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# The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves  
of Capital to Vote Their  
Own Emancipation

SEVENTH YEAR — No. 326

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## NO EXCITEMENT IN BOISE -- JURY NEARLY READY

SPECIAL EDITORIAL DESPATCH FROM BOISE—

BOISE, Idaho, May 15, 1907.—Twelve jurors have been passed for cause in four days of court. If both sides use all their peremptory challenges, making twenty, it will take seven more days to complete the jury. The case should actually begin by Thursday, May 23.

The prosecution rejected a juror today because he said he would not take Orchard's oath for anything. Prosecutor Borah asked him, "Suppose the state relies on Orchard's testimony to a considerable extent, what effect would that have on you?" He replied, "I could not credit it; that is my settled conviction."

Darrow argued to the judge that every juror had a right to estimate the creditability of witnesses for himself, but Judge Wood ruled Orchard's case as witness was different.

Juror Henry was rejected by bringing in a Socialist witness who testified he heard Henry say, "These men must have been mixed up with Steunenberg's murder or they would never have been arrested." Henry also admitted saying to another Socialist he had "no use for Socialism, anarchism or devilism." Henry is a Presbyterian and Republican, yet he perjured himself to stay on the jury. Darrow very skillfully cross-examined him and got rid of him. The lawyers for the prosecution are showing rather small so far in contrast with Richardson and Darrow, but lawyers for the prosecution set the pace.

There is no excitement in Boise. The court room was only two-thirds full today. Steve Adams' wife is here; prosecution has no chance with her. From present indications the case of the prosecution looks pretty slim. Gooding looks gloomy, holding long consultation last night with McParland and McParland's body guard.

Wish Vincent St. John, at Goldfield, had as good a defense as the boys here. Socialists should go to the rescue of St. John and his fellow prisoners. Their case is just as much of a conspiracy as this.

Ryan Walker went home to New York Sunday. He was here only three days. He will send a great cartoon to "The Socialist" soon. McMahon takes Untermann's place for "Wilshire's." Only four Labor Jurors are here yet—Dalby, of Seattle; Scott, of Cripple Creek; Mattering, of Pittsburg, Kansas; Bradley, of Boise.

Pay no attention to Oregon stories about Moyer and Pettibone. You can expect capitalist lies to begin soon. Will send good Saturday special.  
HERMON F. TITUS.

## PREMEDITATED MURDER!

By Thomas A. Sladden

In the city of San Francisco last week occurred one of the most cold-blooded, premeditated and ghastly murders of working men that has yet been perpetrated in the United States. And President Patrick Calhoun of the street railroad company is the murderer. On his guilty head lies the blood of those unfortunates who were shot down by men hired by this degenerate to do murder.

When this hell-hound Farley is engaged as a strike-breaker he is hired, not to furnish working men, but to furnish hired slayers to kill working men. Farley's men are street car men today; carpenters tomorrow; bricklayers the day after; moulderers next week; machinists the next; and murderers all the time. When out of Farley's employ they are holdup men, housebreakers, safeblowers and any-

thing and everything but working men.

Why do I call Calhoun a murderer and what line of argument can I use to prove such an assertion?

A little thinking will prove this matter to the satisfaction of any workingman open to reason. I say workingman, because the workingman and the capitalist look at things from different points of view.

Calhoun has trouble with his men. A strike is on. But before the strike is declared, yes a month before at least, Calhoun is making arrangements with this caricature of a man, Farley, to furnish strike-breakers.

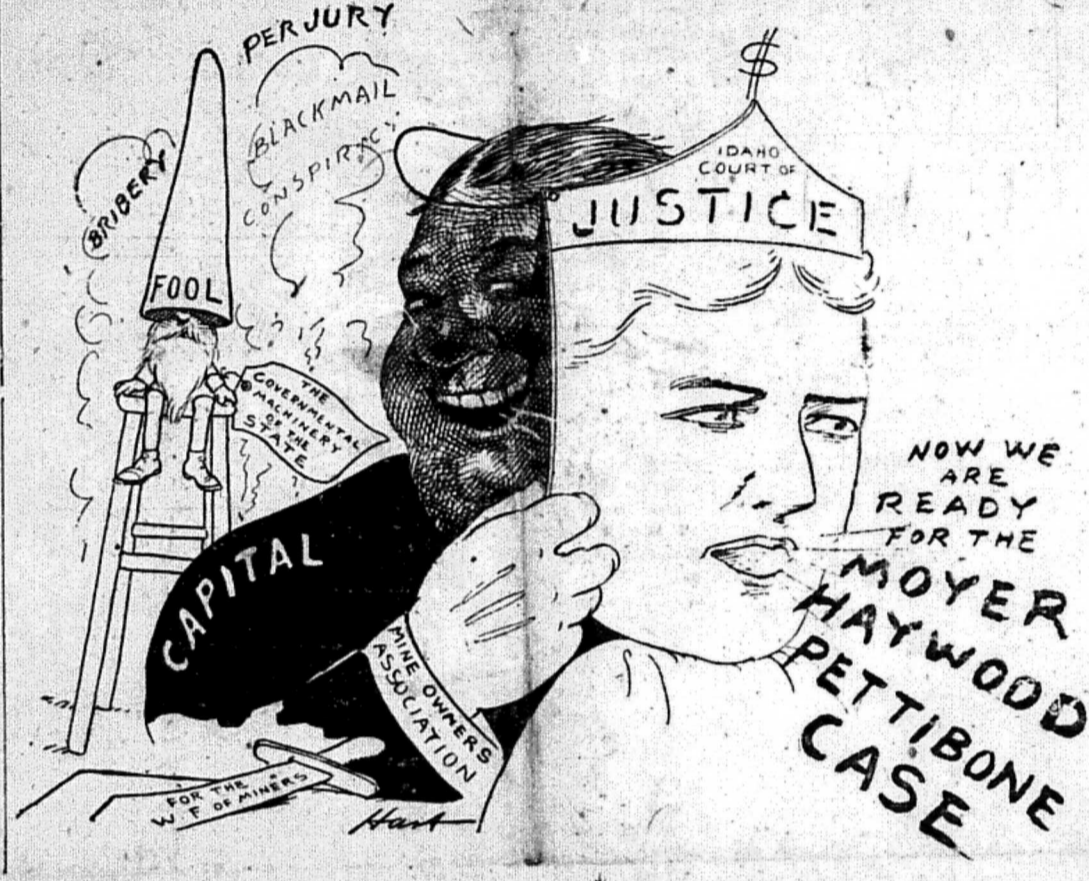
The temper of the people of San Francisco he well knew. The mob—that is, all of the people of San Francisco with the exception of perhaps a few thousand profit mongers engaged in running businesses from stealing railroads, skinning Eastern colonists out of a life's savings by selling them worthless land, defrauding creditors, etc., down to the peanut huckster on the street corner—were in sympathy with the street car employes. The exceptions were lined up the other way. Now when Calhoun, or any other creature of his ilk, brings a man of the caliber of Farley with his strike-breakers—strike-breakers who are recruited from the very bottom strata of the festering sediments of society, the dregs who congregate in the dives and slums of the big cities, rum dum from liquor, morphine and opium, depraved and utterly lacking in every quality which goes to make up a human being—I say, when Calhoun allows a disreputable aggregation of this kind to be brought to a city and armed with the most improved tools of murder and sent out among a people who have been exasperated to almost the point of open rebellion, I say this man is doing what he knows is bound to result in bloodshed. Not only doing it, but premeditating the shedding of blood and the murdering of the people of the city.

