

THE SYNDICALIST

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WHOLE No. 60

The Passing Show

WILL YOU STOP THESE ATROCITIES?

The mining of coal is one of the most dangerous occupations in the world. Last year 2,360 miners lost their lives in the coal mines of this country. During the last six years, 16,233 have been killed. With all its danger, with all its dark confinement, making the life of the miner almost a perpetual night, it is a poorly paid occupation.

The life of the miner when outside the mine is on a par with his life inside. He has to live in squalid shacks owned by the masters and pay high rent. He must buy from the company store at monopoly prices. He is in fact the most exploited slave in America. And he will continue in that debased condition until he develops power enough and a desire strong enough to use that power in freeing himself.

The men who enslaved him are not going to set him free. On the contrary, they will use all the powers at their command to keep him in chains.

Witness the revelations before the Senate committee investigating the West Virginia strike of miners.

The miners were camped in Hollow Grove. The masters ran an armored train over the railroad through the camp at 10 o'clock at night. Machine guns were mounted on that train. They were turned onto the tents and shacks with deadly effect. Men, women and children were killed and wounded. A millionaire mine master named Morton was aboard the train directing operations. "Back up the train and let us give them another round," shouted the heartless money-bag.

Why not! Isn't it war and isn't the logic of war death? These millionaires see the matter clearly. They don't wear the colored glasses of emotion. They are not hampered by considerations of humanity or any such rot. They are out for the goods, and if the workers don't come through with their labor product, and plenty of it, why "shoot them down."

We working people are "things" in the eyes of the masters. If they can't use us, they kill us. That is the logic of capitalism.

Senator Martine, a soulful farmer, shouted: "God, what kind of a man is that Morton?" Just an ordinary cold-blooded capitalist, senator; one of the men who control the affairs of this country, and who won't stand for any mawkish sentimentalism being injected into the game. Business is business, see? And if you do not understand what that means, I will tell you. It means that every outrage committed in the name of business is right and respectable, no matter what soft-hearted humanity says about it.

It is being shown at this investigation that no law of state, no rule of honor, no feeling of humanity was recognized in the slightest degree by the mine owners in their vicious attack upon the miners.

Pregnant women and children were assaulted. One woman told of giving birth to a dead child after being kicked by the mine guards. Another said she was shot while hiding with her children behind the chimneyplace the night of the armored train attack. Still another told of her husband being killed that night while striving to save her and the children by lowering them into the cellar.

And when the indignant farmer-senator asked the scoundrel Morton if he countenanced the use of machine guns on the armored train, and what was his opinion of such barbarous methods as shooting up tents occupied by women and children, he not only refused to answer but directed a vitriolic attack on the senator for asking the question.

"Such questions would not be legal," said the lawyer-senator, Kenyon. Sure not. They would embarrass the gentleman. It's enough that we know the answer. And that throws a side-light on the affair and shows us the futility of these "investiga-

tions," except in so far as they help to give publicity to the main facts.

The main body of active working men know the conditions, and it is up to them to get wise to the remedy. They needn't wander off into the clouds in search of the remedy, either. It is right in their hands. Let them swing their unions into industrial bodies, and put up a united, determined front to the enemy, and be as unscrupulous and as clear-visioned as he. Then, having superior numbers, they will win.

The object of the Syndicalist propaganda is to arouse the necessary activity in the ranks of Labor that will make it possible for the workers to end for all time such atrocities as were committed upon the miners of West Virginia.

THE FALSE WEIGHTS OF JUSTICE.

Did you notice how the trial of Mr. Wood, the millionaire dynamiter ended? It ended as all such trials should and will end. Why should the trial of a rich man end like that of a common scrub; or what would be the use of owning mills?

The remarkable thing about the trial, as it looks to me, was not the dismissal of Wood. It is as common a thing for rich men to be found "not guilty" of the crimes charged against them as it is for poor men to be sent to jail for their alleged crimes.

The big thing about this trial is the conviction of the informer. There is where the legal practice of a thousand years has been reversed.

It has always been the policy of the state to reward the traitor. The man all the world despises the state coddles and pampers and bribes with favors and privileges.

Harry Orchard confessed himself a murderer in order that he might implicate Moyer and Haywood, whom the state was after. Now Orchard is a pampered ward of the state. Nothing happened to him. Nominally only is he a prisoner. McManigal, the arch traitor and confessed dynamiter, will soon be free as the reward of his treachery.

These traitors betrayed working men into the iron hand of the state that it might avenge the alleged wrongs of the rich. In the case of the rich culprits brought before the courts on the word of an informer, the time-honored procedure is reversed. The informer only is punished; the others go free.

