

THE AGITATOR

A SEMI-MONTHLY ADVOCATE OF SYNDICALISM, THE MODERN SCHOOL, INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

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WHOLE NO. 40

The Passing Show

Herve Flops Again.

Gustav Herve, who is serving a term in prison for his anti-militarist propaganda, has flopped back to the politicians, whom he deserted some years ago, when he joined the direct actionists.

In a recent issue his paper, "La Guerre Sociale" (The Social War) announces the change of policy.

We are told the change is due to the conviction that the anti-parliamentary propaganda is against the interests of the workers, and that experience has proven it to be useless and harmful.

It surely has not been comforting to one proletarian, who might, had he continued his harmless political gyrations, be now a deputy, or a cabinet minister. But to say that revolutionary direct action has proven a failure for the mass of European proletarians is pure assertion, and has not a morsel of evidence to support it.

No direct action tactics have flurried the calm sea of socialist politics in Germany. What has the 110 Socialists and the 103 Trade Union officials in the Reichstag, and the 700 Socialists in other offices, to show for parliamentarism? What liberties have these officials achieved for their fellow workers? Karl Legien has more liberty than Gustav Herve, but what of the rank and file?

The Belgian workers were so hopelessly defeated in the recent election that, in their desperation, they resorted to direct action as a protest and declared a general strike. What does that show? I ask.

On May 23rd the social democrats of Budapest declared a general strike, and got a promise of universal suffrage from the government, before they called it off. Is this a victory for the ballot?

In Italy a bill has passed the House of Deputies disfranchising every worker under thirty, and the bitter opposition of the socialists in parliament availed them nothing. Is that an example of the failure of direct action?

But what's the use of wasting good ink arguing colors with the blind?

Sabotage, a Sketch.

(Scene—The Waldorf-Astoria. Characters—Two plutons.)

"My, but this salad tastes queer. Bless me if it isn't castor oil the stupid help has put into it. What's the matter there? See, the waiters have removed their aprons and are filing out! A strike! The mean, ungrateful things, to strike just at meal time, and—think of the iniquity—to put castor oil in our salad. There should be a law against such practices."

"Castor oil in our salad, kerosene in our soup, that's sabotage. We are tasting the felonious French prescription, curse it. I see now why the socialists have declared against it. There are many near-respectable men among them, to whom the taste of castor oil and kerosene is as distasteful, almost, as it is to us. I shall instruct my valet to vote for

them, as a mark of appreciation for the excellent service they are rendering our class, by discouraging the development of vicious habits in the mob."

"I quite agree with you that the greatest benefactors of the rich are they who teach legal methods of procedure. For, the law being made to protect our interests and our persons only, we can always control the actions of those who attempt to adjust their grievances by the law. Don't you think so?"

"I think it's the wildest dream imaginable for these socialists, if sincere, to think they can beat us at our own game."

"But how about our dinner, friend? The waiters are gone, and here we are, helpless, with the castor oil still thick on our palates."

"Curse the striking saboteurs, we are reduced to the menial condition of serving ourselves or starving; let us bolt for the kitchen."

ELEVEN MONTHS IN PRISON

The members of the Mexican Junta have been found guilty in Los Angeles on the charge of abetting violating the neutrality laws of the United States, which makes it a crime to conspire against or aid a revolution against a government that is on friendly terms with "ours."

This prosecution is inspired by the special friendship "our" capitalists have for the wealth of Mexico, a great portion of which is "theirs" by the law of government gift. In short, robbery. The Mexican workers are engaged in the nefarious work of stealing their own country from the thieves. It is a serious crime to be sure; and we must not let it be said that anyone on this side was a party to it with our knowledge and consent. It befits our progressive policy that we send these men to the penitentiary for a few years to learn truly what modern civilization means.

Why didn't they try to bring about the changes they want to make in the land tenure according to the legal methods laid down by the landlords? Why fly in the face of providence, and get themselves all beat up trying to do things in that clumsy old-fashioned way. Herve could have told them all about the futility of direct action, having had a dose of it himself, continuously, during these last few years, from the French Government.

Few men who try to do anything of real value to their fellows escape the jail or the scaffold.

Teddy and Bill.

So Teddy Roosevelt, ex everything that's great, is going to have a brand new elephant of his own. He owned the regular old animal once, thanks to Czolgosch, whom he scurringly attacked, merely as a blind. Teddy foolishly loaned the gift to his friend Bill. And Bill, the ungrateful, became so attached to the animal, no doubt through the sympathy born of kinship, that he refused to give it back. Instead he handed poor Ted the steam roller.

