

THE AGITATOR

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

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THE PASSING SHOW.

The "people" have taken a change and Terrible Teddy, the tiger, has taken to the tall timber. To plaster it on thicker, a dime museum manager has offered the fallen idol a job. But his proper place is in a glass case of a museum of natural history.

If the turnover did no more good than to silence that jabbering jawsmith, it was well worth the effort.

But the change has a greater significance than the mere puncturing of an inflated windbag. It is the signal of a great undercurrent of popular discontent. The system is beginning to gall the backs of the patient people on whom it not too securely rests. Their peaceful calm is being disturbed. The price of bread is soaring too high; and the price of wheat is too low. Here we have the real cause of the change.

Why Divide Up?

The philosophers talk about "the doctrine of economic determinism." Boiled down into the language of the lowly it means: The want of grub makes the brain move. If capitalism gave the people only half a show under republican rule, they would remain republicans until the day of judgment. And, on the theory of "what's the use to monkey with a good thing," they'd be right.

But the system doesn't work that way. The forty per cent. dividends don't fall off trees. Dividends is an extract made from the blood and sweat of toil.

First the toiling slaves create the wealth. But it is not their wealth, even after they have created it. They get a little of it, to be sure; enuf to keep them in canned food. But the great mass of the things they make go to those who do no work at all.

The people who work do six days' labor to get one day's pay. I mean by a day's pay what it should be. A day's pay should be all the wealth a person creates in a day. That is a fair proposition. No person would say it is wrong for me to keep all the fish I catch in the sea. Yet most of the people who agree that all the fish I catch is mine, would not agree that all the timber I cut in the forest is mine. Ask them: why? and they will answer that the forest belongs to some one, with whom I must divide the product of my labor.

If those people were told the sea belongs to some one they would become indignant and pronounce it an outrage that any one should claim a property right in the deep. Yet if I should say that the forest is more use to me than the sea, and therefore there is more reason why it should not be owned by any one, those defenders of common property in the sea would become eloquent advocates of private property in land. The most liberal of them might say: "It has always been this way and it cannot be changed now."

Free Speech in San Diego

Our fellow slaves of the I. W. W. in San Diego, Cal., arranged to hold a meeting on the 11th of November to commemorate the martyrdom of our Chicago comrades in 1887. The police prevented the meeting, saying they would not permit any gathering that contemplated a discussion of the Haymarket affair. The time was when the police of but few cities would tolerate a discussion of the Haymarket tragedy. But time is telling its tale, and the memory of the men who died for the cause of labor is now being commemorated in every part of the world.

It speaks volumes for the progressive, revolutionary character of the I. W. W. that they held meetings on the 11th of November and discussed the affair in their papers. The Industrial Worker, of Spokane, had a half page cartoon depicting the hanging and its coming effects, the victorious march of the workers to the goal of freedom.

The voices strangled in Chicago are re-echoing around the world, and labor is marching on. With tongue and pen the educators and agitators are doing the work of instructing and arousing the toiling masses, and the names of their martyrs will be household words when the guilded heroes of capitalism will be long forgotten.

The Democratic Donkey

Who said the democratic donkey is dead? The long eared galoot's epitaph has long ago been written in the scientific terms of the German school of social democracy. He was embalmed, comfortably confined and placed in a vault constructed from the bones of the vanquished middle class. But the asinine ass hadn't sense enuf to stay buried. Like the stupid dunce that he was he has arisen; and now it will take tankfull of talk to explain his resurrection.

To the working slaves in the factories and mills and mines; to the dreary, long-houred toilers on the farms; to the begrimed, blanket-lugging laborers who build the railroads and log the lumber, it makes absolutely no difference whether the fellow who keeps them away from the wealth they create rides upon a donkey or an elephant.

Strikes and High Wages

The recent railroad strike in France is a splendid sign of the times. Whether a strike is won or lost is never a matter of much importance. It is the manner in which it is organized and conducted that counts. The strikes of today are merely skirmishes in the great industrial war of tomorrow.

The bricklayers may strike and get seven dollars a day. Their victory is of no value to the working class in general. It is an individual craft victory. It is the bricklayers' victory; and he profits by it only so long as there are garment workers getting sixty cents a day; farm laborers getting \$15 a month; and hatters and shoemakers getting \$2 a day.

With his seven dollars a day he can buy the product of those underpaid fellow workers in large quantities. He can have a piano and fine furniture, for the furniture and piano workers, like the others, are poorly paid, and their product comparatively cheap.

I have heard it said that the bricklayer is getting high wages, is getting more of the product of his labor and the capitalists are making less on him; and that therefore his position is to be commended.

I commend the bricklayer's position to all the other trades and callings only in so far as the organization of labor tends to develop solidarity and education. It teaches them the power of united effort and awakens a desire for a change to a better system of economics. For this, unions and strikes are to be commended. For this THE AGITATOR will ever be in the front ranks with the organizers of labor. But I dissent from the assertion that labor as a whole gains anything by high wages. An examination of the bricklayer's case easily proves my point.