And yet the shameless apologists for capitalism will exonerate this blood-stained worse than criminal of any blame and by so doing, press and pulpit, bench and bar, bring themselves down to the same low level. A mob is always the representative of a majority, and he who while a member of any community so conducts himself or his business as to arouse the community to the point of violence is a person who is dangerous to the community and unfit to manage a business in any civilized nation. You can yelp about mobs and anarchists till you are black in the face, but the mob is an outgrowth of a condition, and unless the condition which leads to the formation of the mob is removed then some day society will have to answer to a mob. Shooting down a few scattered workmen will only give workingmen experience

which will teach them a way of meeting the condition without being shot. And the militia of the United States are human beings. The only difference between most militiamen and other workmen is that the members of the militia have not become cognizant of their own class interest and are still deceived into believing that a military organization is an organization of patriots instead of what it really is, an organization to be used as a tool for the subjugation of the workers by the plutocrats of the nation. But when it comes to bringing them to shoot down their friends and relatives in the interest of a street-stealing corporation which has hired murderers to shoot down men in cold blood, I say when that day comes, the capitalist class will find that they are using a dangerous weapon and one which is liable not to off at the proper moment. The militia in California have proved before that they would not be used as murderers when they stocked their guns on the commons at Stockton and at Oakland and walked off the field, showing that there was manhood left even in the militia.

When business men arouse the public to the point that they must use gun men to conduct their business it is time to investigate that kind of a business. And when one class of society becomes so decayed that its members will hold high carnival in the sight of the desolation of a city ruined by a natural calamity, building costly buildings to be torn down in a day, while all around are people—men, women and children—sleeping in tents and dug-outs; when the female members of this class shower with flowers from their automobiles creatures whose hands are still wet with the blood of their fellows, I say that when any system of society becomes so rotten it is close to its final hour.

The class struggle which has been slowly working for years is drawing near a culmination. It can hardly be kept from the view of the dullest. And the capitalist system is ripening with such swift rapidity, that its fruit, Socialism, will soon be ready to pluck. THOMAS A. SLADDEN.



## NOTES OF THE TRIAL

By Hermon F. Titus

These notes will not attempt to give an exact and day to day report of the trial's progress. That would be impossible, even with a verbatim report of all the judge, lawyers and witnesses say. But I shall try to furnish such picturesque suggestions and analytic outlines as will enable the absent comrade to grasp the situation pretty nearly as well as if he were on the spot.

In the first place, Boise is no "wild and woolly" West. It is a beautiful and cultivated little city, with asphalt streets, good sidewalks, paid police and fire departments, electric cars and lights, modern office buildings and progressive people. It is surrounded with irrigated farms, some of the best in the world, is 2800 feet above sea level, has mountains of brown old earth 5000 feet high a few miles away, all kinds of song birds in the abundant shade trees, magnificent horses, sturdy men and handsome women. It is a modern American city, even to its shacks, hordes of dirty children and its red light district.

There are no gatling guns nor multitude of detectives nor troops of cavalry. All that is yellow newspaper rot. I probably experienced the nearest to arrest of any incomer. The day of my arrival a gentleman stepped up to me on the street at 5:30 p. m., asked courteously if this was Dr. Titus, then introduced himself as Mr. Francis, the chief of police, and said the Mayor would like to make an appointment with me to have a "heart-to-heart talk." I told him I was then going to dinner, but could come at 7 o'clock. He agreed and pointed out the City Hall and the location in it of the Mayor's office.

At 7 o'clock promptly, I mounted the brown stone steps of the City Hall, was met by the Chief, escorted into the Mayor's apartments and introduced to Mayor Haines, a mild-mannered business man of 50. He was a bit nervous and apologized for his lack of ability to express himself. What he wanted was to say that several people had been coming to him during the day telling him that Dr. Titus, the Socialist street-speaker, was in town and he ought to be discouraged from speaking in Boise at this time.

I assured the Mayor I had not even thought of speaking in public, on the street or elsewhere; that I was an editor and reporter and expected to mind my own business. I told him it seemed bad policy just now to discuss the Haywood case on the streets, but that

my advice would be not to forbid street speaking as we might not like to be denied our rights, though I knew of no one who wanted to exercise those rights just now.

That ended our conference of a half hour, though the chief invited me quite cordially to visit him at any time in his office.

And that is the nearest to military or arbitrary control that has occurred in Boise—not a hundredth part as warlike as Seattle under Wapenstein any day in the week. No, Boise City is in a very peaceful and unexcited condition, the irrigation brooks run along its street gutters and the frogs sing undisturbed therein.

The Ada County Court-House is a simple, rather massive cheap brick building placed in the center of an entire block and surrounded with

green lawns and shade trees, a very pretty picture.

