

THE AGITATOR

A SEMI-MONTHLY ADVOCATE OF THE MODERN SCHOOL, INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

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WHOLE NO. 30

The Passing Show

Anarchism vs. Justice.

"Do you believe in Anarchy?" asked the prosecutor of the jurymen. Sure they didn't. If they did they wouldn't be there. They wouldn't be sitting in judgment of their fellowmen. Each would answer: "Society has not yet reached perfection, the millennium is not yet at hand; and as I demand the right to think my thoughts about improving and perfecting it, and to print them for the value they may or may not be to the rest of my fellow beings, so I demand the same right for him you have dragged here before the bar of your ancient justice."

"It is a law of nature that the old must ever be replaced by the new, that death is as necessary as birth. What is true in nature must be true in society. The present system of society is a ladder by which we climb to a more perfect system; and when we have once attained the utmost round we will then cast the ladder away and begin to build another one that will reach still higher into the realms of human perfection."

"The present order of society has reached the apex of its perfection. It is time now to cast it off and begin building the new. The fact that millions are ready with their tools to begin work, and that thousands of social architects, like the prisoner before the bar, are preparing and publishing the plans is sufficient proof of what I say."

"Judge him? No. I cannot judge him; you cannot judge him; no one can judge him. Only the future can judge him. Had he taken a copper from your pocket you might judge him by your dead mosaic rule of justice."

"But he has taken nothing from you. He has something to give you; and he does not force it upon you, either. He would save you from your ancestors, back to the primeval forests. He would deliver you from yourself. He would clothe you in the garment of liberty, put love and comradeship into your heart, and start you off on the highway of progress. By what rule of justice are you going to judge this man?"

"Justice! There is no such thing as justice, in the human sense. Justice is a rule. Rules can apply only to inanimate things. You can measure a dozen planks with one rule, with equal justice to them all. But you cannot measure the acts of a dozen men by one rule. The hungry man who steals bread, and the millionaire who steals a railroad are both criminals in the eyes of blind justice, with the chances that the millionaire will be sent to the U. S. Senate, while the hungry man will go to jail."

"By whom are the jails filled if not by the poor? Are the rich, then, all angels? Do they never violate your rules of justice? Have the rich worked honest and hard for all the wealth of the world, to which they hold the title deeds? Have the poor gained all the poverty, which is theirs, by theft?"

"You say it is the power and influence which wealth has that clogs the wheels of justice. I answer: I do not care what it is that clogs its wheels, the fact that they clog is the proof of

my assertion that the rule of justice cannot measure human affairs.

"I have not touched the deeper, philosophical side of the question. I have not dared to take you into the depths of Biology, nor up into the realms of Psychology, where your justice would be lost before she got well started on the way. You would not understand me. You might call in an alienist and have me adjudged insane."

THE NEW SOCIAL DISEASE

One of the ugliest sores on the diseased form of this old system is the "private detective." Wherever the pernicious spy system becomes necessary, there is surely something radically wrong. The mistrust, the clash of social and economic interests that call for the services of a detective system is dangerous. It shows the system is decayed and liable to tumble over at any moment. People with ordinary regard for their health and happiness should move out. The man or woman who will continue to reside within the confines of such a system, and be content, is either a capitalist or a fool.

The vision of the rich is obscured by the mountains of wealth that surround them. A golden chain, containing an alloy of class environment and social custom, binds the rich man in the house of capitalism. He cannot move out. He is a prisoner and must remain till the whirlwind of the Social Revolution topples the old building over upon his head. I don't blame him for letting good-as-can-be alone.

But what can I think of the fellow who has no such chains on his lanky limbs; light fed, heavy worked fellow, who has hunger to quicken his perception, but who still will not perceive? Honesty compels me to call him a fool. Compassion forbids me making it stronger. This new social disease, let me call it "spyitis," has spread with such rapidity during the last ten years that it has become a serious menace to the system it is employed to support.

Burns was acquitted of the charge of kidnapping the McNamaras. Why not? Hasn't he and his gang of scoundrels become part of the system?

Fifty Years of Progress.

Fifty years ago Ezra Hoar Haywood, a relative of Senator Hoar, printed "The Word" on the old press we are printing *The Agitator* on today.

