

THE SYNDICALIST

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WHOLE No. 50

The Passing Show

THE LABOR MEN'S CONVICTION.

Thirty-eight men, all but two of whom are members of the Structural Iron Workers' Union, have been convicted of sending or conspiring to send explosives from one state to another in violation of the federal law.

Frank M. Ryan, president of the union, was given seven years in the penitentiary. Olaf A. Tveitmoe, secretary of the California Building Trades Council, and one of the two men not an iron worker, was given six years. Seven others of the prisoners received a like term. Twelve were given terms of three years each. Four received two years. Six were handed one year, and five were given their liberty on suspended sentences.

This is the largest batch of labor men ever convicted in this country. Nothing anyway nearly approaching it has ever happened before. In 1887 eight men were convicted in Chicago on the charge of dynamiting a battalion of police who were attacking a peaceful public meeting called as a protest against police brutality in the strike then in progress. Five of these men were hung, and a monument—a cut of which appeared in the last issue of the Agitator—testifies that the workers acknowledge the sacrifice of these men to the Moloch of capitalism.

The reader is referred to an article, published elsewhere in this issue, entitled "Where Labor Has No Rights," for evidence that was not presented at the Indianapolis trial. The Indianapolis trial considered only effects. Explosions of every character are effects of causes that must be removed before the danger disappears.

The Steel Trust.

The steel trust—a seventeen billion dollar corporation—an accurate conception of whose vast power is almost a mental impossibility, decreed it would have no union men among its employes. It knew so well the tremendous power of organization, being itself a union and owing all its vast power to that fact, it decided it would not be to its best interests to let its workmen play with so powerful a weapon. Having the economic power, holding the legal ownership of the mines and mills and other avenues for the production of steel, and having the state to protect such ownership, it could dictate terms to the men who are the real producers of steel and who should, by the rules of reason, be the real owners.

These men saw they were helpless in the face of the powerful corporation, supported on every side by every weapon that great power is capable of commanding. They had no legal redress. All the law was on the side of the corporation. It could refuse men work and thereby starve them to death. It could make them bite the dust of humility; it could make them give up every bit of independence wrung from the individual employers and small corporations through hundreds of years of effort.

It was not much that the toilers had wrung from the employing class, but it cost them dearly all the same. The most important of all the rights taken by toil was the right to bargain on the terms of employment. This in a measure placed the worker in the position of a trader rather than that of a slave. The trader can refuse a price; the slave must take what is offered to him.

The steel trust is half the steel industry. It is master of the other half, because it is a compact organization. What it says goes. No "independent" dare offend the trust. It would mean annihilation. So what the trust says in steel goes. When it says there shall be no labor unions in the steel business, that settles the matter.

It destroyed the steel workers' union in the mills. It destroyed the sailors' union on the Great Lakes. It attacked the Structural Iron Workers' Union, and that union struck back with the only available weapon—dynamite. Persuasion had been used. The steel trust would not listen to a toiler's plea for justice; it is organized for other and more important work. Indeed, it is organized to defeat the ends of justice, for justice to the workers means no dividends to the shirkers.

The law had been invoked, but without avail. The law is available only to the economic interests behind it. This basic sociological truth is very well demonstrated in the case of the Sherman anti-trust law.

The Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

This law makes every trust in the country illegal, "an organization in restraint of trade." The union workers, anxious to see the trusts curbed, used their influence successfully for the passage of the law. Now the trusts would be dissolved, killed, and the ancient law of trade—competition—would resume its old status in this country, at least.

What happened to the trusts? One of them has been curbed, a "trust" that was not a trust before the passage of the law. The unions were haled up and declared to be in restraint of trade in labor, by the trust lawyers on the bench, where judges are supposed to sit.

Anarchy never struck such a severe blow at respect for law and the courts as did this ironical turn given to the anti-trust law. The workers were severely jarred by the idea that their flesh and blood, their precious labor power, was, in the eyes of the law, in the same category as lime and cement. And there was no mere theory about it, either. The courts got down to practical business, and, at the instance of the hat manufacturers, assessed the hatters' union a fine of \$250,000 to be paid to the bosses as compensation for loss of business through a strike.

