

THE SYNDICALIST

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WHOLE No. 58

The Passing Show

THE STRIKE OF THE MINERS.

The most bitterly contested strike in the history of this country is the West Virginia coal strike. No strike on record has a longer list of dead, none a braver band of fighters.

For twelve months these hardy miners have battled against the gigantic coal trust. They met force with force, rifle with rifle. Their minds are not doped with the ethics of the social reformers. They don't know that the silk-stocking S. P. has put its taboo on all their weapons of defense; and they would laugh in their simple ignorance if they did.

Only their ignorance is not imported. They are not all "ignorant foreigners." They are mostly "pure" stock, descended from the original settlers of Virginia. Their ancestors came over with Walter Raleigh. They lived the simple, free life of the mountaineers, till the greedy corporation came and took the mountains from under them. Then they had to begin a new existence on the greedy corporation's terms, and against these terms they struck.

The conquest of the mountains and the subjugation of the people by the coal trust was as complete as any job ever executed by Caesar or Napoleon.

Private property in land is a law of society. The coal barons simply took advantage of their rights under the law. What is your kick? You reason backwards. As well say the cast out the spirit of greed from their hearts. You reason backwards. As well say the needle should not turn to the magnet.

The social rule that land may be owned in indefinite quantity is the most unsocial of all society's rules. Its effect has always been to make masters of some and slaves of the rest. It was originally formulated for that purpose. It has no place in a society that pretends to be free. The miners' strike proves this better than any mere words.

Of a district comprising twenty square miles only one acre is not owned by the barons. On this lone acre all the miners are camped, for they were ordered off the companies' "property" when the strike began.

The strike is primarily for the right to organize. The masters of this district had been successful in keeping the mine-workers' union out. A year ago it began to break through the line. But the masters, learning of the work through their spies, discharged those who joined the union. This precipitated a general strike of the district. Every man then joined the union, and has been splendidly supported by the union miners throughout the country.

The companies hired private thugs, who were supplemented by the state thugs. In the armed conflicts that have followed the attempt to terrorize the miners, about a hundred have been killed. This includes militia, guards and miners. The district is now under martial law, and "Mother" Jones, a remarkable old woman, whose husband and sons were killed in the mines many years ago, is held with others on

the charge of inciting rebellion. And the most significant feature of this remarkable strike is that these workers are to be tried by military "drumhead."

They are refused the exercise of the small privileges they have under civil law. It will be easier to dispose of them this way. The officers can always be relied upon to do their full duty, much more so than a jury of the common people.

This trial marks a new and, for labor, a most dangerous departure. The master class is drawing the lines closer at every turn, and only a determined resistance will prevent a complete subjugation of the workers.

POWER AND EFFICIENCY.

Mr. Laughlin, chief salesman at the political economy pie counter of the Standard Oil University, says we must work harder if we want a raise in pay. Otherwise prices will be raised. It appears the professor is right in the matter of rising prices. For the fellow up above has the right—the power—to raise the price of his goods.

Competition was once a factor of bigness in keeping prices at a low dividend point. Evolution has turned it into a minor place in trade, so the men at the top of the big industries now mostly fix the prices by agreement.

Neither the producer nor the consumer, who is largely the same person, has any protection from the capitalists who, by their combinations, have set aside the "natural law of competition."

The logical thing for us to do, then, in this dilemma, is to submit gracefully to the introduction of the "efficiency" system, allow ourselves to be speeded up in order to "earn" the raise.

Even that would be no check on the capitalists, for they would still have the power to raise prices, if not the excuse; and men with power can always create an excuse for what they want to do. Plainly, we are up against a big proposition.

What's to be done, then, in order to secure a permanent improvement in the conditions of labor?

Organization is the first big thing to attend to. Without it nothing can be done. With it all things are possible. Then strike at every opportunity. It's good exercise. Get your hand in. Note what the bosses say about "efficiency." You become efficient in the art of stopping work. Don't worry about the other kind of efficiency. Efficiency in the art of stopping work and keeping stopped is the kind of efficiency from which you reap all the benefits.

Strike against the bosses' efficiency, and thereby improve your own while knocking his.