There are few papers as modern as *The Agitator*; there are few presses as ancient as *The Agitator* press, which is a paradox in parenthesis.

Haywood printed the things he thought in "The Word." Being an Anarchist, what he thought did not make good reading in the Sunday school class, which was the standard of judgment in those days as it is today.

Haywood was an American who really believed in the doctrine of Free Speech and Free Press, not only as a topic for Fourth of July orations, but as a vital principle of the nation.

Naturally, a man holding this view and having vital thoughts to convey to his countrymen and women, would get into trouble with the powers that be.

Every new thought that comes into the world hits some people awfully hard. Haywood's

ideas on the relations of the sexes and sociology in general struck with steam hammer force upon the heads of his fellow New Englanders. They haled him before the bar of justice and most unjustly imprisoned him. The punishment strengthened his views, and made him feel all the more the necessity for their adoption.

If someone told him then that half a century later men would still be persecuted for propagating new ideas, he would not have believed it. Nobody but a pronounced pessimist would have believed it. And he would believe it more as a matter of consistency to principle than as one of human insight. I would not have believed it, but I believe it now.

Like Haywood, the experience is not going to teach me anything except the need for more and more agitators.

Free Speech in Aberdeen.

There is more Freedom in the city of Aberdeen, Wash., today than ever in its history. The city of the pick handle brigade, that "cleaned up" the I. W. W. The city whose respectable citizens became voluntary police and drove working men into the swamps with a "God help you if you return." The city that said: "Direct Actionists! We'll give you direct action. We'll hand you a few in that line." And they did.

But the deported actionist did not forget his philosophy. He came back direct; and he was ten where he formerly was one, while the stiff collared stiff became less.

Then the stiff collared stiff said to the blanket stiff: "Let's quit this most unladylike altercation. Let us reason together. There are the street corners, spiel."

The moral of this true story is: Nothing will drive a capitalist to reason half so quickly as a shortage of pick handles.

Preparing For What?

The Capitalists, thru their government at Washington, D. C., are making further preparations for war upon the workers. A bill is before congress providing for the payment of state military men by the Federal Government.

This is an extra inducement for fool workmen to join the military, and be trained in the brutal art of killing their fellow workers.

One of the most amusing incidents in connection with the trial, if the effort had been honest, was the attempt of the prosecutor to go to the law book for a definition of Anarchism. The judge did not allow him—I wish he had. It was the effect of the attempt, on the jury, the chap was after.

Hair-splitting economists will not call it slavery, because the slaves has the alternative of starving. By the same kind of sophistry the factory lords are not held responsible for the lives of the workers whom they felonously sacrificed on the altar of greed.

JAY FOX.

"If labor should invoke as a law 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,' the world would have a deluge of human blood without a saving mark or a Mount Ararat, with numerous Caesar's columns to mark the final landings."—O. A. Tveitmo.

THE AGITATOR

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THE AGITATOR does not bear the union stamp because it is not printed for profit. But it is union, every letter of it. It is printed and published by unionists and their friends for the economic and political education of themselves and their fellow toilers. Much of the labor is given free. On the whole it is a work of love—the love of the idea, of a world fit for the free.

Thaut makes everything fit for use. The vocabulary of an omniscient man would embrace words and images excluded from polite conversation — Emerson

CIVILIZATION, A GILDED LIE.

(Based on a talk delivered at the Ferrer memorial meeting in Seattle, Oct. 15th, 1911.)

We hear a great deal of talk nowadays about the "glories" of our modern civilization, with its marvelous inventions and discoveries. I want to say to you that modern society is a glorious lie. It is an infamous frameup against the great mass of mankind. Modern civilization is a base corporation organized for the purpose of exploiting the working class.

Modern civilization is based upon a colossal wrong, a wrong so gigantic and so deeply interwoven into every fiber of our institutions that nothing short of a complete revolution in every department of life will ever eradicate it.

Modern civilization is hideous because it is based upon a gigantic wrong. It rests upon human slavery.

Formerly slavery consisted in the ownership of the individual, with absolute right of life and death. The slave was chained and guarded and whipped much as children are today.

