SYNDICALISM VERSUS I. W. W.-ISM.

In a recent issue of the Industrial Worker (January 9) there appeared an editorial entitiled, "Industrialism Is Not Syndicalism," that contains a fund of unproved assertions and misstatements of fact, combined with misleading allusions.

Hitherto the I. W. W. had taken to itself all the benefits of the advertising accorded to Syndicalism, by covertly aiding and encourag ing the popular belief that it was the American representative of Syndicalism. But the growth of the Syndicalist League and the reported statements of the fundamental difference between the I. W. W. and Syndicalism that has appeared in this paper, have forced an open confession from the Workers.

But the Worker has not been satisfied to state the difference and let it go at that. It attempts to discredit Syndicalism and show that it is a back number, without the fairness to give a definition of what it stands for. On the contrary, by covert journalistic tricks it leads the reader to infer that Syndicalism is reactionary. For instance, it says: "The craft union has fulfilled its mission—if it ever had one—and must disappear. Those who try to keep up the craft unions are today the best reactionaries, even though they may call themselves Socialists, Anarchists or Syndicalists."

Not given a definition of Syndicalism, the inference is inescapable that it upholds craft unionism. The Worker must know industrialism is one of the good things the I. W. W. borrowed from Syndicalism. If it does not know, then it should not presume to write about that of which it is ignorant. I quote again: "Those who hold that craft unions will develop into industrial unions are ignorant of history."

SOME ANALOGIES.

Then it wanders all over the ages picking up "analogies" to bolster up its assertion. It tells us that Luther started a new church, that the Socialists started a new party, the A. F. of L. a new union, and the steel trust "a new organization." Then to clinch its argument proper, and to prove that the Syndicalists are a bunch of John Henry Dubbies, fit subjects for the comic section of the Worker, it says: "The Syndicalists themselves give the lie to their own teachings by withdrawing from the I. W. W. rather than to attempt to change it to conform to their pet theories."

If you are totally ignorant of the history quoted, and of the movements of the Syndicalists, and don't stop to think as you read these "analogies" and the passage quoted, the "argument" will get you—perhaps. For myself, I would be afraid to trust you with such "evidence" in support of your assertions. But the Worker is evidently more reckless than I am. Let me dwell on these "analogies" for a moment, not especially to prove anything, but to show you just how reckless the Worker is. Take the Socialists for a starter. They started a new party because there was nothing else they could do. There was NO WORKERS' PARTY FOR THEM TO "BORE" IN. Is that enough for you? Very well, we will pass on to the A. F. of L. The Worker says it "did not try to force its ideas upon the existing unions."

The statement is misleading and unfair, because it gives an impression that a statement of the facts would not warrant. The A. F. of L. was started as a federation of international and national unions joined together for mutual protection. Where is the analogy between that and Tom Jones, the machinist, joining the Machinists' Union to propogate for the general strike? You fail to see it? So do I. But wait a minute. While we are here let us go a little further into the history of the A. F. of L., ignorance of which the Worker so boldly charges us, and see what else we can dig up.

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

The Knights of Labor were the "one big union" of those days. It was built on the same general plan as the I. W. W. The executive authority was centralized in the hands of a few men. There was no craft or local autonomy. The idea was that unity of action demanded a central authority. While the organization was small and enthusiasm big, there was no difficulty. But when the organization got big the red tape grew longer and unwound slowly. As a consequence discontent began to do its deadly work. It began to "bore," and it called itself "Federation."

The Federationists bored hard and purposely in the K. of L. and carried one craft after another into the A. F. of L., where the red tape was absent, until the powerful industrial union, that had a million members in 1886, was reduced to nothing.

Thus it will be seen that where history touches our case, it not only sanctions our boring idea, but it goes even further and justifies our "Federation of Industries" plan, as against the "one big union." But suppose history was dead against us, what would the Worker's analogies amount to? Its argument is simply this: "You fellows are ignorant of history. See Luther standing back there! He's got no auger in his hand, he has a hammer and saw. What! establish a new precedent! Blasphemy! As Luther did, so shall it be done forever after."

Such is the logic of the Worker.

