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NO. 24.

THE AGITATOR

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

VOL. 1.

THE PASSING SHOW.

The McNames Trial.

The greatest trial of the century is now going on in Los Angeles. The eyes of the world are turned toward the "Angel City." Every item of news from there is ravenously devoured by the mass of workers and capitalists.

This trial is really a manifestation of the class struggle. The masses may not be actually conscious of the fact, but it is nevertheless true. In Philadelphia on Oct. 10th fifteen thousand men and women workers took part in the biggest demonstration ever held in that city, as a protest against the kidnapping and trial of the McNamaras.

Every labor organization, every socialist and anarchist group are voicing their opposition to this trial, and expressing the firm belief that it is a frame-up against organized labor, started and carried out with the end in view that the working class may be cowed and overawed into absolute submission to the capitalist class. The great mass feels this instinctively, a minority are more or less consciously of it.

The capitalists of the country are as actively engaged in the prosecution as the workers are in the defense; and the remarkable point of it is that there is no attempt made to disguise the fact. Burns is the big man in the case. He has stated that he is in the employ of the Bankers’ and the Manufacturers’ Associations.

The case bears every aspect of the great conflict of interests between the classes. Today they use words for weapons. They are playing for time, sparing for an opening. But back of it all is ten thousand years of class hatred, that may burst forth at any moment in a world-wide conflict of such vast proportions that the imagination staggers at its contemplation.

The following facts and figures given an appreciation of the magnitude of the McNamara trial:

Number of witnesses to be called by the prosecution, 425.

Number of witnesses who will probably be called to defend the defense, 135.

Number of lawyers who will appear in the court room for the defense and prosecution, 10.

Number of lawyers associated with the defense and the prosecution who will not appear in the court room, 40.

Number of detectives employed, 600.

Length of time estimated for the first trial, 180 days.

Estimated number of words which will be contained in official transcript of the case, 7,200,000.

Approximate expense to the defense and the prosecution, $2,000,000.

Number of states where witnesses will be secured, 15.

Number of correspondents who will report the trial, 64.

Number of spectators who may secure daily entrance to the court room, 74.

Down With the Scouts.

The Michigan Federation of Labor has put itself squarely on record in regard to the boy scout business. It denounces the scouts, "whether they be called by the name of minute men, children of the Republic, or anything else."

It is opposed to "war and all its trappings and especially the boy scout movement, and further that the local unions be requested to begin an active campaign to counteract the evil influence of this insidious movement."

The boy scout is a natural social product of our system that turns every human sentiment into a soldier. It is the love of adventure, a natural instinct inherited from the forest life of mankind, that attracts the boy to be a scout, and the youth to be a soldier.

The army is composed of boys. The Civil War was fought by boys.

Just as the cunning priest works upon the dominant sentiments of women, so the crafty capitalist licks capitulates play upon the primitive spirit of the boys.

The only way to offset that is to put a social taboo upon the scout, and the soldier. Educate the boy. Appeal to the instincts that are in him. Call out and develop his self-expression. But let it not be through the barrel of a gun. A civilization with half the reputation ours has for humanitarianism would put a violin into a boy’s hand instead of a gun.

But I was almost forgetting that our system is composed of masters and slaves, haves and have-nots, and, therefore, to the masters, the have-alls, the soldier is more valuable than a musician. The soldier is a necessity, the musician an easily dispensable luxury.

Scouts and soldiers are made from workers’ children. It is up to the workers then to see that it is stopped. Make scouting and soldiering as despicable as smoking. Brand them with the iron of social leprosy.

The Pariah, Large and Small.

Dr. Edwin F. Bowers has an article in the Western Railway News entitled "Tuberculosis, the Disgrace of Civilization," in which he goes to the root of the evil. He agrees that the doctors know how to prevent and how to cure in early stages; still the death rate is not perceptibly reduced.

"Why is this?" he asks, then answers his own question in the following conclusive manner:

"Because we haven’t attacked the basic cause of tuberculosis, poverty and malnutrition. The wealthy do occasionally die of it, but in proportion of one to seven. The poor, overworked, underfed slave pays tribute to this modern minotaur—deceiving the fairest and most promising of youth. Of what avail the physician’s counsel to ‘rest up’ sleep in fresh air, ‘fed food’ upon rich, nutritious diet and live a wholesome, natural life, to a poor shop girl or a mill operative, toiling 12 hours a day in vitiated, lint-laden, supersaturated atmosphere, from which the greater portion of oxygen has long since been extracted and replaced by carbonic acid gas."