Strike for higher wages. Never mind about the bosses' power to raise prices. Think most of your own power and how to develop it.

Strike for fewer hours, for this is the most important strike, since it reduces the number of unemployed.

All these strikes will be transitory. There will be no lasting benefit except the development of your strike efficiency.

Don't underestimate the bosses' power. Don't overestimate it, either.

Know the truth as near as possible. Get posted on the workings of the system. Develop the art of striking—master efficiency.

Let Laughlin prate. That's what Standard Oil pays him for. His business is to so magnify the bosses' power that you will not have the courage to go up against it.

The bosses have the power to raise prices only because you are weak and afraid of them. Get strength and you will take that power away from them.

Become efficient and you will be able to run this blessed world without them.

INDUSTRIAL VS. CRAFT ACTION.

The contrast between the methods of the workers in the operating departments of the railroads and the shopmen is striking. The operating unions all submit to arbitration, fearing to strike, while the shopmen invariably strike.

Nowhere is the antiquated craft spirit so foolishly shown as in the operating departments. Each union steps up singly before the big corporations with its grievance, and having no hope of help from the others, submits to arbitration, which invariably means defeat.

The shopmen's unions, however, have seen through the folly of individual union action, and stand together in their federations.

And they have demonstrated their ability to fulfill the industrial object of solidarity through their craft unions, by possessing that prime necessity to all successful effort, and without which every form of organization must fail—the individual concept of solidarity.

Of course, if they all subscribed to one union, the methods of union operation would be greatly simplified and misunderstandings among the several crafts would be less frequent. But it is not a far-fetched speculation to predict that as they have already seen the necessity for industrial action they will later see the convenience of the industrial form of organization.

It will surely be unfortunate if it will require a series of defeats to bring the operating workers of the American railroads to a thorough appreciation of industrialism. Still, at that, the price won't be too great, for eventually it will either be one union of railroad workers or no union at all.

A millionaire wants to build a \$50,000,000 Labor Temple at Indianapolis, in the shape of a colossal pyramid. Step down off labor's back, brother. That will bring you more lasting fame.

Labor will one day build a temple that will stagger the world. Over its portals will be written the simple word "Freedom."

JAY FOX.

Portugal, the republic, has found a solution for its unemployed problem in arresting men as vagrants and shipping them to its colony in Africa. If there is any manhood left in that country, such crime will not go unanswered.

THE SYNDICALIST

FORMERLY THE AGITATOR

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We love peace, but not peace at any price. There is a peace more destructive of the manhood of living man than war is of his body. Chains are worse than bayonets.—Douglas Jerrold.

TWENTY QUESTIONS ON DIRECT ACTION.

I.

Can there be any moral reasons for direct action?

Each class that has successively dominated society straightway has created a code of morals calculated to support and buttress the power of those in authority.

To this demand the church has ever responded with alacrity, and supplied a kaleidoscopic change of moral laws designed to give ethical sanction to the class in authority.

The amazing power of an idea is to be noted in the tenacity with which the so-called moral idea will persist long after the reason for its existence has disappeared.

Whether politicians will admit it or not, the sovereign power ruling the world today is organized industry, and the workers in physical possession of the materials of the earth and the machinery of production have grown intrinsically stronger than organized political power, which represents the interests of the present individual owners of these industries.

That the claims of organized industry can be held in check by the religious and political sophisms of a class which dominated the weaker industrial systems of the past is manifestly absurd.

The moral maxims of the capitalist regime have served their day and must go, for they tend to perpetuate a low, degraded standard of living wholly out of keeping with the ideals of a class emerging into power with the dominant idea of achieving the material well-being of all those who labor.

Fired by the passion for justice and for equal opportunity for all, the working class have found it necessary to invert almost all the time-worn moral maxims of the capitalist class, because they have found them to be inimical to the welfare of the human race.

In reading history we are beginning to be shocked at the cruel punishment inflicted by the masters, rather than by the sin committed by the law-breaker.

We are struck with the deception practiced on the working class when they are fired with ideals of "patriotism" and spurred on to murder their brother workers under the delusion of defending something they haven't got.

Patriots without a patrimony defending their possessions!

To recommend thrift and economy to the poor and underfed is not moral; it is brutal and cruel.

