"We've got the dope on you," said Margaret Halcy, walking delegate of the school teachers' union, who wrote the offending resolution. But the溶子 were not taking any chances. They were longer than butternuts, and so they dropped Maggie and the bunch as quickly as they could without doing violence to their official position. Now the federation has repudiated the resolution and defies the lawmakers to touch them for it, asserting they are ready to go to jail in the interest of the people. The lawmen will hardly accept the challenge. They know they are corrupt. Why should they give these labor skates a chance to prove it to you and I, who are the elected public officials, and with whose support the whole law making business would go into bankruptcy? It is true, but the whole law making trade is fast coming into disrepute, and the time is fast approaching when there won't be a person outside the cemeteries with the least regard for it.

OVER WHERE ACTION SPEAKS.

Across the Rio Grande the fight is still hot, with the odds on the side of the rebels, who seem to be pressing hard upon Mexican City.

The cry for "Land and Liberty" is growing louder despite the attempts of Huerta and his band of murderers to cut every throat that utters it. The scoundrel is actually dictatorial and is striving to rob the United States of its million dollar flight from the Mexican creditors. He has appealed to European bankers in opposition to the Mexican congress and his own cabinet, it is understood, so that he can "get out of the game." Money was made to serve man. It has become his god, his master, his crucifix. Acting on this fact Huerta wants to get money. He knows only too well what money has already done to the people. Some of the people are great, and emaciated the few in luxury and ease and he thinks to perpetuate that state of things by the use of strenuous men.

But man sometimes rises superior to the monsters of his own creation and Mexico is a glorious example before us. With all the glare of European gold Huerta cannot muster enough men to protect his privileged class in Mexico.

Failing in his effort to hire Mexican cutthroats, he will endeavor to get this country to supply them, and you and I will be subjected to the deep humiliation of being asked across the line of separation to come back and crush the Mexican revolution. And we and our children for generations will have to pay the enormous expenses of this monstrous outrage upon liberty. And thousands of our foolish youth will be sacrificed to the god of war. And army contractors and war speculators will reap a rich harvest, the generals will attain to glory. And the widows will weep and the orphans cry and the malmed and fevered will groan and die.

And all, all, because Rockefeller, Otis, Hearst & Co. have titles to land that belongs to the Mexican people.

MAKING CRIME BY LAW.

The bunch of lawyers who make laws for the people of Missouri have made a crime out of the praise-worthy act of giving a person something to eat without charging him for it.

This country is full of law factories, all busy making laws, all in a tremendous expansion and great in convenience to the people. By the force of habit and the faculty of indifference the masses submit to the impositions and carry the weight of this law making industry, which has developed alongside the other American industries into the greatest institution of its kind that ever existed.

In no country in the world has law making reached the heights of absurdity attained by Amer-

ica, and this law making the making of a crime out of that which in the very nature of things could not be a crime, is a shining example of its work.

The simplest definition of crime is that it is an unsozial act. To penalize an act of kindness is not only absurd, it is a crime; and when this crime is written into the law books as much through ignorance, or to serve the sordid ends of business, it is an atrocious offence against society, and ninety percent of the laws are made for that specific purpose.

I am under sentence on the charge of saying things contrary to that longREADING THE LAWYERS.

The Chicago Federation of Labor is interested in "protecting nothing else," having nothing else to do. So it bitterly lashed the legislature for not passing the initiative and referendum. Whereupon the legislature passed into law the dignity and vindicated the officers of the offending federation before its
THE SYNDICALIST
FORMERLY THE AGITATOR

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What are thou, Freedom? Obit could slaves
Answer from their living graves
This demand, truth, shall see
Like a dream's dull imagery! —Shelley.

TWENTY QUESTIONS ON DIRECT ACTION.

I.

If the working class were to gain control, would not the large majority tyrannize over and exploit the small minority?

That would be impracticable, because of the fewness of your numbers. We could do nothing worse than to invite you to become one of us. There would be but one class in the world—the working class. Then for the first time in all the history of the world the stigma attached to labor would disappear, for no longer would it become rich merely by commanding more labor than he need render.

V.

Why do you spurn the church? Is it not the bulwark of our civilization?

It is the bulwark of capitalism. It always has been on the side of the rich, and has gone hand in hand with the state in upholding the interests of the rich against the poor.

It has meddling the workers into abdicating their rights in this world, believing they will reap their reward in the next; while the law has supplemented this by providing regally for the rich to get theirs right here.