Let us assume that a block of flats for workers is to be erected, the cost to be \$200,000. Before the job is started the bricklayers strike for \$7 a day. This increases the cost to \$205,000. The contractor adds the \$5,000 to his bill. It does not come out of his profits. The owner pays. But he has that much more invested in the building. So he figures his rent now on a basis of \$205,000 at, say, 10 per cent. Ten per cent. of \$5,000 is \$500. So the sixty cent garment worker and other fellow workers who live in this building pay \$500 a year more rent because the bricklayers won their strike.

By and by when the garment workers win a strike the bricklayers and the rest of us will pay more for our clothes. The capitalist loses nothing. He gets his per cent. Wages is like the tariff, the consumer pays it. The capitalist gets his dividend no matter what happens. High wages means high prices, and the low paid toilers always get the worst of it. They actually pay the greater part of the high wages, because they are the greatest consumers.

The toilers must organize. But they must set the ideal of their organization higher than "a fair day's pay." They must work for a change in the system of property. The land must be as free as the sea, and the tools as free as the land. The toilers must manage their own business. Now the other fellow does it; and that is the cause of all our trouble. We let him handle what we produce. So, what ever we exact from him in wages he gets back from us when we go to buy.

It's a simple proposition, when one gets the key. And with the key in hand he never makes a mistake. He is never again trapped by false logic. He goes straight to the goal.

What is the goal? What's to be done? Organize unions to have and to hold the industries of the country and operate them for the benefit of all. Today, Rockefeller, Morgan & Co. have, holds and operates them for their own special delight. Organize according to industries, not according to trades. Because industry is carried on in that way.

The Political Shell Game

The election is over. The voice of the great American people has rang out in stentorian tones. It has chosen its masters, and I am heartily glad I took no part in the stupid business. In my younger days I was interested in the game of politics, as I was in the game of baseball, in prize fighting, and casino, and I was not merely a voter; I was prominent in my ward club, was dele-

gate to the conventions and once a candidate for office. I am familiar with all the rules of the game. I am acquainted with the various parts in the machinery of politics. I know how the machinery is operated, what kind of oil is used to make it run smoothly, and where the oil comes from. And I know what kind of garments are produced by that machinery and I know who wears them.

I am not sorry for having graduated from the school of politics. I learned many useful things during my scholarship. I learned the impossibility of democracy. I learned that while the people are necessary to the operation of the machinery of politics, they never get their hands on the lever and never get any share of the product. I learned that politics is a high class profession that calls for all that is base and ignoble in human nature, and that the man who is not willing to cast off his conscience, his honesty, his veracity, and every attribute that goes to make him really a man, he will never become a success at the game. When I see a real politician I am reminded of a gold brick, the kind that "hayseeds" often buy. Without it looks beautiful, within it is brass.

So much for the personnel of the machinery of politics. Now let us look at it from the broader aspect of its relation to society. All our office holders, governors, lawmakers, judges, etc., are the product of the political machine. For no man can ever become a candidate for office except by permission of the machine. To win the favor of the machine a man must pledge himself to administer the public offices in the interest of the people who compose the machine. So that actually every man who runs for office is pledged to betray the people's trust. And these men in action, tools of the political boss with the power to put their hands into your pocket at the point of the gun, is what is commonly known as government. I do not approve of that sort of business. I refuse to be the dupe of a set of men whose only interest in the country is to get their slimy hands into the public till. I refuse to give my consent to be ruled by such men. I protest against being taxed for their maintenance.

ANOTHER GREAT MAN GONE.

Leo Tolstoy, the most remarkable man of the age, died Sunday morning, November 20, at the age of 82, in a little way station on his way to join a colony of friends who are living the life he taught. Tolstoy was a member of the aristocracy of Russia, and owned a large estate. All men are accounted "noble" or "great" who have large holdings even in "democratic" America.

Tolstoy had bond slaves on his estate. He watched them toil for him, and saw how simple and ignorant they were; what great fools they were to slave for him while he lived on the fat of the land, and despised their lowliness; just as the American capitalists sizes us up today. But something quite uncommon among the exploiters happened to Tolstoy. His conscience awakened and began to torture him.

"What right have you to take from these people the products of their toil? You got it from your father, yes; and the government protects and defends you in continuing it, yes; but it's wrong, nonetheless, and you know it. Age and authority have always been the excuse for the maintenance of wrong, but they have no weight with me.

"I command you to do right even at the cost of inconvenience to your high bred family. Stop taking something for nothing. Take no more rent from these people, who rightfully own the earth, because they use it. Stop despising them, for they are the real people of Russia, while you and your class are despicable creatures and should go down on your knees and ask their pardon for the centuries you have wronged them.