The homes and whatever other property the workers possess have been attached to satisfy this judgment. This is not like the fining of the Standard Oil Company, that walked over to the next court and had the fine assessed against it dismissed. This is no play acting; the workers will have to put up.

When neither love nor the law will prevail, what is to be done? The structural iron workers answered the question in the best

way they knew how. They did not strike at the heads of the steel trust. They seemed to know by analogy that heads are cheap. Heads, like hands, may come and go, but the trust goes on undisturbed, piling up the dividends. The iron workers struck at the dividends. They turned the dogs of destruction on the trust property. The trust squirmed and squealed, but the structures came tumbling down.

Of course there was no chance for them to lick the trust. But for six years they harassed it severely; and some of them are now in jail as a horrible example of the foolishness of force. Judge Anderson in passing sentence said he was sure the unions do not stand for force. They were just "bad" members, judge, who risked their lives and their liberties for the devilment of the thing.

Varying Opinions.

The Socialists say this dynamiting business is the inevitable outcome of the union's attitude on politics. If they would only discuss politics in the unions—Socialist politics, of course—they would learn the futility of "busting" the trusts and would swallow their pill and settle down to vote for the kingdom-come.

Everyone will discuss the matter from his own little standpoint, and all will show how utterly stupid or vicious or heroic these men are, according to his theory. Tell me what a man's judgment is on this matter and I'll tell you what his theory is or his business.

Many will condemn the use of force by these men, largely because they held no licensed authority to use it. These are the people who uphold the officers of the law in whatever brutality they indulge. The student who sits calmly and surveys the sociological field will have neither blame nor praise to offer. He realizes that their action is but a manifestation of a mighty problem—the greatest problem of the age—and that prejudice for or against will add only confusion to the solution. He sees that it was either fight this way or submit quietly to the humiliating exactions of the steel trust, and that the men chose to fight. That they failed proves only that the odds were against them. The contemplation of this kind of strike carried out on a large scale staggers the mind, and the student sees no logical reason for it not being developed and expanded if conditions make it an alternative to industrial slavery.

He hopes to see the education of the workers proceed with sufficient rapidity to avert the necessity for a long siege of guerrilla warfare. But that there will eventually be a clash of forces between the trusts and the workers, the conduct of the steel trust easily foreshadows.

JAY FOX.

"Away with your masks," cries Carlyle. "Let us see your true features. Enough of comedy, masking, lying philosophies, false philanthropic sentiments and empty hypocrisies. Show us what you are, let your thoughts be your own; dare to be yourself, have the courage to dare to be something, anything, so that you are not false."

THE SYNDICALIST

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THE EFFECTS OF PRIVILEGE.

It is the characteristic of privilege and of every privileged position to kill the mind and heart of man. The privileged man, whether politically or economically, is a man depraved in mind and heart. That is a social law that admits of no exception and is as applicable to entire nations as to classes, corporations and individuals.—Michael Bakunin.

To the Syndicalist Leagues

The indifference of the workers to their condition as a class is the greatest obstacle to the revolution. To arouse their interest is the first requisite to successful revolutionary action. Experience teaches us that this can best be accomplished by a specialized, or, may we say, decentralized propaganda.

All workers, revolutionary or not, naturally take greater interest in the affairs of their particular industry than in those of any other. Details of shop management, wages, strike movements, union affairs, etc., pertaining to their industries readily attract their attention, while similar details pertaining to other industries pass unnoticed. The same applies in lesser degree to localities. Local labor questions interest workers more than do those more remote.

European Syndicalists have noted these facts and are taking advantage of them in their propaganda. Wherever possible they establish rebel papers devoted to revolutionary propaganda in some particular industry or locality. These papers, mingling intimately in the every-day affairs of the workers in their natural jurisdiction, are incomparably more effective than general propaganda papers which make appeal to the whole working class indiscriminately. These specialist rebel papers are most effective in organizing the militant minority. They are the "last word" in revolutionary propaganda.

We are going to assist in every way possible the development of this modern intensified propaganda in the United States. Pending the time when the leagues in the various industries and localities are able to support individual papers of their own we are going to initiate a plan whereby the leagues can have their specialist papers in miniature. The plan in short is this: THE SYNDICALIST is going to devote space in its columns to the various leagues—reserving, of course, sufficient to cover the general labor movement—in which they shall each run their own copy. Each league participating will edit its own space, subject, of course, to the supervision of the editor of THE SYNDICALIST. Each league will also finance its own section, paying in accordance with the space occupied. As THE SYNDICALIST is not printed for profit, the rates charged will but cover expenses. They follow:

One page, twice monthly.....\$30.00
One page, once monthly..... 17.00
Half page, twice monthly..... 17.00
One column, twice monthly..... 12.00.

