

THE AGITATOR

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

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WHOLE NO. 47

The Passing Show

THIRD FERRER ANNIVERSARY

In the early morning of October 13th Francisco Ferrer was shot to death at Montjuich fortress, in Spain on, the charge of leading an insurrection. The charge was false. He had taken no part in the uprising. His accusers knew this, but they wanted to have him put out of their way, and this was their golden opportunity.

Years ago Ferrer had left that kind of propaganda to others and started on a new line, opened up a new field of propaganda; that had thus far been quite untouched.

He saw that all propagandists were engaged in an effort to educate the adults, whose heads had been crammed with superstition in youth; and it occurred to him that if he could get the children before they were poisoned by church and state, and while the mind was yet plastic and easily the receiver of impressions, he would plant there the seed of a rational and real education; and thus save the child from the slimy influences of the priest and politician, and create the desire and strength of character that would make of him a thoro rebel against the exciting order of things.

This magnificent conception was even outweighed by another one that evolved beside it from the brain of the martyred Ferrer. He saw clearly what the most advanced saw but dimly, if they saw at all, that the method of imparted knowledge to him is the most important part of a child's education.

The method of education with the least method in it is the best of all methods.

Watch the child in the playground. You see the rhythm in his work, but where do you find any rule? "Butt in," make rules for him to follow and see how quickly he tires of the whole scheme.

"Discipline," you shout, "we must have discipline," By all means yes, discipline is one of the most important parts of a child's education, and teachers for all ages have worked on the theory that in this particular respect he can be educated with a birch rod, or its equivalent in leather.

A birch rod will never make a free man out of a boy; it will make of him a liar and a coward, and if he does become a man it only shows he had the power to overcome the obstacle of external discipline.

Ferrer contended that the best disciplinarian is he or she who teaches the child to discipline himself, and that without his knowing it.

Discipline can be braut about only thru the continued application of the mind to particular work. Continued application can be had only where the work is interesting to the worker. Make the work interesting by arousing the creative instinct, the desire to do things and the curiosity to know.

This is done best by suggestion. The Modern School teacher is not a master with a rod, but a comrade with a suggestion.

The Modern School does not teach a child what to think, it teaches him how to think. It does not teach Religion, Republicanism Socialism or Anarchism, it teaches him about these things. The Modern School has no creed, no doctrine, no end but truth, and no means to that end but freedom.

For giving this wonderful revolutionary idea effect, Ferrer gave his life. Rome murdered him. "Long Live The Modern School" were his last words, as the holy Catholic bullets penetrated his heart.

ACCESSORY BEFORE THE FACT

The difficulty in securing jurors to try Ettore and Giovanni is an indication that the average citizen has some sense of honesty and fair play, and wants to keep clear of the official murder that is sought to be committed by the State of Massachusetts, attorney and official watchdog of the employing class.

It is sought to convict them of "accessory before the fact" of murder. The prosecution will attempt to show by extracts from their speeches that their utterances calculated to excite the workers to violence and that the death of Anna La Pizza was therefore the direct and logical outcome of these fiery speeches. Whereupon they are guilty of murder.

There are two famous cases of this character in the history of Anglo-Saxon Jurisprudence.

The first of these is that of Lord George Gordon, tried and acquitted in London in 1780, on the charge of murder

and high treason. Gordon had carried on an active propaganda against the repeal of anti-catholic laws—a most reactionary agitation.

He organized a big Demonstration in St. George's fields. The Government, as usual, interfered with the proceedings and, in the melee, some few were killed.

Gordon's arrest followed. The prosecution quoted from his speeches, passages to show that he countenanced violent opposition to the government, and should be held responsible for the killing.

The other and more important case is that of Chicago Anarchists, tried and convicted in 1887. In this case Judge Gary held that the fact of the men making speeches that had a tendency to incite murder, was sufficient to make them accessories, and it did not matter whether the party who actually threw the bomb ever saw or heard these speeches.

This ruling was necessary in order to give a legal air to the hanging of these men whose murder had been decided upon before hand.

It was not a question of getting the bomb thrower. It was: "now that this thing has happened whom shall we put out of our way?"

They picked their men and Gary did the rest. They couldn't show that some of the men were at the Haymarket Square, so it became necessary to make the rule in order to legalize the conspiracy.

Governor Altgeld, in his "Reasons for Pardoning Fielding, Meebe and Schwab," shows that the trial was a frameup from start to finish.

Five revolutionists were killed by the law. That was a job worth something to the masters, and they knew how to put it over. They had no scruples, no superstitions about the way things should be done. They have ends to attain and they go straight for the goal. If bribery and law-stretching will help their cause these things are done. If the law is not sufficient they organize their vigilantes, as was done in San Diego, and go right after the rebellious slaves; and they get them too.

You see they are Direct Actionists who act. They may not put the sod over Ettore and Giovanni. It may not be good policy to do it. But they have accomplished a great deal, even tho they don't hang them.

They have frightened us all into the belief that there is going to be another Haymarket affair, and we have subscribed for the lawyers the money that would otherwise go into the revolutionary propaganda.