ABUSE DON'T PAY.

To those who may say the Federationists' boring was different from that of the Syndicalists, I would answer: Only in detail; the principle is the same. If you have a idea above the common level, stick till you raise the common level up to it. Don't run off by yourself, like a kid, and bawl. The man who works beside you, who sits beside you in the union, he's the man you must convince, and you can't do that by running away from him. There is one of the two main points of difference between the I. W. W. and the Syndicalist League of North America. The two and a half million organized workers in this country are not going to be convinced of the splendors of Industrialism by vultuperation and lying abuse. We may as well make up our minds to that first as last. They must be approached as man to man, with the kind word and the glad hand of fellowship. "Fellow-workers," not "scabas," must be our greeting to them. If we have a message of freedom for them we must carry it to them. That is our work as propagandists. We have no quarrel with the I. W. W., except that we won't stand for misrepresentation. We demand a square deal. We stand for the truth even though it consumes us, and we will struggle with our friends for it as readily as with our enemies.

Some Syndicalists leave the I. W. W. to go where their propaganda is more badly needed. If that is "giving the lie to their own teachings," then the lie will continue. Returning to the Worker's history teach paragraph, I would like to ask if it that bit of recent French history, wherein it is recorded that a handful of revolutionists bored their way into the small and sickly labor movement of that country and developed it into a fighting body of 600,000 members, ready to go the limit at the drop of the hat, has not more bearing on the question at issue than the exploits of Martin Luther?

Syndicalism is Industrialism, Federated Industrialism. It stands for the ultra-revolutionary and scientific doctrine of decentralization. It holds that the real solidarity of a free proletariat depends more on the man at the bottom than the man at the top; more on the individual than on the local union; more on the local union than on the central council; more on the central council than on the industrial union; more on the industrial union than on the federation of industrial unions.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF DESPAIR.

So much gush is being uttered against "direct action" nowadays that one is delighted to hear something really great said about it. Job Harriman, the high mogul of the stand-pat Social Democrats of Florida, flung the bouquet at it recently. "Direct action," said he, "is the philosophy of despair." Then he rested, while the hats went high in the air, I wish I had been there to add my new cap to the flag-ship. I wouldn't have cared if it never came down. For Job gave vent to a mighty truth. "Direct action" is indeed the philosophy of despair. It is the philosophy of those who despair of achieving their emancipation by electing jawsmiths to office.

JAY FOX.
THE SYNDICALIST

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Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose—and you might get something.

B. CAPES.

SYNDICALISM IN ENGLAND.

Two important conferences were held recently in England under the auspices of the Industrial Syndicalist Union. About 15,000 workers were represented at these two meetings.

At the London conference, 58 unions were repre-
sented by 96 delegates. The man who acted as chairman, the keynote of the conference when he said: "One Industry, One Union, One Card, One Vote, and a Fighting One." A remarkable feature of the conference was its opposition to the "one big union" idea. The dele-
gates feared it would develop into an autocracy that would crush the workers down, instead of freeing them.

It was held that federation would insure indus-
trial autonomy and give freer play to individual ini-
tiative. The important present work was the amal-
gamation of the existing bodies. This conference failed in their purpose, and the way to bring this about was to carry the propaganda of Syndicalist education into the unions.

The amalgamation conferences of the different indus-
tries would pursue this work vigorously, while conferring with each other frequently, and, finally, when the workers adopted amalgamation in the sev-
eral industries, these conferences would form the National Federation of Industrial Unions.

The conferences were almost unanimous on all resolutions passed. They followed in the order passed.

Solidarity.

"Whereas it is necessary that the workers can emancipate themselves is by the most complete solidarity:"

This conference calls upon all workers to join the unions of their respective trades;"

Urges upon those already organized the vital necessity of unifying all the trade unions, in any one industry, to amalgamate, and"

"Recommends trade unions to organize amal-
gamation committees for all industries."

Propaganda.

"This conference urges all organized bodies of workers to affiliate to the trades council of their district, or to take immediate steps to form trades councils where none are exist-
ent.