Two important features of this plan are: (1) Yearly subscriptions (but not bundle orders) are accepted at face value in payment for space; (2) bundles of papers will go with the space. A league paying for a full page will receive a bundle of 500 papers; one paying for a half page will receive 250, etc., each issue the space is occupied.

The advantages of this plan to both the leaguers and THE SYNDICALIST are many. To briefly sketch a few:

The launching of rebel papers by the various leagues will be an easy evolution. As a league's

financial resources grow it can occupy more and more space in THE SYNDICALIST, until, finally, by diverting its support, it can start a little paper of its own. The different departments in THE SYNDICALIST will be the nuclei of specialist papers.

THE SYNDICALIST will become a highly effective paper. Its various departments will be full of matter written to appeal to particular categories of workers, hence will produce the maximum effect.

As this plan will organize the propaganda end of THE SYNDICALIST, so it will the financial end also. The burden of raising the necessary funds to keep the paper going will be largely shifted from the editor to the leagues. The leagues will therefore have a strong stimulus to secure support for the paper. The editor will have time for something else than worrying over finances. The usual eternal, miserable campaign of begging for funds to keep the paper afloat will be avoided. Even if but a few leagues take space THE SYNDICALIST can be enlarged and issued weekly very shortly.

The large bundles of papers given with the space will be practically free, as what league can't rustle at least a dozen yearly subs. per month. These papers will serve as a means of revenue to the leagues, or, at least, will be excellent literature for free distribution.

Every way we look at it the above outlined plan seems to us to be a winner. We hope that it will appeal to the leagues in the same way, and that each of them will soon have its special department in THE SYNDICALIST. Let us hear from you on this proposition. First come, first served.

THE PUBLISHERS.

THE EDITOR AND THE LAW.

Months ago I was arrested, convicted, and sentenced to sixty days in jail on the ridiculous charge of "tending to create disrespect for the law." I don't deny the tendency; I deny the law. I hold there is nothing a man can write that may not have a tendency to create disrespect for the law, not even a legal decision. I hold that the prosecution of this case against me the vapory, insipid, stupid, bigoted mouthings of the attorneys, the verdict of the jury; that every person who got merely a glance at the article or the "evidence," or a meager report of the manner in which the trial was conducted, knows was based wholly upon stupid prejudice, and the recent decision of the state Supreme Court, in which the verdict is sustained and the law held to be constitutional, the reading of which made even the lawyers disgusted—all this, I repeat, has done more to create the tendencies I am convicted of encouraging than all I have written for a long time.

I am not going to file any information against these judges, and jurymen, and jurywomen, and wind-bag lawyers; I won't have them before the bar of joke justice, even though I have the goods on them, even though the witness fees are reasonably large, even though I need the dough.

The Supreme Court says the judgment of the court below is correct and that the law which attempts to define and penalize even a tendency is not in conflict with the constitution, which says: "The freedom of speech and of the press shall not be abridged." We are told the law is common sense. One needs but to examine the law and the record of this case to be convinced that it is a common outrage upon justice, fair play, and all that goes to make up the ordinary, common relationship of mankind.

Every attempt to gag the free expression of thought is an unsocial act, a crime against society. That is why judges and juries who try to enforce these laws make themselves ridiculous. It is very hard for a robber to convince his victims that he is acting in their behalf and for their good.

Is there no parallel between the gag of the burglar and the gag of the law? Why does the burglar use a gag? It is because he wants to get away with your goods, and he doesn't want you to make an outcry and call the neighbors. He knows he cannot convince you by argument that he is entitled to the goods and that it is really to your best interest to pass them over to him.