If they can keep us fighting them in the courts, their courts, we won't have much time to fight them on the jobs. If they but multiply this court work sufficiently all our time will be consumed collecting money for the lawyers. We have, besides Ettore and Giovanni, a crowd of men on trial at Indianapolis, 64 in Louisiana, a half dozen in San Diego, Aldamas in New York, Darrow and Johanssen in Los Angeles and the writer in Washington.

This court business is becoming a very serious matter and the time is approaching when the revolutionary element will have to take action or its entire time and financial resources will be consumed in defending itself in the law courts.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS I. W. W.

I was asked the other day why THE AGITATOR attacks the I. W. W., and I confess the question surprised me not a little. For I had not been aware that this paper had attacked that organization.

As a matter of fact we have not attacked it. The fellow worker simply mistook criticism for attack; and less there may be others laboring under the same mistake, I will quote from our declaration of principles, published in the first issue:

THE AGITATOR will not attack any set of workers groping towards the light. It will advise with them and appeal to their reason and experience when it thinks they are going in the wrong direction. Its object is to help create that unity of effort and solidarity among the workers necessary to their emancipation; necessary even to the preservation of the present conditions, bad as they are. For the aim of organized industrial capital, plainly to be seen, is the reduction of the toilers to a state of helpless non-unionism, where the individual will be completely at its mercy, and the open shop idea have full sway.

THE AGITATOR is well aware that Labor has a common enemy living off its weary toil, and against that common enemy it will direct such harsh words as it may choose to make use of; but it is too well grounded in its knowledge of life, too deeply impressed with the ideal of Labor solidarity to turn its tongue upon its own kind.

The two years since that was written has only helped

to strengthen my conviction. The mud-slinging attitude and the readiness to call everyone a fakir who does not line up with our trend of thought has been a very common characteristic of the average radical, and has been decidedly injurious to his power of reason.

So much animosity is aroused in the average I. W. W. man at the mention of the A. F. of L. that he cannot see the simplest proposition in logic. It is this that largely accounts for his mistaking criticism for attack.

Our criticism of the I. W. W. is based on logical grounds and should not be regarded as an attack. THE AGITATOR has espoused Syndicalism because Syndicalism is the logical culmination of its trend of thought. It never accepted the I. W. W. program as a whole for the opposite reason.

Where the I. W. W. conflicts with Syndicalism it is up to the I. W. W. to adjust itself or show wherein Syndicalism is wrong. At any rate it is very peculiar that the I. W. W. should oppose the introduction of syndicalism into this country, as it is doing, not so much openly as under cover, and at the same time endeavoring to create the impression that it is Syndicalism.

As a matter of fact Syndicalism should be welcomed by the I. W. W. into this country, for it is taking up a line of propaganda that will ultimately work out to the same ends, and that in a field quite outside the reach of the I. W. W., a field it has abandoned and given up as a lost cause.

If the A. F. of L. is beyond all hope, why does the I. W. W. object to the syndicalists butting their heads against a stone wall? Has the I. W. W. lost faith in its own philosophy? Does it fear that after all it might be wrong and that our possible success might prove it so?

Would the I. W. W. sacrifice a possible victory for the cause of labor to save its reputation as a prophet?

Even if we were to think the worst and assume that the I. W. W.'s attitude towards syndicalism is inspired by a fear that the growth of the latter will threaten its existence, such fear would be quite unfounded.

For, however strong the Syndicalist movement may grow, the I. W. W. will still have its place as a Revolutionary labor organization among the textile workers, the Construction workers and other callings that it may organize, and that are untouched by organizations.

A PAMPHLET ON SYNDICALISM

This 48 page pamphlet, by Ford & Foster, contains more ideas on the vital subject of Syndicalism than all the mess of stuff that has appeared in the pages of magazines, written by superficial, ill informed scribes, and under the covers of pretentious books, written by middle class professors, who cannot possibly enter into the psychology of the underdogs about whom they write.

With the exception of Mr. L. Levine's book, that we reviewed in our last issue, nothing of real value has been written on the subject before.

Livine's work is purely historical and thus valuable to all American students of the problem. But the metaphysical inductions of M. Sorel, for instance, much as they have been lauded by bourgeois writers, are of no actual value to anyone engaged in the real life of the working class movement. And, indeed, as an abstract proposition he fails to grasp the true psychology of the Syndicalist movement. Such writings are no doubt profound in their way, and interesting reading for middle class onlookers, just as learned treatises on the economics of bees and ants are, but the toilers are aided no more by them in their progress than are the bees and ants.

In fact if these books were read by workingmen they would become pessimists. Fancy an enthusiastic syndicalist learning from the profound Sorel that his syndicalism is a myth! Out on such abstract, academic vapors. We want books that live and pulsate with the red blood of revolt, books that will inspire action and suggest methods for doing things.

This pamphlet makes no pretensions, it gets down to business. It explains, in clear, forceful speech just what Syndicalism is, and proceeds to make its application to American working class conditions.

That is just what we want. Action is the great need of the toilers. We want no more of your Philosophical abstractions. That kind of dope has held us down, kept our hands tied and our lips sealed too long.

Here we have a working basis for Syndicalism, let us get down to action. Send in a dime, get the pamphlet and read it for yourself. You have no time to wait. You have waited long enough for the political Messiah to free you. Do it yourself.

JAY FOX.