Teddy, however, is not the stuff pie crust is made of. So he dragged his mangled form together, shoveled the sawdust from his teeth,

went out and hired a hall for himself, and nominated the only available candidate.

Now, that's what I call pure democracy; and I have often thought that, should I ever take the notion to run for president, I would start the race in just that way. Except that I wouldn't wait for the steam roller.

As mythology has it, Teddy is a first class rider, and so, indeed, is Bill; but there is a theory that they will stop several times during the race to exchange fraternal greetings (the language of which won't be printed in this paper), and it is quite possible that some wily chap astride a smaller animal may win the race. My country for a jackass.

Every Man His Own Party.

"There's something rotten in Denmark. The only way to cure it, apparently, is to carry the new idea of more political parties to its logical conclusion and let every man be his own party. Thus every man would be a boss and a leader. There would be no insurgents, no rump conventions, no contesting delegates. Every man could hold his own convention by his own fireside."—Washington Post.

What's that? My respectable Christian contemporary, don't you know that you are advocating anarchy? Anarchy pure and simple! Every man his own party, his own boss and leader, holding "his own convention by his own fireside."

You may have intended that as a joke. But there are thousands in this country who take it seriously, who can show that it is the only solution for the corrupt business and chaotic political confusion that is engulfing the masses today.

When men begin to do their own thinking they will not follow crack-brained jaw-smiths, like Roosevelt; nor huge stomachs, like Taft; nor soothing syrup savours like Bryan; nor lanky loonies, like Debs; nor any of the lesser lights of the political promise-land.

Every man his own party, would mean the end of parties, the end of politics; and men would turn to useful lines of endeavor. They would direct their energy to sane, elevating, peaceful usage. They would lavish their labor on the land. The workshop would be made a place of pleasure and enlightenment, no less than the theatre and the concert hall.

Musicians to the State House, politicians to the field. Let the Washington joke come true.

San Diego Fight.

The fight is still being fought in San Diego. The city has purchased 100 Krag-Jorgesen rifles and 100,000 rounds of ammunition. The gas company has discarded the red flag as a danger signal over its seepools and holes in the streets and substituted old glory instead. This is a distinct compliment to the Reds. Such degrading service has certainly not been in accord with the honor and dignity befitting the red flag and the San Diego gas company are to be highly commended for finding a substitute more in harmony with the menial occupation.

They are forcing the suffragettes to eat in the English jail, a most atrocious act, but only second to the act of jailing. Civilization will not jail either men or women. It will free them.

JAY FOX.

THE AGITATOR

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THE AGITATOR does not bear the union stamp because it is not printed for profit. But it is union, every letter of it. It is printed and published by unionists and their friends for the economic and political education of themselves and their fellow toilers. Much of the labor is given free. On the whole it is a work of love—the love of the idea, of a world fit for the free.

An ambassador is a man who goes abroad to lie for the good of his country. A journalist is a man who stays at home to follow the same vocation. Johnson.

REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

VI

Autonomy of Militant Minorities.

The organized militant minorities in the various unions would each have to have full autonomy. They would have to be held together and to united action by common interests, not by empty constitutional provisions or an autocratic G. E. B. a la I. W. W. The necessity for this autonomy is evident.

Each of the many conservative unions, A. F. of L. and independent, would present a different problem. Some would require one kind of tactics, others different ones. The most competent body to decide on the tactics to be employed in a given union would be the militant minority actively participating in the affairs of that union. It therefore should decide in all cases. If, for instance, a union had to be replaced by a new one, its militant minority alone could be depended on to decide when and how to seize the necessary live issue at the psychological moment and launch this new union. The limiting of this autonomy by the centralization of the policies of the various militant minorities into a set program—as the I. W. W. with its centralized dual organization program—has stripped its militants in the various industries of their autonomy in the important matter of dual organization tactics, and is forcing them to use these tactics willy nilly, regardless of conditions in their industries, would result in arbitrary tactics and disaster. The various organized minorities would have to be free to solve their various problems.

Organizing the Unskilled.

Many rebels believe it to be a special function of the I. W. W. to organize the unskilled, now being neglected by the A. F. of L.; and that to change it into a propaganda league would be to deprive these unskilled workers of their organization.