VI.

You must admit, however, that Christ was a friend of the workingman, and yet you reject Christianity? Christianity as Christ taught it never has been given us. When Rome found she could not crush the revolt of the working class by crucifying its leader, she killed it by adopting it.

Now dropping the erroneous teachings of Christ it has been found necessary to go along with its brothers, the law and the state, in supporting the privileged classes.

Christ, in the fourth century, adopted Christianity because he found the Christians to be better soldiers than the pagans.

VII.

But the great financiers and the business gentlemen with brains conceived and organized the big industries—do they not fill a useful place in society?

We believe if they all were dropped in the sea tomorrow the work of the world would go on just the same, only in a much more humane manner, as production would then be for use and not for profit.

The workers are then free to work for twelve hours a day, and there would be no child labor.

The workers are fast being disillusioned as to the "gigantic noblesse" and the great financiers furnishing workers; they are at last understanding that the amanu further exploiting and robbing the cesse of the brain power robs itself of privileges, stolen, bought and usurped from the government for their own private and exclusive profit.

Of the creation of an industrial commonwealth, the big, brainy financier can always find a job, if he can render any useful service.

VIII.

What do you propose to substitute for the present form of government?

For the present form of government, which is the business agent of the capitalist class, we propose to substitute an industrial commonwealth with voluntary association in the industrial industries; the executives to be chosen by all branches of industrial labor instead of from a horde of corporation lawyers who at present represent solely the interest of the money lords who sent them there.

With shop committees chosen by the workers in each group of industry, autonomy in its internal and external commerce would be assured in each shop, factory or association.

An industrial commonwealth would be an administration of things—not a scheme for the exploitation of PERSONS.

The ideal to be attained is the complete abolition of the wage system; for there can be no freedom for any so long as there is a spot on earth which holds a master and a hirling.

X.

In teaching your doctrine of anti-patriotism, are you not a traitor to your country?

The working people have no country; their home is where their jobs are. They are beginning to understand that the imaginary boundary lines divident must be dropped so that the working people, as against another, he repels the reward of race and religious prejudices by getting a larger output.

In this great million of labor machines there is being fused a material new and unisoned by the exploiters. In their suffering the worker has been conditioned, to stand together; when the strike they have been drawn closer together. They have cared for each other in sickness and burial each other's dead. They have eaten from each other's labor. They have learned to appreciate each other's national soup bowl. They have learned each other's national songs. Having been brothers in misery, they are learning to fight the working class battle together, that they may one day be brothers in peace and happiness.

To him who can read the signs of the times it must be evident that when universal peace is established it will not be brought about by the learned dignitaries of The Hague, but by the workers of all the world uniting in declaring that they belong to no country, but to the WORLD.

Does not your doctrine of anti-militarism invite foreign invasion?

The movement is international. The workers of all countries are being educated to refuse to shoot down their comrades. They have no property to lay a single brick, to paint a single wall. They have no nation. They are bound together. Let the possessing classes fight their own battles. The working class refuses to fight in any war but the war for its own freedom.

In order to acquire new fields for the extraction of profits and new markets for the produce of exploited labor, the working class are armed with guns and fired with a holy (f) patriotism and sent to foreign countries on the mission of "benevolent assimilation."

From the newly conquered countries come fat profits; but not for the workers. Their wages remain as always, at the point of subsistence.

RVA TREW.

THE TIGER'S CLAWS.

(A Criticism of the Public Schools.)

Our system of education is the last of our glorious institutions to be brought before the bar of revolutionary criticism. The battle is not the first, but it is not the least of the fine flagging our educators have received recently at the hands of its victims.

It is a delight to see the kids turn on the teachers. It is one of the hopeful signs of progress. The child is the last thing that has been taken up. And when we see him sharpen his pencil and dig delightfully into the bunch of taskmasters, we feel there is hope for his early liberation. For no one can free a fellow soul so quickly as himself.

Kosa writes as only a sufferer can write from the claws of the tiger. She uses strong words. She is not afraid to strike hard. We have not been able to impress upon her how long enough with this institution that is breaking the spirit of our children and turning them into mere sots for slaves. The tiger is mightier but Kosa has as strong a case against the "how" of the schools as against the "what" of them.

The compulsory education is perhaps their worst evil. But I am not going to tell you about this. Let Rosa do it. Get the Roshis from the author, Rosa Luxemburg, 3313 22nd street, San Francisco, Cal, or from this office, 10c.