Tolstoy obeyed his conscience. He cast off his title and the silken robe that covered it. He began to make his own living—he became a man. As a writer of fiction he stood in the front ranks of realism. It was as a dissenter from orthodoxy in religion, politics and economics that he will live in the minds of men. He abhorred force, and was therefore a bitter enemy of government. He would govern no one; and believed in a community of goods. He was therefore an anarchist communist, altho he called himself a christian.

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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.

MAN AND AUTHORITY.

The all important factor in the building of any structure is to understand the nature of the material with which we build. This is especially the case in the erection of social structures.

Since the establishment of our present social and political structure we have been on the search for honest men to administer our public and private affairs; meaning by "honest" men, men who will administer the affairs of other people as they would their own, irrespective of their personal interests or likes and dislikes. We have been looking for men so angelic that, when someone approaches them with a bag of gold for their votes on this and that question, or for forgetting to enforce some law already on the statute books, they will say with the mythical Christ, "get thee behind, satan," and scorn the tempting offer. In this, we have shown evidence of a sublime faith in the goodness of man. At the same time we have displayed a profound and monumental ignorance of human nature.

That we have not found any honest politicians goes without saying. No legislator or official has yet refused a bribe, and they all receive them. Even laboring men, "reformers;" the men whom labor calls its own calous-handed candidates—men, pure and undefiled, from the ranks of toil. Even these men fall by the wayside and become the instruments of spoils and robbery before their ante-election promises of honesty are cold upon their lips.

We elect reformer after reformer only to turn them out again when we find them as great, if not greater, thieves than the regular party candidates. The democrats call the republicans thieves, the republicans call the democrats thieves, the socialists call them both thieves, and say the socialists are the only honest men. The socialists speak truly, they are honest men. So were the republicans and democrats before they were given a chance to steal.

I scoff at the virtues of men who have never been tempted. The fundamental difference between a republican and a socialist is the difference between tweedle dum and tweedle dee. They are both built from the same clay, cradled in the same way, possessing the same ancestry, the same passions, the same weaknesses, are moved by the same emotions, and inherit the same tendency to move in the direction of the greatest amount of happiness with the least exertion. In plain words, they are both lazy, and this oneness makes them equals in all matters pertaining to the duties and obligations imposed upon them by their public trust. Their differences are purely intellectual, superficial, eternal. They belong to different parties, having different ideals, but since the motive forces in both are selfish and egoistic they will revert back to these at the first opportunity, or as soon as the excitement or enthusiasm of the party or class has subsided and the elected ones have settled down to the tedious routine of the office to which they have succeeded.

Before the franchise was granted for the election of public officials, it was claimed in its favor that under its sway none but honest men could hold office, as the fear of defeat at the hand of the electors would act as a check against dishonesty; that anyway, the people having the power in their own hands, only men known to be upright and honest would be elected. That dream has been dissipated. Now we have another dream. It is that the reason men are dishonest is because there is an incentive in the capitalistic system, and that with the removal of the incentive men will have to be honest. But a closer study of man will show that the source of dishonesty lies not in externals but is inherent in the very nature of man himself, consequently whatever system we devise, whether it be Capitalism, Socialism or Communism, if men are placed in possession of public power and authority, they will find a way to use that power in their own interests as against the interests of the community.

Some time ago an editorial in the International Socialist Review bewailed the growth of the politician in the party. The writer spoke of the tendency of officials to exaggerate the importance of their offices, and that, instead of looking upon themselves as servants of the party, they begin to feel and act like rulers. I quote: "In the great cities this tendency is apt to develop an

'inner ring' or clique. . . . They really imagine that the delegate body or committee to which they belong is the center of the whole party, and is composed of persons quite above the common class. Instead of doing the will of the membership they seek to govern the rank and file."

The writer sees the danger of the development of this class of men as the party increases in power. He mentions the difficulty of dealing with them as they are frequently the most active men in the party. He says; "it does not accomplish much to fire one set of such politicians only to make room for another." He suggests as the only remedy the anarchistic one of the "education of the membership to the necessity of doing their own thinking."

Here is an actual condition making itself manifest in a party yet very far from the spoils of office, a condition that, on the confession of this editor, has already become a serious menace to the party, and one that he sees it is hopeless to remedy. The education of the membership to a point where it will do its own thinking, if it were possible, would not be a remedy, for an educated membership would not stay in a party that was in the hands of politicians, yet to make a change would only result in the installation of another set equally as bad, according to the editor quoted.

The men who have learned to do their own thinking are already leaving the party, others are being driven out of it. Men who do their own thinking seldom submit themselves to the leadership of party politicians. As a rule, men who do their own thinking, do their own leading, and refuse to have the party gag put in their mouths. So it is certain that the cure proposed by the Socialist Review would be worse than the disease. I mean worse for the party. For the individual membership, for mankind in general, it would be infinitely better. With a race of thinkers partyism would surely not exist, for the leaders would not get a following.