This is a groundless fear. If the I. W. W. were solely a propaganda organization, unskilled workers could organize as well or even easier than now. Militants among unskilled workers would—with the help, if need be, of the national propaganda organizations' funds, literature, organizers, etc.—organize unions of their fellow workers. The question of affiliation would be a vital one to such unions and they would have to be free to decide it as their interests dictated. In this respect also I. W. W. unions are stripped of their autonomy and their policy centralized. They must pay per capita tax into the I. W. W. even tho to do so amounts to suicide.

Many a union—not a few of them I. W. W. unions—have been crushed for refusing to pay dues or per capita tax into the A. F. of L.; others, as for instance the Shingle Weavers, purchase immunity from A. F. of L. scabbery by paying in their per capita taxes. Therefore the unions of unskilled workers would have to be in a position to decide which of the two courses—Independence or war with the A. F. of L. (which organization would certainly demand their per capita taxes), or affiliation with the A. F. of L. and peace with it—would be most compatible with their interests; and to affiliate or remain independent accordingly. Such

unions in organizing wouldn't have to face the strong A. F. of L. opposition they do now.

Conclusion.

By quitting our ridiculous dual organization program and concentrating our efforts on our propaganda program along the lines sketched above, in addition to securing innumerable advantages, we would abolish the four causes I have cited as being chiefly responsible for the failure of our movement to date: First, Each of the many conservative unions would be treated according to its needs instead of all being condemned wholesale as at present. Our disastrous I. W. W. patriotism would disappear. Second, As we wouldn't be a labor union we couldn't be scabbed out of existence. We wouldn't waste our scanty strength in disastrous jurisdictional fights as now. Third, Our propaganda wouldn't be cursed and negated by the stigma of disruption as at present. Fourth, The powerful militant minorities in the various unions now so generally disorganized would be thoroughly organized and exploited. It is true we would acquire new difficulties, but these would be as nothing compared to those we would abolish, and the advantages we would gain—many of which haven't been even touched in these articles.

Our task would be a difficult one, but by no means impossible. Look at the revolution now being caused in the English labor movement (called "impossible" by Debs) by a handful of Syndicalists using "boring from within" tactics. The corrupt and conservative machines now controlling the American labor movement seems strong only because they have no opposition and because it has been part of our stock in trade to consider them invulnerable—the revolt in the I. T. U. is proof of this. Confront these machines with a thoroughly organized rebel machine and they would melt away and their conservative doctrines with them.

We rebels must learn tactics from the despised printers and build a machine as they are doing, but on a larger scale, one designed to take control of the whole American labor movement. Every day we delay makes our task the more difficult, for while we are patriotically quarantining ourselves from the labor movement, the Socialists are busy "boring from within" and taking charge of it. Their well organized machines will be immeasurably harder for us to vanquish than the present decrepit ones. And capture the conservative labor movement we must sooner or later if we are going to have a rebel movement in the United States. As it will never voluntarily come to us, nor is it showing any signs of breaking up. The sooner we throw aside our present idiotic tactics and adopt sane ones the better it will be for us and the labor movement in general.

WM. Z. FOSTER.

SUMMARY OF FORMER ARTICLES

In the other articles Fellow Worker Foster pointed out the basic error made by the originators of the I. W. W., when they duplicated on the economic field what had been done on the political field. On the political field there was no party that even pretended to represent the toilers. So the growth of the S. P. was easy. But on the economic field the A. F. of L. and kindred organizations, while in no sense revolutionary, still they were of the toilers and largely represented their ideas and their efforts to defend themselves from the inraids of capitalism.

It was these organizations, covering every line of industry that the I. W. W. had to contend with, when it entered the economic field to organize the workers. And that the I. W. W. met with resentment and opposition from the old unions is shown by the fact that after six years of effort the I. W. W. is numerically smaller than when it was started.

The old unions regard the I. W. W. as an interloper, an attempt to divide their ranks, to split them up and to cause bitterness and strife where their experience have shown them that only thru close unity and oneness of action can they ever hope to succeed.

As a consequence of this bitter feeling of rivalry the old unionists refuse to listen to the I. W. W.'s real message—that of Industrialism.

Industrialism, the crying need of the hour, and to teach which the I. W. W. was joyously hailed by the Revolutionary element everywhere, failed to reach the ears of the toilers because the I. W. W. presented itself as a labor organization, besides being a propagandist organization.

The I. W. W. then, has a double program, and it is in this double program that Foster see the cause of its failure to reach the masses of union men with propaganda.

Why this dual program? Why organize men who are already organized?