THE AGITATOR

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THE AGITATOR does not bear the union stamp because it is not printed for profit. Put it in 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.

**I pity from my soul, unhappy men
Compeld by want to prostitute their pen;
Who must, like lawyers, either starve or plead,
And follow, right or wrong, where guineas lead.**
W. Dillen, 1633 '84.

AGREEMENT IN ORDER TO LIVE

Basis of Social Harmony

Having demonstrated that, from a historical point of view, the Trade Union movement is the normal consequence of the working-class efforts of the 19th century, we must now examine the value of this movement from a philosophical and a social point of view. To begin with, let us set down the premises in a few lines. Man cannot, and has never been able to, live isolated in the world. It is impossible to conceive the life of men who do not form a social group. However rudimentary were primitive human agglomerations, men always gathered together in associations. It is not true, as Jean Jacques Rousseau, theorist of democratic servitude, taught,—that before they formed societies men lived in a "state of nature," and were only able to emerge from it when they relinquished some of their natural rights by means of a "social contract."

This idle nonsense, now out of date, was much in vogue at the end of the 18th century. It inspired the revolutionary middle class in 1789-93, and it continues to be the basis of law and of institutions that hamper us.

However erroneous Jean Jacques Rousseau's sophisms may be, they have the advantage of giving a philosophical varnish to the principle of Authority, and of being the theoretic expression of middle-class interests. For this reason the middle-class made them its own. It drew them up in the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" as well as in articles of the "Code" of laws, so as to set up for itself a complete compendium of exploitation and domination.

Neither is it true, as proclaimed by Darwinists, that society is but a battlefield where the struggle for existence alone regulates the action of human beings. This theory, as monstrous as it is erroneous, gives a hypocritical and scientific varnish to the worst forms of exploitation. By these means the middle class construe that the exploiter is the strong being produced by natural selection, whereas the exploited is a weak being, the victim of an invincible necessity (also natural); and that the weak is compelled to vegetate or disappear according as the strong derives profit from one or other of these solutions.

Such a theory could only take root by an arbitrary and erroneous interpretation of Darwin's ideas. If it were true, it could anyhow only apply to different species. For war among one species is an accidental monstrosity: among different species, living in association, it is also unnatural, for harmony is an unquestionable necessity.

The human animal needs harmony. If in far distant ages he had not been in solidarity with his fellow-men, he would never have emerged from the animal stage. Good fellowship among men is not only essential to progress, but to life.

The agreement in order to live, far from causing a diminution of individuality in man, is a means of accruing and multiplying his power of well-being. The examination of the real conditions of life that obtain in human species ends in the negation of theories circulated by the dominant classes, theories that only aim at facilitating and justifying exploitation of the masses.

The Limit of Liberty Doctrine

Indeed, altho both doctrines, the democratism of J. J. Rousseau of the 18th century and the middle-class Darwinism of the 19th, have theoretical distinctions, they come to like conclusions: they proclaim the spirit of renunciation, and teach that "the liberty of each is limited by the liberty of others." by means of these doc-

trines, the spirit of sacrifice that went out of fashion and was discredited in its religious aspect has again arisen and become a social principle. These doctrines teach that as soon as man agrees to live in society, he of necessity renounces some of his natural rights. This renunciation he makes on the altar of Authority and Property, and in exchange he acquires the hope of enjoying the rights that have survived his sacrifice.

Modern nations led away by metaphysics, now wearing a scientific, now a democratic, mask, have bent their backs and sacrificed their rights; for these doctrines have been so dimmed into them that to-day even citizens who pride themselves on being intellectually emancipated accept as an unquestionable axiom that the liberty of each is limited by the liberty of others.

This lying formula will not bear examination; it means nothing more or less than a constant and perpetual antagonism between human beings. If it had any truth its progress would have been impossible, for life would have been a continual struggle of enraged wild beasts. As the human animal could only have satisfied his wants by injuring his fellow-men, it would have meant never-ending struggles, wars, and unlimited ferocity.

But in spite of all criminal theories that represent society as a battlefield, and men as beings only able to exist if they injure one another, tear one another to pieces, and devour one another, we have progressed, and the idea of solidarity has flourished because the instinct of social harmony is more powerful than the theories of the struggle for existence.

This deduction may be objected to by some, who say that the State has been an agent of progress, and that its intervention has been moralising and pacifying. This allegation completes the sophisms quoted above. The "order" created by the State has but consisted in oppressing the masses in order that a privileged minority might profit, the masses being made malleable by the belief they have been impregnated with, consisting in the admission that the renunciation of part of their "natural rights" is necessary when they agree to a "social contract."

Liberty Grows by Association

We must oppose the middle-class definition of liberty that sanctions slavery and misery by a contrary formula which is the real expression of social truth springing from the fundamental principle of "harmony in order to struggle"—that is, the liberty of each grows when in touch with the liberty of others.

The unquestionable evidence of this definition explains the progressive development of human societies. The power of harmony in order to live has a dynamic force superior to the forces of division, repression, and suppression exercised by parasite minorities. That is why societies have progressed. That is why they have not solely consisted of butchery, ruins, and mourning.

It is to our advantage to become impregnated with this notion of liberty in order to be proof against the inoculation of middle-class sophisms, so as to be able to understand what the word "society" means. It means that the chief propelling power of humanity is harmony, association.