Here we have a condition, an actual experiment, a concrete example, that sends all our theories to the four winds. There is no need for theorising on the question of incentive to rulership. We have the example before us. All we need to do is to lay our old books and borrowed thots aside, and examine the facts for ourselves.

This example of the Socialist party furnishes us with evidence of another incentive to rulership than a materialistic one. Man will rule and direct for the sake of the goods and chattels that he cannot get so easily in any other way, being urged on to do so by his inherent laziness. He will also, as we have seen, rule and direct from motives that we might call higher and nobler.

We all have our peculiar ideas as to how things should be done, and as to whether or not it is expedient to do certain things; and of course it is to the best interest of the party if our ideas prevail. But this tendency is never dangerous while we are all on a common level, no more so than is the other tendency we spoke of. It is not until we are put into positions of trust that, for "the good of the cause," we proceed to make our wisdom the rule of action, regardless of the wishes of the membership, who would send the party to perdition if we did not intervene to save them from themselves.

I need not develop this tendency. It is well known; we all exercise it in our family circles, among our friends, in our clubs and societies, and wherever we can. This is one of the worst forms of tyranny and most difficult to repel, for in all cases it is exercised by our friends and relatives and in every case well intended and for "our own good."

It is this tendency, combined with the other one, that makes every man, woman and child a tyrant. Some because they love us, others because they want to exploit us. Both tendencies work alternately and unitedly in every ruler and official, in every individual. If we acknowledge, then, that these tendencies exist inherent in the individual, separate and apart from any external condition of economics, politics, morals, race or color, and be guided by the fact of their existence, we will endeavor to construct a society in harmony with human nature. We will build in a way that these anti-social tendencies will be kept in check, and carefully avoid any procedure or rule of action that will give them sway. We will give no man authority over his fellows. We will avoid large concentration of management or administration of the affairs that economically and physically require concerted action.

Representative or legislative action must be eschewed, both as a means of emancipation, and as a means of administration in the free society. In every case where legislation has been tried even as a palliative, a mere attempt at reform, it has utterly failed. Every so-called labor law is a failure. Capitalistic influences prevent the enforcement of labor laws calculated to protect or promote the interests of labor; and the same capitalistic influences will be at work with ever increasing force so long as the capitalistic system exists. In the face of

this stubborn fact how can we expect to destroy the system, to upturn it root and branch, by legislation? Veritable dream! beautiful, but utopian, utterly impracticable, most absurdly unscientific.

How then are we to emancipate ourselves if not by the ballot, if not by the "easy" methods of legislation? No matter how we do it, it will have to be done by some method of direct action. All the advances we have gained, all the improvements that have been made in the conditions of labor, have been wrought by direct action.

The French peasantry, in their great revolution, emancipated themselves from the ravages of king and priest. But after they gained their great victory they foolishly submitted themselves to the legislator and lost nearly all the fruits of their grand and heroic struggle.

For more than two hundred years the Irish people have been striving to get relief from the cruel system of landlordism thru their legislators in the English parliament, without result. In the eighties they formed a secret organization called the "Land League," pledging themselves to refuse to pay rent until the landlords came to time. The result was marvelous. The movement became so powerful that the landlords remitted all back rent and improved the conditions generally.

We have seen that man is propelled by two forces deeply imbedded in his nature, laziness and egoism. These are two decidedly anti-social forces. We have observed that during the later years he has developed a social instinct, that this instinct finds its expression in society in class consciousness, etc. We find that this social instinct is yet very weak; that man's inhumanity to man is due to this weakness; that the unsocial instincts are ever present and control man, except on rare and exceptional occasions. We must conclude, therefore, that the individual is unfit at present to be trusted with social power or authority; that the people must attain their liberty collectively and directly, and that once attained it must be guarded by the social, the general recognition of the weakness of the social instinct.

THE CONTRASTS.

In society there are two forces constantly at work, each striving for mastery over the other. One of these forces is steadily forging its way along the thorny path of progress towards liberty; while the other would, if it could, keep the human race forever bound in the galling chains of authority. One casts from it the foolish customs of the past and with buoyant step pushes on into the future; the other prepares the rack, builds the jails, erects the scaffold and lights the faggot for the torture, imprisonment and death of the prophets of the people, those heralds of truth and freedom by whose foresight and courage the onward march of civilization is possible.

One mounts Parnassus and from its dizzy heights pours down pealing songs of freedom which rouses the lethargic people to deeds of glory and emancipation from the galling slavery their ignorance has fastened upon them; whilst the other forges new chains for their enslavement. One discovers the physical and social laws that govern the universe, the knowledge of which help make men free; the other assembles with bluster and pomp in the halls of congress and concoct statute laws to tie men to the present and make them the prey of capitalistic greed.