The French syndicalists did not organize unions except where no unions existed. They carried their propaganda into the old unions, rejuvenated and inspired them fired them with the revolutionary spirit; published papers and pamphlets to educate them; routed the politicians and fakers and made the unions of France by far the most potent factors in the labor world today.

Why cannot the I. W. W. do for the American labor movement what the syndicalists did, and are doing, for the French?

The French have shown that the form of organization makes little difference if the membership has the Revolutionary spirit. Why shud not the I. W. W. cease as a labor organization and concentrate all its efforts in the field of propaganda?

Foster gives numerous arguments in favor of this suggestion and an outline of how the I. W. W. could continue as an integral organization for purely propaganda purposes, after showing by various examples and arguments that it cannot succeed on its present line of action.

He shows that the A. F. of L. will not let a rival organization grow, that it feels justified in crushing such an organization whenever it begins to attain strength, by scabbing on it and other means well known to the crafts. He shows the membership of the I. W. W. by entering the old unions and in conjunction with the radical element already there, would form a powerful militant minority that would revolutionize these organizations.

If we follow his arguments closely and weigh carefully the evidence he introduces we will not only be convinced that this is the best way to propogate Industrialism, but that it is the only way the I. W. W. will ever become potent force in the labor world.

If the reader wishes to pursue these articles in detail, enclose 25c. for the future series. J. F.

THE YELP AND THE SNARL

From before the Beginning of Things, conceived in the womb of Time, inherent in inorganic matter and in its vitalization; thru the æons of transpired phenomena; across the ages of Fear and interwoven in all History have the Yelp and the Snarl prevailed. In the straining of cosmic gases were they uttered, and they are uttered by the latest of organic phenomena, Man.

The history of evolution is the history of the weak and nonresistant Yelp and of the rampant, aggressive Snarl.

Not always has it been the "under dog", so to speak, that uttered the Yelp, not always the dominant element that voiced the Snarl. But ever was the Snarl evidence of inherent, if latent, strength. Inevitable, they who snarled were SOON TO BE the powerful. And as inevitably has the Yelp betokened the coming fall.

To day, as always, the Yelp and the Snarl symbolize the inefficient and the strong. What is the wailing of moralists, the bemoaning of the sentimental but the subservient Yelp of weakness! And the maudlin justifiers, they who seek to harmonize their misery with the "right"—what is their note but the Yelp of submission.

They who are opprest by "law" and cry for more "law"; he who is a victim of "virtue" yet craves more "virtue"; one who is enslaved by "honesty" and prays for still greater "honesty", what are they but voices uttering the Yelp!

But, there ARE those who Snarl, whose lives are one perpetual Snarl of Rebellion. Virtue, Duty, Honesty, Morality, these words have no place in their life-vocabulary "Away with your duty, your virtue," they cry, "by them we have been enslaved thruout the ages. Out upon your honesty, that is not for such as we. We will have none of your morality, under cloak of which we are deprived of our "Right" to life. Your "goodness" is everything that we call vicious and vile. Your "virtue" the virtue of villians. Your "morality" is the morality of the maudlin. Your "duty" is the duty of debasement. Your "right" is the right to rob. Away with it, away with it all."

But they who snarl have not lessened or weakened their vocabulary by ridding it of rubbish. They have merely made room for a newer and truer system of expression. In the place of "right" they have installed "might"; "duty" gives way to "self-interest"; in their mouths, "law" becomes "power to oppress". "Morality," only God and the folk that created him know the meaning of the term, and as the snarlors know not its meaning, they know no substitute for a meaningless phrase.

The Yelpers are fat; if not fat of body, they are fat of head. And as they are fat, so are they unclean. They

THE SONG OF THE VANGUARD

We march along, glad, brave and strong; true warriors of the right;
 For a world to be, where men are free, all faithfully to fight.
 We shed no tear, and we laugh at fear; still keen for the furious fray,
 We scorn all care and we mock despair: the Vanguard leads the way!
 On, on, with the Vanguard, Comrades;
 Strive far the cause so true.
 Be one in the great war, Comrades;
 The war that is faut for you!

Our banner red, our hearts have bled and stained it oft before.
 We lift it high, where every eye can greet it o'er and o'er.
 It cannot fall, for each and all are pledged to the very last
 To bear it still, thru well and ill, where the Vanguard's might is cast!
 On, on, with the Vanguard, Comrades.
 Near the flag of the crimson hue.
 Close ranks for the onset, Comrades,
 Where the battle beckons you!

