SYNDICALISM TO THE WORKERS.

The Syndicalist League is not a party, nor is it a labor union. It is composed of associated groups of workers drawn together for the purpose of educating themselves and their fellow-workers. It is not a body of theorists. It has no new-fangled ideas to propagate. It merely points out the failures of the past, and shows how they may be avoided in the future.

One of the strong points about Syndicalism is that it does not take the workers away from their work. It does not ask them to join any new party or union. It does not take them into new fields of effort, where they are unacquainted. It does not divide their energies and attentions. It does not, on the one hand, tell them their unions are the only thing, and, on the other, that they must vote for this or that party if they want to be free. It does not confuse them with a dualistic philosophy. It is monistic. It is modern.

It says to the workers: "You have been in the unions long enough to know that they are a mighty force in your favor. You have done much so far for yourselves through unionism, but the limit is not yet reached; it is far, far off. Only have you to change your tactics. You must profit by your past experience. If you will follow up, closely, the causes of past failures you will not only improve your conditions under capitalism, but you can even destroy the wage system and institute co-operative production and consumption.

"All this you can do by the simple act of studying your own case; and thusly you can do yourselves, with your own hands, what the politicians glibly promise they will do for you, but cannot. For it is the plainest lesson of history that no man can talk himself or his fellows into freedom, that this precious gift of mankind can only be achieved by those who with their own strong arms strike the blow that shatters the chains of slavery."

A strike is lost. Does that prove that strikes are failures? Nothing of the kind. It simply shows that under certain conditions they fail. The failure shows the weak point, and Syndicalism urges the workers to the task of strengthening that weak spot, and thus by a systematic upbuilding make the now weak organization of labor an invulnerable bulwark against defeat.

"Does this life of working eternally for a boss paid on you? Would you like a change? Syndicalism points the way. You don't have to leave your union nor join this or that party. Just stay where you are, where you have been schooled, where you have the field to yourself, where you know how to work. Only don't waste all your brain energy on the boss. He thinks while you work. That's how he has enslaved you. You begin to think about your own welfare and your liberty is at hand.

"Syndicalism teaches one thing that, above all other things, is of vital importance. That is: The talk is good, but it takes action, direct action, to build a Brooklyn bridge or to spin a top. It shows us--and we should have seen it long ago--that, while the loafers do all the talking, we, the toilers, do all the work, and that if they stopped talking for a thousand years the world would not be affected in the least, except for good. But if we stopped working for a week, those who survived would never forget the catastrophe.

"By our silent labor the world is fed and clothed and housed. In our blood lie the destinies of the world. The rulers of the earth, with their glittering show of power, of soldiers in gaudy dress, their navies and cannon and all that, are mere toys to be tossed aside, if we but fold our arms and cease to feed them.

"Here, then, is the key to our emancipation, right in our own hands. Strike, and the world is ours."

THE BRUTAL MAJORITY.

Governor West of Oregon has some very progressive ideas on penal reform. His plan is pronounced opposition to capital punishment. This is not an extreme idea. But it was a very strong pill for the people of Oregon, as we shall presently see.

"Governor West put the question of abolishing this cruel and most inhuman practice of hanging men and women "by the neck until they are dead" up to the people at the recent election. Pending the election he reprieved five men who had been sentenced to death. This fact was well advertised by the humanists who were working for the abolition of the murderous law. Every voter knew when he put the cross on his ballot that by that act he was either taking the lives of five men or saving them from the gallows. It was put up to each man personally. Five human lives depended on him, immediately, not to mention future lives.

"Who has so little faith in the humanity of his fellow-man as to think that when the question was put before him as this was he would prove a murdereer five times over? But he did? The majority voted for the blood of these five men and for that of all other human beings who might be convicted as they were, whether guilty or not.

"Stunned by the brutality of the people, the governor refused to exercise his prerogative of commuting the sentences to imprisonment, except in one case. Perhaps he reasoned that to let the bloodthirsty people have their feast would cause a revulsion so great, not only in Oregon but in neighboring states, that a general agitation against the revolting practice would be created which would in time result in the abolition of capital punishment everywhere.

"The hangings at the Salem penitentiary, in the presence of 100 invited guests, who were privileged to witness the gruesome work of quadruple murder by command of the people, makes, one of the victims, in a clear, strong voice, told the people who came to see him hanged a truth so simple and so profound that it should be engraved on the hearts of everyone of the majority who voted his life away. Stepping to the railing of the scaffold, he said: "Hanging will never cure crime. You're got to get at the root of the evil."