"This conference calls upon all the forces of the real core of trade union propaganda, and be used for building up the trade union movement as a means of helping the workers, outside and independ-
ent of the control of any political school or religious sect."

Amalgamation.

"Whereas it is necessary that the amalgamation committees should consult one another for com-
mon action, co-ordination, and propaganda, this conference urges all the amalgamation committees already formed, and to be formed, the necessity to federate, thereby forming the nucleus of a Na-
tional Federation of all industries."

Federation.

"Whereas it is urgent that the trades council should take up their proper functions as educational and propagandist bodies for the working class;"

"Whereas it is desirable that they should prepare themselves for the functions they will have to ful-
lfil in future society as the center of social and economic life;

"Whereas they should make themselves effective for collecting and disseminating information in other localities;"

"This conference urges upon all trade unionists the necessity of bringing about a National Federation of Trades Councils."

Confederation.

"Whereas to obtain the most complete solidarity, the maximum results in propaganda, agitation and our daily warfare;"

"This conference urges the formation of a joint committee in the interests of:

"(a) The National Federation of Trades Councils.
(b) The National Federation of Industrial Unions;

thereby forming a general confederation of labor."

"The duty of such confederation committee to be the systematic work of general propaganda; the organizing of national campaigns for the reduction of working hours; the raising of the workers' stand-
ard of living; a general education in working-class economies; a propaganda of direct action in all its forms; and the preparing of the workers for their final emancipation from wage slavery."

Internationalism.

"Whereas cases of international importance are getting ever more frequent, the work of the trade unionists of all countries should be co-
ordinated, and an international policy decided upon;"

"Whereas war is the greatest calamity that could befall the international working-class movement, it is most urgent that common action should be de-
cided upon by the working classes of all countries;"

"This conference calls upon the I. S. E. L. to con-
vene an International Syndicalist Congress to be held in London as soon as possible."

Syndicalist Conference in Manchester.

The Manchester conference was composed of 137 delegates from 76 locals of 42 trade unions, 10 trades councils and 3 amalgamation committees.

After endorsing the London resolutions it passed the following additional resolutions.

Direct Action.

"Whereas the General Confederation of Labor, as previously outlined, can only become an effective fighting machine and ultimately the structure of an industrial commonwealth, by the direct activity of the members composing it;"

"Whereas direct action means the pressure of the workers' power upon the masters without the aid of the intermediaries of any description; this conference declares for direct action."

Regulation of Working Hours.

"Whereas mental and physical relaxation are nec-
essary for the workers' normal development;"

"Whereas it is necessary that the workers should obtain leisure to educate themselves in their class interests, thereby preparing them-

sevèn for the management of industry;"

"This conference urges the necessity upon trade unionists to bring pressure to bear upon their or-
ganizations with a view to the progressive redu-
ction of working hours."

Methods of Direct Action.

"Whereas the state is always prepared to use its armed forces in the interest of the capitalists to enforce the working class and to enforce the strikers whenever they attempt to better their conditions;"

"Whereas the capitalists have even gone so far as to raise armed forces on their own;

"Whereas the workers, who have no country, have no interest in any war, except the class war;"

"This conference declares the necessity for the workers to devise means of direct action against the state as well as against the capitalists—and as well as the state;"

"This conference calls upon all the working class federations to federate, thereby forming the nucleus of a Na-
tional Federation of all industries."

Theodore Roosevelt.

"Whereas the General Confederation of Labor is to become the basis of a new social system on the morrow of the war;"

"This conference calls upon all wage-workers to prepare for the expropriation of the capitalist class, thus making the means of production and distribu-
tion the common property of all; this expropriation to be effected by means of the revolutionary general strike."

We have in these resolutions a complete outline of Syndicalist tactics. It will be seen there is no halflife measures embodied in the program.

Every line is clear and precise. The conver-

ences were a revelation to the English labor move-

ment. They surpassed in attendance, enthusiasm and unity of purpose, the wildest expectations of the promoters.

Those parliamentarians who have been snering at the Syndicalist movement and dubbing it "A Mann-Bowman hallucination," have had the spear brushed off their faces. So far as the workers are concerned the death knell of capitalism in England has been sounded by these meetings. They show, clearly, the new trend of events in the British Isles. That the future of the English work-
ers' endeavors will be syndicalistic is positive.

