committee heartily agrees and therefore asks that ALL FUNDS FOR THE DEFENSE OF RANGEL AND CLINE BE SENT TO MRS. VERA MAYFIELD, 709 NORTH BRAZOS STREET, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

PLEASE HELP IMMEDIATELY!
VICTOR CRAVELLO, Fin. Secy.
RANGEL-CLINE DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MIGRATORY WORKER

By Arthur Le Sueur
Vice President People's College, Fort Scott, Kan.

Tramps are, like churches, armies, courts, legislatures and other modern institutions, products of society, and occur in their due order and exhibit the characteristics which they must exhibit as exemplifying the system of society at its particular stage of evolution. Specialization in industry has made the migratory worker an absolute necessity of evolution and the migratory worker in order to be migratory must inevitably develop certain traits of character. That is, the migratory worker must travel long distances and be periodically out of work. Without the migratory worker the crops in the great wheat, corn and cotton belts of the United States could not be harvested and threshed. Machinery does the preliminary work to bring these crops into existence and a great share of the final work in preparing them for consumption, but hundreds of thousands of migratory workers are necessary to serve the machines used in producing the crops at specified seasons of the year. This makes it necessary for workers to travel long distances to these jobs. Sometimes they fail to land the jobs and after a few seasons it is but natural that the worker often out of work, often hungry, always ill treated and abused, should cease to have that normal ambition for the possession of a home and family that is as natural to mankind as it is to breathe.

The hopelessness of ever attaining economic independence, as a migratory worker, which would permit the establishment of a home, destroys this ambition. The clubs of the policemen, the jails in the cities, the robbery and abuse practiced upon the workers in their transit to and fro across the country deprives them of respect for society. They see its injustice and feel its hypocrisy. Governments are not for them but against them; churches are not for them but against them; homes to them are but a taunt of their hopelessness and helplessness.

No greater testimonial to the natural goodness of human nature as a whole could be imagined than the fact that these migratory workers do not develop into organized hands of criminals preying upon society in the same lawless way that society preys upon them. The remedy for this situation does not lie in kind treatment of the tramps nor in providing soup houses for them; it lies in the establishment of the RIGHT TO WORK; the right to connect physically with the natural resources of the land and produce food, clothing and shelter for themselves, retaining as of RIGHT the FULL PRODUCT OF THEIR LABOR.

The tramp is not different in kind than the rest of humanity but is one of the by-products of an infamous system of society. And while it is laudible and proper that those who have, under this system, divide as far as may be with those who have not it should all the time be remembered that this is anything but justice and that the only way to eliminate the so-called tramp evil is to ELIMINATE the CAUSES WHICH PRODUCE it.

If the producers of farm staples that now are relying upon migratory labor to garner their crops were not ROBBED of NEARLY ONE-HALF of the VALUE of their PRODUCE the hours of labor could be shortened and the pay raised to the migratory worker to a degree that would lighten the burdens of all farm populace and at the same time give the migratory worker a chance inevitably better than the farmers themselves have thus far enjoyed, while at the same time improving a hundred per cent the opportunities for economic independence of the farmers themselves. But remember that this does not include landlords who are simply parasites who live upon the produce of the actual farmers' labor. A sane system will eliminate the landlords.

(See editorial on "The Working Farmer and the I. W. W." in this issue of Solidarity.—Editor.)

LABOR AND DEMOCRATIC INDUSTRY

Thanks to the February "The American Photo Engraver," we are enabled to read "Labor Desires the Democratization of Industries," the speech delivered by Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission, before the Philadelphia 1914 convention of the American Federation of Labor. We have no doubt, after its perusal, that Frank Walsh is a great deal in advance of his audience, and of his fellow A. F. of L. members on the Commission, not to mention his party. His standpoint is that of the socialist in every respect; a standpoint combatted and rejected by Samuel Gompers, James O'Connell, Father Dietz, and others as well known, who listened to its exposition. Industrial democracy is anti-capitalist; while all those named are essentially pro-capitalist. Read, for instance, Gompers' anti-socialist speech at the Boston A. F. of L. convention. And so is the Democratic party, the party of Mr. Wash, pro-capitalist.

Who does not recognize "the materialistic conception of history," popularized in these words of Walsh:

"The institution known as modern industry has an earth-grip in strength unequalled by any other social organization known to the world. Its strength, primarily, consists in the fact that it, of all other bodies, has first-hand access to chemistry and physics, the moving forces of the world, because there is involved the personal fortune of every individual connected with it; not only affecting his board and clothes, but all of the aspirations of his heart, his hopes for freedom, his desire for the mental, moral and social expansion of himself and the children who are to succeed him."