"What sardonic cruelty (devilishly contrived as any in the pages of Greek mythology or Dante’s inferno) to show this doomed victim the beautiful vistas of life, hope, health, happiness; and a continued loving sojourn among the quiet, and then to fling him to the ground, shattered in a thousand fragments, and proffer him instead the bitterness, futility and hopelessness of his lot under ‘Economie Determinism."

"His fate is pre-determined by his economic condition. If he is able to carry out the rules of health laid down for his guidance, to play the game fairly and squarely with unstacked cards, the chances are extremely favorable, able for complete recovery and restoration to useful productive capacity."

Dr. Bower is not a wild-eyed agitator on the warpath for capitalists’ scalps. He is a cool man of science. He puts the question squarely before us in a manner that says: There, men of labor, is my diagnosis of your case. It is now up to you. I cannot do anything more than warn you why you are being devoured by the little microscopic animal. What are you going to do about it? What can you do?"

Dr. Bower does not tell us how to bring about the social condition where the people will have plenty of work. It is not his business. That is our work, yours and mine. Remember: no halfway measures will suffice. No "good" employers, charity or profit sharing will do. Not even the closed shop against the non-union member will do. But a closed shop will cure the social evil, when the non-union idler is kept out. When the non-union idler is closed out with the non-union worker—when the boss and the scab are turned out together—not till then will we even begin to conquer tuberculosis. We must rid ourselves of the large parasites first.

A Half Million for a Picture.

A street car conductor in Philadelphia has paid that price for a picture, painted a hundred and fifty years ago by the Dutch artist, Rembrandt, who never received anything for it except the pleasure of making it, which is the real price of all good work.

Only the car conductor is not the one you are thinking about. He is the conductor who conducts all the conductors, and the city council, the city streets, and about everything else conductable in the city.

Mr. Widener is a hard-working, industrious conductor for which the ten million nickels he gave for that old canvas testifies. Were he just one of the common garden variety he would have had to work 900 years just to earn that amount, not to speak of saving.

The price of that bit of canvas represents the wages of all the conductors in Philadelphia for over two years. It would build a home for each of them.

There are half a million people in Philadelphia within a week of starvation. There are no classes in this country, no inequality before the law. The poor as well as the rich may buy half million dollar pictures.

JAY FOX.

QUESTION ALL THINGS

Self-development is greater than self-sacrifice. To be sound in wind and limb; to be healthy of body and mind; to be educated, to be emancipated, to be free, to be beautiful—these things are ends toward which all should strain, and by attaining which all are happier in themselves and more useful to others.

It is our duty to search and probe into all things; to ask—nothing for granted, accepting nothing on authority, testing all we are told by teacher or preacher, by priest or servant, by moralist or schoolmaster.

GRANT ALLEN.
THE AGITATOR

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class matter.

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one side of the paper only.

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 friends. 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.

Nothing but freedom and truth is of any permanent
importance in the masses of mankind. To those
Society, left to itself, is always teaching. —Phillips.

NOTICE

We have enclosed a subscription blank in this issue, and
we are going to ask you to get us a new subscriber.
This is a small matter for each individual. But for The
AGITATOR to succeed it is going to require
a mighty struggle, a struggle on the part of every
worker in favor of working class emancipation.

We will have twice the usual number of Volume
One of The Agitator substantially bound for
preservation. In this form it will make a fine
addition to any radical library. The price of
the bound volumes will be two dollars. Sev-
eral orders have already been received.

The Agitator Group of Seattle is arranging for
its second annual Bauren Ball. The date
will be given later. Last year the ball was
a pronounced success, and they expect double
the crowd this year.

The grandest act of the delegates to the rec-
cent I. W. W. convention in Chicago was their
adjournment of proceedings to visit, in a body,
the tomb of the martyrs, Parsons, Spies,
Fischer, Engel and Lingg, in Waltherm ceme-
tery.

THE AGITATOR A YEAR OLD.