Each day we fight with a double might, nor count, at dark, the cost;
 Who has no care but still to dare, his wars are never lost.
 At truth's command in the van we stand; and ne'er shall the strife be stilled,
 Till our strong foes yield the last red field, and the world's hope is fulfilled!
 On, on, with the Vanguard, Comrades;
 For peace we will never sue.
 Be brave in the struggle, Comrades,
 Where victory waits for you!

There comes an hour when the people's power shall conquer the rulers, all;
 When the masters' strength shall yield at length, and their privilege must fall.
 Or slow, or fast, let it rise at last; we seek but the battle's brunt,
 To strive on still with an iron will. The Vanguard fights in front!
 On, on, with the Vanguard, Comrades;
 Your might and your faith renew.
 Hail to the Vanguard, Comrades,
 Where the Vanguard hails to you!

—WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD

symbolize all that is stagnant, decayed, putrid. They are dead, dead to the wondrous thrill of the Ideal, dead to both Hate and Love.

Not so with the Snarl! They are lean of body, lean and clean in their mentality. And, like Cassius, they are hungry as well, hungry for life and the things that go to make for life. They are voracious in their desire, a desire that encompasses the world itself. They menace all that stands in their path. Their reach is long and their fingers are clutching, clutching, the while they voice the Snarl.

But let not the Snarl be conceived as sullen! It has its hate, aye, such a hate, but it is a holy hatred, a hatred of the debased, the sordid, the petty, the mean, the degraded. Dreams has it, too, and they are dreams of glory and splendor. It is vibrant with inspiration. Its longing is a longing for beauty, for liberty, for love, for life.

The note of the Snarl is swelling. On land and sea it is ever increasing in volume. Soon shall it boom across the world in accents like unto a roar, a roar that shall bespeak the dominant note of POWER, drowning in its thunder the weak, cringing note of the Yalp, the wail of the unfit.

For the fit shall survive! It is immutable law.

HARTWELL S. SHIPPEY.

SPECIAL FROM AUSTRALIA

Melbourne, June 15, 1912. —We celebrated May Day, which was a tremendous success for Anarchy. We had an audience numbering from 18,000 to 20,000 people. I spoke without interruption, concluding with: "Three cheers for Anarchy, Direct Action, the General Strike, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity."

Comrade Mrs. Barnes followed, but owing to a recent illness her voice failed and this enabled the Catholic hooligans, who had been organized to rush our platform (which they did) preventing our Comrade from speaking. But I succeeded in regaining quietness and at a quarter to five we took down the Red Flag and started home, followed by thousands, some cheered, while oth-

ers howled. The Police came and marched thru the city with us.

The Melbourne Roman Catholics are ignorant Priest-ridden slaves, ready to resort to any brutality for the Glory of God and the blessed Virgin. Notwithstanding May Day was a triumph for Anarchist Propaganda.

The Labor Minister of Justice was asked by the Strikers of Lithgow to release several of them who had been jailed by the Labor Government of New South Wales for striking. The Minister told them the Government would not be dictated to or threatened and that the law would be upheld. Which proves the change of masters does not abolish the whip.

I mentioned in my last letter about unemployed. The Agitation is going on in the three principal cities, Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. Thousands are out of work. But the Governments are bringing in immigrants weekly, from Europe to join the already destitute, helpless Workers. J. W. FLEMING.

RUDYARD KIPLING, REACTIONARY

Rudyard Kipling has written for the July American Magazine a short story based on the coal strike in England, which presents with great force the reactionary attitude toward the labor movement. It is really a warning to labor and is so denominated by the editor of The American Magazine, who frankly says that readers who do not at all agree with Mr. Kipling may derive great benefit from the story in that it presents the conservative attitude with extraordinary clearness.

In the story, which is laid in Hell, a labor leader just descended into the lower regions from England, where he has lost his life as a result of the strike, tells his hearers at great length of the tremendous fight against capital and organized society that he and his associates have recently waged. At the conclusion of the story the Devil winds up the discussion with the startling news that England is no longer to be in need of coal. The idea is that the labor unions have pressed their fight to such an extent that inventive genius has come forward and harnessed the tide to supply power in place of coal, thus relieving society of the need of coal miners. The Devil ends his pronouncement with the statement that these labor leaders are therefore the benefactors of society in that by going too far in their demands they have thus destroyed themselves.

The story will undoubtedly promote a great deal of discussion, and naturally it will find warm critics and defenders.

NEW BOOKS

"What Tolstoy Taught," by Bolton Hall. (B. W. Huebsch, 225 Fifth Ave., New York. \$1.50 net.)