It would be more moral for the idle rich to eat less and practice abstinence; they do not need strength for production.

Poverty and want among those who produce is a hideous crime, and an abundance among those who consume without producing is a monstrous iniquity.

Capitalist morals have sanctioned taking from the workers as much of the product of their labor as they, the capitalists, have organized violence to compel; while the workers hold it to be a vicious system of theft that extorts any part of their earnings for the purpose of creating surplus value.

Morals, like laws, are only an expression of opinion unless there is power to enforce them; therefore, deeds must precede a declaration of principles.

One favorite "moral maxim" of the capitalist is that "the workman must first be educated before he can safely be trusted with the management of industry."

He is to wait for liberty until he has become quite good and wise in slavery!

He is first to gain health in vile surroundings before he is able to profit by pure air and good food!

Whatever blunders the workers of the world may commit with their industrial freedom, they can correct more easily in freedom than in wage-slavery!

However, the king of all the "moral delusions" ever practiced on the minds of the workers is the political fable!

That in some magical way he is to achieve industrial liberty by voting the right politician into office!

We believe "direct action" to be the numeral at the head of a long list of political zeros.

II.

Why resort to direct action when you have the ballot; why not change the laws?

The belief that we have universal suffrage in this country is another "moral delusion" which the workers are learning to understand.

The last bulletin issued by the commissioner of labor shows that 22 per cent of the adult male wage-workers to be out of employment. These men must follow the job. Therefore, they have no vote.

There are 15,000,000 women in this country who have not yet been granted the franchise.

Thirteen states have property qualifications for voting, which excludes all those grouped under the name of "vagrants."

The Southern states have the "grandfather clause" which disqualifies all whose grandfathers were slaves.

It is estimated that less than 10 per cent of the Southern wage-earners vote, owing to the infamous restrictions placed upon them.

From a Houston (Texas) newspaper we learn that out of every 100 men of voting age in that state, only 55 are qualified voters.

Although this vast army of the working class have no political power, they have economic power which they register in the form of strikes and other forms of "direct action." Besides, the workers have learned that the capitalists have duly protected their interests against any laws that might be beneficial to the working class, by furnishing capitalist courts to "interpret" the laws. Which fact is far more important than making them.

The Sherman anti-trust law has been so interpreted by our courts as to make labor unions a "criminal conspiracy in restraint of trade," while the eight-hour law, which received an overwhelming majority of votes in Colorado a few years ago, was complacently set aside as "unconstitutional" by the Supreme Court of that state.

III.

Is not the strike a barbarous weapon that has always failed? Did not the Paris Commune result in a reactionary form of government?

The strike has won for the workers every concession that has, so far, been wrung from the masters.

But the workers do not expect at one bound to bridge the chasm that separates them from the product of their labor.

The strike is a cantilever bridge, and each strike adds a span to the growing structure, over which the "general strike" will pass to final victory.

As to the Paris Commune, I cannot do better than quote the words of Geo. D. Herron in his great lecture "From Revolution to Revolution." He says: "In the wholly unorganized movement of the working class which led to the Paris Commune we find society administered through the simple law of association for the common good.

"It was a time of unequaled human order and real liberty. Never in the history of the world was there so small an average of misery and so large a fund of secure happiness.

"It dismissed and ignored the government and became its own law and order.

"Never was there such joy in the work of caring for all. Each vied with the other in performing the necessary duties.

"It was a period free from parasitism and exploitation. It was the frightened bourgeoisie leaders that finally betrayed them and sold them out to the vicious Thiers who ordered them murdered to the number of thirty thousand." E. TREW.

INTERNATIONAL SYNDICALIST CONFERENCE.

A call has been issued for a conference of Syndicalists to be held in London next fall. There has not yet been a pure Syndicalist International Conference. The Syndicalists have met with the old-line Unionists and with Socialists where questions of a revolutionary nature have been tabooed. So it is well that the Syndicalists get together in a conference where there will be a free discussion of revolutionary tactics.

The question of Politics versus Direct Action should be gone into. The Syndicalist attitude towards craft unions ought to be considered. The question of Sabotage should be discussed. The general strike as the final blow to the system, should be dwelt upon. And the "what comes after the revolution" is something that might take a couple of profitable days' exchange of thought.