This issue closes the first year of The Agi-
tator’s existence; and a stormy year it has
been. It has had to struggle against the in-
diffERENCE of a large part of the radical ele-
ment, that shod have been its main support.
It has had to struggle against a powerful en-
emy, the capitalist class, whose endeavors to
 crush it are not yet ended. But its struggles
have driven it forward. The few whose devo-
tion and persistence carried it on from month
to month have grown to many. It has now a
little army of fighting rebels behind it that
stands, not only its continuation, but its early
enlargement. We are still printing it on the
old hand press, but the assurances of a new
press within the near future are very bright.

One of the most encouraging things con-
ected with the paper is the number of read-
ers and supporters. It is always a pleasure to
never have been connected with a propaganda of so rad-
ical a nature. This is an indication of the
growth of revolutionary ideas, as opposed to the
pure and simple trade union and ballot-
box socialism; both of which have held the
workers of America in a mental hypnotism all
their false promises for the last 20 years.

It takes a worker a long time to see through
a trick. But he cannot be fooled all the time.
The time of the politician and the getter of a
little more of the pie is over, and the time of
fast fading. True Unionism must change its tactics or die. So-
zialism must quit politics or degenerate into
a mere reform party.

The best men in both organizations are going
over to the I. W. W.: a young organization with
life and vision and courage; an organization that
injects hope and inspiration into the toilers;
an educational organization that thinks more
of a book or a pamphlet than a pound more
of capitalistic bread; a fighting organization
not afraid to risk invasions of placetocracy
upon the little liberty that still remains, and
ready to go in for the final tussle and win free-
dom for the workers by the direct road of the
general strike.

This fine, vigorous, straightforward move-
ment has the unqualified support of The Agi-
tator.

With Freedom as the fountain of education,
and Industrialism as the basis of action, the
Workers of the World are on the sure and
speedy road to emancipation.

The Agitator will continue the propaganda
it mapped out for itself at the start: Indus-
trial Unionism for the parent, the Modern
School for the child, Freedom for both.

"ANOTHER FREE SPEECH CASE!"

Under the above heading, "The Truth Seeker" (26
Vesey St., N. Y.), of Oct. 14th, contains a four-column
article, by James F. Morton, Jr., giving a history of
the persecutions that have been perpetrated upon
the people of Home Colony in the past. The writer
has been school teacher in Home and editor of "The Demo-
crat," for seven years. After closing his account of the persecutions with a
recital of the malignant attack upon the colony last summer, by con-

All this leads up to the present issue, which
Liberal of all schools have to face, and in
which all should feel themselves involved. John
Ford is the present editor of The Agitator, a
libertarian paper published in the colony. As
a matter of course, he took occasion to ven-
tilate the facts, and to score pretty heavily
the miserable crawling creatures whose filthy
pleasure consists solely in the persecution of
others. He did put the matter a whit too
strongly; nor did he even mention the names of
the infamous persecutors, although he would
have been more than justified in so doing;
and in holding them up to public execration. He
simply denounced their conduct, and showed
the irrationality of their attack. It is only by
an honest verdict. It is only by such uncer-
turns that he can have the faintest show of
winning. Even with such despicable tactics,
to which no decent man would resort, he
would be thoroughly and crushed with ease if the case is con-
ducted along the right lines. Good law-
yers, in sympathy with the vital principles of
free speech, and with a broad view of the
fundamental issues involved, are needed. As
the prejudices of the jury are to be considered,
and may break down the most obvious prin-
ципes of law and justice, the defense should be
in a position to take an appeal from a possible
conviction, and to carry the case as high as
necessary. The ultimate result can hardly be
in doubt, if the case is properly presented, ar-
no higher judge, with a reputation to sustain,
can afford to turn his back on the Constitution,
and to affirm that the guarantee of free speech
is not worth the paper on which it is written.
The Agitator, and the Agitator, which have allowed
the establishment of this precedent, of the
Comstock case, are not here available. The at-
tempt to carry the mob spirit into the court is
in this instance a little too raw.

"Of course, the present case is money, for
and it must be sent in no small quantities.
This is the fight of every progressive, and it
is time for holding back. Factional and per-
TO LABOR.

Shall you complain who made the world?
Who clothed the world?
Shall you complain what the world, of what the world may do?
As from this hour
You use your powers;
your soul must follow you.