SYNDICALISM AND THE CO-OPEATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

By Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget.

With an introduction by Peter Kropotkin and a Foreword by Tom Mann.

Cloth, $1. Paper Cover, 75c. (For U.S. and Canada orders from The Syndicalist)

I have read Utopias, from Plato to Morris, but none of them compare with this. Plato, Morris, and the rest were dreamers pure and simple; these Frenchmen are socialists. They know their subject from A to Z. They know what they are writing about. This book does not sooth and put us to sleep. It rather awakens us from our dreams. It makes us sit up and look across the pond to see what revolution has really meant. They are reminding us again and again of the Social Revolution. They are not because they are fine writers, although they write good, but it is because the odor of the factory is on their words. They talk right out of the mouth of the worker and without union's, the workers' thoughts. They know the possibilities of the workers when united and educated. They show the results of the Christian and the romantic school of dreamers. They are a purely modern type of idealist-realists.

They show the problems that can and will be created when the workers have begun to write their own books. Who knows the workers' thoughts, who is better able to give expression to their hopes and aspirations than they themselves?

This book answers a thousand questions and it gives rise to a thousand more. And yet it raises the questions that are pressing for solution at this time. All of them are of the utmost importance. They relate to the overthrow of the old system and the establishing of the new one. In giving a possible outline to go by we can work out the problem to much better advantage.

Kropotkin thinks they made the overthrow of capitalism too easy and that we are liable to be unprepared for greater resistance when the crash comes if we follow the authors too literally.

That is a good point for discussion right there and let us take it up. For my own part I am inclining to agree with the old man. Still I feel that the revolution of the sector in itself, but it may not be so much a question of the lack of adaptability to the immediate necessities of the situation, as the manner in which might be interpreted in the light of preparedness. I believe we should be ready to wade to the waist in gore if necessary to fulfill the successful achievement of the revolution. At the same time I believe I would exhort all the resources of persuasion, sympathy and love to win over the mass of our ignorant fellow slaves who are in the uniforms of the master class.

This book shows us the possibilities along this line, and I think for that reason the authors are to be commended.

In fine spirit of calmness and toleration, attributes not too generally associated with the mass of Americans with the French, the book will make a lasting impression in this country. It is a great temper gives one the feeling that it has power behind it, and its ready grasp of the possible problems of the revolution, reveals a thorough study of the subject.

One of the unique features of the book is the authors' combiniing of communism with the labor question.

Comte built a system of philosophy without God. "I didn't have any need of Him," he answered Napoleon. These more modern Frenchmen built a society without a state for the same reason, and it is not an anarchist society either.


JAY FOX.
LEAGUE No. 1, NELSON, B.C.

The unions in Nelson are once more down to spinning their yarns, fortifying and raising up after the unregenerate. Our friend, the enemy, is much more active than heretofore and is applying the screws, both openly and covertly, with the result that many of the "reds" have had to seek fresh pastures. But the red seed is germinating.

Opposition to legislation, and opposition breeds retaliation. A fighting master class has always called forth a fighting working class. If they spurnteaching, why in heaven should we not savor their means of living? Answer that, John M. O'Neill in your official journal, the W. F. of M. Monitor.

There is a spirit of unrest abroad among the members of the W. F. of M., ever since the findings of the arbitration board; but the officials are still partial to the bullet box argument.

However, time is no object to politicians.

The only thing that they respect is a can dangling to their coat tails.

A little fight is still raging in Porcupine, way back East, and some of the miners have been penalized for inciting to strike, under the rules of the arbitration law.

The I. W. W.'s are mixed up in this strike considerable with their usual disruptive tactics, an inevitable result from their teachings regarding all A. F. of L. employers and the W. F. of M. and the W. F. of M. in their fight with the union, and using their surplus energies in that direction. They are using the same old stuff, to withdraw the miners to the W. F. of M. into the I. W. W with consequent confusion.

As Socialists, we would welcome the I. W. W. as I. W. W.'s they cannot be otherwise than disrupters and thus aid the boss. According to one of the leaders of the I. W. W., the W. F. of M., into the I. W. W. is now 75,000 strong. This sure beats the much vaunted mushroom growth of many Messrs. Ford in that he is in such false-hoods? Five thousand is nearer the mark.

On Vancouver Island the United Mine Workers are still under the hoods. The miners are being made to tie up every mine on the island; but as very little spade-work has been done, and the elements much divided, especially with the little yellow and brown men, not much success has been met with so far.