Let us also understand that society is the agglomeration of individuals that constitute it, and that it has no individual life of its own apart from them; consequently there can be no question of aiming at social happiness than individual happiness of the human beings composing society.

—EMILE POUGET.

ON TO MEXICO!

The proletariat of the United States is not taking the interest in the Mexican Revolution that he should. He don't seem to realise the tremendous influence that the successful termination of this struggle will have in the future of his life. The so called labor organizations of the United States and their periodicals have for some reason neglected to bring the significance of this struggle before their members.

While we have been quarreling among ourselves as to which is the only way to free the workers from the curse of wage slavery, the slaves of Mexico have gone steadily on with the real struggle "and flaring brands illumine the message. Seize the lands! Open the prisons and make men free!"

While we have been looking on, seeing little, hearing less and doing nothing to aid our brothers in their glorious struggle, the capitalists and government have gone on with their diabolical schemes to put down the revolution and reduce our brothers to the slavery against which they are fighting. Already the Mexican border is lined with their henchmen, the army; this very day the Federal troops of Mexico are being transported, under the protection of the army, through the United States. The government at Washington has sanctioned the ship-

ment of arms and ammunition to the government forces of Mexico and has ruled it to be a crime punishable with imprisonment to aid in any way the workers in their struggle for existence.

Shall we allow these things to go on any longer? Shall we sit silent and see the capitalists armies march into Mexico to slaughter our brothers in their struggle for liberty?

"Slaves of the world! Our cause is the same;
One is immemorial shame;
One is the struggle, and in One name—
MANHOOD—we battle to set men free.
Uncurse us the Land!"

When the capitalists armies march into Mexico the proletariat shud march doubly strong to defeat them in their purpose. For every soldier that enters Mexico there should be two workers to defeat him in his plans. If we allow the armies of one nation to be used to defeat the workers of another nation when they have conquered the forces in their own country then never shall we gain our freedom.

Workers awake! Look at the abuses committed on our class. Look at Mexico to the South. San Diego to the West, Lawrence to the East, everywhere the same crimes are being committed on our brother, and still we slave on in silence.

"Be we men, and suffer such dishonor?

Men, and wash not the stain away in blood?"

—LABOR CULTURE.

THE I. W. W. CONVENTION

The 7th annual convention of the I. W. W., recently held in Chicago, developed no very remarkable features, nevertheless some of its doings deserve special notice. One of these was the strong sentiment aroused at one time in favor of decentralization, a sentiment that ill fits the centralization theory prevalent in the organization.

A motion was made to give the General Executive Board jurisdiction over the calling, conducting and settling of all free speech fights. The protest object of the motion was to limit the number of free speech fights, making it more difficult for locals to get support for such fights.

F. H. Little, a G. E. B. member, made a vigorous onslaught upon the motion, clearly showing the evils of centralization in the craft unions, warning the I. W. W. against them. He concluded by saying: "The G. E. B. be damned! Don't give it any such power."

Thompson (General Organizer) and Speed (G. E. B. member) also made telling arguments against the motion. Thompson declared that if the locals are to maintain their rights of free speech they must be permitted and prepared to fight for it at the drop of the hat, and that the general organization will have to rely on the intelligence of the locals to avoid uselessly squandering their strength in such fights. Speed sensibly urged against the motion saying that if the locals were deprived of the right to declare free speech fights the next thing the G. E. B. would despoil them of would be their right to strike. The motion was lost by an overwhelming vote and thus an important victory was scored for decentralization in the I. W. W.

In the discussion so strong was the sentiment for local autonomy that one was almost led to believe that the I. W. W. had repudiated the centralists theory, which differentiates it so sharply from every other revolutionary labor union in the world, and had accepted the decentralization theory.

The disillusionment came, however, in a later discussion on motions to deprive the G. E. B. of the power to levy special strike assessments (a most dangerous power, as it gives the G. E. B. the power to decide whether or not a union's strike shall be financially supported, and thus, perhaps, even whether a strike shall be called.) and the power to pass on all agreements made between subordinate parts of the I. W. W. and employers. (another dangerous power, as it gives the G. E. B. absolute control of all strikes.)

Both these motions were overwhelmingly defeated. The same men, with the exception of Little and one or two others who had previously fought for local autonomy, in those cases fought against it.

The explanation of this contradiction is simple: The I. W. W. has had great experience in free speech fights and has learned that local autonomy is essential to their success, and it, therefore, endorses the Syndicalists decentralization idea in regard to them.

On the other hand it has had absolutely no experience in collecting national strike assessments and but little in settling strikes. It has not yet learned the danger of allowing a few men to arbitrarily hold the purse strings of the whole organization and thus largely control its strike activities, nor the danger of allowing a small com-



Moloch! rise and gaze with awe;
 Tho mankind thy worship spurn,
 Still to God another law
 Kindles flames where victims burn.
 Thou knew not the magic art
 Fire to kindle in the heart.
 Ha! ha! At the modern shrine
 Millions kneel; the fires within
 Forcing, driving, swift to win
 Doom more merciless than thine!