"Stop hanging men and women, and go seek the cause. Go to the jails, ye people of Oregon and elsewhere, and you will see that they are populated by poor men and women who are victims of the ignorant and of the ignorant.

"Examine the records of their "crimes" and you will see that 95 per cent are "crimes" against property or due to property. What does that mean, ye people, ye "owners," large and small, of the wealth of the country, whose solid vote kept the murder law in Oregon? It means that these "criminals" are largely the rebels from the working class, whose wealth you have stolen under the law, and who attempted to get some of it back outside of the law. The prisons are necessary, to your plunder of the workers. But your plunder will cease, not by your gracious will, but by the will of the plundered class.

"And when your reign of plunder will be abruptly ended, and the workers can keep the wealth they create, the end of hanging and of prisons will be at hand, for your crime is the cause of them, and that is the root of the evil."

Jay Fox.

AWAY WITH LEADERS!

We should not be a mass; that is to say, we should not share the prejudices, the superstitions, the errors, the customs of the unthinking multitude. The mass has a firm belief in the necessity of a chief or leader. Those who must be at the head, who must conduct them to their goal, bring them to tyranny or freedom, guide them by caresses, or they by spitting in their face, for good or for ill.

This habit, so rooted in the human being, is the font of inestimable evils for the redemption of the race. Life, honor, welfare, the future, liberty—all are placed at the disposition of him who has been made chief. It is the chief who must think for all; it is the chief who is charged with the duty of watching for the well-being and liberty of the mass in general and the individual in particular, the result being that there are millions of brains among the masses all of which think, because the chief has to think for all. Thus, it comes about that the masses remain passive, that they have no initiative, and that they drag out a shabby existence; weeded at election times by the politicians and place hunters, who beat them when the elections are over; deceived during times of revolutionary action by the promises of the ambitious, who rewar them with kicks for their self-sacrifice when the victory has been won.

There should be no mass; there should be a league of thinking individualists, united among themselves for the attainment of certain ends; each, woman or man, with his or her own head; each exercising himself or herself to give an opinion as to what must be done to realize our aspirations, which are no other than the liberty all based on the liberty of each, the welfare of all based on the welfare of each.—From the Spanish of Ricardo Flores Magon.
THE SYNDICALIST

Issued twice a month, on the first and fifteenth, by
The Syndicalist Publishing Association, 1000
South Paulina Street, Chicago, Ill.

Subscriptions:
One dollar a year.
Six months, fifty cents.
Three months, twenty-five cents.
Two copies yearly to one address, one dollar and
fifty cents.
Bulk orders at rate of two cents per copy.
Send all orders for papers and subscriptions to
William Z. Foster, 1000 South Paulina Street, Chi-
icago, Ill.
Send book orders and matter for publication to
the Editor, Home, Lakeeside, Washington.

Of all the discoveries which men need to make, the
most important, at the present moment, is that of
the self-forming power treasured up in themse-

—Channing—

TO SUBSCRIBERS OF THE AGITATOR

The Agitator, under its new title, The Syndicalist, is now entering upon the third year of its existence, and it has a few words to say, personally, to every one of its friends and subscribers. When it was started many of you thought it would not last three months, and consequently, reluctant to give support to what you saw was shortly to become a corpse.

The Agitator has lived for two years, and you will admit it is the liveliest corpse you ever saw. In-
deed, so much alive is it that we have been urged for months by many of you in different parts of the continent to move to an industrial center, preferably Chicago, where it would come into closer touch with the toiling masses, whose cause 't campaigns, and where it would be of greater service to them. We have yielded to the arguments, and beginning with this—the first number of Volume Three—The Agitator will issue from Chicago, the hub of indus-
trial America.

The editorial and business ends will remain at home, until the editor is released from his entangle-
ments with the law of the State of Washington.

When we get the editorial, business and publica-
tion ends united in Chicago we are planning to in-
crease the size of The Agitator and make it a weekly.
The success of this plan rests largely upon you, the public, and circulation. Every publication depends upon its subscribers for success, but none so much as a radical paper.

The Agitator is no longer a speculation. The fact that it has survived two years of doubt and indif-
ference on the part of many whose active support it counted on from the start, and the farther fact that it has withstood the persecution of the State is sufficient proof that it is fit to survive. Now that it seeks a larger field of activity, where its cir-
culation will be increased and its influence more widely felt, it feels it has a greater right to solicit your active support.