The jail is in the basement, county offices on the second floor and court room on the third floor. The general arrangement of the court room I have described elsewhere. It seats about 200 people outside the rail and 500 might possibly crowd in by occupying all the standing room. At no time yet has it been full, or even half full of spectators.

Besides the 30 to 40 reporters, the largest single body in the room, is the lawyers for the defense. Their table is crowded. There are Richardson of Denver, Darrow of Chicago, Miller of Spokane, Nugent of Silver City, Wilson of Boise, Murphy of Denver, Whitsell of Wardner, besides a stenographer from Denver and a law clerk from Chicago, nine in all.

The prosecution have four lawyers

around their table, Hawley and Borah of Boise and Stone and Van Duhn of Caldwell. Others may come later. It is reported today that neither Borah nor Hawley know who some of their 151 witnesses are nor what they will testify to. That looks as if some other lawyers had worked on the case, who may put in an appearance at a later stage.

Haywood and his family sit behind the counsel for the defense. Mrs. Haywood is a pathetic figure. She is dark and hollow, bearing signs of long invalidism. Her hands are helpless and contracted, lying motionless on her lap. She cannot even turn her head to look when things of interest occur. She sits there, a poor, paralyzed body in an invalid chair mounted on bicycle wheels. Yet Mrs. Haywood never looks pathetic. She is not posing for sympathy. Her face is alert and resolute. Her quick eyes roll from side to side and nothing escapes her. She is not there to win pity for herself, but to stand by her husband in his trial. She looks brave and steadfast.

In great contrast Haywood himself sits a few feet further toward the judge's bench. His complexion is fair. His body is big, tall and broad. His right eye is gone, but the other is bright enough for two. The corners of his mouth droop a little and he looks rather pale and haggard, as if from long confinement. He does not appear sad, but, of the two, his wife seems the more cheerful.

Between them are their two daughters, 17 and 11, and the strong nurse of Mrs. Haywood.

The lawyers for the defense afford striking contrasts in personal appearance. Richardson is tall and pink, with a great bald dome. His features are large, eyes protruding, lips smiling complacently, voice resounding. He is carefully dressed, looks aristocratic, sits bolt erect.

Darrow is the opposite, looks like a farmer, dresses carelessly, slouches about, has a pale, pareworn, livid face and stringy hair. His voice is gruff, his smile lovable.

Nugent and Wilson both look florid and beefy, Miller languid and Whitsell chipper.

Murphy is a skeleton, the shadow of his old brave self, far gone with consumption. Noland of Denver, calls him "the most heroic figure" of this dramatic event. He has fought many a legal battle for the W. F. of M. in the old days, but now he can be little more than a spectator. Moriturus Salutamus.

The unfortunate officials here are the judge and the sheriff. Either of these can save or condemn Haywood. The jury can be selected by either judge or sheriff.

The judge decides all challenges for cause. That means if either side wants to get rid of a prospective juror and challenges him for some alleged "for cause," it is the judge who grants or refuses the challenge. Thus the judge really selects every juror who is challenged.

True, each side has also 10 peremptory challenges, that is, defence and prosecution may each reject 10 men already passed by both or by the judge "for cause." But every man who gets on that jury must be passed "for cause," before he gets a chance to be challenged peremptorily. So the judge is likely to pass on nearly all of the 32 men who will be selected and out of whose number 20 will probably be dismissed by peremptory challenges.

But even more influential on the jury is the sheriff. By the Idaho law the sheriff summons whatever men he likes to serve on the jury panel. The first panel is drawn by lot. But in this case that was soon exhausted. We have had two days of actual court, Thursday, May 9th and Monday, May 13th. The interval was employed in summoning a new panel of 100 men.

The sheriff summoned these to suit himself.

It is a big responsibility to put on any man. I should think Sheriff Hodgkin, who is said to be a brave, fair man, would have preferred to select the list by lot. If he so chooses, he can select those he knows to be against the prisoner or those he knows to be in their favor. For nearly everybody has formed an opinion one way or the other.

Sheriff Hodgkin is reported to have said that he would make the selections with the same sense of responsibility and fairness as if his own neck was in the noose.

During these two days, four jurors have been passed "for cause" by both sides, a carpenter, a butcher, a grocer and a farmer. Eight others are passed by the Prosecution, but not yet examined by the Defense. At the present rate of speed, the jury should be selected by the close of this week.

A remarkable contrast is observed in examination of jurors by the Prosecution and Defence. The Prosecution's examination is perfunctory and hasty. One often sees more care

taken in selecting jurors in small damage suits. This would indicate either supreme confidence that they can win with any old jury or such a hopeless case that they know they can't win with any jury.

The Defence, on the other hand, is infinitely careful. Mr. Richardson spent nearly an hour today with one young man who was passed by Mr. Hawley inside three minutes.

This selection of a jury is rather dull business. It does not draw the crowd, but it is the most important part of the case. All the reporters are following it very attentively.

The majority of the new panel of 100 jurors is from the country districts. It is hard to say whether this looks good or bad for the defence. Claims are made both ways. This is sure, no Union man need apply. Yet one man was passed today who said he was a member of the Meat Cutters' Union in Seattle a few years ago. His name is Walter Shaw, a small, dark, smooth-faced man of 30 years. Like the others who have passed, he seemed either too stupid or too indif-

(Continued on Page Two)



This is a striking picture of Geo. A. Pettibone looking out through the barred door of the day cell occupied by the three prisoners for more than a year. At night they are kept in separate cells in another part of the jail. Guard Geo. Porter is at the right, holding the keys.



FAMILY OF WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

Mrs. Haywood is in the invalid chair and is accompanied by her nurse, Miss Wesselmann. The little girl in Haywood's lap is Henrietta, whose innocent question, "Are they going to hang my papa?" has been sung throughout the country. She is 11 years old. Her 17-year-old sister, Vernie sits at the right of her father.

This photograph was taken on the lawn of the courthouse just outside the jail.

The two barred windows mark the night cells where Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone have been confined for the past fourteen months.

Mrs. Haywood has only recently been brought from Denver at great trouble and pain. But she insisted on being beside her husband at his trial.

This picture has never before been printed.

Mrs. Moyer is sick in the hospital, the second time she has been there with nervous prostration since her husband was put in jail.