Capitalism holds up the toilers; it robs them of their labor and is enjoying life to its fullest on the result of its plunder. Naturally it doesn't want to be deprived of its special privilege, therefore it puts the gag of the law in the mouth of any one who attempts to make an outcry. So long as the toilers submit meekly to the holdup and have nothing but praise for the glorious system that skins them, they can gorge themselves on free speech. The consti-

tution and the declaration of independence are taken down from their abiding place among the romantic fiction of the eighteenth century and read to the sovereign citizens as a solemn reminder of the special dispensation Providence has bestowed upon them in this free country.

For them, in their innocence, or ignorance, or stupidity, or whatever you wish to call it, the unlimited liberty of the constitution has been prepared. But let them tumble to the game, let them discover the loaded dice and the marked cards of capitalism and attempt to make a noise about it, and immediately the constitution disappears, the "tendency to create disrespect" law is flashed upon them, and the iron door swings open and swallows them up.

So we have freedom for the one who won't use it, and a call for the sucker who will.

The National Free Speech League wishes to force the fogies on the United States Supreme Court bench to render a decision on this flexible question of free speech. They want to force the issue for the first time in the history of the country, and, if possible, make this court commit itself on the question. It will be an embarrassing proposition, to be sure, to have placed before them, and no doubt they will try to sidestep it. Still it is being framed up in such a way that it will be decidedly hard to evade the issue without exposing the secret work of the institution.

Personally, I do not think the question of free speech will be materially changed by a decision from the United States Supreme Court. My views, I know, are extreme, and there are many whose faith in our glorious institutions are not shaken so completely as mine are. If a shock will help to loosen them from their patriotic mooring, I am willing to be a party to the shocking, and will inconvenience myself for the sake of the show.

A decision sustaining my conviction, and thus setting aside the most direct and implicit section of the constitution, would create more disrespect for the law and the courts than my feeble voice could do in a lifetime.

Ultimately the question of free speech will have to be fought out on the economic field. Capitalism cannot give up anything. It must fight for its existence from every vantage point it can mount. It is as true to the law of struggle as the individuals who compose it. Our aim is to increase the number of its enemies, and, where we can, force it to aid in the propaganda. I, for one, am willing to bait the trap.

JAY FOX.

THE LUMBERMEN'S STRIKE.

At Merryville, La., in the heart of the Southern woods, where a batch of men, upheld by the state, claim the ownership of everything, there is a strike. These few men, backed by the state, "own" the natural forests, and they "employ" other men to exploit these forests, exploiting the men while doing so.

These men, "lumber jacks," "blanket stiffers"—call them what you will—are not as hard in the heads as the condition of their hands would indicate. They organized a union and set to putting a brake on the "owners'" steam roller. The strike is their weapon.

The "owners" are using every trick in their calendar to "bust" the union. The state police, private police, spies and other academic means are employed by the soft-handed capitalists, but to no avail. These fool lumber workers think they can actually have a say in their own affairs of life in this free country, where every capitalist does as he likes and the rest of us take the consequences. Naturally the bosses tried to send a number of them to jail and some to heaven, but the job was too raw for the farmer jury. In revenge the Merryville bosses put on the blacklist every one who appeared as a witness for the accused men. "No more work, Pete; you testified for Emerson."

"Then we all testified for Emerson," said the bunch, and out they came to a man. Which is the real spirit of revolt—the real spirit of solidarity, which means, "We are all one for one as quick as for all." This is the spirit that one day will repudiate the ownership claimed by the soft-handed, hard-hearted plutocrats. It will repudiate the state that upholds this robber title. It will say to them both:

"Take your blankets and hike it. We don't say this forest belongs to us; but by the social law of equity, which is the only rule we impose on you, the timber we cut is ours; and we propose hereafter to have the full returns for all it brings in exchange with our fellow-workers' products outside. See? Take an ax or hike."

THE GARMENT WORKERS' STRIKE.

Almost 200,000 garment workers are on strike in New York. Their numbers are being added to daily.

When the poorest paid workers organize and strike in blocks of 50,000 and 100,000 there is hope for the working class. For it is those who need organization the most that are always the last to avail themselves of its benefits.

The garment workers of New York are the most cruelly exploited toilers in the country, because those who engage in the work are the most helpless class of workers among us. Poor Jews, fresh from Russia, and equally helpless Italians direct from southern Italy—these two nationalities, with the Jews largely in the majority, make up the bulk of the garment workers of New York.

New York manufactures 85 per cent of the ready-made garments worn by the people of this country. Garment making is the principal industry of that great city, making it the greatest center for the manufacture of clothing in the world.