Growth is the only evidence of life and progress. In getting into the pulsing life of the metropolis, The Agitator is following the path of evolution, and it sincerely hopes you will give it the assistance it requires to carry the message of freedom to the toiling masses of our fellow workers.

The Agitator was the first paper to voice the claims of Syndicalism in America. Since the first article appeared eight months ago Syndicalism has taken deep root in this country. Leagues have sprung up in numerous cities and these leagues have established a temporary headquarters in Chicago, giving itself the name "The Syndicalist League of North America."

The Agitator will continue to espouse the cause of Syndicalism as one of the most im-
portant phase of propaganda ever evolved.

It is our object to make The Agitator the liveliest
and best Syndicalist paper in the English language, and no one who is interested in the progressive labor movement can afford to be without it.

Whether you believe wholly in Syndicalism or not, you surely cannot be out of touch with this new phase of the labor movement that is growing rap-
idly in every corner of the country.

Indeed, it will be our constant endeavor to keep
our readers well posted on every phase of the labor
movement and make The Agitator a real model of
the labor world.

But, we repeat, we must have your active sup-
port in this matter. We cannot make this paper
grow unless you purchase it and by your circulation
to it make it known. A man well fitted to judged has said, but not too much:
"The Agitator contains more ideas to the square inch than any other paper in America. It sounds
good to every friend of the paper, but what is the good of a stock of ideas unless we can circulate them?"

The very best way to push the circulation, and
every reader can follow, is to get six-month
subscriptions at 30 cents. With a little effort, there
is no reader but can get a few of them, and most of
you can get many. All together, friends. Begin
by renewing your own subscriptions.

Fraternally,

THE PUBLISHERS.

CONCERTED ACTION NEEDED.

Having retired from the editorship of the English section of "Regeneration" (the Mexican revolution-
ary weekly), the leaves of a press propaga-
dands that shall deal in a live and practical way
with the vital questions now agitating the country,
and the experience and the men in the movement
convinces me that a great and importantly
needed educational work can be done by using
the propaganda method. The Agitator, in the message
written articles on the social question, however rad-
ical may be the views expressed, and articles could
be syndicated that would reach weekly an army of
readers.

The vote given Roosevelt—who is essentially a
Socialist—by the International Socialist Party, in
my view, makes it clear that numbers are eager for such
State Socialist experiments as are being tried—
and, in my opinion, are proving utterly failures in
Australia. They believe sincerely that such palla-
itives will give relief.

On the other hand, there is a widespread senti-
ment that we want fewer laws, less regulation, fewer
officials, fewer politicians. That sentiment is grow-
ing rapidly and it is bound to grow, for time is
driving home steadily the seriousness of the social
problem.

In a word, the lines between Anarchist and So-
cialist tendencies are being drawn as they never were drawn before. Confused as though naturally the great
tendency, which has no clear conception of either phi-
losophy, is unconscious of it. It is self-evident, how-
ever, that under no circumstances can any political
regulation incline to Anarchism, whether they
know it or not, and that those who still have faith in
regulation are in the Socialist camp.

Within the last year I have received hundreds of
letters, the gist of which is that the public is
yearning for clear-cut writing on these perplexing
questions and that the syndicalist men gen-
erally are beginning to recognize this, as is shown
by the growing disposition of the capitalist press
to open special sections, headed "Public Letter
Box," "Public Forum," etc.

Never was there, in my opinion at least, such
an opportunity for the most concerted action as
necessary. The fact is that we have an immense
amount of literary talent now lying idle because
our own small journals cannot possibly give it
a sufficient outlet. That talent should be given to our
service and should be glad to co-operate.

Such an organization as I suggest would benefit
our own propaganda. It would stimulate interest at
a thousand points from which sub-
cscriptions and support would eventually come.

Moreover, the propaganda is necessary because
our editors, single-handed, cannot even begin to
prospect the field or handle the correspondence which deluges it with demands for contributions.

If those who feel interested, and consider them-
selves capable of work, would write me, I believe
we could soon and with little difficulty have a
substantial organization at work.

WM. C. OWEN.

2 Temple Court, Los Angeles, Cal.

RUSSIANISM IN LITTLE FALLS STRIKE.

More than two thousand textile workers in Little
Falls have been on strike since October 10. They
came out in rebellion against a reduction in wages
ranging from 25 cents to 75 cents per week.