The world's life hangs on your right hand,
Your strong right hand,
Your skilled right hand:
You hold the whole world in your hand—
See to it what you do!
Or dark or light,
Or good or right.
The world is made by you!

Then rise as you never rose before,
No hoped before,
Nor dared before,
And show as never was shown before,
The power that lies in you!
Stand all as one
Till right is done!*
Believe and slay and do!

CHARLOTTE PERKISS GILMAN.

*Personal feelings have no place in such a crisis. A free speech league has been hastily organized among the friends of freedom and justice in Western Washington; and they must be immediately equipped with the means of making a strong and winning fight. The secretary and treasurer is Nathan Levin, Home (Lakebay, P. O.). I know Mr. Levin personally; I am pleased to be vouch heartily for him in every way, and to assure all readers that their money will be safe in his hands. But it must be sent quickly, for the time is short. Let every reader who cares for free speech as liberally as possible with his contribution. The moral effect of this case, in which ever way determined, will be tremendous as establishing a precedent for the future and as effecting every progressive propaganda. In defending Jay Fox we are defending ourselves. Act, if possible, on the day that this paper reaches you. Free speech is our dearest treasure; and if we show ourselves indifferent to its preservation, we deserve to have shackles riveted to our limbs.—James F. Morton, Jr.

LOOK OUT FOR THE DOGGY MAN

It has often been said that when crooks fall out honest men will lose—f’s truth. But such is not the case with the Socialist party of Chicagoe. There is Morgan, the official "pro\-voker" of that particular sect, has been airing his grievances at great length to the edification of those who had already gained inside knowledge of the inner circle. His exposures, backed by unquestionable documentary evidence, have not served to add lustre to the "intellec\-tuals." Berger, Barnes, Berlyn and other little busy b’s who have been garnering work\-ing class honey, together with Steadman, Si\-mons, Lilac and lesser lights, have been muckedraw to a finish.

At all future meetings where Tommy is to hold forth there are to be no members of the Industrial Workers allowed within the doors. The exposures have added no members to the Socialist party and those who are intelligent enough to come in out of the rain are deserting the sinking ship. They are becoming aware that "politics makes strange bedfellows," and that "sitting at the grizzly board" along with the above-mentioned bunch only serves to cast a faint tint upon one’s yellowness.

The party that has "become a hissing and a by-word with the real working class of Amer\-ica" is tremendously afraid of a hoggman.

Behind closed doors t’cy whisper: "The I. W. W. will get you if you don’t watch out." The A. F. of L. is trying to save itself from the same terrible fear. The I. W. W. has reason to be proud. They have thrown a scare into the labor lieutenants of capitalism and it won’t be long before they are able to hand a good sized jolt to the cap\-tain’s lawnistry of Industry.

A great deal has been said about the politi\-cal being the shadow of the economic, and about persons being afraid of their shadow, but this is the first authentic case where the shadow is the one to be afraid of the person. But after all, I really can’t no harm to habs when you are "sheerest."

WALKER C. SMITH.

WANTED: PURE POLITICIANS

Charles E. Russell, whose condemnation of political action was printed in this paper some weeks ago, has been harassed by his socialist co\-workers for a more explicit statement of his position on political action in the socialist party. To which he answers: "I do believe in political action. But I don’t believe in compromising, truckling, treachery, timidity\-gpegging, dealing, ducking and dodging."

A statement quite analogous to this one would be: "I do believe in bathing; but I do not believe in getting wet."

It is just another illustration of the inevitable tendency of politics to develop trucklers and traitors that so many honest, well\-intentioned men like Rus\-sell, who joined the party with the belief of its purity large in their minds, have had to turn away from politics entirely.

Charles E. Russell is not yet sure that the party may not be made pure. Vain hope! Whenever a party gets large it becomes cor\-rupt.

To make the S. P. pure they will have to re\-duce the membership to Chaos. E. Russell and a dozen or so more. Then, with no hope of election or appointment or office within a lifetime, trading and truckling might not become part of its tactics.

And then what is the use of it all, even though you did succeed in keeping the party pure? What can you do with your party, Com\-rade Russell? You surely cannot believe that a political party can change the social system by a word written on a slip of paper. You sure\-ly do not think that the election of a socialist mayor, or a thousand of them, is going to change the system.

