

THE AGITATOR

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

VOL. 1,

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NO. 24.

THE PASSING SHOW.

The McNamara 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 masses 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 kidnaping 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 frameup 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 intellectually conscious 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, sparring for an opening. But back of it all is ten thousand years of class hatred, that may burst forth at any moment in a worldwide conflict of such vast proportions that the imagination staggers at its contemplation.

The following facts and figures given an approximate idea 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 for 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 State 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 lickspittles 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, have-alls 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 scabbing. Brand them with the iron of social leprosy.

The Parasites, 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 wage slave pays tribute to this modern minotaur—devouring the fairest and most promising of youth. Of what avail the physician's counsel to 'rest up' sleep in the open air, 'forced feed' 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 carbon dioxide?"

"What sardonic cruelty (devilishly contrived as any in the pages of Greek mythology or Dante's inferno) to show this doomed victim the beautiful vista of life, hope, health, happiness, a continued loving sojourn among the quick, and then dash the cup to the ground, shattered in a thousand fragments, and proffer him instead the bitterness, futility and hopelessness of his lot under 'Economic Deter-

minism.

"For 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 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 to tell 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 food. 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 workman will do. But a closed shop will cure the social evil, when the shop is properly closed. 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 yards 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; taking 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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Articles for publication should be written LEGIBLY on 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 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.

Nothing but freedom and truth is of any permanent advantage the masses of mankind. To these Society, left to itself, is always tending. —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 and the cause of Freedom it will mean very much. It will double our subscription list and enable us to send out twice the number of samples.

Write your own subscription on the back, if it is due.

NOTES

Our next will be a memorial number in honor of the Chicago martyrs who gave their lives for the cause of labor on Nov. 11th, 1837. Orders for extra copies of this number should be sent in at once.

* * *

Our fellow workers of the Home Propaganda League had the rare pleasure of a most instructive lecture on Industrialism by the war horse of the Revolution, Jack Woods, who for the last 25 years has been foremost in the battle for working class emancipation.

* * *

We will have a limited 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. Several 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 recent 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 Waltheim cemetery.

THE AGITATOR A YEAR OLD.

This issue closes the first year of The Agitator's existence; and a stormy year it has been. It has had to struggle against the indifference of a large part of the radical element, that should have been its main support. It has had to struggle against a powerful enemy, the capitalist class, whose endeavors to crush it are not yet ended. But its struggles have given it strength. The few whose devotion and persistency carried it on from month to month have grown to many. It has now a little army of fighting rebels behind it that assures, 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 connected with the paper is the number of readers and supporters it is getting who have never been connected with a propaganda of so radical 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 under the hypnotic spell of 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 product is fast fading. Trade Unionism must change its tactics or die. Socialism 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 vim 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 resist the invasions of plutocracy upon the little liberty that still remains, and ready to go in for the final tussle and win freedom for the workers by the direct road of the general strike.

This fine, vigorous, straightforward movement has the unqualified support of The Agitator.

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: **Industrial Unionism for the parent, the Modern School for the child, Freedom for both.**

"ANOTHER FREE SPEECH CASE"

Under the above heading, "The Truth Seeker" (62 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 Demonstrator," published there some years ago. After closing his account of the persecutions with a recital of the malignant attack upon the colony last summer, he concludes as follows:

"All this leads up to the present issue, which Liberals of all schools have to face, and in which all should feel themselves involved. Jay Fox is the present editor of The Agitator, a libertarian paper published in the colony. As a matter of course, he took occasion to ventilate the facts, and to score pretty heavily the miserable crawling creatures whose filthy pleasure consists solely in the persecution of others. He did not 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 the prudery which they professed as a cloak to hide their wanton malevolence. I do not know one word in his article of which any moderate libertarian could reasonably disapprove. Nevertheless, for it he has been arrested, and is now out on bail, which has been fixed at one thousand dollars. The extraordinary charge against him is that he has published an article tending to bring the laws into disrepute and contempt. It is not claimed that the article is obscene, nor that it is libelous; and it certainly contains nothing which can be construed as incitement

to violence. It is not even a plea for Anarchism, but simply a denunciation of prudery, and a censure of the mean motives of those who seized upon an unworthy pretext to persecute men and women who had done them no injury. A cleaner, straighter test case could hardly be devised. If Jay Fox is convicted, it means that in the State of Washington free speech is absolutely dead. It means that any reformer or radical may be jailed for simply criticizing the administration of any law, or the motives of those who use an antiquated statute for purposes of persecution. Under such a construction, the editor of The Truth Seeker would be imprisoned for life, for his censures of the Sunday laws; and the American Secular Union would have to drop its propaganda altogether. In short, it would become an actual crime to criticize any law, or to advocate reforms in legislation. In its implications it is no ordinary case of invasion, but the most damnable attack on the whole principle of free speech which has yet been made. If we allow this to pass we may as well give up. Never mind whether Jay Fox is an Anarchist, or whether you approve of nude bathing or not. The question is whether a man or woman may be incarcerated for declaring his disapproval of a specific law.