See them coming, blooming, fresh,
 Brothers, sisters, husbands, wives;
 See them leaving, shrunk in flesh,
 Owning nothing but their lives.
 Not in forms of wickerwood
 Burn we now our children's blood.
 Ha! ha! All thy rites I scorn;
 Mine the parent, mine his years,
 Mine his toil, his sweat, his tears,
 Mine the mother's babe unborn!

Christ! Incarnate, heaven-writ law!
 Where thy priests once ruled supreme,
 Where thou stake and fagot saw,
 Other lights on mankind gleam.
 Stake and dungeon, rack and screw,
 Later force hath hid from view.
 Ha! ha! "Liberty of trade"—
 Right to jostle, right to crush,
 Right o'er fallen ones to rush—
 Hath another's temple made.

Whether wood, or brick, or stone,
 Temples still, for they enshrine
 All men love, or hope, or own,
 All that dot the soul entwine.
 Christ, give place! thy days are o'er;
 Other idols men implore.
 Ha! ha! Idols shaped from steel,
 Deaf to all men may endeavor,
 Crying: "Ever! ever! ever!"
 Where men breathe thy name and—kneel.

Molock! Christ! Gods of the past!
 Thou knew man but in the germ;
 New worlds now with thine contrast,
 Where my law is progress' term.
 Soul and body, life and death,
 All are hazarded for wealth;
 Ha! ha! Monarch of the globe!
 Christ's and Moloch's legatee,
 Heir to their authority,
 Mine their scepter, mine their robe.

—DYER D. LUM.

mittee, which might easily be corrupt, to dictate upon what terms all strike settlements shall be made. Hence in these matters it still strikes to the Socialist centralization theory, foisted upon it at its birth. It's safe to say that when, if ever, the I. W. W. does get experience in these matters it will repudiate the Socialist centralization theory and adopt the Syndicalist decentralization practice even as it has done in the case of free speech fights.

An interesting debate was caused by a motion by Halco (G. E. B. member) to strike out the constitutional clause forbidding I. W. W. members to become officials in craft unions. Tho Halcro, assisted by several other delegates, ably defended his motion, citing numerous instances where I. W. W. members could have taken charge of craft union machines and used them to benefit the I. W. W. but refrained from doing so, to the detriment of the I. W. W. The motion was lost. The merits of the proposition, which Halcro et al unsuccessfully tried to make the issue, were lost in a blizzard of abuse against the A. F. of L. Halco was called a syndicalist and his motion one to "bore from within" and both were squelched on this basis.

And in truth the experiment would have been a dangerous one for the I. W. W.'s ambitious program. Give I. W. W. members the right to hold offices in craft unions and they will strive to win them. This would lead inevitably to the building of rebel machines and a general campaign of "boring from within." This might lead anywhere. The fear of encouraging "boring from within," tho unexpressed, no doubt lurked in the minds of many of the delegates and influenced their action.

A general air of prosperity, bred of the Lawrence strike and its aftermath, pervaded the convention. All the delegates were enthusiastic and business like. They departed the convention with high hopes for the coming year.

A strong Socialist minority, if not a majority, was present at the convention. Owing to its newness, the general enthusiasm, etc., this minority did not manifest itself

greatly. However part of it could be seen to wince under the "tongue lashings" administered the S. P. by various reports. It's only a matter of time, however until the old quarrel between the politicians and the direct actionists is again unchained in the I. W. W.

WM. Z. FOSTER.

WHAT WE ARE UP AGAINST

The steel corporation, says Collier's has an outstanding capitalization of nearly fifteen hundred million dollars. That amount is very nearly as great as the aggregate asset value of the great cities of Chicago and St. Louis combined, with their 2,876,554 inhabitants. With that huge capital two this single corporation acquired more than two hundred other companies.

Thru these companies it owns the principle iron ore supplies in the United States; it owns strategic transportation systems; it owns a large part of the steel mill of the country. The corporation is in turn controlled by a few men—its directors. These few men are directors also in fifty nine banks and trust and insurance companies, which together hold quick capital, the life blood of business, of more than double the amount of the Steel Corporation's capital.

The few men who control the Steel Corporation are directors also in twenty nine other railroad systems, with 126,000 miles of line, more than half the railroad mileage of the United States, and in steamship companies. These men are also directors in twelve steel-using street railway systems, including some of the largest in the world; they are directors in forty machinery and steel-using companies; in many gas oil and water companies, extensive users of iron products; and in the great wire-using telephone and telegraph companies.

The aggregate assets of these different corporations exceed sixteen billion dollars. Sixteen billion dollars is more than twice the asset value of all the property in all New England. It is more than one-half times the value of the property in the thirteen Southern States. It is larger than the asset value of all the property in the twenty two States, North and South, lying west of the Mississippi River, except only Texas.

POINTED PARAGRAPHS

When we hear rich men singing "My Country, 'tis of Thee," it cause no surprise, but to hear laboring men singing it who don't own enough land to bury them, is very ridiculous to say the least.

Things are turned upside down all right. The richer church members sings "I care not for riches, neither silver nor gold," and the poor one sings "My country 'tis of thee, Sweet land of liberty"—to slave.

Prohibitionists rave over canteens in the army. Horrible example for their dear boys! But it is just lovely and patriotic for those same dear boys to take a rifle and shoot holes through some other dear boys for about \$16 a month—hired to kill. No wonder Jesus said of this class: "Ye hypocrites, ye strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."