Tolstoy was one of the greatest personalities of the age. He has influenced the lives of more people, perhaps, than any other author of the time.

As Rationalist, Novelist, Philosopher, and Sociologist he has written much; more than the average reader has time to read, if he or she had the inclination to do so. There is very little in this world that met with his approval. He was on the right side of so many question that we can easily tolerate his few inconsistencies.

He lived the life of a rebel, estranged even from his own family; and his death in the village railway station, while on his way to a little colony of peasant friends, forced to leave the home life he could no longer tolerate, is one of the most pathetic incidents in Biography.

Mr. Hall has done this busy age a real service in producing this volume. The book is composed as far as possible of quotations from Tolstoy's works. So it can be said that it is partizan. Nor has the author given undue prominence to that in Tolstoy which he especially likes. The Hall hobbies are out of sight. You get at the kernel of what Tolstoy taught. The book is well made and printed in large, heavy face type.

"Socialists at Work" by Robert Hunter. (The Macmillan Co., New York. Standard Library, 50c.)

A new series which from all appearances will take its place as one of the most important of "popular priced editions" is "The Macmillan Standard Library," the first volumes of which have just been published. It is proposed to include in this "library" only those books which have been put to the test of public opinion and have been found wanting, books, in other words, which have come to be regarded as standards. All the fields of knowledge will be represented, literature, religion, biography, history, politics, art, economics, sports, sociology and belles lettres, so that the person who purchases the volumes as they appear will be gathering together the most complete and authoritative works on the several subjects. "The Macmillan Standard Library" will never be finished; it has no fixed bounds. The intention is that it shall consist of all worthy books possible in which there is a sufficient interest to warrant the inclusion.

Ruling Others is a Curse to All

No man ever ruled other men for their own good; no man was ever rightfully the master of the minds or bodies of his brothers; no man ever ruled other men for anything but their undoing, and for his brutalization. The possession of power over others is inherently destructive, both to the possessor of the power and to those over whom it is exercised. And the great man of the future, in distinction from the great man of the past, is he who will seek to create power in the people, and not gain power over them. The great man of the future is he who will refuse to be great at all, in the historic sense, he is the man who will literally lose himself, who will altogether diffuse himself, in the life of humanity, George D. Heron.

THE EDITOR'S DEFENCE

The Editor of this paper has been convicted on the charge of "encouraging disrespect for the law". If this verdict is allowed to stand every radical paper in the State will be at the absolute mercy of the prosecutors, and may be thrown into jail at any moment.

The interest of free speech demands that this case be appealed, and we urge that you subscribe to this fund.

The Free Speech League,

NATHAN LEVIN, Treas. Home, Lakebay, Wash.

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 Raymer's old book store, 1522 First Ave.
 Lynn, Mass.: S. Yaffee, 233 Union Street.
 New York City: B. Waselevsky, 212 Henry Street; M. Maisel, 422 Grand Street
 New Zealand: P. Josephs, 43a Willis St., Wellington.
 England: T. Keell, 127 Ossulston St., London, W. C.
 Guy D Aldred, 17 Richmond gardens, Sheperds Bush, London, W.
 Australia: J. W. Fleming, 6 Argyle Place, Carlton Victoria.
 Vancouver, B. C.: The People's Bookstore, 152 Cordova St. W.
 Tacoma: Local 380, I. W. W., 110 South 14th St.
 Boston: M. Andelman, 291 Tremont St.
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Around the World

The war department is full of joy over a recent test of an aeroplane built to kill others than the operators.

"Rear Admiral Frank F. Fletcher, U. S. N., aid for material at the Navy Department, makes the timely observation that 2,000 of these air craft can be purchased for the price of a single battleship.

"Consider the spectacle of that aeroplane speeding over the aviation grounds yesterday," he said, "with Captain Chandler, without practice or experience, operating that weapon with such ease and success that he picked off one target after another with the machine going at high speed. Then multiply the number of machines by 2,000 and imagine the havoc which the downpour of shots would create."

How useful to disperse a crowd of strikers. What havoc a "downpour of shot would create" among an unruly mob like the ones we often have to contend with. Good for the cause. We must be careful not to take any immoral means to meet these guys.

Twenty-five lodges comprising the Order of Railway Conductors, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen, are favorable to forming a system federation on the Northwestern railroad. This is following the line of the system federations recently perfected by the shop organizations on various western railroads.