"Unlike many of the other free speech cases, this one goes so far beyond all precedent that we have no handicap from former judicial decisions. It flies squarely in the face of constitutional guarantees of free speech, which are as plain and clear-cut in the Washington Constitution as in any other. It has no statute, like the Comstock law, to give it even a dubious legal standing. It is naked unconstitutional tyranny. Against any person but a Home colonist or some other Anarchist or person under the ban of popular prejudice, such a prosecution would never have even been dreamed of. The district attorney has made no secret of the fact that he relies on prejudice for the corrupt verdict which he seeks; and that he intends to drag into the trial all that he can about the Anarchist and radical sex reform views of the colonists, in order to stir up animosity on the part of the jury and prevent an honest verdict. It is only by such unscrupulous means that he can have the faintest show of winning. Even with such despicable tactics, to which no decent man would resort, he can be met and crushed with ease, if the defense is conducted along the right lines. Good lawyers, in sympathy with the vital principle 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 principles 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, as 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 twists and turnings, which have allowed the establishment of unjust precedents in the Comstock case, are not here available. The attempt to carry the mob spirit into the courts is in this instance a little too raw.

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

THE AGITATOR

TO LAEOR.

Shall you complain who feed the world?
Who clothe the world?
Who house the world?
Shall you complain who are the world,
Of what the world may do?
As from this hour
You use your power,
The world 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 wrong or right,
The world is made by you!

Then rise as you ne'er rose before,
Nor hoped before,
Nor dared before,
And show as ne'er was shown before,
The power that lies in you!
Stand all as one
Till right is done!
Believe and dare and do!

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.

sonal 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.), Wash. Knowing Mr. Levin personally, I am pleased to be able to 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 be as liberal as possible with his contribution. The moral effect of this case, in whichever 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 BOGEY MAN

It has often been said that when crooks fall out honest men will learn the truth. But such is not the case with the Socialist party of Chicago. Thomas J. Morgan, the official "provoker" 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 "intellectuals." Berger, Barnes, Berlyn and other little busy B's who have been garnering working class honey, together with Steadman, Simons, Wilshire and lesser lights, have been muckraked 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 grimy board" along with the above mentioned bunch only serves to cast a faint pink tinge upon their yellowness.

The party that has "become a hissing and a by-word with the real working class of America" is tremendously afraid of a bogey man.

Behind closed doors they whisper: "The I. W. W. will get you if you don't watch out." The A. F. of L. confesses 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 Captains of Industry.

A great deal has been said about the political being the shadow of the economic, and also 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 it really ain't no harm to hide when you are "skeered."

WALKER C. SMITH.

WANTED: PURE POLITIANS

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, trading, tumblerigging, dealing, ducking and dodging."

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

It is just because of the inevitable tendency of politics to develop trucklers and traders that so many honest, well-intentioned men like Russell, 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 corrupt.

To make the S. P. pure they will have to reduce the membership to Chas. E. Russell and a dozen or so more. Then, with no hope of election or appointment to 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, Comrade Russell? You surely cannot believe that a political party can change the social system by a word written on a slip of paper. You surely 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 declared common and shall hereafter be administered by the people, for the people," do you think the Wall Street pirates would meekly turn over their wealth? Do you think the army and navy would obey the command of the President 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 disposed to substitute your judgment for their own, in chasing a shadow? J. F.

The word Man comes from an Anglo-Saxon root which mean to think. The Greek word for man—anthropos—comes from two Greek roots, which together mean upward-looker. Only the thinker with the upward look is a true man.

EMMA GOLDMAN'S LECTURES

Editor The Agitator:

Will you please make the following announcement in your paper: Emma Goldman will lecture twice each Sunday in New York until Dec. 1st. At 3 p. m. in Terrace Lyceum, 206 E. Broadway, and 8 p. m. at 43 East 22nd St.

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

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

BEN L. REITMAN,
55 West 28th St.

LITERATURE

Hammerslag, a new Anarchist monthly in Norwegian language. 50c a year. Address Johan Hellum, 964 John St., Seattle, Wash. First number contains articles on "Ibsen," "Kristoffer Hanstein," "Religion" and "Revolution."

Colos Truda (Voice of Labor) is the name of a new Russian Anarchist Revolutionary, 8-page 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 rational 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 Ferrer Association in New York City.

HO FOR FRISCO!

THE AGITATOR Roosters of San Francisco have made arrangements for a Ball, to be held in Jefferson Square Hall, Saturday Nov. 25th. Let every friend of the paper turn out and make this a howling success. Talk about it; think about it; get your friends to go.