Craft unionism has had a fair show and has proven inadequate. Politics have raised, marredly, either as a present palliator or a future hope. The logic of experience is driving the toilers to Syn-
dicalism.

When will Americans awake?

EDWIN RENARD.

A STRIKING SUGGESTION.


L. A. McCammon, secretary, Electrical Workers' Union No. 483.

Dear Sir—I see by the Labor Advocate that your union has declared a strike against the Stone-Web-
er interests.

I doubt if 20 per cent of the Stone-Webber em-
ployees are in your union. That being the case, it means that 80 per cent of the employees are scab-
ning on you as long as they remain at work, while you are on strike.

You stand no chance of winning while your fel-
low union man—no matter what contract he may have—is helping your enemy by remaining on the job.

Get together—syndicate. Why not form a Stone-
Webber shop federation? Every man employed by the company must be a member.

The great strikes recently won in England were made possible only through Syndicalistic methods.

The success of the building trades in nearly every large city in the United States is made possible sim-
ply because there is no scabbing on the job. You have one common enemy—get together and master the situation. You can do it only by concerted action.

Yours truly,

B. T. HAMMERSMARK,

706 Pacific Ave., Tacoma, Wash.

A CASE OF SABOTAGE.

The following quotation is from The Liberator, organ of the striking shopmen of the I. C. and Har-
rison lines.

"A rush car of cotton destined for Galveston was included in a fast freight. When three miles out the train was discovered to be out of gas and further examination disclosed the fact that there were no brasses on the journals and that the collars of the journals had worn through the oil boxes, which contained no packing. As a result the rush car of cotton has been on the side track now for over four weeks."

Now the question arises: Did these railroad work-
ers expect to achieve the social revolution by this act of sabotage, and if they did, are they not ashamed?

"See what a terrible menace this direct action business is to the real, simon-pure, roaring red, un-shackled, revolutionizing, class-conscious movement of the Socialist laborers?"

We learn from the public police counter that the..•

THE MACHINE.

The Machine is kept in a little hut not far from the factory. Each morning it propels itself over to its proper place in the wonderful Machine but it is not worth much. There are so many such Machines in the world.

As the sun peeps over the horizon, the factory whistle blows and the Machine starts out. Other gray Machines are going through the early light to the same place. They are the conditions that would the world do without hats? Indeed, hats must be made.
THE SYNDICALIST INTERNATIONAL

At its recent conference in London the Industrial Syndicalist Educational League of England is convening a conference of the Syndicalist movements of the world to discuss the question of war. This conference is to be held as soon as practical.

The importance of this conference is most advisable. It should receive the hearty support of Syndicalists everywhere. Indeed, such conferences should be held periodically to prevent any breach in the ties which bind the Syndicalist movements of the various countries to get in closer touch with each other. At present they are isolated, no bonds existing between them other than those of common ideas. The Syndicalists are barred from the international Socialist congress as a body, and consequently their organizations are not entitled to participate in any international congresses. This is owing to the fact that this body only admits one organization (always the largest) and two delegates to any congress. The International Secretariat, then, effectively shuts out all the Syndicalist minorities.

The International Secretariat is a creature of the Socialist party. It exists to further their interests. It is simply a tool for the protection of their own power. The Syndicalists are not admitted in order to prevent any international congress from being formed. They keep it emasculated in size and functions, so that it can't come into competition with the International Socialist congress, as a live international immediately would.

Owing to the peculiar conditions prevailing in the various countries, it may be inadvisable at this time to start a live labor union international in opposition to this fact. The International Secretariat, but an international Syndicalist propaganda organization could most profitably be formed. Or, failing in this at least, there should be international conferences held from time to time. The benefit that would result from these would be immense. These can be held under the object of making clear that there would be to a new international.