"How are you going to run things under Syndicalism?" is a question that has not yet been answered, except in an individual way here and there. The majority of us just don't know a thing about it. Some of us have our old social democratic notions, others the anarchist ideas. But what is the Syndicalists way?

As an international proposition, Syndicalism is young and cannot be expected to have full-grown, bearded ideas, especially since it has never gotten together with itself yet, for the purpose of evolving ways and means and aims and objects.

A conference would be a source of great value, in that it would give Syndicalism a chance to get acquainted with itself. This Young Petrel of the Revolution that is causing kings and capitalists to worry should meet and shake hands with itself, make its own acquaintance and discuss with itself the all important question of the propaganda.

To do more than have a propaganda conference at this first meeting might not be beneficial. The establishment of an International Secretariat, if proposed, might best be postponed till the second conference, when the several groups will be more fully represented and more clearly comprehend the aims and objects of the movement. J. F.

SAID THE CAPITALISTS TO THE PROFESSORS.

We want an explanation of the labor problem, but we don't want the explanation. Go into the subject, but don't go too deep. We want to know something, but we don't want to know it all. We know something already. We know, and you know, and that's enuf. We endow the colleges. We pay your bills, your salaries. You know where we get the rocks to do it with. The subject is, therefore, safe in your hands.

Pound the "bad" employer. Call forth the wrath of society upon him. Go to the halls of legislation and pour forth your righteous indignation against the inhuman employer who will, in this age of Christian charity, employ tots of nine in his canneries; and, with a beating of drums and a flare of trumpets, the boys will pass a law raising the age to ten.

Don't dig too deep. Don't go below the "bad" employer. Remember your salary and social status. Weep with the winged ones. Moralize on the baneful effects of opium and strong drink. Slash the white slave traffic. Advocate working-class thrift as an offset to high prices and low wages. Rail against Socialism, Anarchism, and "unreasonable" Unionism. But remember your salary and its source.

Don't dig too deep. Remember cream floats on the top. Co-operate with the priests in their war on infidelity. Parade the moral law before the multitude. Sing the praises of patriotism. Condemn with your weightiest words all forms of illegal violence. Write plentifully on the dangers of foreign invasion, and produce learned fiction on political economy. But don't dig too deep.

Thus, have I written the unwritten constitution of the universities, obeyed by lawyers, preachers and the host of clingers that, vinelike, draw their sustenance from the capitalist oaks, whose roots are buried in the vitals of the working class.

EDWIN RENARD.

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH US?

What's the matter with us all today? We're in a fearful mess. What ails us? We own or want to own. That's what ails us. That's what stops all the decent things half done or before they get under way. That's what substitutes law for love. That's what substitutes respectability for right. That's what substitutes greed for good.—Horace Traubel.

LEAGUE No. 1, NELSON, B. C.

Big Strike Ended.

The strike is over, working being resumed on April 14. However, several minor details are yet to be arranged.

The gains made are as follows: Electricians, 50c per day increase; Machinists, 27c; inside laborers, 15c.

The hub of the strike, however, was the laborers' conditions. Previously, their wages and hours were somewhat of a mixture, some working eight hours for \$3.20, and some nine hours for \$3.50 and \$3.00. Their demand was for a uniform rate of 40c an hour an eight-hour day preferred. Around this demand the trouble centered, and still centers, even though work has been resumed.

At a meeting on Saturday between the joint committees of the M. & M. and the Trades and Labor Council, the T. & L. representatives stood firm on the flat rate of 40c per hour, and the M. & M. stood firmly opposed to it. A three hours' argument pro and con was the consequence; so, to overcome the deadlock, the T. & L. representatives suggested that an arbitration board be formed, composed of two men appointed by the T. & L. C., and two by the M. & M., these four appointing their own chairman, a fifth person; this board to go into the scales suggested and strike an average of the scales, the T. & L. C. being convinced that it would work out at 40c. It was upon this suggestion being agreed to that work was resumed. Phillips and Smith were appointed by the men, two capable representatives who know the ropes, and will see that the men's interests are well safeguarded. There the matter rests.