DEFENCE FUND.

Previously acknowledged, \$36.25
N. Y. Free Speech League, \$20; Germinal Club, \$5; D. S. Turner, \$5; George Davison, \$3. 75; J. Leonard, N. Mastic' each \$2; St. Louis, Collection, \$1. 60; J. Kobinnell, 1. 25; J. Cardley, M. Rouce, M. Leites, J. Davitto, J. F. Morton, Jr. L. E. Parsons, J. A. Smith, each \$1; H. Berger, J. Corna, N. Cohn, Dr. Miller, each 50 N. Brawnstein, 75c. P. Benoit, 25c.

RECEIPTS

Sales in Seattle, \$3. 40; Schroeder, \$3; Local 380, I. W. W., \$2; Bergman, Russian' Labor Group, Lobach, Raasch, Hansen, Clarke, Holzwarth, Davitto, Berger, each \$1; Davison, \$1. 25; Buwaldo, Rossen, Corna, Spielman, Wolf, Boak, Croft, each 50c. Fisher, 25c.

THE WORKERS' UNIVERSITY.

Books and Pamphlets For Sale By the Agitator Publishing Association.

The Cost of Something for Nothing, J. P. Altgeld 1.00
The Moods of Life, Poems, W. F. Barnard..... 1.00
Love's Coming of Age, Edward Carpenter..... 1.00
A Physician in the House, Dr. J. H. Greer..... 2.50
Life of Albert R. Parsons, with a true history of the Anarchist Trial..... 1.50
The Tongues of Toil, Labor Poems, Barnard.... 1.00
The Changing Order, Oscar Lovell Triggs..... 1.00
The Materialistic Conception of History, Labriola..... 1.00
Looking Forward, a Treatise of the Status of Woman..... 1.00
The Bomb, Frank Harris. A powerful novel based on the Chicago tragedy of '87, cloth.... 1.00
The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals, Fitch... 1.00
The American Esperanto Book, Arthur Baker... 1.00
The Tongues of Toil, Labor Poems, W. F. Barnard..... 1.00
Looking Forward, a Treatise on Woman..... 1.00
The Chicago Martyrs: The famous Speeches.. .30
The Sale of An Appetite, a Purpose Story..... .50
Freeland: a Social Anticipation, The Hertzka... .50
Origin of the Family, Property, State, Engels... .50
The Positive School of Criminology, E. Ferri... .50
Social and Philosophical Studies, P. Lafargue... .50
Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies, P. Lafargue .50
The Evolution of Property, P. Lafargue..... .50
Stories of the Struggle, Morris Winchevsky..... .50
Human, All Too Human, Nietzsche..... .50
Communism and Conscience, E. C. Walker..... .25
Who Is the Enemy, Anthony Comstock or You? .20
Vice: Its Friends and Its Foes, E. C. Walker... .15
The Curse of Race Prejudice, J. F. Morton, Jr... .25
Modern Science and Anarchism, Kropotkin..... .15
"Three Acres and Liberty," by Bolton Hall, 50c.

ON TO KANSAS CITY!
 I. W. W.
 GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
 518-160 N. 5th Ave.
 Chicago, Ill.

Oct. 17th, 1911.

To all Locals and 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 Kansas 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. Their activities against the organization finally resulted in the arrest of Fellow Worker F. H. Little while holding a meeting on October 14th. Not satisfied with arresting the speaker, the police arrested all of the other members who were present 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 enlist volunteers who will report at Kansas City ready to fill the jails until the authorities at that point are forced to cease their interference with the organization.

The fight no doubt will be one of some length and hard, but it must be made and it must be made a WINNER. It can be made a winner if the membership will respond as rapidly as possible.

Local unions are requested not 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 recruits, and the balance should busy themselves with raising additional men for the fight. In this way it will be made possible to keep up the supply of men coming into Kansas City.

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

Every effort should be made to add to the force along the road if it is possible to do so. Care should be taken not to have the trip interfered with before reaching Kansas City.

With best wishes and 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

Comrade James' recent death emphasizes the necessity of soon publishing his book, "Vindication of Anarchism." This was printed in part in Free Society, but a most important conclusion is still unpublished.

An effort is being made to get this work out, and the undersigned invite your co-operation. A publisher has agreed to get the book out, provided one-half the manufacturing cost can be raised in advance. The sum required is about \$600.00 and we hope to raise this amount by advance 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 required 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 \$7.00 or more. As soon as our success justifies it a circular will be

mailed to the general public. This letter is addressed only to a few interested comrades, and an early response is requested, so we can see whether there is sufficient interest to go ahead. Please state about how many orders you can get for us.

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

HARRY KELLY.

ABE ISAAK, Jr., Secretary.
 955 Simpson St., New York, N. Y.