When it is considered that the average wages of
these workers was less than 75 per week, the
realization of this reduction should be plain to
to all.

These workers have since been fighting desper-
ately for their lives against a police persecution
as brutal and relentless as any to be found in this
country. In the face of tremendous provocation,
they have remained peaceful and non-resistant.

Next week they are sending up the textile industry in
Little Falls, and all that they have to win is a de-
cisive victory which is YOUR support.

A victory in this struggle means much, as it will
unite all the textile industry throughout the
Mohawk valley. Already the strike has begun to
spread to nearby towns, and an effort will be
made to make it general, with Little Falls as the
center.

To do this your aid is needed. The strikers have
perfected a strong organization, which has with-
stood the murderous assaults of the police.Nearly all the officials and original strike commit-
tee members are in jail, charged with rioting and as-
assaulting, as a result of brawls and prote-
sacks upon strikers while peacefully parading the
district.

Socialists who came from Schenectady to help the
strikers by establishing relief stations and speaking
for them have been brutally beaten and jailed.

The strikers' headquarters have been broken into
by the police and all contents wantonly destroyed. The
 strikers are forced to carry on much of their work in
secrecy. Yet their spirit is undaunted and they are
determined to win. This is the most important struggle
for better conditions ever waged in this part of the
country. Vicious, foul and lying news-

paper are spreading much misrepresentation of the
real conditions here.

Workers, everywhere, rally to the support of the
striker in Little Falls.

Don't permit the Russian methods of the blood-

thirsty police in this struggle to be successful. Hold
meetings. Mail or wire protests to Governor Dix,
State Capitol, Albany; Mayor Shalt, Little Falls, and
Congressman Talman, Utica, N. Y.

Send all funds to Textile Workers' Strike Com-
mittee, Robert A. Bakeman, P. O. Box 458, Little
Falls, N. Y.

BORING FROM WITHIN.

In 1908 I, through Local No. 420, I. W. W., New
York City, submitted to the fourth convention of
the organization for a propaganda organization to carry on a sys-
tematic campaign of education, and thus get away from the sporadic methods used to that date and
now still in use.

Since that time I have had some experience bor-
ing within from the Western Federation of Miners
and can say that it was so successful in the locality
where I was located that I attended the following con-
vention with the program already adopted.

The unsparing of Hammond and myself in 1909
and Campbell in 1912 was the result of the "go it
alone" methods employed. With systematic organ-
ized effort of those on the job, not directed in
their actions by any individual or organization on
the outside, the job is accomplished and the
close cooperation that peculiar positions give them, there is no reason in my mind that the fighting W. F. of M. will regain its lost glory.

The existing spirit of the miners is still alive and
smouldering embers have burst to flame in Utah,
Nevada and Ontario in defiance of the recog-
nized authority of the officials. With the rebellion
on the job, what a configuration could be started!

I have joined the Syndicalist League of North America and regard the miners as one and all must rely upon themselves if they want freedom.

J. A. JONES.
THE SYNDICALIST

KROPOTKINE

To make oneself a real historian by tracing the development of tendencies and those dominant motives that urge our race to struggle; to become a scientist, not for the sake of acquiring prominence in the new hierarchy of learning, but to uncover society as a force, and to help them to deduce those economic truths which power and privilege strive unceasingly to hide; to attack super- pretension under all its guises and subject current thought to analysis that spares neither friend nor foe —so do that is all that is master work. It is the work to which Kropotkie devoted unceasingly a lifetime that now has rounded out its seventy years, and to Kropotkie the Worker there is owing a debt, the great sum of which we, his contemporaries, cannot possibly appreciate. We shall follow that burning thought, however wherever literature circulates; we cannot track the action that thought has set in motion. All we know is that the seed is sound, that the sower has toiled untritingly, and that the harvest will be reap.

How carelessly we read; how imperatively are needed the events that make the mind receptive; how little we can appreciate a book fully unless it is in our own mind that thirty years ago, I would translate into English, and publish as best I could, everything by Kropotkie on which I could lay my hands, for he had set them alibre with hope and in- dignation. His writings had revolutionized my own life and convinced me of the necessity of universal reform. As I write in this great book, I am, too, following that burning thought, and have evoked wherever literature circulates; we cannot track the action that thought has set in motion. All we know is that the seed is sound, that the sower has toiled untritingly, and that the harvest will be reap.