Of course, it is questionable if the men followed the correct course in allowing the matter to go to arbitration, and as Syndicalists we cannot be otherwise than opposed to arbitrating labor disputes. But then we must remember that the rank and file have not yet imbibed all the Syndicalist sentiments, and are still tainted with the old conservative ideals. Their education is still incomplete. But at the same time it must be remembered that they feel sure the average, when struck (and it is merely a matter of figures) will give them their demands.

The noticeable feature of the strike, and one which caused the bosses considerable surprise, was the common cause made by the skilled trades with the unskilled. The skilled clearly understood that the laborers were their base; and in several instances made concessions in favor of the laborers.

This was seen in the machinists, who, while demanding 50c an hour, agreed to accept 48c, if their laborers be given the balance. The teamsters, again, agreed to accept their former scale in favor of the laborers; and the brick-layers and stone-masons' helpers also agreed to take less in favor of the cement-mixers and excavation workers.

Another instance of mutual aid and solidarity was shown by the electricians, who, although signing up with the employers the first day of the strike, at the increased rate, still refused to return to work until all the others did.

In what ballot-box contest could such a spirit be developed? And still politicians tell us that strikes are of no educational value other than the "strike" at the ballot-box," of course.

While the carpenters, the black sheep of the fold, did eventually quit—one week late, and after being practically shamed into it at that—it is questionable if there would have been a strike at all if they had stood firm at the beginning. But then, the carpenter trade has ever been on the bum since Mr. Christ worked at it.

One thing is certain, however, despite the result either way it goes: There are more class-conscious men in Nelson today than there were before the strike, even allowing for those who found it convenient to seek fresh fields of endeavor.

Miners Strike on Vancouver Island.

For the past six months a strike of considerable magnitude has been going on in Vancouver Island among the coal miners. Previous to the strike these miners had no organization to defend themselves with, the consequence being starvation wages, wretched conditions of employment, and the arrogant abuse of petty officials.

As one puts it: "The day wages paid range from \$1.35 to \$2.86; narrow work price, from nothing to what the boss wishes to pay; and lead work price, the same as narrow work."

Upon the men beginning to organize under the U. M. W. A., the bosses began putting the screws on in the approved civilized fashion. Whereupon the men took a day's rest, and the bosses shut 1,500 of them out.

Most of this coal is mined by Chinese and Japanese, chiefly under non-union conditions; and owing to the strategic position of the mines, and the fine quality of the coal, and its abundance, the product is a depressing factor upon organized miners. In fact, the U. M. W. A. are compelled to organize here in self-protection; and the marvel is that they have been so slow about it.

This fight has some extremely interesting features which concern the workers of the Coast as a whole, and it is to be hoped that the radicals in the vicinity will utilize the occasion.

SECRETARY.

THE ORIGINAL INJUSTICE.

Life is a game we all must play; and a game that must be played is not all sport. The compulsory principle in life robs us of the choice of quitting it voluntarily; and the tyrant we kneel to in electing to remain is the illusive hope of pleasure.

It is the tyrant, pleasure, that has made men slaughter each other, and commit the countless horrors with which every page of history glows.

It is the tyrant pleasure that has made a few strong men to corner the earth and force the rest of mankind to pay them tribute for the privilege of occupying it.

Thus pursuing its quest of pleasure, the minority shifted its burden of life onto the shoulders of the majority. And this minority has gathered around it an army of servants and retainers, of lawyers and judges, artists and priests, lawmakers and governors, soldiers and police, who do no productive work, but live in luxury, and all the burden of their sumptuous lives is piled high on the back of the workers.

This, then, was the original injustice: **THAT THE BURDEN OF ONE MAN'S LIFE SHOULD BE STRAPPED ON THE SHOULDERS OF ANOTHER.**

Stripped of all its verbiage; revealed in all its ghastly nakedness, there stands the original problem in sociology.

Naturally, the ones who had no burden to carry had time to think, time to cultivate their minds; time to invent schemes whereby their pleasure might be increased and the increased burden of the worker more securely fastened to his back.