WHAT WOULD BE YOUR ANSWER?

To our exchange table comes "The Voice of Labour," Auckland, New Zealand, official organ of the "New Zealand Labour Party." From its issue of July 21, I clip the following spread-eagle announcement: "Mills! Mills! The Oratorical Star of Two Hemispheres. The Greatest Living Delineator of Labour Ideals. In Four Soul-Moving Orations. After completing a great whirlwind tour of the Dominion, enthusing thousands at every point. Professor Thomas W. Mills, the greatest orator, living or dead, 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 it.

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." With the triumph of the Socialist Party in Milwaukee he got a nice, fat job; the sort of a job I myself should dearly like, though I should be sorry to purchase it as I consider Mills is purchasing it. Nominally he was to enquire into municipal problems in Australasia. In reality he was to spread the gospel of Milwaukee-Berger Socialism throughout the antipodes—at the expense of the Milwaukee worker. One does not complain, you understand. In Milwaukee the Socialist Party is in power; which means that it is in the saddle, and, if it chooses, can ride the Labor horse to death. Why not? What sense would there be in capturing the power of taxation if one did not tax?

Special Commissioner Walter Thomas Mills, of Milwaukee City, and the "Voice of Labour," have shown me more clearly than has anything else why Victor Berger calls the Mexican Revolutionists "bandits" and declares that the great international Socialist Party can afford to have nothing to do with them. Mr. Mills' program; the war now raging throughout Australasia between the political Laborites and such bodies as the Miners' Federation; the literature issued by both sides; the denunciation by the one of anything looking toward violence and by the other of parliamentary tactics—these could be reproduced almost verbatim here in Los Angeles, in Chicago, New York, and throughout England, where a recent proletarian upheaval has brought them into special prominence. The scorn for the Socialist Mayoralty campaign now on in Los Angeles which you can hear expressed nightly at the street corner meetings of the I. W. W., is the scorn expressed throughout Australasia by those who regard the Labor Politicians as, at best, mere shin-plaster men and, at worst, conscienceless grafters. Naturally the politicians "solemnly warn the workers of this country against having anything to do with the doctrine of violence and semi-Anarchism preached here under the name of "Revolutionary Socialism," "Industrial Unionism," "One Big Union," etc., etc. The quotation is from the "Voice of Labour," editorial immediately preceding the preposterous Mills notice quoted above.

You see, it is a world-wide conflict; one that splits the labor camps alike in the northern and southern hemispheres; one that by its very nature must be fought out and decided by the unanswerable logic of events. For it is the conflict between the characteristically conservative and the characteristically radical; between the patient and the impatient; 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, thank you, can well afford to trust to the slow-rolling centuries, but the Mexican peon cannot. Thus the labor attorney who makes business thrive by agitation, and the salaried preacher for whom enthusiastic labor audiences and organizations are always willing to fill the hat, can well afford to wait; but unskilled labor, the unemployed, the "rough-necks" of the I. W. W., the blacklisted worker and discharged convict, cannot. And, above all, the man in office always can 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 elected to office immediately grows conservative, which is itself one of the many powerful arguments against politics.

The one-time Rev. and now Prof. Walter Thomas Mills, Special Commissioner from Milwaukee, can well afford to wait, and carry on what he calls his "Unity Campaign, a Movement for the Industrial and Political Union of all Labour Organizations." Before me is its program, with what is headed "Immediate 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 starving man should object that he himself could not last out another twenty-four hours Mills would be hard put to it for an answer. However, he is a far more skillful word-fencer than was Taft; to whom, as you remember, a question on that very point was put.

Taft 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-knows Taft." But nobody, save a few thinking Anarchists, ever challenges the Socialist Party to give a better answer; nobody ever tackles it boldly and says—"Here, you loud-mouthed friend of the workingman, what can YOU do?" Nevertheless the day draws very, very near when that question will be put, in tones that mean business, to the spokesmen 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 even begins to fill the bill. It is the answer for which they put Emma Goldman into prison for a year; but perhaps one should not mention Emma Goldman, since, according to the Socialist organ "Justice," she is a Russian spy, and unquestionably she is one of those Anarchists denounced by Debs as corrupt politicians. That answer is "Help Yourself." It is an answer that slaps "law and order" directly in the face; that every politician, no matter what his party, condemns as the rankest heresy; it is the most dangerous advice an agitator can give; but—it happens to be the only one that fills the bill. It is the answer given by the Mexican Liberal Party to the starving and enslaved Mexican peon. It is the answer the Socialist Party is AFRAID to give the starving and enslaved American proletariat. And that is all there is about it.—Wm. C. Owen in Regeneracion.

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 end of wearisome life, and wearisome life the only occasion of daily bread.—Defoe in Robinson Crusoe.

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