How carelessly we read, and how dull is the impression made by books until events have sharpened and driven home their lessons! To me the historical writings of Kropotkie, with their wealth of facts and bold analysis, have been the most attractive portion of his many-sided productions. I read "The Great French Revolution" with deep interest and, as I sup- posed, conscientious. Yet, going through it once again, I see that it has not left the least impression on my mind. I can hardly recall the dates, and the figures, and the quotations, and the scenes. But the story remains, and it will remain there for me in the memory of the two great thought currents that begot the French revolution, the current of political readjustments came from the middle class, and that —

Kropotkie always shows us the masses helpless, and finally crushed, because uncertain.

The current of ideas; the long-patient propaganda that molds the brain which eventually must direct the hand. Kropotkie never loses sight of that, but it seems to me that nowadays—and especially in nervous, unthinking America—revolutionists, in their haste for victory, are losing the danger of lending themselves to entangling alliances that, muddying thought and obscuring principles, will lead again to failure and uncertainty. Everything is nothing. The public history of the United States labor movement teems with the records of organizations that have had for a moment to prodigious size and as quickly shrunk out of existence. Its private history, as exemplified in countless co-operative experiments, will be found that the voice of the women who failed, because real usurped the place of thought, internal splits developing naturally from the fact that the would-be co-operators were divided in ideals and aims. Throughout the revolutionary movement in the United States assuredly there is always a tendency to trouble the mob; to secure circulation, audiences, a following, by utilizing vital points; to purchase popularity at any price. It is, in my humble judgment, the greatest of all the evils that democracy everywhere suffers from, as a means for mass action, inflicts on us, since there can be no greater self-delusion than to suppose that a wrong road becomes right when we have walked it, and that fallacy all Kropotkie's revolutionary writings protest.

It will be seen that I have the highest regard for the prodigious life work Kropotkie has performed, and that I take his career to be a signal illustration of the power that comes from making one's alliance with truth rather than with the veering policies of the mass. Kropotkie's life is itself the noblest example of the sacrifice of this great man, the individual who is true to himself, for I believe it would be cor- rect to say that he is the most widely read author of modern times who has been translated into all the leading languages, and especially in pamphlet form are distributed and eagerly perused by every reader. I have read and reread and pondered, but we owe it alike to him and to ourselves to study his with discrimination, and I confess that in his treatment of the individual and the collectivity I, for my part find myself constantly at variance with his judgment. To me he has an invincible optimism which credits the mass with qualities it does not possess; to me he minimizes unduly the inevitable conflict between the trained intellect which aches to determine, and the timorous, inactive, un- dulant, uninterested mind, which, lacking self-confidence, invariably harks back to the prejudices of the past and takes them for truth. Kropotkie, in the buoyancy of his hope is too instinctively a believer in the Collectivity and less of the stern Individualist than are Anarchists of the Tucker and Baxian type, and in many cases lead me to type and take the Kropotkie view; my intellectual conviction is that the Stinner type comes nearer to the truth. For my part I consider the freedom of the indi- vidual the one essential aim, for I hold that society springs from the individual, and that to prefer the created to its creator is to put the cart before the horse and to paralyze all effort. I consider that Socialist, Communist and other Collectivist theories must be left to work out themselves in practice and prove their merits by results, after the economic and political freedom of the individual has been won. It is the same thing that has been proved in every other field of human thought, and I cannot imagine why Sociology should be an exception to the uni- versal rule. I look, therefore, to the securing of economic equality and self-rule for the individual as the entire struggle; I regard the conquest of the right to individual life—a right that must be for man rather, are iron—as the task in hand.

To me, Kropotkie expects too much revolution- ary and economic action. Rather than to struggle, on the other hand, that the individual rebel is the greater force. I think events have shown, and will show still more the power of organized individualism, of the theory taught by the Nietzscheans and Stirners is the true revolutionary philosophy, and that when we ally ourselves with Collectivism we lose ourselves to stagnation and consequent reaction. I am very posi- tive that with individuality as he presents it as it is at present, society is divided into the movers and the moved, and that the contest is very largely between the one and the other, who understand each other as mortal foes. I cannot conceive it possible that the intelligent and bold action needed to over- turn a system rooted in ignorance and cowardice can come from the very majority that upholds that system so fatozouly. According to my thought the only possible organization of a people is the people itself; the vast conservative collectivity following after, as it always has, and as by the law of develop- ment, it always must.