Mrs. Pettibone has gone to Denver on business, but will soon return to Boise. Pettibone's flourishing little business has been completely ruined.



# SOME ASTONISHING NEWS and a CHALLENGE

By HERMON F. TITUS

The most unexpected piece of news concerning this case relates to the Editor of "The Socialist."

Most readers of this paper know that its editor was the first Labor correspondent in Idaho, that he spent many months here as National Organizer of the Socialist Party and that "The Socialist" was removed from Toledo, Ohio, to Caldwell for the express purpose of building up the Socialist Party in the state and changing adverse public sentiment against the arrested men.

It is admitted by every one cognizant of the facts that the editor of "The Socialist" has sacrificed as much for Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone as any other man.

Now, when I come back to Boise to renew the fight on their behalf, I am received with averted faces by many Socialists and with actual curses by one of the leading lawyers for the Defence.

Why this change? Last year no one was on more cordial terms with Richardson, Darrow, Nugent. They said I had done more and risked more to meet and modify hostile sentiment in Idaho, especially in Canyon county, than any other man.

Now I am openly charged, with being a traitor to the men in prison and treated as an enemy. Why?

Incredible as it may seem, the only reason lies in the fact that last fall, prior to the state election, I exposed in this paper a scheme of the lawyers of the Defence to sidetrack the Socialist candidate for District Judge in the Seventh District where it was then expected the trial was to occur. These lawyers, particularly Nugent, attempted to have the Socialist candidate withdrawn in favor of the Democratic candidate.

Regular subscribers to "The Socialist" will remember my exposure of that scheme and how I argued that, even if successful, the election of the Democrat would not help our brothers one particle.

But my main contention was, that the Socialist Party never compromised, not even to save any man's life.

The Socialists of Idaho rallied to my support and polled a straight vote exceeding the Debs vote of 1904.

The National Secretary at Chicago strongly commended my position. He especially praised me for sending the following telegram from Seattle to Comrade Ault at Caldwell, when it was found that the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party might be prevailed upon to accede to the lawyers' advice and withdraw the Socialist candidate in favor of the Democrat.

"This was my message: 'Stand Pat. The Socialist' will expose and denounce any compromise.'"

They did stand pat and the Socialist Party was saved from what I believe would have meant shame and defeat.

Now, for doing what was the most difficult act of my life, because it seemed to some who regarded persons above principles, to be forsaking the boys in prison, though I believed and still believe I was really doing the best for them as well as the best for the Party and the Cause, for this act of loyalty to our Party I am now denounced in this city by Counsel Nugent and those he influences.

I quote his exact words to me, when he ordered me out of the office of counsel for the Defence last Friday, May 10: "You are a God-damned traitor and a God-damned liar."

Mr. Nugent will have to answer to me in person for those words before I am through with this matter. But I am at present only concerned that the Socialists of America should know to what lengths a Socialist may be persecuted for being a Socialist before he is a friend.

However, I should care less for what a Democratic lawyer and politician might say or do, if my fellow Socialists had not taken up his position and turned their backs on me for the same reason.

I do not now refer to the few Socialists in Boise, whose vote fell from 300 last fall to 23 this spring, but to one of the most prominent Socialist correspondents in Idaho and to the paper he serves. In the "Appeal To Reason" of March 30, 1907, appeared the following "Warning:"

### A WARNING.

The "Appeal" is informed by those in a position to know that a certain individual, prominently connected with the Socialist Party, is preparing to earn the reward of perjury by deserting Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone in their unequal fight against the power of combined capital.

Not being wholly certain in regard to this matter at this time, it might do an injustice to the person suspected to mention his name; but it will do no harm for every Socialist to be prepared for the Judases and Arnolds that manage to worm their way into every labor movement only to desert when desertion pays.

Enough said. Keep your eyes open. Probably nothing in the history of this case has excited so much indignation among readers of the "Appeal," or so much general inquiry as to who could possibly be meant.

Nearly every prominent Socialist has been thrown under suspicion and a feeling of distrust and hatred ex-

cited toward the man intended, whose identity at some time or other was bound to be revealed to the members of the party.

Here in Idaho there is no doubt now and there has been none from the moment of its publication.

Geo. H. Shoaf was attending the Adams trial in the Cour d'Alene section when this scandalous item appeared and the comrades in Wallace knew it was aimed at me.

I did not know for certain till I got back to Boise last week. At my earliest opportunity I called on Shoaf and took with me Ernest Untermann, of Chicago, member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and Ryan Walker, member of Local New York, the well known cartoonist.

In the presence of these two comrades Shoaf acknowledged to me that he wrote the item in question himself and sent it to the "Appeal" from Idaho and that it meant me. He also admitted that he had absolutely no proof except that some Socialists were saying it. It was in fact a rumor current in some Socialist circles in Idaho.

Nothing standing that he could not furnish a single item that even looked like proof, Shoaf refused to write a retraction. I demanded that he have published in the "Appeal" a statement like the following:

"Upon investigation we find that the person referred to in our issue of March 30 as a certain individual prominently connected with the So-

cialist Party and as preparing to earn the reward of perjury by betraying Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, is entirely free from suspicion and we cheerfully withdraw every suggestion against him."

Shoaf said he would write to Warren about it and he could do as he pleased, but he would retract nothing. All this in the presence of Untermann and Walker.

Now, comrades and friends who read "The Socialist," I submit my case to you for judgment.

Because I was an uncompromising Socialist and refused to be a party to a direct Fusion proposition for the supposed benefit of Moyer, and Haywood, a scheme originating with a petty Democratic politician and lawyer, I am published to the Socialists of the United States as the blackest traitor "about to earn the reward of perjury."

It is idle to say my name was not given. It is known in Idaho already, and was certain to creep out gradually or be published suddenly at any moment.

If I was guilty of that charge, no punishment would be too severe for me. I deserve to be shot.

I challenge Geo. H. Shoaf or Fred D. Warren or J. A. Wayland or John F. Nugent or any other man or woman on the earth, or in hell or heaven, to produce any single scrap of evidence that I ever said a word or did a thing or contemplated saying or doing anything to betray Moyer, Haywood or Pettibone.

I probably know more about this case than any man alive, except those immediately concerned, but no man lives, outside counsel for the Defence, who ever heard me utter a syllable

concerning the facts of the case.