The Catholic priests go through an idolatrous act called elevating the host. It would be more to the point, more appropriate, if they were to put a box of cigars, a bottle of whiskey, a deck of cards, a pass to the ball game, a package of chewing tobacco and a ticket to the show on a plate and elevate this "host" to be adored by their blind followers. They would at least be crooking the knee to something they really love.

We have seen imposing parades in which men carried torches only, others in which muskets were in evidence but now there are great public parades in which men carry copies of the Bible. That surely is an improvement. Mich. Christian Advocate.

Not a particle. It is not so very long ago that a large body of professing christians paraded to Cuba and over to the Philippines to make war on another professing christian nation, Catholic Spain. And did not the pious Helen Gould God-speed the soldiers on their mission and present each one with a Bible; so the U.S. troops marched upon Spain with a Bible in one hand and a gun in the other.

So it has been down the whole twenty centuries of this dispensation of "Peace on earth and good will to men." C & L. CAVES.

SHALL MORE MURDER BE DONE?

Brothers: In the name of Labor and Liberty we make this last appeal to you in behalf of our brothers now imprisoned at Lake Charles, Louisiana.

Their trial has been set for October 7th, which will be exactly three months from date of the Massacre of Grabow. During these ninety days the Lumber Trust, with millions at its disposal, has been working day and night to fix the "evidence" on which it hopes to hang our fellow-workers. During these ninety days detectives have been everywhere hounding our brothers and their helpless families; they have been in all our homes, all our

unions; in the jails, posing as martyrs to the sacred cause of Labor; hovering, buzzardlike, even over the deathbeds of the Timber Workers; cajoling, promising, threatening; using forged letters, documents and statements on our imprisoned brothers in an attempt to frighten them into false confessions; telling them that all other Unions, yea, that the Working Class itself had abandoned them to their fate.

When they fired on our meeting at Grabow, Louisiana; on July 7th, they killed our brothers, Roy Martin and Decatur Hall; our brother Ferro has since died of his poisoned wounds, while, on September 25th, their Deputy Sheriffs shot down and killed our fellow-worker Charles Smith, took his life as cold-bloodily as ever Diaz's rufales sent a victim to his grave, making four Union men whose blood is on the hands of the Association; yet this monstrous tyranny still cries for blood, still strives to make its terror terrorize, still demands that more murder be done.

Brothers, we appeal to you to act, and act at once, sending all funds collected or donated to the defence immediately to JAY SMITH, Box 78, Alexandria, Louisiana.

HOW THE REFORMER WORKS

Have you seen a laborer carry a load? First one one shoulder, then on the other, and back again to the first? Thus have you seen the work of the reformer exemplified. He would shift the tax from the workers' coat to the land he lives on. He would change the state from the political shoulder to the economic shoulder. He would enlarge the capitalist into the community. But never for his life would he remove the burdens from labor's back.

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.

Progress is born of doubt and inquiry. The discoverer of a great truth well knows that it be useful to other men, and, as a greedy with-holding would bring him no enjoyment, he communicates. —Stirner.

THE WORKERS' UNIVERSITY.

Books and Pamphlets For Sale By the Agitator Publishing Association.

A Physician in the House, Dr. J. H. Greer.....	2.50
What is Property? P. Proudon.....	2.00
Flowers of the Mind, the best poems.....	1.25
Life of Albert R. Parsons, with a true history of the Anarchist Trial.....	1.50
The Bomb, Frank Harris. A powerful novel based on the Chicago tragedy of '87, cloth....	1.00
Looking Forward, a Treatise on Woman.....	1.00
Anarchism and other Essays, Emma Goldman ..	1.10
Love's Coming of Age, Edward Carpenter.....	1.00
The Changing Order, Oscar Lovell Triggs.....	1.00
The American Esperanto Book, Arthur Baker... ..	1.00
The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals, Fitch... ..	1.00
Thoughts of a Fool.....	\$1.00
The Cost of Something for Nothing, J. P. Altgeld.....	1.00
The Positive School of Criminology, E. Ferri... ..	.50
Origin of the Family, Property, State, Engels... ..	.50
The Evolution of Property, P. Lafargue.....	.50
Slavery of Our Times, Tolstoy.....	.65
Making Money in Free America, Bolton Hall ..	.50
The Sale of An Appetite, a Purpose Story.....	.50
Francisco Ferrer; His Life, Work and Martyrdom.....	.25
Communism and Conscience, E. C. Walker.....	.25
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Vice: Its Friends and Its Foes, E. C. Walker... ..	.15
What the Young Need to Know, E. C. Walker... ..	.15
The State: Its Historic Role, Kropotkin.....	.10
The Open Shop, C. S. Darrow.....	.10
Crime and Criminals, C. S. Darrow.....	.10
Law and Authority, Kropotkin.....	.05
The Wage System; Revolutionary Government... ..	.05
Appeal to the Young, Kropotkin.....	.05
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Roosevelt and Anarchy, Jay Fox.....	.05
Trade Unionism and Anarchism, Jay Fox.....	.05
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Direct Action vs. Legislation, J. B. Smith.....	.05
Anarchism vs. Malthus, C. L. James.....	.05
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The Agitator three months, 25 cents:	

SUPERIORITY OF DIRECT ACTION

The superiority of direct action to political action in winning concessions from capitalism is clearly seen in a comparison of the achievements to date of the direct action and political action movements.