The Jews developed this industry in New York and the ridiculously low standard of wages was fixed long ago as a result of Jewish philanthropy. The utter failure of charity is well attested by this case of the Jewish immigrants. "The Baron Hirsch Fund" helped the poor Jews pay their passage to this country and gave them a small weekly allowance for some time after they landed; for which they were highly grateful and lauded the rich baron to the heavens.

The natural wages of labor is a bare living. To live well, to have a comfortable abode and warm clothes, good food and a dollar for amusement, is not the demand of the poor immigrant. He above all others must take what is offered to him; he must submit to the exactions of the cruel money-mad exploiters or starve.

The cunning Jewish capitalists, who are the most heartless exploiters and the greatest philanthropists in the world, knew that the poor people getting the Hirsch fund allowance could work cheaper than those who get nothing. So they hired the Hirsch fund pensioners and paid them only such wages as, combined with their pension, they could exist on. Thus the charity fund actually became a part of the wage fund; and when the pension was cut off the poor Jewish worker found that it really meant a severe cut in wages, and that he was powerless to force the employer to even partially make good the loss. Thus a temporary charity extended to the toilers became a permanent benefit to the employers, and the strike of the garment workers in New York today is in part an effort to overcome the low wage standard set a quarter of a century ago by the Baron Hirsch charity-mongers.

I don't say that this thing was deliberately planned by the Jewish capitalists. I believe that Baron Hirsch and his rich friends had the very best of intentions. I believe they sought to help their suffering fellow-men without the thought of exploiting their charity. That some were temporarily helped goes without saying. But they paid dearly for the help. This charity got the highest cent per cent ever coined out of human hearts. The workers are beginning to recover from its effects. Their mass strike is one of the wonders of the age, because of the numerous untoward conditions that surround the clothing industry.

The lesson of it all is clear: You cannot help the workers except to their injury. They must help themselves direct. Direct action helps them immediately and remotely. It gives them a little today. It will give them the world tomorrow.

It is the duty of revolutionists of every school, regardless of organization affiliation, to do all in their power to help win this great strike. It is not an A. F. of L. fight simply, but a working-class fight. It must be won.

AROUND THE WORLD.

France.

The C. G. T. held an extraordinary session in Paris to take action on the question of war. A twenty-four hour strike was decided upon, just to show the rulers that there is something behind their words. They decided further that in case of a call to arms the members would answer it by assembling in their union headquarters and declaring the general strike. A monster public meeting was held when 150,000 people assembled to denounce war. It takes the Syndicalists to do things.

Three writers connected with "Mouvement Anarch-

iste," a magazine published in Paris, have been arrested on account of their anti-military propaganda. They had published information bearing on the question of sabotage in the army. They showed by a very simple operation a way to render cannon useless. That is very dangerous work for the robbers who need the cannon to protect their loot from returning to the hands of those from whom they stole it. The army is the last resort of capitalism, and it must be protected from ideas as far and as long as possible.

A new poster denouncing militarism, signed by fifty young comrade recruits, who then deserted, has faced the readers from the walls of Paris. These posters are always torn down by the police, but before they get around hundreds of thousands of persons have read them.

In the water front strike in Marseilles a clash between police and strikers resulted in three policemen going to their long homes. The police killed a woman and a 3-year-old child.

Germany.

The French C. G. T. sent a communication to the German unions, asking them what they intended to do in case the government declared war. The German brothers answered that the question was not a matter for workmen to monkey with; that, they said, is a question for the Socialists to decide. Which answer is either a cowardly evasion of the question or an equally cowardly surrender to the politicians of the very thing they are supposed to be organized to secure and maintain—a small bit of independence.

Where is Carl Legien now, with his loud protestations about the "complete independence of the German unions from the Socialist party?" "By their fruits ye shall know them."

American Syndicalists, mark well this action of the German unions, and when a Socialist says he "believes in the unions," you may answer, "Like the German Socialists, as a tail to your political kite."

While the workers were evading the issue, Kaiser Bill was busy preparing for them. He had a law put through giving him the right to declare martial law before declaring war, thus making it easier for him to crush out any weak attempt at a strike. A big strike would not be affected one way or another by his law.

Italy.