I make this challenge as broad and explicit as possible. If there is any person anywhere who can say a word against my treatment of Moyer, Haywood or Pettibone, let him speak.

I denounce the whole accusation as an infamous lie, a damnable insinuation, the most contemptible journalistic trick to ruin a fellow editor and comrade that was ever executed.

I demand of the "Appeal To Reason" and of Geo. H. Shoaf, the author of this lie, a complete retraction in as public a manner as it was made and an unqualified vindication of my reputation from the base aspersion cast upon it. If they refuse, they will stand branded before the Socialist Party as irresponsible and cowardly defamers of an innocent comrade.

With John F. Nugent, who is not a Socialist and of whom nothing better could be expected, I shall deal otherwise.

HERMON F. TITUS.

## NOTES OF TRIAL

(Continued from Page One)

ferent or too "deep" to have any opinion. The jurymen who have read the favorite papers here, named the "Statesman," "Capital News" and "Ladies' Home Journal," usually has a very emphatic opinion as to guilt or innocence, quite likely to be such an "unqualified opinion" as under the Idaho Statute disqualifies him.

It looks as if the jury might consist of a lot of dummies with a few who pretend to be dummies for the sake of setting on the jury.

The New York "Sun," besides several others whom I have not identified. In all it is said there are over 25 reporters representing capitalist papers. They will give the news as seen with capitalist eyes and for the purpose of assisting the capitalist class to retain its control over the proletarian class.

It is an ignoring of facts to assume that there is or can be any "impartial," "fair," "unbiased," "unprejudiced" reports of what occurs at this trial from any of these sources.

For this is a trial of the Western Federation of Miners. The prosecution is the Mine Owners' Association, as their list of 151 witnesses proves. It is an open fight between Labor and Capital, whether the prisoners are guilty or not.

It is not a mere question of who murdered Steinberg. Even if the men are guilty, they became so while engaged in a battle of Labor against Capital. If they are not guilty, they are being prosecuted by all the forces of Capital and defended by all the forces of organized Labor. Whether we like it or not, this trial spells itself into the inquiry, Who is guilty, Capital or Labor? It is an incident of the great industrial or Class War now raging throughout the Modern World.

All reports of the case must be read and interpreted in the light of this Fact of Facts.

The "Daily News" of a day or so ago reported that the Socialists had refused Emma Goldman the use of the Socialist Temple. We take this occasion to correct that statement. The Socialists had nothing to do with the matter, if it is true the hall has been refused. Walter Thomas Mills is the proprietor of the Socialist Temple and is solely responsible for its renting. The Socialists stand first and always for free speech if they stand for anything and would be as prompt to allow Emma Goldman the use of any hall that they might happen to control as they would any other honest worker for what he or she might consider right. But at the same time, we want it to be understood that we have no connection with the propaganda of Emma Goldman and are absolutely opposed to her advocacy of violence and "direct action" as a means for the emancipation of the workers.

As a culmination of the lockout and refusal to grant their demand for fairly decent conditions, the longshoremen were compelled to strike May 16. Several hundred men who were not already locked out quit work and the fight is now on in earnest. The employers' side big, but the union seems to have the better of the argument in that it has practically all the experienced longshoremen in its membership and is succeeding in alienating strike-breakers from the employers in great numbers. An early victory for the men is looked for, as the Alaska trade is opening up and boats have to be loaded.

During the past week the longshoremen lost one of their best workers and one of the strongest men in their union by death. John Carr was a patrolman of the organization, 43 years old and a native of England. He was so well liked that when the funeral occurred more than 250 longshoremen were in attendance and the waterfront was left practically unpatrolled during the march to Mt. Pleasant cemetery.

The first ballot for the election of delegates to the International Congress resulted as follows: Berger 14, Carey 6, Gosman 5, Lee 20, Austin Lewis 14, M. Simons 17, Spargo 7, J. C. Thompson 3, Wentworth 11, Work 13. None of the candidates having received a majority of the votes cast, a second ballot is required, upon which vote will close May 23rd. The candidates for a second ballot are: Victor L. Berger, Wis.; James Carey, Mass.; Louis Gosman, Pa.; Algernon Lee, N. Y.; A. M. Simons, Ill.; John Spargo, N. Y.; Franklin H. Wentworth, Mass.; John M. Work, Iowa.

The Socialist State Convention of Kentucky will be held Sunday, June 16th, commencing at 10 a. m., at the Lagoon Park Club House.

## NEWS AGENCIES AT BOISE

Sketch of Reporters for Daily Papers—How the News of the Great Trial Is Gathered and Sent to the World—The Interviewers Interviewed—The Reporters Reported.

It seems to me the readers of "The Socialist" will like to know just how the great newspapers of America supply their readers with the news of the Haywood trial. Nowadays, murder trials are written up like novels. The best writers of the daily press are assigned to make up these real stories of real life.

This case has been so widely advertised and talked of so long that the news agencies have made unusual preparations to report it. This little city of Boise never before saw so many celebrated newspaper men on its streets.

### HOW THEY SIT.

The court room itself is most conspicuous by its array of reporters. They outnumber the court officials and outline judge and jury.

The judge's bench is on the west side of the hall and the judge faces east. In front of him are ranged the twelve chairs of the jury, also looking east. In front of the jury is the stenographers' table, and still further east the high witness stand facing judge and jury. On either side of the stenographers' table and witness stand are the long tables for opposing counsel, facing each other and looking sidewise toward judge and jury.

### THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

Behind the counsel tables to north and south are other tables for the reporters. To the judge's right, on the south side of the court room and behind the counsel for the defense, are the tables for the Associated Press, the greatest news agency in America. Here are three men all highly skilled in their work, J. R. Kennedy, Martin Egan and Robt. T. Small. Kennedy is general superintendent of the New York City office of the A. P., Egan was war correspondent during the Japanese-Russian war in charge of the bureau at Tokio, and Small has been for two or three years in responsible positions in New York.

These "A. P." men supply hundreds of daily morning and evening papers throughout the country with news of the case. They control special wires at the Western Union office and have two special operators. Their accounts are so thorough and graphic that most of the dailies trust entirely to them for their news of the trial.