It is to be hoped that the proposed London conference does not limit itself to the question of war. There are many other questions of great importance to be discussed. One of the many that might be cited is the question of what kind of a new society we are striving to found. Kropotkine has eloquently pointed out the necessity of knowing what we are aiming at. At present there are many conflicting theories evolving in relation to the theory of the C. G. T. the industrial state of the I. W. W.; the Pouget-Pataud theory of double federal of producing labor unions on one side and the federation of distributing co-operatives on the other; the theory that the miners will own the mines, the railroad owners the roads, etc.; the shop organization theory, etc. A thorough discussion of these various theories would do much to clear up the confusion that exists in the international movement on this important matter.

By all means, let us have the proposed conference. It is to be hoped that the S. L. of N. A. will have one or two delegates present.

W. M. Z. FOSTER.

WHY IGNORE TRADE UNION ACTIVITY?

The advocates of one big union, with an over-abundance of confidence, and a belief that the overthrow of the capitalist system is sure to come, forget that a condition of progress is the development of the trade unions. They are a product of an ill-developed, steeped, in-prejudice human nature that we find in peoples. In order to overthrow the system, a body of men must be formed in the pale of the A. F. of L. or among human societies in general. How can we expect revolutionary con- sciences to develop out of a body of men, mostly undermined and in-prejudiced by the union when it's various components lack these essential qualities? It seems folly to entertain such notions.

The trade unions are the one truce-hold of their present state of inertia when, instead of holding aloof from them, the conscious and far-seeing revolutionary movement will use all that power that some one has se- ceded, hamlet, awaiting the millennium. Like all tollers, they need enlightenment, revolutionary education, which can only be imparted to them by being in their midst, and while often mis- understood, struggle with them, demonstrate to them not only how to avoid defeat, but how to broaden their scope by a closer affiliation with kind- droved crafts, and the moral and material benefits accruing from it. Remember they have always been appealed through their selfishness and every in- itiative, and if we have not lost faith in human nature, we can do much towards arousing a greater feeling of solidarity. We must be determined that they should be united, and then, experience and conscience have never failed to contribute bountifully to the advancement of any movement. In other words, their results being mistakes are only incidental, not fundamental, and from their efforts and achievements we are all—be it I. W. W.'s, Syndicalists, Single Taxers or Individualists—reaping countless benefits.

This trade unions in this country only show a slight disposition to struggle according to the rules of the game, it is solely because the fact that they forsake all responsibility of politics. Nietzsche and Stinner after a six-bit dinner, and corrupt leaders and craft politicians converted a vast amount of grab and stratagems of their political ambition. And, if today they only know how to fight clumsily, let us not withdraw from them but show them that we can teach them how to fight with dexterity for a definite aim.

"WHY?"

A COMPARISON.

The woman suffrage agitation in England has become so intense that the statistician of the ministry is actually frightened. The suffragettes are threatening the most dire and effective revenge upon the government if it doesn't give them the ballot during the present session. They say the window-breaking and mail destruction cam- paigns are but trivial as to what is yet to come. They have submitted to the way of their militant tactics. They do not at all guarantee that they will make good their threats. Hence the present conformation throughout England. It is gen- erally believed that they will not get the ballot during this session of parliament they will surely get it during the next one.

This whole suffrage agitation is one of the best exhibitions of the power of direct action and the militant minority ever given. A hundred of un- franchised, but militant women, by sheer "cussed- ness" and contempt for law, conventions, property rights, etc., are kicking up such a row that the women's movement can be realised.

DEPENSE FUNDS.

The capitalist jails are again yewwing to receive another batch of militant workers. They can be de- prived of their prey only by vigorous action by the working class. Funds are urgently needed to finance this movement. The I. W. W. asks all workers arrested in the Little Falls strike. Those wishing to contribute will send funds for Alamosa, Colo., to the W. W. W. and funds for the Little Falls victims to Little Falls Defense Committee, Box 458, Little Falls, N. Y.

THE SILENT BOYCOTT.

Since the Syndicalist League of North America was formed about 8 months ago, one thing that has been suggested to the members of this League was the propriety of giving the I. W. W. press regard it. When one takes into con- sideration that the men and women who founded the I. W. W. were the men and women who founded the I. W. W., one is prone to inquire into the causes of the silence.