Kropotkie himself affords the proof. Let a thou- sand Kropotkines develop themselves within the next few years, putting themselves through the rigid intellectual and character training and discipline; let that miracle take place and the revolutionary movement will be very different from what it is to- day. To me, the self-existent edifice uncontrol- ling propaganda which, based on elemental truths and dealing with the elementary needs of life, will shake to the very roots of earth and be intelligible to the dullest understanding.

To me, Kropotkie's long life role has been that of an educator of educators, sometimes receiving a present of revolt. Recently a youth of 18 years of age, named Frank Thornton, received a month in jail for refusing to take the oath of al- legiance. We shall have a clear-cut, the un- promising, cowardly crawlers, fighting for power, position and pay. The revolutionary propaganda is the most promising of all these props of authority.

The celebration was a gala, the line of the blue, Australian sky, the red flag containing the word "Anarchy," an audience consisting of fully 1,000 people ended in three cheers for the memory of our late comrades, coupled with success to the social revolution.

Your srrrtrrally, I. W. WIEAT.

THE SYNDICALIST LEAGUE OF KANSAS CITY

The League will soon be holding public meetings, and we have decided to purchase for these occasions 100 copies of "Syndicalism," by Earl C. Ford and Z. Poster; "100 Men and a General Strike," by Arnold Roller, and 20 of "God and the State," by Josef Bakunin. We have therefore opened our meetings we intend to organize a clerks' union and a hotel workers' union. These rebels who can join neither of these meetings will be urged to join some craft of the A. F. of L.

Fellow-workers Max Deetzell and O. True are planning a system to organize a "Socialist" school, for the purpose of educating developers.

"The Toiler" is again being published, and once again stranded out of money. We will begin to come our way here in Kansas City, M.

M. G. BUMPUS, Sec'y.
1411 Main St., Kansas City, Mo.

SPECIAL FROM AUSTRALIA.

Even serve Australia, the home of political and religious superstition, sometimes receives a present of revolt. Recently a youth of 18 years of age, named Frank Thornton, received a month in jail for refusing to take the oath of al- legiance. We shall have a clear-cut, the un- promising, cowardly crawlers, fighting for power, position and pay. The revolutionary propaganda is the most promising of all these props of authority.

The celebration was a gala, the line of the blue, Australian sky, the red flag containing the word "Anarchy," an audience consisting of fully 1,000 people ended in three cheers for the memory of our late comrades, coupled with success to the social revolution.

Your srrrtrrally, I. W. WIEAT.

THE SYNDICALIST

The League will soon be holding public meetings, and we have decided to purchase for these occasions 100 copies of "Syndicalism," by Earl C. Ford and Z. Poster; "100 Men and a General Strike," by Arnold Roller, and 20 of "God and the State," by Josef Bakunin. We have therefore opened our meetings we intend to organize a clerks' union and a hotel workers' union. These rebels who can join neither of these meetings will be urged to join some craft of the A. F. of L.

Fellow-workers Max Deetzell and O. True are planning a system to organize a "Socialist" school, for the purpose of educating developers.

"The Toiler" is again being published, and once again stranded out of money. We will begin to come our way here in Kansas City, M.

M. G. BUMPUS, Sec'y.
1411 Main St., Kansas City, Mo.
THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

The one phase of the recent A. F. of L. convention worthy of particular remark was the increased strength and militancy of the Socialist minority. A year ago at the Atlanta convention the Socialists controlled but 2,800 votes, and timidly (or diplomatically) took no step toward the realization of a statement that they were not trying to capture the A. F. of L. This year they polled some 6,000 votes against their opponents' 12,000, boldly ran a candidate against Gompers, and let it be distinctly understood that they were determined to make the A. F. of L. Should their strength increase as much in the coming year as it did in the past one, they will be the majority faction in the A. F. of L. at its next convention.

Gompers, who a year ago defied the Socialists "borders from within," now practically concedes an approaching victory to them when he wails that "when" (not "if") the A. F. of L. changes it will find him unchanged. He specifically denies that he will swing to the Socialists "step by step" if given a chance. He is going to go down fighting, and he seems to consider the going down fighting process a certainty. He is beginning to recognize the patent fact that the days of "pure and simple" trade unionism are numbered.