The revolutionary unions held a congress recently at Modena. There were about 100,000 workers represented, headed by the agricultural and transport workers' unions, each with 30,000 members. On the second day they voted to withdraw from the Federation of Labor and form a new organization to be known as the "Italian Syndical Union." They passed a resolution declaring for the partial strike and sabotage as a temporary relief, and for the general strike as a final weapon for the overturning of capitalism. They declared against militarism and took steps to start a movement like the French "Soldiers' Penny," an organization designed to furnish forced recruits with literature and money for propaganda in the army.

They decided to establish headquarters at Parma, where the next convention will take place a year hence. "Internationale" was made the official paper of the new Syndicalist Federation.

The resolution on tactics adopted by the congress is enough to cause a great deal of disappointment to the pink-tea politicians, not only of Italy, but of every country. It reads as follows:

"It recognizes as temporary arms for the unions the partial strike, boycott and sabotage, by the help of which the bourgeoisie from day to day is obliged to cede a little of its profits, at the same time driven to use more extreme means of defense. A general strike of all the workers of all branches of production is the only way to realize the definite expropriation of the bourgeois classes."

From the inception of the political arm of Socialism, the formation of a Socialist political party, which was an aftermath of the International Workingmen's Association, the unions have been the hope of the social democratic politicians. Here was an organized movement, having some feeling of a better way, some hope of improvement at least. Why could not its members be swung over into the political organization, and little by little be weaned of anything but the most temporary reliance upon the union?

The dream looked good, and for a time there was much evidence of an ultimate social democracy sitting in London or Berlin and directing the affairs of the world's workers. The fight for Syndicalist principles, started by Bakunin and the Jura Federa-

tion in the International, is beginning to bear fruit, and the result will be all the more valuable and lasting, coming as it does after the experimenting that has been done in Socialist politics.

The ultimate result of this growth of Syndicalism will be the leveling of the social democratic party to its proper place beside the Republican, Democratic and Populist parties.

These Italian Syndicalists have taken a step that will be regarded as a landmark in the historic growth to the economic movement.

Spain.

A large protest meeting took place in Madrid recently in order to force the government to a revision of the process by which Ferrer was condemned. Although the government has indirectly admitted, through the restitution of Ferrer's property to his heirs, that the accusations on which he was condemned are no longer tenable, still the friends and sympathizers of the ideas demand more. They want direct proof of his innocence, which will be an admission direct that a base social crime has been committed under cover of legality.

Pardinas, the rebel who shot at the king, is reported to have died in prison—most likely tortured to death.

Argentina.

Ideas will not down; they will not die; you cannot crush them with a blow or a shot, and prison bars will not confine them. This country tried the game a few years ago. Its government started a war of extermination against all advanced ideas. Nothing more radical than a Catholic prayer was allowed to pass unchallenged. For a time all public demonstrations on the part of the rebels were squelched. Papers were suppressed. Hundreds were jailed. But they could not keep up the good work forever. They had to let up, and when the good government, tired and weary, gave up the chase, it found it was just where it started. The revolutionary ideas are even more firmly rooted than ever, and the propaganda is rampant, and strikes and other manifestations of its existence are an everyday occurrence.

Russia.

The way to perpetuate government is to kill its enemies. This philosophy, so faithfully carried out by all our Christian governments, works all right so long as the number of enemies does not get too large. When that time arrives it is the government that gets the dope. This government is one of the finest examples of the Christian doctrine of love your enemies. It shot 122 of the sailors who took part in the naval revolt at Sebastopol and sent 331 to prison for terms varying from five to forty years. All the prisons are packed with rebels and Siberia is being populated with them. Still the government isn't a bit safe. Long live the czar!

Austria-Hungary.

The Socialist politicians of this domain are true friends of labor. They are such strong believers in the doctrine of more pay that they hardly discriminate as to whose pay they raise. In the Austrian Parliament they have introduced a bill raising the wages of the—janitors? Not much! Of the ARMY OFFICERS. Over in Hungary they are denouncing the militants of the anti-war movement as police agents. All of which dispels the illusion that Socialists are impractical dreamers.

* JOTTINGS.