What you read day after day in your daily paper is what these "A. P." men prepare and put on the wires.

Some papers will publish all they send, others will cut out parts. The news editors of the various papers put their own headings over the Associated Press reports, so that what appears in Seattle as "Damaging Testimony Against Haywood" may be printed in Portland as "A WEAK SHOWING FOR THE PROSECUTION."

### LESS BIAS THAN LAST YEAR.

The reports of these New York men will be very different from the A. P. accounts sent from Boise last year by the editor of "The Statesman," who was at that time the sole representative of the A. P. in Boise. These reports were highly colored for the prosecution.

These strangers to Boise, trained newspaper reporters, will give as true and unbiased an account of what actu-

ally occurs in the court room as their capitalist environment will permit. They are not directly interested in convicting the men as was the last year's reporter, the editor of "The Statesman," Republican organ of Gooding, Borah & Co.

### MUST ALL BE COLORED.

The Associated Press comprises hundreds of daily papers from California to Maine. Their millions of readers want the news, but their publishers are all members of the capitalist class, and those millions of readers will not be given news which on the whole is calculated to injure the prospects of the capitalist class.

These reporters of a battle in the Class War between Capital and Labor, whatever their individual sympathies or interests or desires, are the employees of Capital, not Labor, and their reports must tend to help Capital, not Labor. The publishers united as the Associated Press would otherwise be fools, if they did not serve their own class interests.

When you read the ordinary news in the dailies, not signed by any special author, it is the "A. P." news. In this case, it will probably be more accurate, or rather less colored, than most special correspondents' reports, as the latter are sure to represent the policy of the journals they serve.

For instance, a reporter already here received yesterday from a prominent Eastern daily the following message:

"Will you report for us, sending daily stories COLORED FOR PROSECUTION?"

Nearly all special correspondents are expected to "color" their stories. It is not the truth they write, but they write what they are expected to write.

### THE SCRIPPS-McRAE MEN.

To the left front of Judge Wood's bench and behind the counsel for the prosecution are the reporters for the Scripps papers, otherwise known as the "Newspaper Enterprise Association" and "The Publishers' Press."

This news agency supplies a large number of evening papers like the Cleveland "Press," Cincinnati "Post" and Seattle "Star," mostly one-cent papers, which cater to the "Labor" public and profess to be "independent."

Here sit "Jake" Waldeck, of Cleveland, for years in New York and also a Washington special correspondent, reputed to be a fair man and accurate reporter; John E. Nevins, formerly an "A. P." correspondent, a Southern man by birth, who will prepare reports marked "Publishers' Press"; and C. N. Landon, manager of the art department, who sketches all the principals in the court room.

These are all "inside the rail," where the members of the bar are also provided with seats, as well as reporters for local papers.

Just outside the rail, at a counter-like table built against the rail the entire width of the room, are ranged the "specials." Among these are Davis, famous war correspondent and representative of the New York "Times"; Dunnegan, sole and only reporter for the Hearst syndicate of papers; Carberry, of the Boston "Globe"; Perkins, of the Portland "Telegram"; Turner, for McClure's; Connelley, for Collier's; Thomas, of

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Signed,

**ONE HUNDRED BOOSTERS IN PORTLAND.**

## SLAVE MARKET REPORTS

### By D. Burgess

A slave market is a place where the slave sells his commodity, labor power. This market has no spacious building set apart for its use, and yet the slave class erect all the temples and palaces of earth. All this work it does on the terms set by the masterless slave: for the least sum that it is possible to subsist on and reproduce other slaves.

Because of the presence of the unemployed army, the labor market, the slave market, has a constant downward tendency. Even in this period of "unbroken prosperity" the slaves find it more and more difficult to meet the requirements of existence. To such the cry of "prosperity" is a cruel, bitter mockery.

Strikes are a threatening feature of the slave market at the present writing, but the masters assure the "dear public" that they will be able to resume service with their modern hero, the scab, and this means that Christian civilization keeps a horde of men so hungry that they are willing to risk their lives to get a master. This is the sort of prosperity that fills the heart of "Teddy" with delight.

Of the "slave market" one can never write "steady," "strong" or "firm"—these terms are used in reference to the slave's product.

If I were to write "Prices of labor are higher," you would think me crazy—for you know from a sad experience that prices of labor do not get higher except as the necessities of life increase in cost, so that increased prices of labor mean little or nothing to any slave.

The governor of California is reported to have said: "If the strikers will not throw stones, they will not get shot." If the strikers will not resist they will be allowed to rot, and if they resist they will be shot. Private war, such war as the Christian people support and defend, is HELL, and none but a fool could doubt it.

What would the governor of California do, if the other side to the cruel controversy would do as the capitalists, arm themselves and kill a few of the governor's heroes?

This wise governor does not seem to know that the course he is pursuing is a strong judgement to violence. If one side to the controversy may arm and declare private war, why may not the other side to the controversy do likewise? The hosts of labor begin to believe that a resort to arms is their only recourse, and soon they will arm themselves in spite of the frantic cry of the hypocritical masters for a peaceful settlement. I warn the masters that if they want a peaceful settlement they must not resort to the use of arms. If you continue to waste money on the workers, you need not ask for mercy, for if the workers are forced to resort to arms they will be slow to lay down their means of defense.

The foregoing paragraph was suggested by the reflection that some of the masters are making a malicious attempt to discredit the Socialist movement. These masters seem to be oblivious to the fact that the Socialist movement stands between present day society and chaos. If the masters continue to usurp power, they will invite such a deluge as only the Socialist movement can stay. In their madness "the masters" fail to see that which is vivid to all but the willfully blind or the "madly" blind.

Compassion is a term that is not much used in "market" quotations, but since it has become a commodity of great value to the masters, I shall attempt to deal briefly with this modern commodity. Compassion is used in the sense of pity, and pity has a market value, as may be seen when a strike is on, and hungry men appear upon the scene. The compassion of the masters at once manifests itself, and the "scab" is set to work in the place of the striker. Nothing but compassion could induce the master to do such an un-Christian thing. The fight to work is the most sacred thing known to the masters, but it is always the right of the "scab" that is respected. The striker has no such right unless he will consent to work on the terms of the scab, and when he has been broken and consents to work for a starvation wage, the master gets a compassionate spell. With the master compassion is measured by low wages. The lower the wage the more compassion the master has. Great is our Christian civilization, with all its fake compassion, hypocritical charities and false loves.