The seizure of the A. F. of L. by the Socialists would be a victory to the cause of industrial unionism and labor movement. Whether or not it will be greatly beneficial will be largely determined by the attitude of the direct actionists. If they pursue their customary attitude of hostility or indifference to the A. F. of L., the change of control will only produce a fraction of the good results (and a multiplication of the bad results), as though the direct actionists made a vigorous effort to make their influence felt. But, at any rate, regardless of the attitude of the direct actionists, undoubtedly enough changes (or should one say changes?) will be made (such, for instance, as the abolition of the harmony of the rank of classes, the abolition of crafts ideas, the breaking away from the influence of the Civic Federation and the Catholic Church, the reduction of prohibitory initiation fees, broadening of the scope of the unions so as to take in the unskilled, etc., etc.), as will prevent the realization of the orthodox direct actionist plan of breaking up the A. F. of L. and substituting the I. W. W. for it.

Another obstacle to the realization of this latter plan lies in the increasing control which the A. F. of L. will turn their attention to capturing the I. W. W. if it merits the trouble. After capturing the so-called "impeachable" A. F. of L. the Socialists should have no difficulty in capturing the so-called 'reformistic' organization like I. W. W. This should be the easier, as already a large minority—perhaps not as much as the I. W. W.'s 5,000 members—of the Socialists. With the Socialists in control of both the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. what would the direct actionists do? Start "hooting from within" or go and start another dual organization?

It is worthy of remark that while the Socialists controlled one-third of the votes at the convention, the rebel direct actionists were altogether without representation in a committee of numerous minor committees in the labor movement, they hadn't a single representative or spokesman in this convention representing almost which the Socialists should have no difficulty in capturing the so-called festivity that the writer of this state affairs testifies to the better generalization of the Socialists. As soon as the Socialists could capture the I. W. W. (as originally pointed out by Max Hayes), the bulk of them gradually quit it under one pretext or another, and arranged to war themselves, the A. F. of L. The I. W. W. meanwhile went on knocking the abuses afflicting the A. F. of L. and creating a conflict of interest in its ranks for industrial unionism. Being a dual organization, it has been unable to exploit this to any great extent. The Socialists, on the other hand, being in control and without competition from the direct actionists, have organized the discontent created by the latter. It helped materially to swell their vote at Rochester. Are the direct actionists running a charity propaganda bazaar? Is it their calling to thus pull chestnuts out of the fire for the Socialists?

It's high time that these foolish tactics cease and that the direct actionists take active part in the A. F. of L. Theiridanition machines are breaking up and the new Socialists machines are being formed, will present a golden opportunity for the direct actionists to secure a foothold in the unions if they only "get busy." If, on the contrary, the present policy is pursued and the Socialists allowed a free rein, the direct actionists' task will be a much more difficult one. The Socialists will build up machines, beside which those of the direct actionists will pale into insignificance. Now is the time for the direct actionists to line up against their great enemies of the future—the Socialists. It's idle to suppose they can escape the fight by trying to be a new labor movement that will be free from them.

WM. Z. FOSTER.

SOME LIVE WIRE.

The following circular letter explains itself. Go, thou, and do likewise:—

"Dear Sir and Brother,—At the convention of the International Molders' Union of North America, just closed in Milwaukee, there was one thing that stood out prominently above all things, and that was this—that a large number of delegates advocated and fought for all legislation of an advanced nature and practical application to the utmost. The result was that the progressive element met and formed an organization, which was named 'The International Foundry Workers' Industrial League,' was formed at the conclusion of the convention. This formation of the league should be for educational purposes only, and local leagues will be formed in every city throughout the country. There will be no initiation fee, but a volunteer contributary contribution will be accepted, if offered, and the dues will be 25c a month.

"A small monthly paper will be published from the international headquarters, which will advocate such measures as the referendum, industrial forms of unionism, and all inconsistencies of the National Civic Federation, publish live, interesting shop news from every section of the country dealing with every phase of the foundry, from the handy man right down to the female core mixer, and try to inject a greater fighting spirit into the molders, or, in other words, stand first, last and always for militant unionism. There will be no salaried positions in the league, all work being done voluntarily. (Then follows list of officers.) A local is now being formed in this city, and having been informed that you are one of the progressive members of the I. M. U. of N. A. we extend an earnest invitation to you to join and assist in your local and in the formation of one of its members. Think it over and then act by filling out the blank below.

"Yours fraternally,

"FRANK L. BECKER.

"2353 N. Sacramento Ave., Chicago, Ill.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Those leagues that have not already done so are urged to take action upon the proposed national constitution that has been submitted to them. It is high time that we perfect our temporary national constitution and proceed to the regular election of officers, etc.