One has its stronghold in truth and freedom; the other in falsehood and authority. One is represented by the martyrs of an age; the other by its tyrants. One speaks for the oppressed; the other for the oppressors. One represents the people; the other the enemies of the people. One cries out: "Give us liberty;" the other answers with death.

Since the birth of mankind these two forces have been at work, one always represented by the intelligent few, fighting for truth and freedom; the other represented by the cunning parasites who prey upon the ignorance and credulity of mankind.

This class of ghouls, to facilitate its plunder of the people, organized the institution of government, and under its protection has succeeded in fastening upon the throats of the people the iron hand of capitalism, in whose grasp the nations of the world are gasping today.

Capitalism encompasses all the cruelties of the systems of robbery that preceded it. In many cases it is severer, altho more refined. It puts children to work at an earlier age and in vastly greater numbers than its predecessors. Their brains are paralyzed, their growth stunted; they are transformed into machines, that their rich masters may roll in a luxury beyond the wildest dreams of the masters of old. One of the monster crimes of the age is the crime of capitalism against the millions of children who become old, haggard and dull before they are out of their teens grinding out dollars for the refined parasites, who, from their grand palaces on land and sea, direct and control the activities of the entire human family.

THE ACITATOR.

Where hurrying thousands meet,
And pour in living streams on either hand,
Amidst the strident street,
With set and stubborn face he takes his stand,
The lesson to repeat
Of evil days, and acts which curse the land.

Indifference coils him not;
And jeers and blows he takes, perchance, beside;
Brave, he accepts his lot;
At worst he meets it with a martyr's pride,
To bear, he knows not what,
He seeks the crowd, and will not be denied.

His voice is loud and strong,
And vigorous gestures add their potent force,
As to the restless throng
He pictures clear corruption's crafty course,
Or challenges the wrong
Which in some unjust privilege finds its source.

A true son of the soil,
And feeling as the hard-pressed masses feel,
The things which mar and spoil,
And bind life down with bonds as strong as steel,
He knows the men who toil,
And truth to these he can most clear reveal.

No knotty theories
He offers to the listeners who attend,
Or generalities,
Which glitter with the gilt that fine words lend;
He sets forth what he sees
So simply that who hears can comprehend.

The deep philosopher,
The pedant wise, whose wisdom makes him cold,
Instructs; but cannot stir
The heart of work, whose hope is tired and old;
But this one strives to spur
The rebel in the blood, and make it bold.

He lifts the common thought,
And e'en the common heart up to the light;
Till, by his teaching wrought,
To understand their wrongs and know their might,
Plain men at last are brought
To rouse in truceless struggle for the right.

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD.

WOMEN AND THE BALLOT.

By a very decisive vote the men of the state of Washington have granted women full suffrage. When Washington was a territory women had suffrage, but lost it when statehood was granted.

This is the fifth state wherein women have full suffrage; and all five states are geographically joined.

For forty-one years the women of Idaho, Utah and Wyoming have had full suffrage. The women of Colorado have voted at all elections for seventeen years. In twenty-four other states women have school suffrage. In seventeen they can not vote at all. Kentucky granted women school suffrage as long ago as 1838.

In Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Norway, Finland and Iceland women have full voting rights. In the two latter countries they can hold any office. In Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Denmark, Sweden and Russia they have limited suffrage.

The suffragette movement in England was started at the time of the reform bill agitation of 1832. For forty years the demand has been made annually upon the British solons in parliament, only to be turned down. The women found that each party was for them when it was out of power and against them when it was in. So they decided to change their lady-like tactics for those of a more forceful and strenuous nature.

The men of England who are disfranchised by reason of the householding qualifications have never made much of a fuss about it. It was left to the women of England to show the men and women of the world how to go after something they really want.

Woman is the mildest of creatures. She has suffered in silence for ages, and thru her silent suffering has softened the heart and tempered the soul of the coarse and brutal animal, man. She condones his coarseness and pardons his brutality, but she will never forgive his cold-reasoned hypocrisy. She transformed the brute into what she thought was a man, but, to her great disappointment, has discovered she made a hypocrite instead. His hypocrisy may be only a stage in his evolution, a temporary cloak assumed to cover the remnant of brute that still remains, from the watchful eye of her he seeks to please. Be this as it may, the hypocrite is none the less distasteful for being a temporary one.

The English women found such pillars of society, such great statesmen, such honorable men as Lord Beaconsfield, the Marquis of Salisbury and A. J. Balfour in the conservative party, and John Bright, William E. Gladstone and Lloyd George in the liberal party, all stalwart supporters of women's suffrage—when they were out of office. But each time the reins of government was in their hands they quite forgot their principles and refused to entertain the proposition, putting the woman off with one excuse or another, until, exasperated by the political double-dealing, the latter declared open war.