A book we want to recommend to all Socialists and workers generally to read is "The Pinkerton Labor Spy" by Morris Friedman, formerly private secretary to James McFarland, prominent as the man who secured Orchard's confession. Mr. Friedman has given a very circumstantial account of the workings of the Pinkerton Agency and shows if it were not for the work in labor troubles the agency would have to go out of business. Full and complete descriptions are given of the workings of the most damnable conspiracies against unions and union members. Only a price in paper is 25c a copy, postage paid, from this office. We have a large supply on hand and can satisfy any demand. The book is published by the Wilshe Book Company.

Another revelation! The staid old "Worker" is getting "yellow." The latest issue has a headline clear across the front page. Next thing you know it will be publishing pictures. A four-column head has been the limit heretofore, and we realize the strength of character required to boost the thing above that. Bravo "Worker."



# SOME SUGGESTIONS ON ORGANIZATION

## SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT.

To the Annual Convention of the Socialist Party of Washington, 1907.

Comrades: In submitting this report as the State Secretary-Treasurer of the Socialist Party I shall confine myself principally to only one question, which I have come to consider as the most essential to the development and progress of the Party organization, believing that in the settlement of this question is bound up the future of the movement in whose interest this convention has been assembled.

Our ability to meet new problems of the future and successfully dispose of them will depend entirely upon the strength and compactness of our organization. We must realize that before we can expect to be thought capable of directing the affairs of this or any other nation we must first prove our fitness, our ability, to direct the affairs of a political organization which represents the working class, and it is to this task that our best efforts should be applied in the future.

The government of a Socialist party organization must be the means of fitting its members for larger duties and greater responsibilities in the future. Therefore, I desire to emphasize the necessity of our members giving their fullest attention to the methods of transacting the party business in their respective locals. They must acquaint themselves thoroughly with all the details. They should elect as their officials only those comrades whose fitness qualifies them for the positions. Above all we must develop the spirit of self confidence, of faith in our ability to settle all the problems and overcome all the difficulties.

Comrades who have the ability to make speeches, write books, or to edit and publish a paper, we have in sufficient numbers, but there is a deplorable lack of application to the executive branches of our party work. No matter how important the educational features of the movement may be, they will be barren results so long as the party organization is not properly equipped to take the fullest advantage of them.

Up to the present time all our energies have been expended upon the holding of public meetings, regardless of the methods employed or of any direct purpose. There was competition in the way of co-operation in some instances opposition and therefore a waste of energy, money and enthusiasm. In some quarters all the work done consisted in the dissemination of literature and papers, some of that of questionable value. As a result, there is now in this state a tremendous amount of Socialist sentiment of which we can not take advantage because our organization is not yet in a position to do so.

It is true there is no other task to which a Socialist can apply himself, which offers less individual glory or immediate reward, than the participation in and devotion to the details of party organization, but this fact makes it all the more necessary that the task should be undertaken. It is easy to let things run themselves, but sooner or later we pay the penalty for our indifference and carelessness by becoming involved in disagreeable situations which will make us discouraged and disgusted, but which would have been avoided in the first place.

Prominent lecturers and writers will always flourish and receive their reward and admiration and will always have a great influence directly and indirectly within the organization. Therefore these positions are more desired and often by comrades who are not fitted for them and who might be more useful in the more thankless field—the executive branch of our party work.

I regret not to be in the position to give to this convention an intelligent report, such as the convention should expect, for obvious reasons. I cannot give you an account of the work done and the achievements by speakers and organizers during the period since last convention. From personal observations however in a particular locality in the state, during the campaign last fall, it is my belief that this method of agitation and education is comparatively barren of results. The same amount of money and energy expended and applied with the sole object in view of perfecting our organization upon a higher, more systematic, thorough and well grounded plan and thus pave the way for the lecturer and educational features of the movement would make us better fitted to take advantage of our opportunities when they come.

In the past all our efforts and organizations have been directed with the one object in view of covering a large territory, meet daily with different people and if possible send to State headquarters a large number of charter applications. It has been the practice to measure the usefulness of an organizer by the number of locals he may have organized.

If during the last three or four years 50 per cent of all the organized locals proved to be failures, let us place the blame where it properly belongs, on our own shoulders and not on those of the organizers.

It is a mistake to forward to the State Office an application for a charter because five comrades or more have signed their names under the party pledge but are otherwise not fitted. Comrades who are yet enthusiastic church workers, actively engaged and enthusiastic workers in temperance societies or any other reform movements, can not be good Socialists and their financial support is a curse on the movement of class conscious workingmen and sooner or later we will have to pay the penalty for receiving that support in the manner we do receive it.

The financial support our organizers have met with in the past has never been sufficient to keep them alive at their work. Our State Organizer, Comrade Herman, had to submit to exploitation by a master in a logging camp last winter. This condition must be accounted for in some measure to the fact that our comrades failed to see expected results from the work of organizers. I take the liberty of proposing to this convention the creation of the office of one or more District Organizers, to be assigned to duty in such districts as promise the

best results. A district to comprise, for example, Whatcom, Snohomish, King, Pierce, Lewis and Chehalis Counties. Before these organizers go to work a fund must be created, Comrades in counties to which said organizers are assigned will liberally contribute to the fund, but others should likewise. If we succeed in organizing one of the districts thoroughly, the neighboring district will want to do likewise, and the influence of the former will be helpful and far reaching. It is well worth a trial and I would suggest that a beginning to raise a fund for that purpose be made right here on the floor of this convention by passing around a subscription list at some opportune time and have delegates subscribe a definite small sum for a term of three months. This procedure will stimulate the comrades throughout the State to subscribe also.

In relation to national organizers and lecturers I take the liberty of proposing to this convention the adoption of a plan whereby the routing of these through this state would be entirely in the hands of the national office under rules which shall preserve the integrity of our state organization. The adoption of this plan would prevent the confusion and unnecessary expense of the past in a large measure and in my judgment will discourage free lancing in this state. Locals will then feel disposed to look to National Headquarters for interstate lecturers and organizers, and for state lecturers to the State Office.