How plain is the discrimination of justice. She has a bandage on her eyes. But that is only to blind you who cannot see through things. Justice sees the rich man and punishes his enemies. She sees the poor man and rewards his enemies.

She has been doing this so long and you have been so thoroughly blinded by the bandage on her eyes that she has come to regard you as totally blind, and begun to do things in a more or less reckless manner.

But even the blind should see the crookedness of our justice courts today, and the rawness of the way they put it over on the toilers.

We have city sealers to examine public scales and see that merchants don't use false weights, but the scale of justice goes unsealed, except the seal of approval put upon it by capitalism for its falsity to the working class.

BUILDING TRADES LOCKOUT.

There is a lockout in the building trades of this city. The marble setters had a dispute with their bosses on a building, and all the trades on that building struck in sympathy.

The masters, to show that they were masters, violated their agreement with the Building Trades Council, and handed out an ultimatum: "Call off that strike in 48 hours or we will lock you out on every job in the city."

To which the council made reply: "Nothing stirring. No bluff goes here. Lock away." And they locked. It is said the steel trust is behind the lockout. It is plainly a frame-up, anyway. Certain interests have approached the council with the suggestion that there would be no trouble if the iron workers were left out. The trust is after the iron

workers' union. It might get into Chicago with scabs and scab steel if the council would but turn down the iron workers' union.

Nothing is further from the minds of the building trades. If they go down they will go down together. They have fought side by side long enough to know the value of solidarity. The building trade unions are a unit before the bosses, and they will fight this out shoulder to shoulder.

JOHN BULL'S PREDICAMENT.

I'm glad I am not English. I'd shiver and quake at the sight of every woman and faint away if she happened to have a package of groceries in her hand, for I'd know it was a bomb, and that she was going to slip it under my seat in Parliament, or pin it to my coat-tail. I'd be afraid to touch a package of any kind. I would have to look under my bed every night and employ an armed guard to watch over me.

And above all, I'd have to hug the deep humiliation of knowing that the Irish were enjoying my misery to the limit. For if there is anything Pat really enjoys it is to see something put over on John.

The Irish voted against the suffrage bill only because they didn't want to spoil their fun. Pat believes in the women all right, but he thinks they are doing excellent work right now in punishing his ancient enemy in a manner he never hoped to do himself, and he is in no hurry to see them let up.

It is intensely amusing, even for a "furriner," to read the labored tomes John is writing, tearfully deploring the injury the women are doing to their cause by their persistent package-passing propaganda. And John is said to be no humorist.

DOWN WITH THE RED FLAG.

Massachusetts has put its taboo on the red flag. And, further, no banners bearing inscriptions attacking organized government, religion or public morals may be carried in parade.

How is that for progress in dear old "Mass." of blessed memories: Bunker Hill, Faneuil Hall, Boston Tea and all that!

But what's the use of digging up this old unpleasant stuff? And then the comparison might bring the new law into disrepute. I insist this is a serious proposition, and, if I dare to approach the august solons with a suggestion, I would submit that they proceed at once by solemn act of legislation to abolish all that part of the history of the state inconsistent with its present progressive policy.

I want to call your attention to a letter addressed to President Wilson by Wm. C. Owen and appearing in a recent number of Regeneration. It is a fine resume of the Mexican situation and a convincing argument in favor of the liberation of the four Mexicans confined in McNeil's Island penitentiary on the perjured testimony of hired witnesses. Write to 904 Boston Street, Los Angeles, for copies of the letter, and mail one to your congressman, with the request that he call the president's attention to it.

The Coming Nation has been suspended by Fred Warren, the publisher, and A. M. Simons, the editor, is making grave charges against Warren—that he killed the "Nation" out of the way of the "Appeal," and that the "Appeal" pays a dividend of from \$25,000 to \$40,000 a year. If this is true, the "Appeal" is a pretty desirable piece of property, and I will begin to organize an "army" myself.

Freedom is no longer poetical hot air wafted from the heights of Parnassus down upon the cultured and aesthetic few; it has become the everyday need of the common man in the street, and he is going to get it, if he has to tear down all our existing institutions in his struggle for its realization.

Modern capitalism is a huge machine for transforming the sorrows of one class into the joys of another.

JAY FOX.

THE SYNDICALIST

FORMERLY THE AGITATOR

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We crave for the good opinion of the world, in
which we don't believe, and tremble in face of its
condemnation, which we despise and condemn in our
hearts.—Sunderman.

TWENTY QUESTIONS ON DIRECT ACTION.

XI.

**Can you regard the destruction of machinery or
the practice of any form of sabotage as other than
barbarous and uncivilized?**

It is from the capitalist class that the workers
have learned the effective value of sabotage.

The masters practice sabotage on the workers
when they speed up the machines without increasing
the wages.