They organized relief societies, and when he complained about his burden they had sweet charity take an ounce off the front, while greed slipped a pound on from the rear. When he complained further, they told him he was unreasonable, and showed him the table of average wealth statistics. When he still complained they told him they would have the tariff revised, and advised him that, whatever he did, not to use force; that force is a crude, barbarous, antiquated weapon; that it is immoral, sinful, and not in harmony with modern civilization; and that, anyway, he couldn't use it, as they have all the guns.

Indeed, through the aid of priest and politician, for a long time they convinced him it was necessary he should carry the weight, and that they were conferring a favor on him by permitting him to bear it. For they cunningly contrived it so he couldn't carry his burden without carrying theirs also. And they even persuaded him that the entire burden was his own, placed on his shoulders by a Divine Providence that had another world prepared for him, where there would be no burdens to bear, provided he was honest and faithful in carrying all the weight that might be piled upon him in this world.

This was a most accommodating philosophy, to be sure—for the exploiters—and it made a profound impression on the world. All the law, all the religions, all the ethics, morality and literature of the ages is saturated with it.

It is only natural that this should be; for society is founded on the original injustice of placing the burdens of one man on the shoulders of another; and the foundation had not only to be preserved, but strengthened by every device conceivable; and every art has been subsidized to that end. Indeed, so successful have been the beneficiaries in cloaking the original injustice, that it is only in recent years the burden-bearer has begun to see it.

But as soon as he discovered that all the promises of civilization were subtle lies devised to keep him in subjection, he very naturally repudiated them, and characterized modern society as a huge conspiracy

to keep him forever bending under its weight, and he declared eternal and relentless war against its chief expression, CAPITALISM.

From beneath his load he thunders these words at the master class: "You have your system planted pretty solidly on my back, but I am going to slip from under it. And it is all coming off. I won't stand for any more compromising. The social war is on, and I will keep it up incessantly till victory is mine; guerrilla-like at first, openly when I acquire strength enough. It is war now to the end."

That is the voice of the Syndicalist, the Revolutionist, that echoes today from every quarter of the earth. Capitalism must go. Every man must bear the burden of his own life, and none shall bear the burden of another unless he voluntarily assumes it.

The war is on—the social war—the war in which every man and woman who would be free is a soldier. The one war in the world's history where the fighters will reap the reward of victory.

JAY FOX.

AGAINST CONTRACTS WITH BOSSES.

The Washington convention had the following to say on the question of contracts:

"Whereas, it has been the practice of various craft unions to enter into a contract with their employers to work for a specified time at a stipulated wage, each contract expiring on different dates, and

"Whereas, This practice has, in the past, resulted in one set of union men assisting in the breaking of the strike of another union, themselves becoming scabs on their brothers, and

"Whereas, This practice has caused greater division of the workers than would have existed had they recognized their interdependence and struck as one union, and

"Whereas, The practice of signing contracts which expire on different dates tends to create divisions, arouse prejudices, and arrays one union against another, making their defeat more certain whenever they go on strike for better conditions, and

"Whereas, Society is so very complex that it is no longer possible to live for ourselves alone, but we are forced, whether we desire to or not, to have regard for the interests of all who labor, so that we are really our brother's keeper; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Washington State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Olympia, Wash., January 20-26, 1913, recommend that the signing of contracts between unions and bosses be discontinued; be it further

Resolved That it is against the interests of all labor for union labor to accept jobs where there is a conflict on between capital and labor, whether organized or unorganized."

DARROW FAVORS THE GENERAL STRIKE.

At a reception tendered to him in Los Angeles, Clarence S. Darrow declared that the unions must change their present tactics, quit monkeying with the law, organize industrially and declare a general strike, if we would free ourselves from the domination of capitalism.

"The laws we have enacted and the moves we have made are patchwork," said Darrow. "You can't gain anything by raising the price of labor while a few men in Wall street can gather around a mahogany table and in the twinkling of an eye take away all you gain by raising the prices of all commodities.

"The old-time labor union has served its purpose, but it is no longer effective. We are all selfish; the labor union is selfish. It takes no note of the unorganized laborer. Of 15,000,000 laborers, the unions have never had more than 2,000,000, and not all of these working in harmony. A change must come, and it must come through a change in the industrial conditions under which we live.