Troublesome times are ahead for Vancouver Island, as the point is a very strategic one.

The new Timber-Workers' Union is making great strides on the coast; and, as it is to be hoped, will realize that the spirit of state action, now by industries, must be rotten-ripe for new ideas, when they are so barren of them as to fall back upon the labor movement.

Surely there are at least enough Syndicalists in Vancouver to get together and run a column in The Syndicalist and help matters along.

A sympathetic strike is upon the cards in Port Arthur, Ontario, and the Trades and Labor Council is working for the matter. The Tommies employed are out on strike and the company has imported professional strike-breakers with their usual action. The best educational results are produced by strikes. The effete East is surely stretching itself.

Another flare for the I. W. W. according to labor reports is the case of the Valley Rail-road. The Valley Rail-road has fallen through. In a way this is to be deplored, as the railroaders are sadly in need of conditions. It is not as being made to tie up any section of workers. The I. W. W. may be able to do good educational work along class-conscious lines and the W. F. of M. is about the best time that they learned from McKee's Rocks, Lawrence, and elsewhere where they cannot hold them. Nelson's object lessons come from the lumberjacks. Get inside the labor movement, you reds, and quit playing around in the backyards.

W. CRAIG.

FIRST SIGNS OF REVOLT IN A. F. OF L.

The refusal of the Seattle Central Labor Council to upset the Reid faction of the electrical workers when ordered to do so by the A. F. of L. is a clear indication, against some rumors to the contrary, that our power is up above, against the national and international unions, against the whip hand that reaches us from High Headquarters against the power that has made of the city labor councils of this country mere ornamental figures.

The local branch of the unions have managed to hold some of their autonomy. Thus we have successful local industrial strikes in the building line. It is a sign of things to come when a building contractor says something that we listen with respect for we know there is action behind.

But when the central labor council belleus out some red hot resolution we blink at each other and look to see what delegates are getting themselves into. These resolutions are not the rule but the exception. Today we have about all these resolutions resolutions mean, since the central councils haven't the power to order a strike to enforce them. The local unions are controlled by their national unions in strike matters and consequently have no power to delegate to their central councils. Therefore there can't be any central concerted action on the part of the local unions. They can talk, and they develop fine orators. They can pass resolutions, and they can lobby in the state legislatures. They can do most anything that is of no consequence. They can't do the one thing that is vital—they can't strike. They can't order the men of the A. F. of L. they are treated in the same way. They are allowed one delegate each, with one vote, while delegates from the propaganda leagues has two and votes each. But the local delegates make fine speeches and contribute largely toward the life of the convention. A national convention where I was discussing this matter once, put it briefly and correctly thus:

"These city fellows do the talking, but we do the voting." That same delegate had more votes than all the city central bodies in the A. F. of L.

The trouble doesn't lie in the A. F. of L. but in the national conventions. The A. F. of L. is the creation of the national unions and so watchful are they of their own authority that they have delegated very little of it to the A. F. of L. "Trade autonomy" was emphased by reason of the experience the workers had in the K. of L. Now the cry of "local autonomy" is beginning to rise out of their experience in national trade unions and this must grow with the growth of labor unions in the big cities and their discovery of the fact that they can do nothing except talk without the consent of their "international." When a big central body like the Chicago Federation of Labor, with a member is able to demand and get what it wants, according to the realization of the utterly ridiculous condition of impotence it is in, without power to handle local affairs only in name, then the decentralization from the headquarters of the hundred national unions whose branches compose its membership, it will raise the cry of "local autonomy." In France, where the people are just a bit ahead of every other country, the central bodies have local autonomy.

They did it by forming a national body of their own, and standing "pat" on questions that affected them. Now they have an equal voice in national conventions and equal representation in the national executive (the C. G. T.), and they are the best and most radical fighters in the world.

This country the work of decentralizing the national unions must begin at once, for the evolution of the trade strike into the industrial strike demands it. The growth of the unions demands it. The growth of intelligence demands it. The growth of solidarity, the increasing need of united local action, demands it. This movement will turn the road of social evolution is the signboard demanding local autonomy.

J. F.

ARE YOU WITH HIM?