Also when by false representations they bring
large numbers of men to fill the ranks of the un-
employed, in order to keep down wages.

The sabotage practiced by the employer strikes at
the maintenance of life itself, while that employed
by the worker aims at the destruction of profits
alone.

When the worker practices sabotage it is to offset
the speeding up of the machines.

When he "accidentally" changes the labels on the
salmon cans, it is a mild attempt to give back to the
workers a bit more of what they have produced.

The worker believes it to be higher ethics to create
powder that will not explode, than to manufacture
murder material to be used on his brother worker.

He believes it to be higher ethics to spike the
guns when the masters order them trained on the
strikers, than to shoot down men of his own class
who are fighting for better conditions.

He believes it to be higher ethics to waste the
adulterations given the workers to place in food,
than to poison the public and increase the employer's
profits.

Sabotage is a means whereby our working class
enemies, the scabs, who support the capitalist sys-
tem, as well as the capitalists themselves, can be
defeated.

Above all, the use of sabotage proves that the
worker has rid his mind of that vicious illusion
called bourgeois morality, and regards as moral any
means whereby the capitalist may be prevented from
filching the earnings of the working class.

XII.

**Upon what ethical grounds do you consider it fair
to call a strike when an employer discharges an in-
competent workman?**

It is proof of the well organized and effective tac-
tics employed by the capitalists that they will at any
time cease fighting each other to unite in fighting
their employes.

The workers are learning that they can win any-
thing if only they will stand together. Not alone
for humane reasons, but from sheer necessity, are
they compelled to declare "an injury to one is an
injury to all," and it is true that their common suf-
fering has kept alive a spirit of helpfulness.

It has remained for the weakest to protect the
weak; and when they face starvation on strike it is
always the weakest that receive the most care.

Nineteen hundred years ago a working man who
was killed as a revolutionist gave to his companions
a rule of ethics. He called it "the golden rule;"
but the workers of the twentieth century have
evolved a golden rule which they believe embodies
a higher code of ethics than that given to the work-
ers by the carpenter-agitator.

One better suited to the highly socialized nature
of their work and to the oneness of the brotherhood
of workers in all the world. "All for one and one
for all" is the cry that is causing the workers to
join hands around the world.

Just as the Pharisees expected Jesus to enter
Jerusalem in the gorgeous trappings of a king, and
instead, he entered riding on an ass, so today the
highest code of ethics springs not from the "cul-
tured" and privileged class, but from the lowest out-
casts of the earth's disinherited.

XIII.

**Is not the accumulation of capital the reward of
abstinence practiced by the worker, and should not
this be reinvested to bring profits as a reward for his
self-denial?**

Money does not think or work, therefore it can-
not earn. The sole function of money is to serve as
a convenient medium of exchange. When it exceeds
this purpose and becomes an automatic breeder of
money it ceases to represent service rendered, and
by this power which has been artificially conferred
upon it, it becomes a robber of the labor of others.

All money derived from interest, profit or rent is
capital taken for work done (and not paid for) by
the workers who work with hand or brain.

There is no possible way by which capital in-
vested can earn profits except by exploiting the
workers.

The land and the machinery of production
through which exploitation is effected, belong to
all the people of the earth.

The inventions are the joint product of all who
have lived before us, and should not be appropri-
ated as private property.

With the equitable distribution of the products of
the workers there is no reason why anyone who
works need practice "abstinence."

Even with the limited production now carried on
by the masters to keep up prices, there would yet
be an abundance for all if it were rightly distributed.

XIV.

**If the hope of accumulating riches should be elim-
inated, would it not destroy all initiative?**

It is not the desire to render exceptional service,
but the fear of want, that inspires the accumulation
of riches. Once this fear is removed, men will cease
to grind and tear each other and will turn their
efforts to higher things.

As for "initiative," it already is destroyed for
ninety per cent of the workers. They are chained to
their jobs for a mere subsistence. There is nothing
that could more advantageously be destroyed than
"initiative" inspired by the love of money-getting.
It is anti-social in a world that has become highly
socialized in its methods of production. It is the
atavistic survival of a remote past when men were
obliged to hoard in order to survive. That was a
period when man's conquest over nature was so
slight that she rendered niggardly returns for his
efforts.

The creation of work of art or mechanical inven-
tion was ever inspired by the lust for wealth; but the
voracious maw of the financial "genius" is absorbing
even these efforts of human endeavor.

The independent inventor is fast becoming a thing
of the past, as in order to make a living he often is
compelled to sign a contract, held valid by our
amiable judges, giving over to the employer all rights
in any invention made during his employment.

XV.