"If all of the laborers could be induced to cease work for one day, they would accomplish something. If they would cease for a week or a month, they could control the world. The men who now own the world, practically, are a few exploiters of the human race; the men who should own the world are the laborers who produce all that is in the world. If laborers would cease to labor a week, they would cause the private ownership of land and the so-called vested rights to cease. But so long as a few men own the mines they can name the price of coal, and it makes no difference what wages they pay if they control the price the laborer must pay for commodities."

THE REVOLT OF LABOR

According to a prominent labor leader, who refuses to divulge his name, the steel barons have finally arrived at the conclusion that they cannot longer safely keep their vast army of workers in their present unorganized and abject conditions. They fear a wild, spontaneous and costly uprising, that will, in addition to its other havoc, produce a militant revolutionary union in the steel industry. To forestall this, the story goes, they propose to allow their employes to organize now. They say they will grant this union an eight-hour day, and generally enter into contractual relations with it; provided it shows itself capable of having its contracts recognized and accepted by the mass of steel workers. All that is wanting to put this scheme into immediate operation, according to said labor leader, is the appearance of some brilliant man among the steel workers with ability and prestige enough to launch the new union. The barons are bemoaning the want of such a Messiah. Sounds fishy.

As a result of the many recent I. W. W. strikes throughout the textile industry, the textile employes are being forced to organize. At a recent banquet in Boston of cotton manufacturers, many speakers bemoaned the lack of solidarity among them. One speaker said: "Those of us in the South are too indifferent and too contented if labor troubles appear in the North, so long as they remain there, and vice versa. And those of Rhode Island are too glad if Lawrence is getting it, and not themselves. Massachusetts, in turn, has a thrill of satisfaction when her troubles are over and Rhode Island is in difficulty, and so on." The sense of the meeting was that the manufacturers would have to stop cutting each others' throats and present a solid front to the rebellious workers. Thus the I. W. W. is at least organizing the textile employers, whatever its success with the textile workers may be.

The railroad trainmen and conductors have been refused arbitration by 54 Eastern railroads. After the conventions of both organizations, or about June 15, a strike vote will be taken. If the arbitration-swindled engineers and firemen would make common cause with the brakemen, conductors and shopmen, instead of being forced to plead for the niggardly sops of arbitration, they would present such an array of power that they could well refuse to arbitrate with the railroads. They could turn the tables on the arrogant railroads and force them to do the begging. But, alas, from all indications it will be some time before they have learned this simple lesson of solidarity. The harsh schoolmaster, experience, must give still a few more of his stern lessons.

A more or less mysterious court of appeals, whose exact function or location in the jungle of the law is not quite clear to the writer, has just found Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison guilty of contempt of court. It seems rather unkind to thus single out these three gentlemen from among the many millions of Americans who have nothing but contempt for our courts. Gompers was given a stop-over ticket for thirty days, while Mitchell and Morrison were each fined \$500. An appeal is to be taken to the Supreme Court. Ye gods! When will this Wandering Jew of a case be ended? It has already been hanging fire since Moses was a little girl.

To "slough off" the growing sentiment among Chicago garment workers for unionism, the Wholesale Clothiers' Association and the National Tailors' Association have "voluntarily" granted their workers a 52-hour week. The workers, now almost entirely recovered from their great defeat of a couple of years ago, are rapidly organizing in spite of these sops.

The Pullman conductors are organizing. As soon as there is a considerable body of them united they hope to affiliate with either the O. R. C. or the B. of R. T. Of all the slaves in the railroad service but few stand in greater need of organization than the Pullman employes. Success to them in their efforts.

The A. F. of L., through its union label department, is gathering information relative to the adoption of a universal label for all the trades unions. Nuff sed.

WM. Z. FOSTER.

HANDS ACROSS THE SEA.

Alfred Rosmer, fraternal delegate to the English Syndicalist Conference recently held in London, addressed the meeting as follows:

"Dear Comrades: In the name of my fellow-workers of La Bataille Syndicaliste I bring you the fraternal greetings of the French Syndicalists.