The only time you're really alive is when you've got on to something new. And the role of discoverer, whether you are the luminary or the ass. All answers are in the luminary's head. If the safe people always agree that to do anything that's never been done before, to see anything that's never been seen before, to hear anything that's never been heard before, is a blow at society and the state. Then get their armies and navies busy. And their policemen. And their professors. And they left up their rifles and their clubs and their textbooks and their sweaters and before high heaven that this peril must be averted. And then they land on your backs and stomp your face into the ground and the ostracism. In schools and newspapers. Even science draws lines. You're a goner if you wander over into the old-frontiers territory. The sin. Well—here goes. Me for asland—Horace Traubel.

SYNDICALISM VS. SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

That Syndicalism is having considerable effect upon the Socialist "pollys" in "dear old H'england" goes without saying; in fact, I don't think we "Colonials" even know of it. A Movement can always be gauged by the strength of the attack. Where there is nothing to attack, it stands to reason there can be no attack.

The attack upon the Syndicalists in Britain is strong and widespread, especially from the "polly" quarter.

A certain Mr. Blatchford has just taken the matter in hand, more in sorrow than in anger; and in a four-column article in the Clarion he asks, "What is the matter with Socialism?"

"Nothing," he replies. "Socialism is all right." But—

We don't understand democracy.
We haven't elected the proper men to Parliament.
The Liberals and Tories have stolen so much of our issue that we have been bewildered by the precise details, and confused all the fine shades (emphasis on the fine shades).

The Independent Labor party has become the labor party, and lost that very important qualifying adjective.

The movement is being throttled by a clique.
And many more "buts" along the same lines.

That there is a slump in Socialism he acknowledges, and gauges the reasons very clearly as a growing hostility on the state and state interference, and lack of faith in parliamentary action.

But, he retaliates, "we have not elected the right men, and we have not been honest in principle that is the solution so far as Blatchford is concerned.

To this we Syndicalists reply:

But—

We don't want to elect anyone to Parliament, whether "proper men" or not.
We don't care a hoot about any of the "fine shades" and "precise details" the Liberals and Tories may steal.

Or do we care whether the Independent Labor party becomes the Labor party, or any other party of the third part.

Nor do we want to understand democracy; to be ruled by the "dear people," or by anyone else.

We don't draw any "fine shades" between "state governed" and "social governed."

We consider that neither the state nor Parliament, whether they be two in one, or one in two, are fit and proper persons to manage industry, from the very nature of their prime functions and duties. We are further, by the very nature of the method by which these prime functionaries are elected, which is by dishonest machines. Like Hennessy, we are "agin' government" on principle.

If by Socialism were means—as the word in itself actually means—social ownership, then most assuredly "Socialism is all right." But what in thunder has social ownership got to do with the state and Parliament, or the state and Parliament got to do with social ownership?

The state is a class weapon. It originated with classes and class warfare, and class government; and the death of classes will be the state of the state and of government.

We are neither for state government, nor state management, nor the state in any state or form.

We want an industrial administration along industrial lines. An administration of things by those concerned in the manufacture of things. No! Robert Blatchford, the difference is an irreconcilable one. It is not a question of principle and policy, but of improving. It is a difference in fundamentals, in principles, and in tactics.

These three, and the greatest of these is tactics.

W.M. CRAIG.

London.—The latest device of the suffragettes is to cover the roads with nails through pieces of stiff leather bearing a suffragette inscription, with the object of penetrate automobile tires.
"MUTUAL INTEREST" POLICY TRIED.

About five years ago the "American Railway and Investors' Association" was organized. This association aimed at securing protection along the lines of mutual interests between capital and labor. The plan was that the railroad workers would unite with the railroads and the promoters of the line for the purpose of preventing the passage of legislation adverse to the railroads, and the railroads in turn would do all they could to prevent the passage of legislation adverse to labor. This plan, while it did not prevent any legislation from passing, did enable the railroads to continue to function smoothly for the mutual benefit of both labor and capital.

THE SYNDICALIST.

In a recent issue of the "Pittsburgh Press," Mr. J. P. Morgan, expressed the opinion that the prosperity of the railroads in the United States is due to the fact that they are under the control of men who are interested in the welfare of the country as a whole. He stated that the railroads are a public utility and that the public interest should be considered in the management of these great lines.

DO NOT MAKE WAR ON WORDS.

"Of all the miserable, unspeakable, infamous wars in the world is the war against words. Let men say just what they like. We have nothing to do with a man's words or a man's thoughts, except to put against them better words or better thoughts, and so win the great moral and intellectual duel that is always going on, and on which all progress depends."—Auberon Herbert.

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