All over the world practically all substantial concessions, such as shortening of the working day, increase of wages, protection of industry, etc., wrung by the workers from their masters, have been won thru the medium of the labor unions. The political parties, on the other hand, have accomplished practically nothing for the working class. Karl Kautsky, a prominent Socialist writer, writing of what the workers have accomplished by political action in Germany, where they have by far the largest political party in the country, says:

"The period of rapid change after the fall of Bismarck brought some little progress in Germany and France. In 1891 was enacted the law which established for women—who until then were unprotected—the eleven-hour maximum workday. In 1892 this regulation was also introduced in France.

"That was all! Since then no progress worthy of the name has been achieved. In Germany we have, in the entire seventeen years, come so far that just now the ten-hour workday for women has been established. The male workers yet remain fully unprotected. On the field of protection for male workers, as well as those of all other social reforms, complete stagnation reigns."

This is the proud seventeen-year record of the great German Socialist Party, which has absorbed untold efforts of German revolutionists. Its previous twenty-five years of history are even still more barren of results. Compared to the achievements of the German labor unions, which, by no means, use modern tactics, the petty conquests of the Socialist Party dwindle into insignificance. The labor unions, tho considered of minor importance and neglected, and even opposed, by the political leaders of the German working class, have in all cases secured great advances in wages, shortening of the work-day and other important benefits, too numerous to mention, for their members. Had the workers composing them without labor unions and dependent solely upon the Socialist Party to defend their interests, they would have been reduced to a condition of serfdom.

The same political stagnation that Kautsky complains of in Germany exists in every capitalist country. This is especially true of the United States, where the workers, in spite of their continual dabbling in politics, have gained practically nothing by political action. Wherever they enjoy higher standards of living, safeguards in industry, etc., these are directly traceable to their labor unions. Unorganized workers are ordinarily wretched slaves suffering the lowest standard of living, the greatest exploitation and exposure to danger in industry. They lead a mere animal existence and are a fair example of what workers of all kinds would be were they destitute of labor unions.

Reasons for Superiority of Direct Action

The chief cause for the greater success of the labor unions than the political party is found in the superior efficacy of direct action to political action. The former is a demonstration of real power, the latter merely an expression of public sentiment. A couple of instances, taken from late labor history, will illustrate this point:

During the recent Lawrence textile strike, 24,000 workers, in the course of a couple of months, won important concessions in wages and improved working conditions, not only for themselves, but also for some 350,000 other workers in the same industry who took no part in the strike. In England, 1,000,000 coal miners, during their recent short coal strike, forced the British government to adopt the so-called "revolutionary" minimum wage bill. This strike shattered the long-accepted doctrine of the irresponsible relations between employer and employed in England. It is now coming to be a recognized principle that the workers have a right to a living wage at least.

For either of these groups of workers to have secured the same ends by political action would have been next to impossible. Of themselves alone they never could have done so, as minorities are negligible quantities in politics. To have accomplished even the preliminary steps to such victories they would have to secure the political support of practically the whole working class. Even then they would have had no guarantee that their efforts had not all been in vain, as the financial powers, who are only to be coerced by demonstrations of force, have time and again flagrantly disobeyed the political mandates of the working class. The many working class laws declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court and the hundreds of "dead letter" laws on the statute books of the various states are sufficient proofs of the masters' contempt for working class action. It is to be remarked that the Supreme

Court hasn't the power to declare unconstitutional the eight-hour day, improved working conditions, or any other concessions won by direct action, even tho they have been won by the most insignificant minority of workers. This is an eloquent testimonial to the efficacy of direct action.

Another tribute to the value of direct action—next in importance to the growth of Syndicalism itself—is the growing tendency of Socialist politicians to recognize and concede functions of the labor unions. At first these politicians could see no good whatever in the labor unions and openly fault them. However, little by little, they have had to, at least partially, recognize their worth and to quit their open warfare upon them, until now they have been universally forced to assign to them the task of maintaining the standard of living of the workers under capitalism. Many European Socialists even advocate winning the universal franchise by the general strike, which they have vainly tried to win by political action. The Belgian Socialist Party took this humiliating stand at its last convention.

Another cause of the inferior achievements of working class political action is that the Socialist Party does not take advantage or even the slight opportunities it has to help the workers. The Socialist Party, all over the world, unlike the labor unions, which are composed solely of workers with common economic interests, is composed of individuals of all classes, however conflicting their interests may be. It necessarily organizes on the basis of political opinion, not economic interests. The non-working class elements control it everywhere and inject themselves into whatever offices the party wins. Once in office these ambitious politicians fritter away their time with various vote-catching schemes, such as the reduction of taxes, "clean government," "social peace," etc., while the working class is starving. They neglect to exploit even the few opportunities political action offers to improve the conditions of the working class. (From "Syndicalism" by Ford & Foster.)

Around the World

France.