Let us assume for a moment that the socialists had the President and a majority in Congress and the Senate; and let us assume further that this majority retained its early principles. Now then, let us suppose that this majority passed a bill declaring that "all property shall be de\-clared common and shall hereafter be adminis\-tered by the people, for the people," do you think the Wall Street pirates would meekly yield over the American flag? do you think the army and navy would obey the command of the Presi\-dent if he should order the confiscation of the property of the rich? And if you do not think these things possible, what is the use to waste your energy, and mislead those who are dis\-posed to substitute your judgment for their own, in chasing a shadow? J. T.

THE AGITATOR

EMMA GOLDMAN'S LECTURES

Editor The Agitator.

Will you please make the following announcement in your paper: Emma Goldman will lecture twice in New York, one in Brooklyn, and one in the neighborhood of New Haven. The first will be in Terrace Lounge, 290 K. Broadway, and will be at 8 o'clock, on Tuesday, May 29th, and the other in the neighborhood of New Haven on June 5th.

During the week Miss Goldman will lecture in the neighboring states, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maine and Mas-achusetts.

Friends living in these states who will be interested in helping us arrange lectures and dates will please communicate with me at once.

J. E. KREITMAN.
55 West 25th St.

LITERATURE

Hammerleg, a new Anarchist monthly in Norwe\-gian language. 4c a year. Address Johan Hollow, 1 John St., Seattle, Wash. First member contains articles on "Ibsen," "Kristian Haaland," "Religion" and "Revolution."

Give Too (Voice of Labor) in the name of a new Russian Anarchist. 4c a year. A paper published in New York. P. O. Box 41, Station D.

The Anarchists of Glasgow, Scotland, are going to start a weekly paper.

OPEN MODERN SCHOOLS

William Thurston Brown has opened up a modern school for the radical education of children and adults at Portland, Ore. The school was opened on Oct. 1 with a grand concert.

A day school has been started by the Peron Association in New York City.

HO FOR PRECIOUS

THE AGITATOR Boosters of San Francisco have made arrangements for a Ball to be held in Jefferson Square Hall, Saturday, Nov. 25th. Let every friend of the movement make haste and come. Talk about it; think about it; don’t spoil your friends to come.

DEFENCE FUND

Preparedly acknowledged, $36.25.
D. R. Turner, $5; George Davidson, $5.
J. L. Lambert, N. M., $5; F. C. Lewis, Collection, $6.
B. Benoit, 25c.

RECEIPTS

Sale in Seattle, $3.4c; Schroeder, $2. Local $380. T. W. E.: 25c; Berwyn, Ravenna, P. Barnard 1.00
Love’s Coming of Age, Edward Carpenter 1.00.
A Physician in the House, Dr. J. H. Grey 2.50
Life of Albert R. Parsons, with a true history of the Anarchist Trial 1.50.
The Tomestones of Toil, Labor Poems, Parsons 1.60.
The Chanting Order, Oscar Lovell Trayer 1.00.
The Material and Ideational Conception of History, La\-folute 1.00.
Looking Forward, a Treatise of the Status of Woman 1.00.
The Bomb, Frank Harris. A powerful novel based on the Chinese恋人 traced to its source 1.00.
The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals, Fitch 1.00.
The Anarchist and the State 1.00.
The Tongues of Tong, Labor Poems, W. R. Barn\-ard 1.70.

Lookers Forward, a Treatise on the Status of Woman 1.00.
The Chicago Mitrillo, the famous Speeches, 30c.
The Sale of an Appetite, a Purpose Story 30c.
Precaden: a Social Anarchist. The Hertha 30c.
Origin of the Panity, Progress, State Religion 30c.
The Positive School of Criminology, E. Ferrt 30c.
The Idea of Philosophy, Benjamin Tucker 1.00.
Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies, P. Lafazeus 1.00.
The Evolution of Progress, P. Lafazeus 1.00.
Stories of the Briggles, From the Author of "All Abo\-und Human, Too All Human, Nihiliste 30c.
Communication and Observation, C. W. O’Walker 30c.
Who is the Enemy, Anthony Comstock or You 30c.
War and Peace, an official account of the Spanish Sup\-erior, C. W. O’Walker 30c.
The Cupid of Race Prejudice, J. P. Morton, Jr. 1.00.
Modern Trade Unions and Anarchism, Anarchist 1.00.
"Three Acres and Liberty," by Jollon Hall, Sdc.
ON TO KANSAS CITY!