**Do you not believe that the new science of "eu-
genics" will be the means of abolishing poverty by
breeding a race of men and women who are fit,
bodily and mentally?**

We do not believe the so-called science of eu-
genics ever can be effectively applied so long as such
powerful factors as poverty and child labor are pres-
ent to counteract it.

Then comes the all-important question of WHO
ARE THE UNFIT? Those who have gained a
competence and live off the toil of others are re-
garded by the capitalist standard as "fit," while
the worker regards as pre-eminently unfit the privi-
leged man. Whether politically or economically
privileged, he is deprived in mind and heart. His
habit of mind is selfish and greedy, and his means
of subsistence wholly parasitic in nature.

To believe that there can be found a law of eu-

genics that will operate automatically in spite of
bad sanitation, vicious surroundings and neglected
human beings, is quite beyond reason.

The great interest in "eugenics" which now en-
gages the capitalist mind is an attempt to ignore
the real causes which operate to produce the crimi-
nal and the incompetent.

How to leave a thousand dead on the battlefield
and escape the Black Plague was not to be cured
by legislation, but by sanitation.

EVA TREW.

ANOTHER GREAT BOOK.

"Liberty and the Great Libertarians." By Charles
T. Sprading, Los Angeles. \$1.50.

This is the first anthology of liberty. It is a mine
of libertarian thought. Most of the great things
that have been said about liberty are set down here,
gleaned from a thousand sources, running back to
Socrates.

What did Jefferson say about liberty? What did
Dr. Johnson, Tolstoy, George, Webster, Wilde say
on the great subject. You don't have to hunt
through numerous libraries—it's here, indexed, in
this volume. Besides, we have short biographies of
the great libertarians whose contributions to liberty
have made a mark in the world.

Liberty is one of the human attributes that has
been least understood, because the priests and other
fakers of the world got together and established au-
thority at the dawn of history.

Machinery has broadened men's minds. It has
killed the old gods. Machinery made the book and
the phonograph, and it has made ignorance a very
undesirable condition.

It is very hard nowadays for the commonest man
to get along with less knowledge than the "leading
citizens" of our grandfathers' time possessed.

Knowledge breeds discontent.

Discontent demands liberty.

Liberty demands social revolution. It will put the
kibosh for all time upon exploitation of man by man.

That's why priests of every stamp hate it. Every
man who makes his living by peddling "bull con"
can be put down as an enemy of liberty. The "bull
con" artists are pretty plentiful yet. But their num-
ber is waning fast and liberty is their greatest enemy.

What is liberty, anyway? I will quote Lord Ac-
tion, on page 34: "Liberty is not a means to a
higher political end. It is itself the highest political
end."

You can't improve on that. Liberty is the last
word on politics, no matter how you phrase it. It
is the highest conception yet created of the relations
of mankind; and men soar the highest in poetry and
art and science when discussing it.

"Liberty cannot be sacrificed for the sake of any-
thing. It is of more value than anything else," wrote
the greatest American prose poet, Ingersoll, whose
writings on liberty, quoted in this volume, are among
the grandest ever penned by mortal hand.

I am grateful to you, Friend Sprading, for this
volume, because of the pleasure and instruction it
will give me and all who read it, because it furnishes
a great fund of eloquence and truth on the greatest
subject under the sun.

J. F.

A REVOLT AGAINST COMPROMISE.

Syndicalism is a revolt against the dilatory tac-
tics of bourgeois Socialism, which seeks only pal-
liations and not complete emancipation from wage-
dom. Socialism is too prone to trim, to com-
promise, to divide and shake hands with the enemy.
It has shown itself to be as mythical and incapable
of realization as the second coming of Jesus Christ.
Whilst we wait for the social revolution the people
starve and the politicians wax fat.

Changes in the channels of wealth distribution
will no doubt be condemned as anarchistic and
immoral.

Freeing ourselves and indifferent to public opin-
ion we shall proceed on this path until we have
so altered the existing scheme of distribution that
the intellectual and material conditions of the peo-
ple will be revolutionized out of all recognition.

Changes in the past have only succeeded in
substituting the systematic supremacy of a single
fraction of the people over the rest.

The elimination of this supremacy of a fraction
of the people can only be accomplished by means
of direct action and revolution.

E. F. MYLIUS in "The Social War."

LEAGUE No. 1, NELSON, B. C.

Strikes, and rumors of strikes! Most every paper one picks up these days tells the tale of some union of working men or women striking, having struck, or just going to strike. British Columbia is having its fair share of the fun.