But the genius of modern civilization has produced a new and more polished form which consists merely in the ownership of the means by which the individual lives. This is the most subtle and dangerous form slavery has ever assumed; for, the chains not being visibly attached to his limbs, the modern wage slave is deluded into the belief that he is free.

His freedom is that of the convict lose in a prison yard. The prisoner may wander about, but he cannot escape. The prison wall surrounds him. So the wage slave is surrounded by the prison wall of capitalism. He cannot escape. Wherever he goes the sign: "Private Property; Keep Off" confronts him. He may starve in Freedom; but if he wishes to live he must sell himself to the owners of the land and factories.

Modern civilization calls it "making a contract." But that is just one of its gilded lies. A contract can only be made between equals. A hungry man, the husband and father of a hungry wife and children, is far from being the equal of a millionaire captain of industry. The only "contract" a hungry man can make is simply to accept the terms offered him. He cannot wait to barter, he must sign or starve, and be glad of the chance to work even on the employer's terms.

A few men steal the earth and all thereon, and permit us to live upon it only on condition that he give them two-thirds of our labor product. And to further humiliate us and rob us of the dignity which manhood demands, we are expected to be grateful for the privilege of being robbed.

Such is the irony of our much vaunted civilization; and thus are the masses of mankind enslaved while falsely believing themselves free.

How are these masses of wage slaves to be educated so they can win real freedom; a freedom that will enable them to live without paying tribute to mammon, without begging a master for a chance to work.

There is no lack of knowledge in the world. The libraries are stacked with it. The scientists are piling up fact upon fact, discovery upon discovery.

They have solved the problem of production, but the masters of life, the rich, have usurped the inventions and discoveries, and instead of being a benefit to the people they are being used to further enslave them.

They have solved the problem of the gods, yet the priests are grafting in the same old way. What school is teaching the young the evidence of Evolution? Where are the children being taught that God is the figment of a primitive imagination, the dream of a hairy savage? Who dares tell the youth of our cultured civilization that a Hottentot's idea of the origin of the universe is of less value than that of Darwin and Spencer?

Who would imagine that in the twentieth century a man would be convicted and shot to death for teaching that self-evident fact? Yet such was the fate of Francisco Ferrer. Of course, another charge was trumped up against him.

To convict a man by court martial and shoot him for the mere act of organizing schools to teach the children of the working class the truth would not look well in the eyes of the world. But, according to the doctrine of the Roman Church, there is no greater crime. So the father of the Modern School, the organizer of 95 schools in Spain, the man who put his fortune, his talents, his life into the work of rational education was murdered.

The cunning priests devised the scheme. "He was the leader of revolt," they cried, and the servile state executed the crime. For the church and state must stand together till they fall together under the chariot wheels of the coming Social Revolution.

Of course, this all happened in far off, degenerate Spain. But what of our own young America, the most loud-mouthed booster of the gilded lie? What has it done to earn the distinction of being more "advanced?" True, we haven't taken the life of any great teacher of the young, for the very good reason, perhaps, that we have not produced one. But we have had some great teachers of the old among us, and the monument in Chicago tells the pathetic story of how they fared in our "civilized" hands. Civilization fairly foams in its laudation of "education." But it lies again. It hates education when education really educates. Modern state education does not educate. It trains and molds and pares and trims the minds of the unfortunate children who are forced to submit to the tortuous operation. It crams them with dates and data about the blood-spilling "heros" of history, but never a word about the workers. It glorifies things as they are, and godifies the grafting politicians of the past. It paralyzes the mind with the virus of Patriotism. It teaches "my country, right or wrong." It waves the flag above the school house and teaches the youth to worship it. It prepares the workers' children for the factory and the army; some to slave and others to kill them if they rebel against their slavery.

This is the truth, and it cannot be denied.

Then the question is: Do we want something better? Most emphatically, Yes. We want a school that will teach the truth about everything; nothing more, nothing less. A school where no subject will be tabooed. A school where science, not sophistry, will be taught; where no fetish rag will obscure the child's view of the heavens and confine the scope of its humanity within the radius of imaginary geographical lines. An education that will teach the children how to think. Such an education Ferrer taught, and died for his daring deed, and the gilded lie is exposed.