I. W. W.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

331-10 N. 5th Ave.

Chicago, Ill.

Oct. 17th, 1911.

To all Local Members of the I. W. W.:—

Fellow Workers—Once again it becomes necessary for the membership of the I. W. W. to rally in defense of the organization's right to carry on the work of education and organization.

For some time past the City Officials of Kan-

sas City, Missouri, have been threatening to stop the street meetings of Local 61. On more than one occasion they have interfered with the meetings and caused the organization trouble in various ways. Fur activities against the organization finally resulted in the arrest of Fellow Worker F. H. Little while holding a meeting on October 14th. Not satis-
fied with arresting the speaker, the police ar-
rested all of the other members who were pres-
ent at the meeting, stating that to be a member was sufficient cause for arrest in Kansas City.

This fight must be settled at some time and it is just as well to settle it now as later on. Therefore, all local unions are requested to en-
list volunteers who will report at Kansas City as soon as possible.

Local unions are requested to send all of their active members in the first detachment. It should be sufficient to have one or two live wires with each detachment of thirty men, and the detachments must be so trained as to fill the gaps until the authorities at that point are forced to cease their interference with the organization.

The fight no doubt will be one of length and

time, but it must be made and it must be

made a WINNER. It can be made a winner if the indus-
trial wing of the organization will respond as rapidly as possible.

Locals are requested to notify the general headquarters by letter or wire before anybody leaves Kansas City as instructions will be sent them where to work, etc.

Every effort should be made to add to the force along the road it is possible to do so.

Care should be taken not to have the trip inter-
fered with before reaching Kansas City.

The question is one of propaganda, hoping for the speedy co-operation of the locals in making this fight the initial success in the battle for free speech in the Eastern section of the country, I am

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

VINCENT ST. JOHN,

Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

C. L. JAMES’ VINDICATION OF ANARCHISM

Conrad James’ recent book emphatically states the necessity of books like his, "Vindications of Anarchism." This was printed in part in Free Society, but a most important conclusion is still un-

published.

An effort is being made to get this work out, and the subscribed invite your cooperation. A pub-

lisher has agreed to get the book out, provided one-
half the manuscripts of the first thousand copies.

All manuscripts can be returned on receipt of the balance.

The sum required is about $600.00 and we hope to raise this amount by sale subscriptions to the book at $1.00 each, and by loans. The loans are to be refunded as soon as the sales of the book reach 600 copies. About one-third of the sum re-

quired is already promised. We ask you to become a member of our committee to promote this work, and request that you give us at least one order for the book, and advance a loan of $1.00 or more. As

much as every little counts, a little will be

mailed to the gene. al public. This letter is addressed only to a few interested comrades, and an early re-

sponse is requested, so we can see whether there is sufficient interest to go ahead. Please state about how many orders you can get. The committee.

Every comrade complying with this request will be a member of the committee, and their names will not be used unless they authorize some to.

HARRY KELLY.

ARE ISAAC, Jr., Secretary.

555 Simpson St., New York, N. Y.

WHAT WILL BE YOUR ANSWER?

To our exchange table comes "The Voice of Lab-

or." An article by Mr. Edward Davis, "New Zealand Labour Party." From its issue of July 21, I clip the following spread-page announce-

ment of a "Voice of Labor" Star of the South Pacific Islands. The Greatest Living Delineator of Labor Ideals. In Four Soul-Moving Orations. After dispensing a great deal of information on the organizing, enlisting thousands at every point. Professor Thomas W. Mills, the greatest orator, living or, and Special Commissioner from Milwaukee City, U. S. A., returns to this city tonight and will open a great six months' organizing campaign, etc.—a column of

This is the gentleman one knew in the United States as Rev. Walter Thomas Mills, spoken of by his admirers as the "intellectual giant of Socialism."

This is the same man who with his wife and family went to New Zealand Labor Party inMilwaukee the triumph of the Socialist Party in Milwaukee. He got a nice, fat job; the sort of a job I myself should dearly love, though I should be sorry to pur-

pose it, since I am not qualified for it. But I real-

sarily he was to ensue into municipal problems in Australia. In reality he was to spread the gospel of Milwaukee Americanism without the help of the Milwaukee worker. One does not complain, you understand. In Milwaukee the Socialist Party is in power; which means that in the additional offices, he can help the Labor party to death. Why not? What would there be in capturing the power of taxation if one did not use it?