At the "Britannia" mine, Home Sound, members of the W. F. of M. have been out some time, owing to the refusal of the company to allow their business agent on the property, and general discrimination and all-round cussedness. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Amalgamated Society of Engineers are also out in sympathy. An arbitration board was called and "sat" on the matter, and gave its decision in the men's favor; but who is going to enforce the decision? Certainly not Dickie McBride's government, since one of his henchmen is one of the main guys in the company. And, anyhow, these laws were not put in the statute book to be enforced against capitalist companies by themselves. This decision was merely a miscarriage of justice—by, pardon, law—and ought to be declared unconstitutional. Arbitration is a damned farce, anyway, and the sooner the workers get next to the business the better. What in hell is there to arbitrate? The soft end of a Donnybrook shillelah is the best pacifier.

Damn these "foreign" unions, anyway. They are still at it, hammer and tongs, on Vancouver Island, with the coal barons, who, of course, are never foreigners, capitalism being international. Just the same, it is truly amusing to hear the management of the coal companies, who are Americans (and free-born at that) complain about a foreign "American" union. The company has stated all along that it would not object to deal with a Canadian union; and, to show that it meant business, have formed a union of scabs at Ladysmith and labeled it the "Dominion of Canada Miners' Union," with the company officials acting as officers. As an organizing advertisement the unholy union held a bean-fest at Duncan's, the company paying all expenses. Here is a good pointer to the unorganized on "how to get organized cheaply." The strike situation is still unchanged, with the "foreign" United Mine Workers of America paying out \$15,000 a week towards the strike. If they would educate their membership in more up-to-date tactics, with a fringe of sabotage thrown in, the strike would have been over long ago. One weekly installment of the strike benefit invested towards this end would give the boss delirium tremens. But, then, sabotage is anarchistic, immoral, unchristian; in fact, too business-like.

A good move has been taken in Vancouver by the amalgamation of the civic employes and building and common laborers. There will thus be one charter less, less dues, increased membership and greater solidarity and efficiency.

The W. F. of M. unions in the interior are still pondering over that Arbitration Board decision. She's a "lemon," boys!

Nelson is also worrying the arbitration bone. It's a cinch that the man who invented work must also have invented arbitration. He sure had it "in" for the workers.

The Socialist "polys" around here are somewhat sore. A few "renegade" officials of the U. M. W. of A. in the Crow's Nest Pass took a notion to form a labor party and participate in the late election, with the result that the sole socialist representative in the Alberta Legislature was ousted. They did O'Brien a good turn, as he can now go ahead educating and organizing the workers instead of lecturing a pin-headed aggregation of lawyers on economics.

W. CRAIG.

CAPITALISTIC LIBERTY.

Oh, yes, liberty is sweet, I grant. But, like every other general rule, it has its exceptions. The liberty, for instance, to walk the streets on a hungry stomach, just because there is no work in the world for you to do, is the exception that damns the whole fabric of our much vaunted "free institutions." It is the supreme wrong of our age, and until it has been righted there will never be anything on earth worthy of the name of civilization.

EL TUERTO.

THEORY AND PRACTICE.

When the I. W. W. was formed it was equipped with a whole series of dogmas regarding labor unionism, based on the theory that labor unions were never known to change, but were governed by fixed principles. Not only were the various failings and abuses of the craft unions ineradicable, but the ideal form and tactics of the I. W. W. were permanent. They were fundamental principles. Evolution for a labor organization was held impossible, although the whole history of the labor movement proved the opposite.

The theory of rigidity was the very life theory of the I. W. W., for if it were admitted that craft unions could change for the better or that the I. W. W. could change for the worse, there would have been no excuse for the I. W. W. coming into existence.

Practice has shown the dogmas based on this fixity of type theory to be valueless. On the one hand the craft unions, under the stress of economic pressure, are repudiating many of their so-called fundamental principles. Everywhere they are adopting revolutionary ideals and repudiating the "harmony of interest" slogan and the Civic Federation.

Many of them are federating or amalgamating into higher forms of unions and are removing the classic evils of the contract by making joint contracts. The sacredness of the contract theory is also being given up, the St. Louis unions at present having placed a boycott on the musicians for not having violated their contract and struck in sympathy with the waiters.

Sabotage is becoming a recognized weapon. In short, the craft unions are rapidly departing from their "fundamental principles" and are placing themselves upon a modern basis.

On the other hand, the I. W. W. is no less rapidly evolving. Thrown by the Lawrence strike from the realm of theory into that of practice, it is casting aside as worthless many of its most cherished "fundamental principles." One of the more important of these is the well-known "no contract" plan. For years the I. W. W. violently condemned the labor contract root and branch as "the death warrant of the working class," and yet in the barbers' strike in New York it was forced to sign contracts, and there wasn't a ripple of protest from the erstwhile contract-hostile theorists.

The I. W. W. for years also bitterly assailed the A. F. of L. for keeping the workers out on long strikes. They had a whole series of fancy tactics as substitutes. Yet the four months long Paterson strike is a typical "dime against dollars" strike. The much boasted and theorized of "intermittent" strike, as ridiculously proposed so often in I. W. W. theory, has been found to be inapplicable. "A. F. of L. tactics" had to be used, however inconsistent.