Ferrer has gone to join the grand army of martyrs to the cause of truth, but the Modern School lives on, and were he to rise from the dead today and see the impetus his martyrdom has given to the cause of rational education, he would return to his grave with joy.

J. F.

"SOCIALISM" AND DIRECT ACTION

It is obvious that the position taken by William D. Haywood, inside the Socialist party, must have consequences of the most far-reaching importance, for his Cooper Union speech came at precisely the right psychological moment and raised an essentially fundamental issue that has been struggling for expression this long time past. It is imperative, if we are to play an intelligent part in the great social movement, that we should make up our minds on the question of obeying or disobeying, at our individual judgment, the laws that uphold the social structure we profess to be attacking. But it is still more imperative that we decide between the often conflicting claims of individualism and collectivism, personal and mass action. Perhaps unconsciously Haywood's action has opened up that vast question and launched us on an investigation of the comparative efficacy of personal and mass revolt. I do not know that the question has ever been exhaustively examined, and have thought for a long time past that such an examination would produce startlingly unexpected results, much in favor of individual initiative. It opens up the whole problem of the helplessness of the collectivity, the inefficacy of alleged labor legislation. Napoleon's celebrated saying to the effect that, while men as individuals are sensible enough, when massed they are lunatics. He added that it was this which supplied the clue to nearly all the riddles of history.

* * *

Of course, the regulation Socialists are furious with Haywood, for their political program excludes all but mass action. The "New Yorker Volkszeitung," as official thunderer for the dyed-in-the-wool German element, which thinks in military patterns, states straight out that he spoke, "not as a revolutionary Socialist, but as a pure and simple Anarchist," and laments the fact that he has not spent more time in studying the movement "in the Germanic countries—in Scandinavia and Germany." This of itself raises a most serious question as to which there must be many conflicting opinions. My own is that, considering the development of industry in Germany and the enormous quantities of goods produced by the average German worker, he is robbed more than is any workingman in Europe. I am also confident that he is more under the heel of militarism and more submissive to authority than are the South European nationalities, against whose tactics the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" inveighs, and for these reasons I believe that the Social-Democratic party has been to him the cruellest of step-mothers, being like the witches in "Macbeth," who "keep the promise to the ear and break it to the heart." That, of course, is only the opinion of a biased Anarchist, although he thinks he has had considerable experience with German Socialists and knows something of conditions in the Fatherland. The point is that the question is one that can be determined by investigation, and that it should be so determined.

* * *

Far more significant than the Volkszeitung article is the opinion on Haywood and Bohn's book, "Industrial Socialism," written recently by the late Karl Kautsky at the request of Louis Sarzal. Kautsky condemned the book, mainly on the ground that "the main weapon of the proletariat is its large numbers"

LIBERTY

What do you know of Liberty
Who rise in wrath and then agree
To settle down under the rule
Of a foolish crowd in place of one fool?

And what do they know, altho they rise,
And make the foolish crowd grow wise?
If all were wise excepting one,
Their law would break the poor man down.

And what of Liberty could he know,
Or they who treated the one man so?
And if any man say "There is no fool,"
Himself is exception to his rule.

The fool who sits in the justice-seat
Oppresses the wise man at his feet.
The wise man sitting in the fool's place
Makes the fool laugh at wisdom's disgrace.

If you bow down to a fool-made law,
You are worshipping a blind jackdaw;
If you make a law of the words of a sage,
You are putting the bird in an iron cage.

Find a man who's just like me,
And I'll live under the same law as he.
But if he says one where I say two
It is evident that the law won't do.

When these things are understood
We shall do the things no man could;
Religion will be the thaut of each,
And Art not at all what artists teach,
And Science everything worth knowing.
And this is the way the world is going.

— K. W.

and that the tendency of the work was to exalt individual above mass action. There you have the kernel of the war between Socialists and Anarchists, and I believe that most Anarchists will say, as I myself say most emphatically, that the sentence just quoted is the most monstrous of delusions. It was inevitable, however, that Kautsky should hold it for he was a parliamentarian, first and above all else, and a parliamentarian wins only mass victories, his one effort being to obtain a majority of the people as a whole.