The labor movement all over the country is making strenuous efforts to raise bond money to secure the release of the convicted iron workers. This kind of solidarity is praiseworthy in itself, but something more than to simply "dig up" is needed by the labor movement. As President Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor says, it must "get back to first principles." The false, unnatural policy of whining and cringing before the masters must be succeeded by a vigorous, natural and recognized fight for existence. The workers must realize that the "brotherhood of man" of capitalism is a sham, and that the only way they will ever better their condition is by open warfare with their masters.

Firemen on fifty-two Eastern roads are talking strike if their demands are not granted. Now that the roads have finished handing the engineers a lemon, they are turning their attention to the firemen. The latter, however, are chary of the plan of arbitration used to hoodwink the engineers. They want to take their medicine under the Erdman act. How long will the workers allow themselves to be divided and defeated in little detachments?

SYNDICALISM IN VANCOUVER

My first public talk on the subject of "Syndicalism" was delivered in the Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C., December 22. I visited Vancouver on invitation of the Syndicalists of that city, who arranged for the meeting. The trip was entirely by water and involved three changes of boat. But the trip is a luxurious one, especially from Seattle, on the finely fitted Canadian Pacific steamer. The journey gives one a lasting impression of the natural beauty of Puget Sound. The only stop was at Victoria, on Vancouver Island, once a trading post of the Hudson Bay Company, now the capital of the province, and, until quite recently, the most important Canadian city west of Toronto. After an hour and a half stay at Victoria we steamed out to Vancouver. We arrived at 7 p. m. I was met by Comrades Porter and Gilbert, who took me to the I. W. W. hall, where I had the pleasure of meeting Fellow-Workers Trainor, Horne, Mohring, Foxcroft and others.

On Sunday I attended a meeting of the Trade Union League, the Syndicalist organization. This league has only been a short time in existence, but already its influence is being felt in the Vancouver labor movement.

The political Socialists practically control things around the Labor Temple, and the league is bracing itself to offset the baleful influence of politics by the propaganda of direct-action methods in dealing with economic problems. Nothing is more harmful to the labor movement than the propaganda that the union is insufficient as a weapon of offense and defense. Nothing strengthens a worker's hopes like the knowledge that in his union he has an instrument through which he can not only improve his lot temporarily, but ultimately emancipate himself. I was very deeply impressed by the pronounced and vigorous stand the league is taking on this question of politics.

These men are not theorists; they do not reflect the attic philosophy of some old thinker. They are everyday workers whose ideas are the result of practical experience; they are taking up the Syndicalist propaganda because Syndicalism fills the void which they have instinctively felt in their union movement.

The public meeting was well attended. It was one of those meetings I always like to be at. It was not a rip-roaring meeting, full of sound and fury. It was calm and thoughtful, and the questions showed that it grasped the idea and was anxious to carry away the right impression of Syndicalism.

I never was so profoundly impressed with the need of any propaganda as I am of Syndicalism, after this visit to Vancouver. If I had any doubts or fears, they have all been swept away. If I had a suspicion that Syndicalism is too far in advance of the toilers in this country, that while it may be all right in Europe, where economic thought is far in advance of us, these thoughts were quickly dissipated by the matter-of-fact way the movement is developing, without any pressure of oratory or strong personalities to boost it on. There is no forced draft in this movement, no loud noise, no beating of drums—just natural growth.

There is one thing the men complained of. They want a paper, and when I assured them that THE SYNDICALIST would soon be in their hands and would be out regularly hereafter, they were extremely pleased and promised it their unanimous support.

In order to dispel any suspicion that it might be a dual organization in disguise, the league has made it a rule to accept no member unless he carries a card in the union of his trade or calling, and continued membership depends on that card being kept paid up.

On Monday morning, when I was about to take the steamer for home, we got a telegram from Fellow-Worker Elliott of Nelson, B. C., urging me to go there, where they wanted three or four lectures. But I did not have time to go, owing to the status of my case in Tacoma. I hope to visit League No. 1, though, before I go to Chicago.

JAY FOX.

The Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union, a local union of Chicago, 17,000 strong, has affiliated with the international. Thus labor's hosts are gradually closing up their ranks.

WHERE LABOR HAS NO RIGHTS.

The Steel Corporation is the largest single employer of labor in the world. Its employes have numbered as high as 225,000, more than five times as many as were required to dig the Panama Canal. And this great body of workmen are completely Russified. There is never anything of mutual bargain and sale in their labor contracts. The right of protest, the right of conference together to better working conditions or even to express opinions upon them is absolutely denied the men.