And, worse yet, many I. W. W.'s would be glad to see part of the Paterson strikers go back to work and help support the rest, even though for years this practice by the craft unions has been labeled the rankest treachery by the I. W. W. And it's the same with the absurd centralization theory of the I. W. W. Practice has shown it, too, to be fallacious. The old fanatical cry of no autonomy is being succeeded by an intelligent demand for decentralization. Two of the I. W. W. four English papers are edited by avowed decentralists.

The old "fundamental" cry of "no leaders" in the I. W. W. is also falling into disrepute, as today the I. W. W. undoubtedly has more labor leaders than any union of its size in the country. Its progressive members are adopting the modern theory of the militant minority. The labor faker is also beginning to bloom in the I. W. W., though this was supposed to be solely native to the craft unions. And so goes the evolution of the I. W. W.

Nor is this evolution liable to cease. Not only are the craft unions going to modify themselves still more, but the I. W. W. also will change radically as it gets more experience. Now that Wm. E. Trautmann, the king-pin I. W. W. theorist, has been jarred from the official pie counter and has characteristically bit the hand that fed him for years, it may be expected that many of his theories, including the ridiculous "One Big Union" chart, with its freak and arbitrary industries and departments, will be repudiated.

The writer believes that in the crucible of practice the I. W. W., provided it secures any considerable membership, will eventually be forced to give up

even its ambitious theory of being the whole labor movement, and will be compelled to join forces with the craft unions. Seeing that the I. W. W. has already given up so many of its cherished dogmas and adopted so many erstwhile condemned A. F. of L. tactics, it don't seem impossible that this one step further should be taken. This step will be the easier, not only because the craft unions are showing such signs of progress that it will soon be a toss up between them and the I. W. W. as to which is the better union, but also because both will soon be in the hands of the Socialists.

As long as the I. W. W. represented all the labor union virtues and the craft unions all their vices, and these were supposed to be fixed attributes of both organizations, there was some excuse for the I. W. W. attempting to launch an entirely new movement. But now that the I. W. W. and the craft unions in practice are rapidly approaching each other in form, tactics, etc., and will continue to do so, there seems but slight excuse for the preservation of the last and master theory of the I. W. W., viz.: the need of a complete new labor movement.

It, too, will join the many other discarded freak theories foisted upon the I. W. W. by its utopian founders.

W. Z. FOSTER.

THE ORIGINAL CONSPIRACY.

Now, the original industrial conspiracy has been on the part of the strong to take the earth, and they have got it. They own it and all they need now is to get enough working men and women at a low price to make them as much wealth as they want. It is pretty hard to fill that market, they want so much; but that is all they need. And the conspiracy on the other side of the working men of the United States is the same conspiracy as the conspiracy of the working men of the world, and it has only one object. We may temporize; we may be content with a little; we may stop at half measures, but in the end it has only one object and that is for the workers of the world to take back the earth that has been taken from us.

Take it back, and have all the products of their toil; not part of it, but all of it. Now, it is a universal, worldwide conspiracy by the intelligent working people and their friends the world over to get the earth that has been stolen by direct action.

Now, no one who understands this question wants anything less, and the employer is right when he says if workmen are permitted to organize they won't stop with that; and they won't. You may place every lawyer on the bench, and you may place a jail in every block and a penitentiary in every ward, and the workmen won't stop. If they will they deserve to be workmen forever.

CLARENCE S. DARROW.

(From "Industrial Conspiracies," a pamphlet, 10c, for sale by The Syndicalist.)

A MEMORIAL TO VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

America has already produced some great figures, figures that will stand out in bold relief upon the pages of history, where they will be seen by future generations even more clearly than the most clear-sighted of their own time saw them.

Voltaireine de Cleyre is one of these figures. A poet of wonderful, strange power, a clear thinker, a forceful prose writer, a true rebel, the type that always hews to the line, that is never lured from the straight, direct road to freedom.

Five hundred workers assembled in Bowen Hall, Chicago, Sunday, June 22, to commemorate the first anniversary of her death.

William Thurston Brown, Honore Jaxon, Hulda Potter Loomis, Julius Menke, Jay Fox, and Irving Abrams were the speakers, the latter speaking in Yiddish.

Subscriptions were taken for a volume of Voltaireine's writings, which will be published in the fall.

A collection of over \$19 was also taken up for the Paterson strikers.

FOR KANSAS CITY.