* * *

But much more suggestive than the passage quoted is that in which Kautsky distinguishes between the wage earners and what he calls the "lump proletariat" (lumpenproletariat), against whom he warns the workers, telling them that "the conditions of existence and struggle of this class are entirely different from those of the wage-earning class," and that "contact with the lump proletariat and acceptance of its war methods cannot but compromise and disorganize the proletarian movement." This again was the natural outcome of Kautsky's political views, but one may be pardoned for pointing out that it is the position of an aristocrat who draws the line at the submerged tenth and no longer believes that the struggle must be started at the base of the social pyramid. One may also add that it knocks into smithereens the old doctrine of the intrinsic unity of cause which should knit together all the disinherited, and that beyond all question it has an air of lacking sympathy. In reality it is nothing but the downward course on which politics started Socialism long ago. In this country they found it convenient to ostracise the Chinese and Japanese, who do not vote. In Europe the same unkindly treatment is meted out to the "lump proletariat" and for a similar reason.

* * *

Meanwhile, quite a large section of the organized labor press is asking whether, as the result of the McNamara case, it is proposed that labor abandon all its direct action tactics and confine itself to the depositing a slip of paper in a box once every two or four years. If the Socialist party were honest and outspoken it would answer "Yes," for that is essentially its program. But inasmuch as the labor organs are voicing intense disgust at such a proposition, the Socialist party will dissemble, once more. All this immense propaganda, all this healthy and inspiring discussion, has come out of the little bit of direct action known as the McNamara case.

* * *

It appears that Gompers did not trample derisively on the Stars and Stripes when speaking at Oakland, Cal.; that the drapery was so arranged that he and others were forced to stand on the flag. Indeed, it is now charged that Haywood, with malice most intent, himself arranged it so. Of this much

we may be positively certain—Gompers does not belong to the "lumpenproletariat."

* * *

From all the foregoing it will be understood why the Socialist party did not find itself in sympathy with the Mexican liberal party or the uncompromisingly revolutionary movement that is shaking all Mexico. For we are very decidedly of the opinion that if we waited until Mexico moved in mass we should wait forever, and we have no belief in anything but a straight march to the goal by restoring to the people full and equal access to the means of life. That involves individual action of a kind that the Volkszeitung, Victor Berger and the "mass" political generals naturally deplore. They cannot even wish for our success since such success would reflect most seriously on their own patented cure-all

WM. C. OWEN.

CRANKY NOTIONS.

Noting from an article of mine that "every shop and factory, every store and office, every industry imaginable, has its sneaking, impudent, invasive boss, with the cowardice of a rabbit, the shy manners of a snake, the covered claws of a hawk," Bolton Hall has this to say: "This is not wise. Is no brave man ever made a foreman? Can't one have charge of a store without the covered claws of a hawk? If I hire a man to help in my carpenter shop, shall I become those three abusive adjectives and have those three curiously described attributes?"

I have known Bolton Hall a long time, heard him speak in public bravely and wisely, and have heard that he is a very rich man, as well as very kindly. It is quite probable that he never was a wage earner, a factory hand, an under dog in the industrial conflict, however, and, therefore, could never have seen, and known, and felt as do those who have seen, and known, and felt the tyrannies, the injustice, the humiliating conditions imposed upon the workers by petty bosses in nearly all industrial institutions of any considerable size. I have been a wage earner for 50 years, am not overly finicky, know the legitimate functions of a superintendent and a foreman, as I have myself accepted those positions, have a tolerably fair notion of the difficulties of the foreman and the employer, as practically all my working years I have been, after a fashion, a student of economic conditions from the real, practical standpoint, and what I write are mostly the things I have learned during the every-day grind of an industrial slave, tho, I am proud to say, always a protesting slave, always a rebel, always a thistle who would prick if touched, but I have never been a boss.

The word "boss" is from the German *boszen*, meaning to beat; or the Dutch *baas*, a master. Provincial English makes "boss" one who can beat or overcome another.

A foreman, according to Webster, is the first or chief man; the chief of a set of hands employed in a shop, etc.

You will notice Mr. Hall change my word "boss" to "foreman." I wrote "boss" deliberately, and eschewed the word "foreman" to emphasize the difference between them. I quote a piece of doggerel of mine to show what I mean by a "boss."

What is a Boss?