The Metropolitan Magazine for June has an article on "Haywood and Haywoodism," also one by Keir Harde on "The Labor Victory in England." Both articles are well worth reading. Harde gives a good and fair definition of syndicalism, while opposed to it. In the July number Morris Hilquert will begin a series of articles on Socialism.

There are seventeen hundred thousand railroad employees in the United States. The average wages of 5,500 general officers is \$13.27 a day, while that of the trackmen is \$1.47. The average wages of the aristocrats of the railroad workers, the engineers, is \$4.55 a day.

The strikebreakers employed to defeat the Laborers' Union of Newark, N. J., are receiving \$3.50 in addition to being housed and fed. The laborers asked for only \$2.00 a day and house and feed themselves.

Speaking of sabotage before the Socialist Convention, Gaylord of Milwaukee said: "We don't want any of it. We don't want to touch it. We don't want a hint of it connected with us. We repudiate it in every fibre of us."

The strike of the Chicago pressmen is still on. The freight handlers of that city are in the seventh week of their strike.

ELIMINATING THE ANARCHIST

Anarchy is causing a heap of trouble in the socialist camp nowadays. "The Masses" has an article entitled "Eliminating the Anarchist," which contains a lot of the usual gush about violence, etc. The article opens with this profound observation: "A resort to violence by individuals or a minority group as a means of settling a social problem is a confession of moral and intellectual incompetence. It is a confession that those who advocate or practice violence are afraid to submit the justice of their cause to the arbitration of reason."

In the first proposition it is wrong only for one or a few to revolt. If a majority does so the moral of the act changes and it becomes a wise act. This is modern socialist logic.

And the second proposition, ye Gods! Afraid to submit it to reason. Whose reason? The capitalists, of course. There is nobody else to reason with about it. The worker is not going to bother about it. He sees it. It's plain to him. It's the capitalist and his retainers that we must meet. And reason with them, to suggest it, is carrying the joke too far. Let us drop it.

The same writer says next: "We may be impatient at the slow progress of our campaign to convert the majority to our point of view, but when this impatience finds expression in 'short cuts' to the New Jerusalem, it ceases to be scientific and becomes raw Utopianism. If this 'short cut' takes the form of brutal conflict or contemptible sabotage, it is a confession that education is a farce and that the only argument which men will recognize is a knife at the midriff or a blow between the eyes."

What about education showing us that "contemptible sabotage" and direct action is the only way, would education then be a farce?

Or does this writer mean to say that we must educate the capitalists into the belief that it will be good for their souls and their body to give up all their wealth and step down from their pedestals of honor and power and idleness and pleasure. Does the writer imply that we will bring about the kingdom come in this way. How else can education be used. Enlighten me, I'm blind.

The Anarchist and direct actionist and syndicalist have no special abhorrence of any special means to the end. If it can be attained by other means than violence, all well and good, but we are ready for any means to the end. What did Berger mean when he wrote two years ago:

"In view of the plutocratic law-making of the present day, it is easy to predict that the safety and hope of the country will finally lie in one direction only—that of a violent and bloody revolution.

"Therefore, I say, each of the 500,000 Socialist voters, and of the 2,000,000 workingmen who instinctively incline our way, should, besides doing much reading and still more thinking, also have a good rifle and the necessary rounds of ammunition in his home, and be prepared to back up his ballot with his bullets if necessary."

THE CASE OF ETTOR AND GIOVANNITTI

The arrest of Joseph Ettore and Arturo Giovannitti, two leading figures in that phase of the class struggle, which was recently transacted in Lawrence, Mass. should arouse the sentiment of the labor movement to a fiery pitch. These fearless men have been willing to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the proletariat. They have gladly relinquished their liberties that the deformed, emaciated babes and hard-worked, half-starved men and women of Lawrence might enjoy slightly alleviated and humanized conditions. It is, therefore, the duty of every individual, who lays claim to radical principles or tendencies to raise his voice in loud and vehement protest against this latest of capital's crimes.

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL. It is Ettore and Giovannitti today. Tomorrow it may be you or I. Every man and woman, who voices a condemnation of the existing system stands in danger of being into the same position and predicament as that occupied by Ettore and his brother prisoner.