Kansas City Syndicalist Educational League has open headquarters and reading room at Schutte Building, room 8, 1209 Grand Ave. Open from 9 a. m. to 10 p. m. every day, all wage-workers welcome.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

(Report of Speech at Voltairine de Cleyre Memorial Meeting.)

Coming to this meeting I rode with a green conductor, a young man who was probably making his first trip, and I was struck by his awkwardness in performing apparently so simple a task and by his efforts to conceal the fact of his amateurishness.

He fumbled the change, got the transfers mixed, forgot to pull the bell—and all the time he chewed gum and tried to act like a veteran. He tried to deceive us and put on a bold front in spite of all the evidence of his greenness.

I stayed on the platform and watched the young man. I saw that most of the people passed into the car unconscious of the actor. I saw he was putting it over on them.

Then I lost sight of the green conductor, and I saw Voltairine standing on the platform of the world and watching capitalist society fumbling with the affairs of this world and crumbling and crushing the working class in its awkward hands and casting them aside to perish of disease and want, having no thought or care but to get the last nickel from them, and hiding its cruelty, its inhumanity, not behind a stick of chewing gum, like the green conductor, but behind machine guns and a wall of soldiers and police.

Then I heard her eloquent tongue ring out in words of fire denouncing the rapacity of the capitalist class, and I saw her writing magnificent poetry and prose that will live when we are all dead and forgotten.

Comrade Brown has made a comparison between Voltairine and Elihu Root. Let me develop the idea further.

In every human being there are two main motive forces—one concerned with the preservation of self, the other with the preservation of the species. In some persons one or the other of these forces is highly developed.

In Mr. Root the self force is large. He thinks only of the "I." His fine intellect is devoted entirely to Root. His great happiness lies in doing things for himself. He is the type of the American capitalist.

In Voltairine the other force was most largely developed. Consequently her fine mind was devoted to the things that concerned the race. She got no happiness in thinking of herself as separated from the rest of us. She thought in terms of "we." She was part of us; and that is why we are here today. Voltairine was the type of the social revolutionist.

It was said here that she was a direct actionist. Let me say that every man and woman of worth who has ever stood upon this earth was a direct actionist. Every person with red blood in his veins and an idea worth anything is a direct actionist. Sincere, honest man and woman who see the tragedy of the world today and who know the cause and the remedy want to go straight at the cure. They have no time to beat around the bush.

The holders of good jobs can afford to go the long way round, and never get there. We of the common herd, we who suffer the pains of this pitiless system cannot and will not temporize with it any longer, and will not be led astray by the bourgeoisie who are in no hurry to get off our backs.

It is the militant minority of direct actionists who have always done things in this world. The great mass, the great majority, is slow to move and always follow the lead of the minority with the largest battalion.

An active militant minority of direct actionists, clear-visioned, unspooked, is now being formed in this country, that is going to sweep the contemptible capitalist system off the map with one mighty stroke.

And Voltairine was a powerful member of this minority. She is yet, and will be; for while she has left us in person her ideas remain. And what is a person after all, but a series of ideas?

Voltairine will ever be associated in the minds of the toilers with their struggle for liberty, and when the fight is over and a free society is established her memory will be fondly cherished as a great inspiration in the social revolution. JAY FOX.

"Every member an organizer" should be the motto of every union.

While we work for the present we must not forget the future.

INTERNATIONAL SYNDICALIST CONGRESS.

The International Syndicalist Congress to be held in London in the fall will be a very important gathering of rebels, and will mark the beginning of the International Syndicalist movement.

It is expected that every country will be represented, including the Orient.

This country will likely be represented by two organizations—the I. W. W. and the Syndicalist League.

It is to be hoped, however, that the I. W. W. will not send any of its centralists to the convention. The Syndicalists have so far outgrown the centralization idea that they would laugh a delegate out of the hall if he attempted to peddle any of the ancient dope among them. They would look questioningly at each other and ask: "What's the matter with America, anyway? Has it been asleep the last quarter of a century?"

Let us have a representative, fellow-workers, who represents the modern idea, so that the American delegation will be a unit on fundamentals, if not on immediate tactics. FRED MOE.

NINE SUBS IN AN AFTERNOON.

Editor THE SYNDICALIST:

Brother Worker—The lectures of Laura Payne Emerson did a world of good here. We all understand syndicalism much better as a result. She knocked the voting idea out of a great many heads, and in a short time I expect we will organize a league.

I went down to Mukilteo yesterday afternoon and got nine subs. for THE SYNDICALIST. Some of the boys had been to hear the Emerson lectures and want to learn more about syndicalism.

Things look very bright for syndicalism around here, and I will do my part.

Yours, for syndicalism, the road to Freedom, Everett, Wash. DAN PETERSON.

WANTS TO KEEP IN TOUCH.