They invaded the galleries of the house of parliament

and hooted their enemies. They assaulted the cabinet ministers, pelted them with stones and threw bricks thru the windows of their beautiful homes. They disturbed political mass meetings and turned the entire political game into an uproar. They were sent to prison, but jails had no terror for these rebels. They refused to don the prison garb, to do the prison work or to eat the prison food.

Mr. Lloyd George, the liberal leader, went to address a meeting which he was assured was entirely free from the presence of ladies. When he got on well into his address he was interrupted by feminine voices. Two or three women had got into the hall the day before and had perched themselves on the rafters from whence they hurled defiance and embarrassing questions at the great Welsh politician.

On another occasion the hall where a big meeting was to be held was watched for twenty-four hours by the police to see that no woman got near it. When the meeting was well under way, and the speaker making his ponderous arguments to an exclusive male audience, there was a great commotion under his feet and half a dozen women burst thru the floor and demanded votes for women.

Of the numerous instances of splendid revolutionary conduct in prison that of Miss Violet Bryant is typical and well worth recording here. She was given a month for breaking the windows of the Liberal Club as a protest against the actions of the liberal government towards the movement. On arriving at the jail she refused to give her name or to accept the prison garments. Eight wardresses stripped her and put on the prison clothes. On being locked in her cell she took them off, and remained thus twenty-four hours in a cold, stone cell. She refused to eat, and smashed the windows of her cell because it lacked ventilation, admitting the raw, winter air. For these violations she was given seven days solitary confinement. Next day they forced a canvas dress upon her. The garment was strapped at the neck, wrist and waist. When left alone she smashed the electric light and with the broken glass cut the straps and divested herself of the hated garment. With the metal part of the lamp she scratched on the wall: "Who would be free themselves must strike the blow." For this she was put in irons, her hands chained behind her back. She still refused food. They finally resolved to force food into her stomach, and during the remainder of her term a half dozen guards held her twice a day while a physician forced liquid food into her thru a nasal tube. She never wavered during the entire term, her magnificent rebel spirit soaring aloft, while the petty pigmies were mauling her frail body.

The true rebel is she or he who will not compromise, who will not be subdued. These English women of "high" and "low" degree, countess and scrubwoman, have shown the real revolutionary spirit. And while their immediate ends are not very far-reaching, their methods are those of the true rebel, and stand out in splendor when contrasted with the "gentlemanly" tactics pursued by the men of England and America seeking redress for their wrongs.

The right to vote is a paltry right at this age of progress, when the advanced men of all countries are actually forsaking the ballot, having found it a futile weapon for defence or offence against the tyranny of capitalism.

The women are, of course, entitled to it. They are entitled to all they can get. But there are many things we are entitled to which are not worth the effort, and the ballot is one of them.

While men control the means by which women live they will control their votes. This has been well proven in the case of men. Property makes the laws of the world, have always done so; and the great mass of propertyless voting men have been unable to remedy the evil. So they are forsaking the ballot for more effective means.

Men have learned that it is their economic organizations alone that are regarding the downward trend towards slavery; and it is unfortunate that the women of England and America should be expending their splendid revolutionary energies on a useless accomplishment.

Women should learn that it is not liquor prohibition, nor red light prohibition, nor sanitary inspection, nor better prisons, nor child labor regulation, nor any of the numerous reforms they hope to bring about, that counts. These are merely effects of one great cause. And that cause is: WANT OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY.

Our whole political machinery is an effect. It is the outgrowth of our system of property which enables men to have and to hold millions of acres of land and tons upon tons of machinery, while millions of men must go without either land or machinery.

Let women awakened study the problem, then they won't waste their faculties on phantoms. FRED MOE.

Subscribe for THE AGITATOR.

WORTH YOUR ATTENTION.

A new volume of poetry by W. F. Barnard will soon be off the press. This volume will be composed of labor poems and will be called "The Tongues of Toil." It will include "THE AGITATOR," printed in this issue, a poem suggested by the announcement of the publication of this paper. It will also contain a powerful heart and brain stirring poem called "The Children of the Loom," which will appear in our next issue. W. F. Barnard is one of the very few poets of the revolution, and his fine work in the cause of human freedom should be appreciated by the workers.

THE WORKERS' UNIVERSITY.

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RATIONAL EDUCATION.

For all the friends who take an interest in the welfare of the growing generations, we are happy to bring the news that the largest free association in the world advocating rational education for children has started in its work and propaganda since nearly a year here in France, and that no sight is more beautiful and rejoicing than such splendid unanimous marching forward towards the promised land of truth and justice, liberty and harmony.

We all know that, at every period of human history, the states and governments always took great care to hold the common people in dark ignorance, and when there were no longer any means to go on in that way, to monopolize teaching and education, being assured that their strength lies in their catching hold of the primary schools, they endeavored more and more to impress upon the brains and hearts of our youths, in order to get a fresh supply of fearful and obedient thralls, always ready to serve and toil, always willing to be oppressed and exploited. At present, time is over when all spreading of knowledge and reasoning among the masses could be prevented. Since that day when scientific discoveries and revelations of all kinds revolutionized the conditions of industry, our masters are no longer able to maintain their slaves in medieval ignorance. They want learned attendants because they all want to be first in the field of universal competition.