As the adoption of a national constitution is of prime importance to us, I hope this matter will be given special attention.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.
Secretary S. L. of N. A.

VOLTARIENE DE CLEYRE'S WORKS.

As there seems to be some misunderstanding concerning our purpose, we are obliged to call the attention of all those who are interested in the publication of Voltairine de Cleyre's writings to the fact that the editorial committee is composed of the editors of the societies of Leonard D. Abbott, S. Yanovsky, and Hippolyte Havel. This committee will read and consider MSS and submit them to the existing manuscripts. Whether the works will be published in one or two volumes will depend on the amount of material, written or printed. As we desire to give a comprehensive view of the literary and propagandistic activity of our late comrade, it is our intention to publish the best of her political, social, philosophical, speeches and propaganda essays. A short biographical sketch, written by a member of the committee, will introduce the works.

The Committee for the Publication of the Works of Voltairine de Cleyre has no private interest in the undertaking. It is a work of love on our part. Any one having manuscripts or letters of general interest written by Voltairine will oblige the committee by forwarding them to Hippolyte Havel, 145 Waverly Place, New York. The originals will be returned to the sender.

The funds collected are to remain in the hands of our treasurer, S. Yanovsky and Harry Kelly. Those persons who contribute to the funds are entitled to one or to several copies of the work, according to the amount they have paid. Even very small amounts of money have been collected. Are you interested in this undertaking? If so, support us by every subscription you can make. All money should be sent to Harry Kelly, care Mother Earth, 35 West 28th Street, New York, or to S. Yanovsky, 30 Canal Street, New York.

(Signed full committee.)

THE WORKERS' UNIVERSITY.

Books and Pamphlets For Sale by the Syndicalist Publishing Association.

A Physician in the House, Dr. J. H. Greer. ....$2.00
Ancient Society, Lewis H. Morgan ....$1.50
What Is Property? P. Frөlich ....$1.00
Flowers of the Mind, the best poems. ....$1.00
Life of a comparatively Anarchist trial ....$1.50
Anarchism and Other Essays, Emma Goldman ....$1.00
Love's Coming of Age, Edward Carpenter ....$1.00
The American Esperanto Book, Arthur Baker ....$1.00
The Physical Basis of Mind and Morale, Fitch ....$1.00
Thoughts of a Fool ....$1.00
The Materialistic Conception of History, Labriola ....$1.00
The Positive School of Criminology, E. Ferri ....$1.00
The Spanish Family and Peace, E. Ferri ....$1.00
The Evolution of Property, P. Lafargue ....$1.50
Socialism and Marxianism ....$1.00
Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies, P. Lafargue ....$1.00
Human, All Too Human, Nietzsche ....$1.50
Franco Ferrer: His Life and Work ....$1.00
The Educational Basis of Capitalism ....$1.00
Modern Science and Anarchism, Kropotkin ....$1.50
Vice, State and Religion, and State ....$1.00
What the Young Need to Know, E. C. Walker ....$1.00
The State: Its Historic Role, Kropotkin ....$1.00
Syndicalism, Ford and Foster ....$1.00
Law and Authority, Kropotkin ....$1.00
The Wage System: Revolutionary Government ....$1.00
Appeal to the Young, Kropotkin ....$1.00
Pulitzer and Revolution, Reclus ....$1.00
Trade Unionism and Anarchism, Jay Fox ....$1.00
Anarchist Communism, Kropotkin ....$1.00
The Mexican Revolution, William C. Owen ....$1.00
The Rise and Fall of Anarchistic Socialism, C. O'Leary ....$1.00
Direct Action vs. Legislation, J. B. Smith ....$1.00
O'Leary, Emma Goldman ....$1.00
What is Belief, Emma Goldman ....$1.00
Basis of Trade Unionism, Pouget ....$1.00

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

NORTH BAY ROUTE—Steamer Tycoon leaves Commercial Dock, Tacom, for all points on North Bay every Monday at 10 a.m., returning next morning.

COMMUNISTIC LIBRARY—Meets every Thursday night from 8 to 10 o'clock; every Sunday morning from 8 to 12 o'clock. For more information contact Philadelphia and Esperanto. Books in any language free. 711 Hamilton street, Trenton.

WANTED—Working people for a co-operative colony in Tennessee. Address H. E. Sawdon, Harrison, Tenn.