Editor THE SYNDICALIST:

Fellow Worker—Enclosed find subscription to THE SYNDICALIST for this local. Also send us as many back numbers as you can, as I and others want to keep in touch with every phase of the Workers' movement.

Yours, for decentralization,

Edmonton, Alberta. E. WEBSTER,
Sec. 82, I. W. W.

During the hot, dull season, June, July and August, it has been thought best to publish but one issue a month.

Note our change of address to 2236 West Division street, Chicago.

IMPROPER INFLUENCE.

Senator Sherman of Illinois told the committee investigating lobbyism in Washington that "the only improper influence ever brought to bear on me was by representatives of labor unions. They threatened to exterminate me."

I would probably consider that kind of thing "improper" myself. But the question is, if they had "threatened" him with a bunch of stocks and bonds, would the senator have considered that sort of influence "improper"?

SABOTAGE, BY POUGET.

The first book on sabotage, and written by one who knows what it is. The Socialist party branded it as a crime. What is sabotage? This book will put you wise to the newest and most dangerous weapon of the working class.

Price, 25c. Free with a year's subscription to THE SYNDICALIST.

Column space, to leagues, \$12 a month. Subscriptions accepted in payment. One hundred and twenty-five copies of each issue free.

FAME.

"Who was Solomon?" asked the Sunday school teacher.

"He was the greatest ladies' man that ever lived," spoke up the new boy, seeing that no one else seemed to have an answer ready.

NOTES.

Comrade Ed Gilbert, writing from Vancouver, B. C., says:

"Industrial conditions are in a frightful shape here at present. About 60 per cent of the building trades are idle. The town is flooded with idle hungry laborers and lumberjacks. To cap the climax, thousands of immigrants are arriving from England every week. The effect upon the labor movement here is very bad. The situation has but one saving feature, and that is that many of the pure and simple socialists are beginning to realize the necessity of an economic organization."

A long letter from Wm. E. Trautmann to W. D. Haywood, in New York People of May 24, and the Miners Magazine of June 5, in which the writer makes several charges against the I. W. W., and appealing to Haywood to step in and put an end to the alleged wrong.

Comrade Fleming, writing from Australia, whose letter arrived to late for insertion, says they held a big May day demonstration in Victoria, and, for the first time in nine years their meeting was not attacked by the Catholic hoodlums.

Comrade Bertha Colbert of the Workmen's Community, Harrison, Tenn., would like to correspond with radicals, especially women, with a view to their joining.

A diemaker wants to know if there is anything a saboter could put into the water to prevent him from hardening his piece of work. We don't know. Do you? If so, write us.

Books and Pamphlets For Sale by the Syndicalist Publishing Association.

A Physician in the House, Dr. J. H. Greer.....	\$2.00
Ancient Society, Lewis H. Morgan.....	1.50
Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, Berkman....	1.50
The Labor Movement in France, Louis Levine.	1.50
What Is Property? P. Proudhon.....	2.00
Life of Albert R. Parsons, with a history of the Anarchist trial	1.50
Liberty and the Great Libertarians, Sprading..	1.50
Flowers of the Mind, the best poems.....	1.00
Anarchism and Other Essays, Emma Goldman.	1.10
Love's Coming of Age, Edward Carpenter....	1.00
Syndicalism and the Co-Operative Commonwealth, Pouget & Pataud.....	1.00
The Physical Basis of Mind and Morale, Fitch..	1.00
Thoughts of a Fool.....	1.00
The Materialistic Conception of History, Labriola	1.00
The Positive School of Criminology, E. Ferri..	.50
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The Evolution of Property, P. Lafargue.....	.50
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Appeal to the Young, Kropotkin.....	.05
Evolution and Revolution, Reclus.....	.05
Trade Unionism and Anarchism, Jay Fox.....	.05
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The Mexican Revolution, W. C. Owen.....	.05
Anarchist Communism, Kropotkin.....	.05
Direct Action vs. Legislation, J. B. Smith.....	.05
The Rational Education of Children, Ferrer....	.05

COMMUNISTIC LIBRARY—Meets every Thursday night from 8 to 10 o'clock; every Sunday morning from 10 to 12 o'clock. Free lessons in English and Esperanto. Books in any language free. 700 Hudson street, Trenton, N. J.

FOR SALE—Cheap—In Home Colony; an acre with four-room house, chicken house, bearing trees; good view Apply M., Rasnick Home, Lakebay, Wash.

"WHY?" A magazinelet of the Revolution. 1423 S. Washington street, Tacoma, Wash. Monthly, 60c a year

THE SOCIAL WAR. A revolutionary weekly. 227 West St., New York. Subscription voluntary.

MOTHER EARTH. Monthly. Social science and literature. 55 W. 28th St., New York. Yearly, \$1