Thus, some kind of instruction for the people had to be found by the governments, and the creation of new schools, if not a philanthropic action, has been the very means for them to supply their wants in craftsmen, skilled workers, more perfect tools for developing their industrial undertakings. The most backward of them have indulged in the movement, for they fully realized that the old tactics were dangerous for the economic life of the nations and that the powers that withheld their sanction to the adoption of new methods were fatally doomed to perish in a more or less distant future.

Such apparent unanimousness of our masters in favor of schools and teaching should have incited us to have no confidence in their intentions. During many years, we have heard a lot of progressive minds advocate instruction as the remedy of all evils, and it is only since a short time that some of them realize how novice is the official teaching. In fact, the intellectual food supplied in the school has no real value for the man of tomorrow. Being the most powerful chain with which the system is maintained, the school of today has been provided with teachers who are only the passive instruments of the capitalistic will. Early in their life they have been submitted to a severe discipline and the most conscious among them are powerless to counterpoise the damage done by a wrong method of teaching.

The school of today, in every civilized country is the school of servitude. In these dull and dark barrackings the poor juvenile minds and bodies are kept in prison, their native abilities are carefully molded in the same mold. It is no other thing than a mere taming process, and the young man-animals are trained there just as if they were in a circus. Being just what the rulers are wanting to secure their reign, the school of servitude will not be pulled down willingly by those who profit by its existence. Such is the will of our governments, and all improvements which are to be brought by them to their schools will be turned only to the advantage of our masters.

What is to be done? It is the very question that has been studied and brought forward by the members of the International League for Rational Education. We want free thinking men, is the watchword. We want men longing to destroy and create, alter and improve their surroundings, alter and improve themselves; we want free citizens who will be chained by nothing, free minded people always happy to accept what they recognize to be the best, we want a phalanx of bold and generous pioneers devoting themselves entirely to ameliorate and embellish this obscure planet of ours, and bring in the word of liberty all over the world.

Already, such a daring undertaking as renovated schools for free thinkers has been carried on successfully in Spain by that generous and courageous man whose name was Francisco Ferrer. The Escuela Moderna, established in 1901 at Barcelona, gave birth to two score of renovated schools in that country in three years time. At present, in order to secure their existence and spread these ideas and bring on new schools everywhere, the International League has been created, and Ferrer was duly elected as its president, and Professor Haeckel as a vice president. A monthly review, printed in French, L Ecole Renovee, began to appear in April, 1908. A Bulletin, printed in Barcelona, is the translation in Spanish of L Ecole Renovee. At the moment I write this the League includes more than five hundred members.

The aim of the League and its organs is to discuss all

ideas, all schemes, study all undertakings regarding physical, intellectual and moral education of children, to proceed on studying the child scientifically, to elaborate rational schemes for the organization of renovated schools. At Paris, Brussels, London, Barcelona, Geneva and Frankfurt, national committees are founded. Plans are made. A number of men and women, according to their own means, are working to realize the common idea.

If the League thinks of the child, it does not forget the teacher. The League wants to have professors worthy of that noble cause, men and women trained to give such rational and scientific education. At Paris a renovated training college is about to be created. One of the most important questions now being looked into is the selection of books for the professors and children in these new institutions. There is an immense work to be done. The Escuela Moderna, of Barcelona, has begun already, and more than thirty most remarkable books, printed in Spanish, have been published by them.

We, who contribute passionately for our own part to build up that monument of beauty and harmony, are faithful in the beneficence of our ideas and principles. We appeal to support our organization and work fraternally with us all the kindhearted who really want the deliverance of the child, all the generous comrades who long for a better and happier humanity. No doubt that every free man or woman in America will answer to the call of their brothers in Europe.

ARISTIDE PRATELLE.

For information, write to
La Secretaire
de la Ligue Internationale
pour l'Education Rationnelle de l'Enfance
21 Boulevard Saint-Martin, Paris.

AN APPEAL TO YOU.

Dear Friend—In the name of humanity and international brotherhood, we earnestly beg of you to protest energetically to the Japanese ambassador in Washington against the unjust and barbarous penalty of death pronounced upon Dr. Denjiro Kotoku, his wife and twenty-four other socialists and anarchists.

Dr. Kotoku, his wife, and their friends were brought before a court specially appointed for the purpose, judged guilty of plotting against the imperial family, and sentenced to death. The fact that it was an unusual judicial procedure shows that the proof of the alleged crime was weak.