A boss, my boy, is one who lords
It over other men,
As tho of better mud was made,
Of deeper sense and ken.
He tries to make those under him
Feel mean and low and poor,
So he can do whate'er he wills,
To make his job secure.
Or he may be a sycophant
To other men less raw,
Their dirty work to court and do,
Their hirelings to awe.
It would, you know, quite never do
To have equality,
For then the boss could not survive,
No little czar could be.
So long as property exists
In nature's gift to man,
The boss will be an incubus,
A bar to freedom's plan.

You see, this makes a difference. I know that superintendents, foremen, leaders, must always exist, no matter whether we have capitalism, commonism, individualism, anarchism, socialism, or any other kind of ism, if we desire economy in effort. There are comrades who insist that we need no leaders, but I

disagree with this view, and believe leaders in all walks of life are economical, useful, necessary, if we are not to be a mob in fact. But the leaders, foremen, etc., should not exercise arbitrary power brutally, they should not be bosses. In other words a leader should not be a driver.

The freedom to secede must always reside with the individual wherever he may be, except under very exceptional circumstances. I can understand that if a number of fellows were in a leaking boat, he who would not pump would be made to pump. He ought, however, to be given the option of either pumping or jumping overboard.

A foreman is the leader in the work in hand. He is the focus of the force. Leadership is the individualizing of effort. The point of the wedge dividing efficiency from inefficiency; the line least resistance, the shortest cut from diusion to concentration.

There is no necessary inconsistency, no antagonism in leadership, superintendency, freedom, anarchism. Anarchism does not mean to lessen the efficiency of effort, but it does mean to atolish the boss—religious, political and economic.

One must be free to choose his own leader, if he needs one. No leader must have the power to force a following. All herding and flocking animals have leaders, but I know none of them who have bosses.

Yes, comrade Hall, some brave men may become foremen, but no brave man ever becomes a boss.

Yes, one can have charge of a store without the "covered claws of a hawk," but there is a great temptation to become the whole hawk.

Yes, you may hire a man to help in your carpenter shop and not become those abusive adjectives as well as the noun, or have those curiously described attributes, but how much better it would be if you did not possess the power to become such as would deserve them.

JO. LABADIE.

The Lawrence Strike

Fifteen thousand cotton and woolen workers are out on strike at Lawrence, Mass., and fully 15,000 more are compulsorily idle. Militia charge with bayonets fixed and martial law is declared. Why? because the legislature decreed that the hours of labor should be reduced, and the masters, being absolutely in control of the economic situation, retaliated by reducing the pay. That is the sort of half-baked, bourgeois-socialist legislation that drives every serious thinker to despair, for it represents the human intellect at its lowest ebb. Only an undeveloped intellect could imagine that by such methods monopoly could be attacked effectively.

W. C. O.

THE WORKERS' UNIVERSITY.

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STUDIES IN SCARLET

It is incumbent upon us to clear some obscure points regarding the educational problem. In the performance of this task individuals and institutions have struggled in vain. We say struggled in vain because the educational problem perpetuates itself with time and remains forever unsolved.

The truth of the matter is that when we speak of this question, we must necessarily include all human and social factors that bear directly upon it.

The tyrants of every age, the clergy of every denomination, the philosophers of every school of thought have attempted to solve this important question in order to safeguard their own interests, or to render its benefits acceptable to ruling classes.

That past methods of education have been proven to be fallacious and conducive to most deleterious results—as they start from false premises—every mind that is not steeped in prejudice, or stunted by official curriculum will readily admit.

Our aim is not, then, to reach its final solution, but to study it by inductive and scientific methods. Let us clear some of these obscure points: To whom does the child belong? This question may sound strange and rather queer, but it is nevertheless fundamental. How can we expect to educate the child if we have not yet agreed as to where to begin?

The answers to this question would be as numerous and conflicting as the different political, religious and moral ideas that are now struggling for supremacy in the field of human endeavor. To whom does he belong?

To God, says the clergy, whose mission is to prepare human souls to die and not to live. He belongs to the nation, shout the politicians and patriots while they are busily engaged in fostering conditions whereby they get the lion's share of all good things of life. He belongs to us who are responsible for his coming into this world, protest loudly his parents.