Special Commissioner Walter Thomas Mills, of Milwaukee City, and the "Voice of Labor," have made known to me more about organizing than I had ever dreamed. Victor Berger calls the Mexican Revolutionists "bana-

dras" and declares that the great International Socialis-

ter can afford to have nothing to do with them. Mr. Mills’ program; the war now raging through

Australia between the political Labortes and such bodies as the Miners’ Federation; the literature issued by both sides; the condemnation by the one of anything looking toward violence and by the other of parliamentary tactics—there could be reproduced a book of 400 pages, in Chinatown version—published in New York; and throughout England, where a recent proletarian upheaval has brought them into special prominence. The scorn for the Socialist Mayoralty in Chicago, which you can reign now, you know, and the expression nightly at the street corner meetings of the I. W. W., is the scorn expressed throughout Aus-

tralia by those with the Labor Politicists as, at best, mere shill-platers men and, at worst, con-

sciousless grafters. Naturally the politicians “sol-

cerned” want the workers of this country against hav-
ing anything to do with the doctrine of violence and sent-Anarchist preached here under the name of "Revolutionary Socialism, Industrial Unionism," “One Big Union,” etc., etc. The quotation is from the "Voice of Labor," editorial immediately preced-

ing the propagandist Mills notice quoted above.

You see, it is a direct attack on our very concept; one that splits the labor camps alike in the northern and southern hemispheres; one that by its very nature can be fought out and decided by the unanswerable logic of events. For it is the conflict between the characteristically conservative and the characteris-

tically radical; between the patient and the insur-

cerent; the men of words and the men of action; and, finally, between those who can and those who cannot afford to wait. Thus Victor Berger, that you can, will afford to wait to the slow-moving, but the Mexican peasant cannot. Thus the labor attorney who makes businessmen thrive, and the radical, the un-

skilled worker and discharged convict, cannot. And, above all, the man to office can always afford to wait, since his bread and butter is entirely safe, for the time being at any rate. Hence the never-

failing experience that the radical, the immediate and conservative, which is itself one of the many powerful arguments against politics.

Theodore R. and before. Walter Thomas Mills, Special Commissioner from Milwaukee, can well afford to wait, and carry on what he calls his "SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN, A Movement for the Industrial and Socialist Union of All Labour." Perhaps before he is in its program, with what is headed "Immedi-

ate Fighting Platform." It starts with the demand for a State-owned ferry service, and continues with a number of purely political reforms, including our old friends the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. If a Socialist man and woman lived in Kansas City could not last out another twenty-four hours Mills would be hard put to it for an answer. However, he is a man of the "Voice of Labor," and to whom, as you remember, a question on that very point was put.

Tah replied, "God only knows," and, for my part, I always thought the answer honest. Whereupon the Socialist Party made the greatest fun of him and christened him "God-knew Taff." But nobody, save a few thinking Anarchists, ever challenged the So-

cialist Party to give a better answer; nobody ever
tackles it boldly and says—"Here, you loud-mouthed friend of the other side, what can you do?"

Nevertheless the day draws very, very near that question will be put, in tones that mean busi-

ness, to the spokesman of the Socialist Party. Then, down comes the balloon.

There is only one satisfactory answer that can be given to the starving man; only one answer that can be made to the question for which they put Emma Goldman into prison for a year; but perhaps one should not mention Emma Goldman, since, according to the "Voice of Labor," she is a Russian spy, and unquestionably she is one of those Anarchists denounced by Debs as corrupt poli-

ticians. That answer is "Help Yourself." It is the answer that slaps "law and order" directly in the face; that every politician, no matter what his party, condemns as the real answer; it is the most dan-

gerous advice an agitator can give, because it happens to be the only one that fills the bill. It is the answer given by the Mexican Labor Party to the starving and enslaved Mexican peasant. It is the answer the Socialist Party is AFRID to give the starving and enslaved American proletariat. And that is all there is about it.—Wm. C. Owen in Regeneration.

So they live in a daily circulation of sorrow, living but to work, and working but to live, as if daily bread were the only thing in life, and weariness life the only occasion of daily bread.

—Defoe in Robinson Crusoe

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