True, every word. But what is this statement, if not a "free translation" of Marxian language, despised by every A. F. of L. leader and every Democratic party voter?

Walsh continues:

"And if my work upon this commission has taught me one thing in regard to the labor movement . . . it is to give no narrow meaning to that phrase, first declared, so far as my knowledge goes, by the Knights of Labor — an injury to one is the concern of all, means, if it means anything at all, that an injury to the humblest and weakest of God's creatures is the concern of all mankind."

And this in the convention of the body that helped scab the K. of L. out of existence! And it is essentially a socialist phrase, as was the K. of L. more essentially socialistic than is the A. F. of L.

Walsh again, in the protestation against "the double standard of morality" in industry is essentially socialist. Listen to this method of denying a moral right to existence to the capitalist exploiter of labor:

"The idea that the workman is to be considered a good and moral citizen if he accepts a fair day's wage for a fair day's work—interpreted to mean that he should work at least eight hours, or until he is tired out, for a wage that is sufficient to supply the necessities and none of the luxuries of life—for that he is called moral. In the same industry, another human being with the same desires, the same aspiration and the same human nature, deriving everything of his from that same industry, who is called moral and upright, aye, and even great, if he has succeeded in getting all he could out of that industry without any work and without any application that was one of the striking thoughts given to this commission by a member of your organization, and it has spread broadcast throughout the land.

And it is such a thought that the "mutual interests of capital and labor" theories of the A. F. of L. denies as true. The A. F. of L. claims that the capital invested in industry has rights that labor must respect—even the right to exploit labor. The fact is seen in A. F. of L. opposition to the abolition of capitalism.

Walsh continues:

"The insistent cry of labor is for its democratization, if I may so express it, that no man will be satisfied, no man of intelligence ever, until he is given the full product of his own toil."

The "full product of his own toil" is a socialist demand; the A. F. of L. wants "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work"—one of the double stand "moralities" held up to contempt in Walsh's just comparison in the quotation preceding the one just made.

"And, my friends," asks Walsh in conclusion, "what is democratization of industry? As I understand, it is simply this: That every man who toils shall have a *compelling voice* (the italics are ours) in the conditions under which he gives his work, a voice as to compensation, as to hours, and as to conditions; and when I say that every man is to have the product of his own toil, if justice is to be established, I mean every man who labors with his hands, with the muscles of his body, with his brain, every man who plans, every man who constructs, every architect, every draftsman and artificer."

That is truly industrial democracy. But that is not what the A F. of L. wants, as already shown—the A. F. of L. wants a modified capitalism, not a fulfilment of industrial socialism. Nor is it what Mr. Walsh's progressivism wants. Mr. Walsh's progressivism is state capitalism run in the interests of government bondholders by the Wilsonian democracy, including Frank P. Walsh.

Industrial democracy of the kind described by Mr. Walsh is what the I. W. W. wants; that is what the I. W. W. is working for and aims to get, in time.

The time is coming. Mr. Walsh's able address, which is merely touched on in its essential points, in the above, is one of the happy indications of the fact. That is an address that will help give momentum and clearness to the irresistable movement now getting under way—the movement in favor of industrial democracy.

J. E.

PROPOSAL FOR SUPPORT OF I. W. W. PRESS

Fellow Workers:

At the meeting of the Joint Locals I. W. W. of Sacramento, held on Feb. 7, 1915, it was moved and carried, that the press committee communicate with all locals of the I. W. W. through Solidarity, in regard to trying to find some way of giving our press better support than it obtains at present.

We offer a suggestion that this can be done in this way: That we raise the initiation fee from 50 cents to $1.00, the extra 50 cents to go to the press fund. Or you can give in return for the 50 cents a six months' sub to Solidarity, and when we get the Worker in the field again (as is contemplated in the West) we can give the new member his choice of the papers, or give him or her a three months' sub to each paper.

There is no reason why this can not be done. The average man would just as soon pay $1 initiation fee as he would 50 cents, when informed what it is for. We are giving, or are intending to give them the worth of their money, and at the same time this would be a great help to the papers, which are not now getting the full measure of support necessary to keep them on a solid financial footing.

Secretaries are requested to read this at the next business meeting, and we would like to have this question given a thorough discussion, so that in the very near future we can raise the initiation fee throughout the whole organization at once.

This is a proposition that should be of utmost importance to all members of the organization, and should not be turned aside without every phase of the question being thoroughly discussed, and we hope you will give it that much consideration.