The C. G. T. convention, among other important work, discussed ways and means to combat "the Infamous law" and to aid its victim. It is plain a hard fight will be put up by the Syndicalists to have this infamous law abrogated. A lengthy discussion took place relative to the tendencies toward centralizations in the Railroad workers' unions.

The Publisher of "Libertaire" has been sentenced to 3 months in prison for publishing an article on the Bonnot affair.

Russia.

Since the naval insurrection of last month in the Black Sea fleet, for whole five hundred officers and men are now in chains, the government has lost all confidence in the loyalty of any of its sailors, and has taken the breach locks out of all the guns, making them useless in case of revolt.

Kronstadt and Sebastopol have been placed under martial law, and the "Knout" is still at work. From January until July this year, 109 were condemned to death, and 56 executed. Verily, the little Father "is jealously guarding" his title as the "blood-czar"

Any paper printing a line about this "unpleasant" situation is promptly confiscated.

Austria.

A good example of direct action was shown in Vienna during the Eucharist Congress. Free vending of papers is forbidden by a fine of \$23. In spite of that the Freie Schule (Free School), an association of law-abiding citizens in general, issued the "Josefs Blattern" a mild circular against the Eucharist Congress. In order to spread this circular 4,000 men and women organized and passed out over 500,000 of them from all street corners, saloons, and cafes of the city. Against this kind of action the police were helpless, of course. Some 200 were arrested, but what was that in view of the fact that 500,000 circulars had been spread, against the law. Or would it have been better to have waited until we are strong enuf to abolish the \$23 fine by parliamentary action?

Argentine.

The valliant revolutionary paper, La Protesta, has appeared again after being suppress by the authorities. During the fifteen years of its existance this gritty paper has been suppress twenty times.

The Agrarian agitation continues and thousands of laborers are emigrating to Chili; where, unfortunately, conitions are no better.

Uruguay.

After a period of tyrannical governmental suppression

the Revolutionary Movement is again awakening Two new papers has recently appeared, "Solidaridad" and "Cultura Obrera" (Labor Culture). The struggle for Freedom will not down. While a man is enslaved, their will be those who will take up his cause and make it their own.

Switzerland.

Bertoni, the editor of "Le Reveil" arrested some time ago, before the visit of the great William Hohenzollern of Germany, will now be tried, not for what he actually said, but for he might have said according to his well known views. The Republican House of Deputies are rushing a measure thru that will enable the government to punish them for tendencies only. Give us a Republic every time you want a genuine reactionary law passed.

Belgium.

The Social Democrats are organizing a general strike. They want the right to vote according to our very successful American plan. To attain this purely political purpose they are going to resort to an economic measure. After they have gained this political end thru economic means, they propose to use the newly gained political means to gain economic ends.

THE AGITATOR BAUREN BALL

SUNDAY NOVEMBER 10.

Minuet Dance Hall SEATTLE 24th and Jackson
We Need Say Nothing More; You've Been There Before.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE'S WORKS

Friends and Comrades of the late Voltaireine de Cleyre are collecting money to publish the works of that valliant revolutionist in book form. Advance subscriptions are solicited. The price of the two volumes has not yet been announced, but full information may be had from the Secretary, Margaret Perle McLeod, 78 Putnam Ave. Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Agitator hopes the committee will also be enabled to publish some of the essays in pamphlet form, accessible for propaganda.

Voltaireine was the most uncompromising believer in the Social Revolution bursting right from the midst of the underdogs. She had small use for the help that might come for the middle class, and she condemned as useless the propaganda that catered to this class and failed to reach the rank and file of the toilers.

Her last poem, "Written—in—Red," dedicated "To our Living Dead in Mexico's Struggle," her favorite song (with music), "Farewell to thee; Freiligrath's 'Revolution,'" her poem on Russian Revolution, and a fine portrait, printed on glazed paper, are contained in a tastily gotten up "Memoriam," can be had for 15c, the proceeds from which will go to the publication fund.

Order from Annie Livshis, 2038 Potomac Ave, Chicago.

THE AGITATOR

Financial Report For Aug.

Receipts (subscriptions, etc.),	\$53.65
EXPENSES	
July deficit,	\$51.52
Jay Fox, wages, 5 weeks,	50.00
Faler & Co., Linotype,	12.85
Print Stock,	10.80
Postage,	3.75
Help,	2'00
Total,	\$130.92
Deficit,	\$77.27

RECEIPTS

Capes, \$5; St. Louis, Syn. League, \$2; Local 380 I. W. W., Scarrerieaux, Communistic Library, Cray, Goliner, Local 56 I. W. W., each \$1; Minneapolis I. W. W. Nikerson, McGowan, Westwater, each 50c. Pearson, Wilhite, Churchill, Worwick, Evans, Hill, each 25c.

HENDERSON BAY ROUTE—Steamer Tyeonda 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.

NORTH BAY ROUTE—Steamer Tyrus leaves Commercial Dock, Tacoma, for all points on North Bay every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 10 a. m., returning next morning.

Wanted—Working people for a co-operative colony in Tennessee. Address: H. E. Sawdon, St. Elmo Tenn.

Communistic Library—Meets every Thursday night from 8 to 10; every Sunday morning from 10 to 12. Free lessons in English and Esperanto. Books in any language free. 711 Hudson St., Trenton N. J.