These answers render us somewhat perplexed and doubtful. For it seems that instead of questioning the more or less legitimate owners of the child, we inspired by libertarian sentiments, feel obliged to put this question directly to the child himself. And he would simply answer, I belong to myself!

The tender human plant from its first manifestations of physio-psychological life tends to assert its individuality in contrast with the world surrounding him. The old-style system of education was based solely upon the endeavor to adapt the child's rebellious nature to its environment. In his infancy he is fettered by his mother's admonishments—and these not always based upon moral suasion—then during his life he is forced through devious channels of restrictions, the prevalent religious, moral and political formulas. The child's eternal "why?" is ignored or else appeased with distorted or ludicrous replies. His desire to investigate, to examine, to compare, to analyze, is considered rank impertinence and audacity on his part.

And the more these coercive methods are found successful in stunting and atrophying the child's natural inclinations, they are applied with greater skill and greater tenacity. History has proven that the most artful tyrants of our adolescent humanity were "teachers" and "educators."

Social slavery and privilege were made possible, fostered through the ages, because they had their inception in cowering down the youngsters' free spirits. When in the course of evolution the Pagan era ushered in its successor, the Christian era, this deleterious mission became not only essentially logical, but fatally necessary.

Do not the believers in God tell us that man is born with the germ of sin engendered in his breast and that he can only cleanse himself by sacrifice and by humble subjection to the dictums of our creator? Their moral teachings imply an heroic effort on the part of we sinners to struggle against the sins inherited from our forefather, Adam, in order that we be rewarded with an hypothetical paradise in the great beyond.

Education based upon these false principles cannot differ essentially from that imparted by the clergy during the Dark Ages. Secular and official education has not advanced one iota from that stage.

Let us not be surprised then if, despite all the precious conquests of modern thought, despite the development of pedagogic science and positive knowledge of physio-psychological manifestation in

our children, that methods have not changed.

The rich, as "pillars of society," require schools that sanction and tend to perpetuate economic and intellectual exploitation; they require a system of education that imparts sufficient knowledge as to render the worker a more efficient factor to correspond with modern exigencies of technical production. It demands schools that can direct intelligence and spirit in harmony with its own ideals and sanctioning their privileges.

The ruling classes in the educational field cannot but follow the beaten path of past Christian domination. Every effort to proceed by different avenues—the absolute consideration of the child's individuality—would undermine the very structure of society.

And it is but consistent and logical for the upper classes to protest—even in drastic form—against all forms of modern education. Ferrer's case will serve as an example.

For they well know that the day society will recognize the principle that the child belongs to himself—the old social edifice will crumble!

R. DUMONT.

INNOCENT I. W. W. MEN TO BE RAILROADED

Tirso de la Toba was kidnaped near Holtville, Cal., and taken across the line to Mexicali and two American officials were the kidnapers.

He was taken without any warrant or extradition papers. We appealed to the county officers and the governor, but without results.

The Mexican Rurales started with him to Ensenada to be shot. When nearly there he escaped and, after wandering for three days in the mountains without food or water, he finally made his way back to Holtville.

Toba was a member of the Mexican liberal party and fought with the insurrectos in Lower California last winter.

We soon learned that Mexico had offered a reward of \$100 for privates and \$500 for officers in the late insurrection.

As many I. W. W. men fought in Mexico last winter, all I. W. W. men were classed as insurrectos. Then began a campaign of deception and treachery on the part of Mexican and American officials to induce I. W. W. men to cross the line. If they could be quietly captured on this side the line it made no difference. The number who have been taken to Mexico will probably never be known. Among others, Mrs. Isabel Furas, a member of the I. W. W., was taken.

Under these circumstances there was only one thing to do, and that was for every I. W. W. man who could do so to arm himself, which was done. On the 23rd of December the sheriff and his deputies presented themselves at the I. W. W. hall at Holtville and ordered them to give up any arms in their possession. They flatly refused. He then told the boys he would get them. The boys were armed with pistols, and they knew it would be an easy matter for the sheriff and a posse armed with long range, high power rifles to get them, so that night they quietly left, hoping to make their escape out of the valley. The news of their departure was immediately communicated to the sheriff and he began telephoning. Up to date twelve have been caught and lodged in the county jail. Every means will be used to railroad them to the penitentiary for a long term.