This great corporation, with all its power, does not allow its employes a word. There are no Gary dinners in the steel works. The corporation names the wages and it names the conditions. The men can take both or resign. The bare right of petition is denied them. When the men in one of the National Tube Works plants submitted a petition for shorter hours it was scorned. When the men of the Edward Thomson Steel Works circulated a petition they were told it would not be received.

A basic principle of liberty is the right of a man to sell the labor of his hands. The basic principle of trade unionism is the right of the workmen to bargain collectively for the sale of that labor. When dealing with the vast power of great employers, if the workman has no right of collective bargaining, he has no right of bargaining at all. There is no bargain. He is conscripted. His powers are confiscated, and his employers allow him what they will. He may take it, or he may starve. What chance for even-handed justice has one poor Slav, handling pig-iron, or one puddled or roller or blower or pourer, against the power of that seventeen-billion-dollar directorate? None! Absolutely none! He is the merest atom, as helpless as the Hindoo before the juggernaut!

Even the vaunted profit-sharing and pension plans of the Steel Corporation are like bait in traps to snare away the liberties of the men.

They tell us that this profit-sharing plan costs the company \$450,000 a year. After studying this plan, however, one is compelled to believe that the corporation gets value received for it; that this expenditure stands on about the same basis as that for the Hill ore leases, and the pig-iron purchases. Furthermore, it is a profit-sharing plan only to this extent, that the employes are allowed to buy a certain amount of stock under certain conditions, and to pay for it in annual installments. Those who do buy such stock will share in the profits of the corporation to the extent of their holdings, and to a further extent, as follows: The corporation agrees to put sugar on this stock in the way of a bonus of \$5 per share per year. But—this bonus will only be paid in case the employe remains continuously in the employment of the company and can present annually a letter from a proper official declaring that he has "shown a proper interest in its (the corporation's) welfare and progress."—Peter Clark Macfarlane, in January Metropolitan.

PEACE.

We are urged on every hand to make "war upon war." Great meetings are being held in Europe by the enemies of war. Humanitarian writers are pushing their pens through the armor that protects the idea of war. Apart from the capitalists who furnish the weapons of war, no one seems to have any great desire for it. War, with its pestilence, its ravages, its killing—no one wants it; most everybody is against it.

Peace! Sweet peace, with its prince in toga white! All love peace. Peace, the calmer of men's minds, the easer of life's load! Peace, the mother of love, whose symbol is the gentle dove! Peace on earth, good will! Peace, the dream of dreams!

Peace is more terrible than war. Its ravages are greater; the number of its dead is larger; its pestilence is more widespread; it has no flare of trumpets, no martial music to lure its victims to their fate; it avoids the limelight; it works in the dark; it lurks everywhere. On the wings of the north wind it rides about giving its commands. It hides in the corners of men's stomachs to pinch and prod them to their doom.

Peace? Forty thousand killed and 2,000,000 injured in the factories and on the railroads of the United States in one year! Peace? These are the victims of peace! But not all. They are merely the ones who are stricken from without, those whom the machinery of peace murders and maims. Of the number who die from the ravages of disease, the number is many times greater.

The children who die from lack of nourishment

which peace withholds from them; the youths who get consumption by their contact with the foul factories of peace; the women whom the wages of peace drive to the brothels, whom the long hours and hard labor weaken and prepare for the scourge of disease; and the men, whom the doctors jolly along while their money lasts, and who, by the hundred thousand, go back to replenish the soil of peace each year!

Peace? Give me the rough, rugged rattle of the war drum before such peace! Peace? Mount me on a war horse, thrust a sword into my hand, and let me end the victim's life in an instant rather than see him killed inch by inch on the torture racks of peace!

H. T.

BURNING WORDS.

"We don't care for your public opinion; we do not ask for your sympathy. You have failed—failed utterly to abolish poverty. All your churches, all your governments, all your institutions, all your laws have failed; you are an admitted failure, all of you. But, by heaven, we are not going to fail. We are going to abolish poverty, and do it ourselves, without asking help of any except ourselves."—Tom Mann, at Mass-Meeting in Liverpool During the Strike.

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