Being sure of our position we were willing to dis- cuss Syndicalism even before starting the league. Relying on what we had been taught in the I. W. W. that intelligent discussion helps to bring us to correct conclusions—we expected that the discus- sion of our proposition would show whether our analysis of what was wrong with the I. W. W. was correct or not. But the Gods (of the I. W. W.) decreed otherwise and the silent boycott was placed upon us.

Are we to accept these tactics in accord with those used be- fore. When the Socialist party was organized its arguments were unanswerable. And the capitalist press didn't try to refute them. But, finally, the Socialist party forced recog- nition for itself. Then there developed the I. W. W. and movement of the radical elements of the So- cialist party, Socialist Labor party, and the craft unions. As soon as the I. W. W. cut loose from the politicians and developed its theory of the action immediately the Socialists applied to it the boycott of silence that had been used against them. Finally the I. W. W. has had to overcome this and forced the Socialist party to give it up. The Social- ists, who refused so long to discuss the diffi- cult arguments of the I. W. W. are now being forced to consider them. The seeming inability to reach the goal aimed at through the tactics of the I. W. W. coupled with its theory of the craft unions to die out, or join the I. W. W., has in turn produced the movement organized into the Syndicalist League of North America. The I. W. W. in ignoring this movement and the hard questions it proposes is but following the usual course of dominant organizations.

It is to be hoped that we will learn from the mis- takes of others. Already our movement is past passing out of the first stage—that of being ig- nored—and is force recognition of itself. Let us therefore be careful in the development of our or- ganization. The Syndicalist League of North America is considerable and bigoted stage that prefaces an organization's downfall. When new ideas sprout up from time to time we must always be ready to take it on. We must assimilate those which are beneficial to the revolu- tionary movement, and will bring us nearer to our goal, the emancipation of the world of workers.

J. W. JOHNSTONE, Revelstoke, B. C.

IN THE PURSUIT OF SCIENCE.

In a pamphlet issued by Professor Forster of Berlin against vivisection the author accuses many of our "learned" men of unlimited cruelty in their pur- suit of science. To give a few examples: Professor von Bergmann in Berlin inoculated, with good results, poor patients with cancer serum, in order to see whether it was possible to transfer this cancer to the healthy persons. The same experiments were made in a hospital in Paris.

Professor Finger in Vienna inoculated with the poi- son from leaves, and forty-four recruits with tuber- culosis by Professors Ziemann, Penard and Fliheme in Warsaw, and Dr. De Vido in Breslau, and Dr. De Vido in Berlin. Professor Kolle in the Rudolf hospital in Vienna a man who had an abscess on his left temple had it injected into the left arm of a healthy person. This person developed a serious disease. A hospital physician declared that they preferred young sub- jects for experiments on account of the age of 14 and 18 years. Profes- sor Finger in Vienna inoculated three healthy women with fresh syphilis.

Really enough? Or is it the scienists who should be looked upon as criminals? Or, better yet, be given
THE SYNDICALIST

A MONUMENT TO LABOR.

Since the days of the Tower of Babel every great work of human hands has demanded a toil of human hands. Always a no insignificant percentage of the toilers has died by accident or succumbed to physical strain. The story never varies. It is told by the palaces and defenses of the Pharaohs, of the Pyramids of Egypt, the Parthenon of Athens and the Colosseum of Rome. It is told today by every skyscraper, every commerce building, every country in Christendom. The worker in stone and iron gives blood as well as labor that monuments of civilization may rise while he bleeds and dies and is forgotten.

And now, at last, something has happened to convince us that the workers are a part of the monuments of civilization. From the one of the concrete pillars of the recently erected power dam across the Mississippi River at Keokuk, Iowa, proceeds a human hand. Beyond it, on the body of a laborer who disconected several weeks ago. His body cannot be moved without destroying Human Peso, a portion of the dam, and therefore it must lie imbedded in the cement for the many decades or centuries which will pass before the dam yields to the action of the elements.

Never in our history has the worker and his embodiment never been there an object lesson more likely to impress us on the world the truth that every great work of great civilization is built with the flesh and blood of the toilers—San Francisco Bulletin.

THE WORKERS' UNIVERSITY.

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