On the last night of the old year, the hall at Holtville being completely deserted, but containing all their furniture and library, was burned by a mob of brave and respected citizens.

If money can be raised to give these men as fair a trial as possible in a capitalist court, they stand a chance of getting free.

Fellow Workers, can we allow these men to be railroaded for the lack of money?

Give what you can. If you can't give dollars, give nickels and dimes.

Please send all funds to Peter C. Blane, Box 485, Brawley, Calif.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
LOCAL 439.

C. L. JAMES' "VINDICATION OF ANARCHISM"

One of the greatest necessities of the present time in the Anarchist movement is a text book on Anarchism, a book which can be given to a student as a standard authority, which treats the subject fully and completely. Such a work is C. L. James' "Vindication of Anarchism." This is a really great work, and does for Anarchism what Marx did for

Socialism in his "Capital." It gives Anarchism a basis and philosophy. It traces the origins of religious, political and economic authority, and evolves the Anarchist conclusion by the inductive method after a strictly scientific investigation of the facts. James was a profound scholar and possessed great literary ability.

This is a book which every comrade should possess for his own instruction, and for the purpose of propaganda work. Anarchists have a great need of such a book as this.

An effort is being made to get this work out in book form, and the undersigned ask for your assistance in this task. Send us one advance order for the book, at \$1 each; send us the names of others who may be interested; and also, if possible, advance us a small loan of from \$1 up, which will be returned as soon as the book is out and the sales reach 600 copies.

HARRY KELLY.

ABE ISAAK, Jr., Secretary.
965 Simpson Street, New York, N. Y.

I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of putting this book in print. Its great value lies in its consideration of facts in social evolution quite overlooked by other sociologists. It opens up a new field for investigation. It sheds new light on the burning question of the hour. It is the historical basis for direct action. Send in a dollar and get "the reason" for Industrialism as against politics.

Some time ago Comrade Natasha Notkin collected \$19. for the publication of this book. She has turned said money over to the present committee. J. F.

THE EDITOR'S DEFENCE

The Editor of this paper has been convicted on the charge of "encouraging disrespect for the law". If this verdict is allowed to stand every radical paper in the State will be at the absolute mercy of the prosecutors, and may be thrown into jail at any moment.

The interest of free speech demands that this case be appealed, and we urge that you subscribe to this fund.
The Free Speech League.

NATHAN LEVIN, Treas. Home, Lakebay, Wash.
Previously acknowledged, \$141.53
Adrian Wilbers, 5.00
Leonard D. Abbott, 1.00
Harry Block, 50

THE AGITATOR

Financial Report For January

Receipts, (subscriptions, etc.,)	\$87.30
EXPENSES	
Jay Fox, wages,	\$40.00
R. G. Faler & Co., linotype,	17.60
Standard Paper Co.,	11.15
American Type Founders, gauge pins,	40
Total	\$69.15
Deficit, January First,	\$31.73
Deficit, February First,	\$13.58

RECEIPTS

Seattle Ball, on account, \$50. Block, \$6. Lang, Vose, Schultze, Enstrom, Sawdon, Gentis, Brown, Local 84, I. W. W., Local 380, I. W. W., each \$1. Penhollow, 50c.

AT HOME.

In the case of Adrian Wilbers, charged with nude bathing in Home, the jury disagreed. This is the second trial of Wilbers, and the prosecutors have already spent over \$500 of the people's money trying to "get him." How long will the people stand this? But "the people is an ass of muddy brain," and every faker with an oily tongue can stick them up for the price to further their private schemes.

On Saturday evening, February 2nd, there will be a social and dance in Liberty Hall, Home. The profits will go into the Defense Fund.

"Jay Fox, editor of The Agitator, Home Colony, has been convicted of 'encouraging disrespect for law' in an editorial contained in his paper last July. It seems to us that things happen every day which would cause the average man to have contempt for some parts of the law, not to speak of disrespect."—The Coal Digger.

HENDERSON BAY ROUTE—Steamer Tyconda leaves Commercial Dock, Tacoma, for all points on Henderson Bay, including Home, week days at 2:30 p. m., returning next morning. Sunday at 8 a. m., returning same day.