This case of the two comrades in Lawrence is only a repetition of capital's incessant attempts to seize into its fiendish and inhuman clutches all those in the labor movement who manifest the slightest strength, stamina and determination. The eight Chicago Anarchists faced a like situation. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were given similar treatment. Ettore Giovannitti are innocent. Capital, however, would glorify in their execution. These two men are members of the working class. They faunt staunchly in our battle—the great class war. Only to us, their comrades and fellow fighters, can they hope to look for support. And we must be prepared to meet their cry, morally and financially. Ettore and Giovannitti MUST NOT BE MURDERED. Haywood, one of the proletariat's most virile forces, walks the streets a free man today. This is due to the bold front presented by labor during the entire process of his trial.

What we did for Haywood, we CAN and MUST do for the fellow workers in Massachusetts. Let it not even be hinted that Ettore and Giovannitti have been sent to their deaths thru any neglect upon the part of labor. Labor's repudiation of the McNamaras was both ignorant and shameful. Let it now atone for that great error by planting itself firmly and staunchly at the side of the two latest victims of capital's insatiable desire for vengeance. If, however, despite all our efforts, Ettore and Giovannitti are executed, capital may rest assured that the working class of America will be prepared to demand and obtain redress for this heinous crime.

ROSA MARKUS, aged 15.

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HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF

It is easy to work yourself up into a political frenzy, bawl your head off at meetings, or take straight from the mouth of your favorite Socialist or Anarchist preacher the exceedingly doubtful arguments you should investigate and think out for yourself. It is the easiest thing in the world to follow a leader, and that is doubtless the way in which all kingship and tyranny originated. All these things are easy, and because they are so easy they are absolutely fatal; for they encourage sloth, rob the masses of initiative, cultivate flabbiness in place of muscle and reduce the whole body to a spineless mass. It is the method by which the church has ruled for centuries, and it is the method by which the labor and revolutionary movement of this country is being ruled today. The movement also has its "sacred" orators, preaching from their pulpits and shielded against contradiction; it also has its "Sacred Colleges" in the editorial sanctums of organs that expurgate whatever does not suit the commercial policies they were founded to foment. Today hero-worship is actually inculcated as a virtue, and discussion of problems vital to the movement, but dangerous to the rulers, is checked at every point. For example; the I.W.W. is now developing certain centralizing policies entirely foreign to the great Syndicalist movement of which it is supposed to be a part; but to get that information I have to go to independent papers wherein the rebels are voicing their protests, and voicing them with eloquence and logic. As always, the official organs are silent as the grave. They have unlimited space for sensationalism and hero-worship, but for what vitally concerns the rank and file they have no room.

Wm. C. Owen, in Regeneration.

The Death of Voltairine de Cleyre.

As we go to press the following sad note was received. Next issue will contain a biographical sketch of this deceased Revolutionary:

"Voltairine de Cleyre
Died 11 a. m., Thursday.
Memorial Meeting Sunday,
St. John to Preside.
Haywood to Speak.

Will be Buried Beside Our Five in
Waldheim."

THE AGITATOR EXCURSION

The Agitator Excursion from Seattle to Home was a grand success from every point of view. We shall have more to say and give a full report in the next issue.

RECEIPTS

Excursion Dinner, 26.50; Portland I.W.W., \$4; Frisco Ball, \$5; St Louis Syndicalist League, \$3; Moes, \$1.50; Clerc, Wasselefsky, Fink, Raasch, Muer, Communist Library, Capes, Kurtz, Petrovich, Pospisil, Hosdoffer, Hagler, Donation, Horner, Goldstein, Zamberlin, each \$1.00; Penhallow, Scarcerieaux, Craig, Brown, Helfand, Greenhalgh, each 50c. Springer, 35c. Knox, Matsisels, Paterson, Nagorove, Bonner, each 25 cents.

THE AGITATOR

Financial Report For May

EXPENSES

Jay Fox, wages,	\$40.00
Faler & Co., Linotype,	19.20
Paper Stock,	10.80
Postage, etc.,	4.05
Help,	1.16
Total,	\$75.21
Deficit from April.	\$16.98
Receipts,	\$26.50
Deficit,	\$65.69

HENDERSON BAY ROUTE—Steamer Tyconda leaves Commercial Dock, Tacoma, for all points on Henderson Bay, including Home, week days at 2:30 p. m., returning next morning. Sunday at 8 a. m., returning same day.

NORTH BAY ROUTE—Steamer Tyrus leaves Commercial Dock, Tacoma, for all points on North Bay every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 10 a. m., returning next morning.

For Sale—12 acres of good land under good conditions in Aurora Colony, Cal., managed by Abe Isaak. Apply to S. Fillin, 544 Blake Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

For Sale—In Home. Two acres and a small house, cheap. Apply to THE AGITATOR.