"We Frenchmen are very interested, and much pleased by the progress of Syndicalism in England—progress which is attested by the great strikes of last year and of the beginning of this year, by the great curiosity excited by this new theory in all the classes of society. Many people write and more people speak on the subject of Syndicalism. Well, there is much nonsense written and spoken—in France, too—but it does not matter.

"What matters is, that you, by your acts, show what Syndicalism is; because Syndicalism is not a subject for academic discussion; it is, before all, a peculiar form of action. It has its own ways, its own aim. Its practical ways are to be found in direct action—i. e., action of the workers themselves against their employers, culminating in the general strike. Its aim is the establishment of a society where there will be no more of either employers or wage-earners, but only equal men.

"It resolutely refuses to identify itself with any political party, because political parties are not constituted according to the class struggle, and because the Socialist party, which sometimes asserts it is pursuing the same purpose as Syndicalism, puts its trust in the state, while Syndicalism is against the state and opposed to such measures like nationalization of mines, railways, etc.

"And, after all, is not England the native land of Syndicalism? Is not England the land of Robert Owens, of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, which advocated the general strike as early as in the '30s of the last century?

"So Syndicalism is only a renaissance, and we hope that this time it will not disappear before having realized its object.

"Long live the I. S. E. L.!

"Long live the international of the workers!"

A SHOW OF SOLIDARITY.

Tacoma.—The lumber carrier Oliver J. Olsen lies idle in the waterway off the St. Paul mill, because 13 of its able seamen, men able to see that staying on the job while the wireless operators were on strike on the same ship was not good unionism.

The mysterious agitating operator who shipped as a waiter was given a protracted leave of absence upon the discovery that the schooner's wireless apparatus had evidently been tampered with. Undoubtedly, this young disciple of Pouget and Foster has been reading some of our patriotic boys' books and his mind has been poisoned with the heroism of our boys of '76 or '61, who went into the enemy's camp and destroyed his ammunition, spiked his cannon and fired or stampeded his food wagons and cattle.

He should be taught that the interests of capital and labor are identical, and that it is unethical and un-American to use any method in his fight for better conditions not approved of by the enemy.

Do you see the joke, boys? Can't you see, the only way to win is to crawl into the enemy's camp, spike his guns and let the enemy's set of ethics stay in the enemy's camp?

Yours for United Labor,

S. T. HAMMERSMARK.

LETTERS TO A REVOLUTIONIST.

Fellow-Worker:—From your letter in regard to the labor movement, I fail to see why you conscious workers should consider it necessary to step out of your old union and build a dual organization, because the old ones are conservative, not coming up to your standard of radicalism.

I don't believe it is the structure of an organization of labor that ought to concern us most, but rather the development of its integral units. It is only too true that the workers under the banner of the A. F. of L. are not class-conscious workers as a whole, and ignore their economic power; but does a mere change of name and structure for a new organization automatically transform the workers unconsciousness into consciousness?

You admit that they must be educated if they are not now. Then what is the idea of dividing their present organization up? They have to be educated, and why not educate them in their present unions?

Your contention that the workers cannot evolve from the present craft unionism to higher stages of

economic development owing to their form of organization, is superfluous in the extreme. A labor organization must not depend on saviours for its emancipation, but on the initiative and consciousness of its integral units. Towards the development of these qualities our energies should be concentrated. It matters not under what form of organization constituted, the evil of leadership must be overcome and banished from the worker's mind. Not being exempt from this fallacy, most of the so-called radicals lay great emphasis on the assumption that because of its leaders the rank and file of the A. F. of L. cannot be revolutionized. Evidently this logical conclusion gave birth to the I. W. W. centralized leadership fallacy. Oh, logic! Being that all society leadership is conservative, as state, capital and the church, did it ever occur to you that consistently with your line of reasoning, which is that in order to revolutionize society you must get away from the influence of its leadership, you should transport yourselves to the moon? P. CERNADO.

A scab machinist on the Illinois Central left a bolt out of a guide. It dropped down, the crosshead followed suit, the top side of the cylinder was pried out. The guides finally landed on the wayside, and the train came very near landing in the ditch.

The state of Washington has passed a law creating an "Industrial Welfare Commission," with power to regulate the wages and working conditions of women and children.

Books and Pamphlets For Sale by the Syndicalist Publishing Association.

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