Denjiro Kotoku is a man who has devoted himself to intellectual pursuits and has tried to popularize "western" ideas in Japan. His "crime consists of spreading radical ideas and in translating the works of Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy, Peter Kropotkin and Michael Bakunin. As a leader of the "Leit" in the social revolutionary movement in Japan, he was called "the head of the Kropotkinists." We are convinced that the charge of conspiracy against the emperor is false.

Kotoku's condemnation marks the climax of the reaction against liberal ideas, which has taken place in Japan during the last few years. Mr. Takayama, the leader of the socialist party in Japan, has recently protested to western civilization against the persecution of the liberals in Japan.

We, the international soldiers of freedom, are not willing to have our friends in Japan fall victims to the reactionary forces. Shall the Japanese government imitate the barbarous methods of Spain and Russia, and do to death their scholars and thinkers? We must act vigorously in the cause of humanity and civilization, and we hope you will not fail to send an urgent protest to the Japanese ambassador.

Hutchins Hapgood, Leonard Abbott,
Emma Goldman, Hippolyte Havel,
Sadakichi Hartmann, Alexander Berkman,
Dr. Ben L. Reitman, Rose Strunsky.

It is our purpose to launch a widespread protest in the form of large public meetings. If you are willing to assist, communicate with, or call at, Mother Earth, 210 East 13th Street, New York.

WHERE TO GO.

Under this heading we will publish, free, the cards of radical lectures and reading rooms.
Chicago: The Francisco Ferrer Club, free library and reading room, 1015 S. Halstead.
Seattle: I. W. W., hall and reading room; lectures Sunday evenings, 211 Occidental ave., rear.
Tacoma: I. W. W. hall and reading room, 723 Commerce st.
New York: Harlem Liberal Alliance every Friday at 8 p. m., at Fraternity Hall, 100 W. 116th St., corner of Lenox.
San Diego, Cal.: I. W. W. free reading room, 834 4th.

RECEIPTS.

Dr. M. A. Cohn, \$10; Morel, \$2.50; Rubenstein, \$2. Parker, Larkin, Task, Adams, Arnold, Wilbers, Hammersmark Douglass, Jarmuth, Willers, Cook, \$1 each; Muller, Lazzari, Falkoff, Burns, Rostel, Loche, Fisher, 50 cents each; Warn, 30c; Brout, Grinnell, each 25c.

TO THE COMRADES.

Comrades, the time has arrived when we, the anarchists of America, should let our voices be heard. Everywhere we find men and women willing to read about anarchism. The only way to reach this class of people is through our press.

Our press is the only weapon of propaganda we have at present. For some time it has been in a very poor condition. Who is to blame for this? I think we are mostly to blame ourselves. But, Comrades, now we have started to publish THE AGITATOR, a paper not yet what we intend it shall be. We intend to publish it weekly as soon as possible.

Comrades, will you help us in the work? All depends upon you. We ask you to subscribe and get others to subscribe. Organize AGITATOR groups. With organized power we can accomplish much.

Comrades in Washington and Oregon who wish to organize should notify THE AGITATOR, for one of our comrades is travelling in these states and will call on them. Fraternally yours B. AGURSKY.

MAIL BAG.

C. N., Detroit: If THE AGITATOR is, as you say, "a good shot," we will keep shooting as fast and as straight as we can at the ignorance and mis-knowledge of our people on vital life problems. Keep it posted on local labor news. Let us hear from you often.

C. V. C., Vancouver: Keep it coming! You bet we will. We will be glad to send you bundles whenever you wish them.

E. B., San Diego: We received your subscription for the public library. That is a good means of propaganda. THE AGITATOR should be in every public library in the country. We are pleased to learn it is always in the hands of someone in the I. W. W. reading room. It will go there regularly.

S. Y., Lynn: Your delight at seeing THE AGITATOR and your efforts in its behalf is a source of much encouragement to us.

SOME VERY WORTHY PERIODICALS.

<p>"SOLIDARITY." A weekly revolutionary working class paper. Published by P. O. Box 622, I. W. W. NEWCASTLE, PA.</p>	<p>"MOTHER EARTH" Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature. 10c a copy. \$1 a year EMMA GOLDMAN, Publisher 210 E. 13th St., New York, N. Y.</p>
<p>"FREEDOM" A Monthly Journal of Anarchist Communism. 36c per year. 127 Ossulton Street, London, N. W., England</p>	<p>"INDUSTRIAL WORKER" A Weekly Agitator For Revolutionary Industrial Union. Published by I. W. W., 236 Main st. Spokane, Wn \$1 a year, Foreign, \$1.50</p>
<p>"THE FIREBRAND." To burn away the cobwebs of ignorance and superstition. Monthly, 50c a year. SWEDEN, TEXAS.</p>	<p>"FREEDOM." A monthly journal devoted to the destruction of superstition and the uplift of the under dog. \$1 a year. 10c a copy 789 Mission Street, San Francisco, Cal.</p>

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