C. A. LAMBERT,
Secretary,
Press Committee: F. C. Monroe, Andrew Barber, Nils Hannsen.

JUST GETTING ALONG

Continuod From Page Three

ing on herself. She walks to and from work, takes her lunch with her, does her own and her mother's washing, never goes out to shows or parties, and economizes in every possible way on her food.

"I'm covered and that's all you can say about my dresses," she said, "I don't know when I've had a dress just because it was pretty and I wanted it. But I don't mind doing all this if only I can keep it up.

Circulation Statement

Previously reported loss	95
Subs received during week	67
Subs expiring this week	65
Gain for the week	2
Total loss to date	93

The circulation statement for this week shows the best record on subscriptions received since the above tabulation has been published. The total receipts from subscriptions for February are also greater than for any month in the last year. This is a very encouraging start, as it not only shows that subscriptions can be secured for a revolutionary labor newspaper like Solidarity with little or no trouble when a concentrated effort is made if by only a few, but it also points to a realization of the fact that next to an organization itself the press is the most vital factor in maintaining and extending revolutionary working class activity. This is exactly what has been needed to establish our press. The problem is now to get more readers enlisted in this work by acting as agents, and to sustain this activity permanently. Judging from this start we should be able to boost the number of new subscriptions secured each week up to 200 before the end of this month.

Haven't you some time and enthusiasm you can devote to this work? Read what the other agents say in this issue of their experience in using "The Little Green Book." This is the plan that made subscription getting easy. Then drop us a postal asking to have one sent you. These books, however, are not meant for souvenirs or to keep as mementoes, but are sent only to readers who will at least make a real effort to use them in this work. A bundle of Solidarity is also sent each week to use as specimen copies.

Agent No. 172 of Sioux City, Iowa, writes: "I received my Little Green Book and secured five subscriptions in one day. More to follow. The little green devil gets the goods all right, all right."

Another says:

"Enclosed you will find three more blocks which you can begin to shape up. This thing is working better every day. Let's get some more Little Green Books out at once, and about 200 subs going on the list each week instead of a number going off. I am pledging myself to try and get four subs a week, at least not less than two a week. How many more will do the same? I will make it stronger, if I can't secure one or two dollars worth of subs a week, will send money in out of my pocket to Solidarity, to be used in making more Jack Planes to shape up another bunch of blocks.

A SOUTHERN REB."

Agent No. 128 — Agent No. 132 of Rockford, Ill., sends in a bunch of subs and reports that out of ten visits made one day, he found only four at home, all of whom subscribed. He also offered the suggestion to other agents that it has been his experience in getting subs for the "Worker" in Kansas City some years ago, that better results were obtained from Sunday morning visits to worker's homes, than in the evenings on week days.

The $1,000 Fund

Total February 10th	$869.24
Arthur Rice	.25
J. Healey	.35
C. E. Payne	3.00
A. Dunn	.50
J. Healey	.50
Total March 3rd.	$873.34

Receipts to this fund of late have been very few and far between. The larger donation in a lump seems to have lulled the contributors to sleep in the belief that Solidarity was simply wallowing in wealth and in no need of their further attention. We hate to disillusion you, but such is not the case. The general receipts for the past six months or more have been so meager that it has at this time taken nearly all of the one thousand dollars to pay off the accumulated indebtedness and meet the difference between receipts and expenses. Of course the general condition of the plant is in better shape than before, with a considerable amount of new litgrature on hands ready for the summer agitation when the weather opens up. However, the stock on hands can not be used to pay the current bills in the meantime, and we appeal to each rebel reader to send in a contribution to this fund in the next couple of weeks. There now remains only $125.00 of the amount to be completed. You readers who have not as yet helped out in this sustaining fund are especially urged to send in something now. Lets clean up the entire amount in the next two weeks. The year 1915 is to be I. W. W. year. Now is the time to clear the decks for action.

You see, when you have only yourself it's not so bad, but when you've got a sick mother to provide for, that's when you wish you got more. I'm afraid I'll get fired if I complain, so I just keep still and try to get along."

"Just keeping still," and "trying to get along"! It was this which the three hundred budgets revealed. To one girl $6 meant "lack of food"; to another, "poor living quarters"; and to yet another, "a savings for the rainy day." But, invariably, it meant to all a cramped, subnormal way of life—a mere existing, not a real living.—The Survey.

Wanted—Good soap boxers by the locals of Sacramento. Address the secretary, C. L. Lambert, 114 Eye St.