All lecturers and organizers should be in possession of the proper credentials from their respective offices. All others should absolutely be discouraged. If the Socialist Party is to be held responsible for them, then they should be responsible to the party, the local workers to the local organization, the state workers to the state organization and national workers to the national organization. Free lancers will not be responsible to anyone, then let nobody be responsible for them. I would suggest to this convention the adoption of an amendment to the state constitution which will prohibit the routing of any speaker through this state by individual comrades, not authorized to do so with any local in the state. I would suggest, also, that this convention submit an amendment to the state constitution prohibiting any comrade arranging for a meeting in any locality not authorized by his local.

On our records we have now 82 locals. Among these we have four Finnish locals—one in Pearson, one in Wilkeson, one in Raymond and one in Hoquiam. We also have two Finnish branches, one in Aberdeen and one in Seattle. The former virtually has carried on its work as an independent local. Entirely different, however, was it with the Finnish branch of Local Seattle—or at least during the months of January, February and March, during which time these Finnish comrades have been subject to insult even, and often have been placed in a very humiliating position; brought about through their spirit of self-confidence, of faith in their ability to settle all their own problems and overcome all difficulties, and their loyalty to the cause. In spite of all these obstacles placed in the way of their progress by certain elements within the party organization, they have reason to be proud of their achievements. This beautiful hall we now are permitted to occupy temporarily is a creation of theirs within the short period of one year, while we, their English-speaking comrades, continually have to be on the lookout for a place wherein to meet, and in nearly all cases under sufferance, if successful in finding such place.

The Finnish comrades in Aberdeen and Hoquiam own also their halls. The Finnish comrades in Raymond, 20 of them, who organized in February of this year, are now contemplating the erection of their own hall. All our Finnish comrades in this state own their halls or shortly will, and it is only just that they should have their own charters. I would suggest to this convention the passage of an act granting all foreign speaking branches a charter and, also, that under that charter they be permitted to transact all their business through the office of the National Translator; said translator to receive five cents for every 15 cents paid as the monthly dues from each foreign-speaking comrade. The National Translator in turn to submit all official communications, referendums, etc., to the comrades in their native language.

During the ten months preceding this convention 25 charters were granted: During July, two—Snohomish and Troutcreek; August, six—Arzina, Daisy, Cle Elum, Roslyn, Kennewick and Clayton; November, three—Tiger, Larson and Bismark; December, one—Echo Valley; January, two—Coffax and Raymond; February, three—Marble Mount, Riverside and Pullman; March, four—Bryer, Mawr, Yokum, Dayton and Quincy; April, four—Elma, Elberton, Tenino and Leber. Six of these locals seem to have been prematurely organized; they have lapsed, namely: Trout Creek, Arzina, Daisy, Cle Elum, Roslyn and Clayton.

The various locals during the nine months paid in dues to the state office as follows: In July, \$86.45; August, \$147.35; September, \$205.65; October, \$197.50; November, \$172.50; December, \$121.80; January, \$146.50; February, \$132.75; March, \$144.55; a total of \$1,365.45, or an average monthly dues of \$151.72 on an average monthly membership of 1,011 1/2 members.

The National Office has received in dues from the state in the month of July, \$26.20; August, \$69.05; September, \$88.45; October, \$78.25; November, \$48.00; December, \$42.95; January, \$54.90; February, \$42.95; March, \$54.25; total \$503.20, or a monthly average of \$55.91. In accordance to that we had during this period an average monthly membership of 1,118 members, which places the State of Washington in the front rank if not possibly in the lead of all the states in this country. It at least enables us to smile when confronted by misstatements of critics and possibly would be disrupters of our party organization.

With the first month we started with a deficit of \$39.55, and we closed with a cash balance of \$9.41 on March 31st in the general fund. The month of April is not taken in consideration in submitting this report, owing to the fact that I would not have had the time in the preparation of this report had I waited up to the close of

the month. However, I will be ready during the course of your proceedings to submit that report if you wish to hear it. I also have prepared a special report for the Credential Committee. Out of a total of 82 locals in the state, 76 are in good standing. Fraternally submitted. RICHARD KRUEGER, State Secretary-Treasurer.

## REMEMBER COWLEY?

Golders Hill Cottage, England, North End Road, Hampstead, October 22, 1906.

## HELLO DOC:

I understand you are yet alive and still kicking. It is about time you were suppressed. You're a nuisance. The misery of the thing is, there's such a lot of you. Did you ever try to kill mosquitos with a hay fork or baseball bat? If not, try it. It's amusing if not very effective.

In my travels of the past years through a large part of South America and about all of British and Continental Europe, I met many of you who had been treated to so many Doses of Extermination, administered according to all the methods of the wise—both ancient and modern homeopath, allopath, most any old path except the path of actual extinction.

I thought I had reached the end of that path in St. Petersburg on bloody Sunday, but here we are—a trifle off of fix but still workable. I have had some queer doses that failed to work up to expectations. The Russian prison official on the whole is an enterprising gent. But, I traveled a while with a band of Servian gypsies—quite an advantage if you can save.

But I cannot now bore you with my escapades, which you may be able to read in more convenient form before long; that is, if there you have time to burn.

If you are still running a paper devoted to the usual rot, send me a copy. I would like to know how you are all suffering. COWLEY [Seattle comrades will remember J. S. Cowley and his life and drum, his tilts with the police and his talks at the "slave market." His story of his travels will be interesting reading—here's looking to it's early appearance.—E. B. A.]

## MINNEAPOLIS COMMEMORATES.

Minneapolis, Minn., May 1, '07. We, the Scandinavian-Socialist Club of Minneapolis, at our May day celebration unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That every citizen of the United States is entitled to the full and equal benefits of the law; that to kidnap a workman is just as much an infringement of the constitution and as dangerous to the liberty of all citizens as is to kidnap a man of wealth; that social distinctions inevitably tend to destroy liberty and promote anarchy and revolution; that every citizen is entitled to the safeguards of social liberty, the writ of habeas corpus; also that every citizen, be he rich or poor, should be considered innocent until proved guilty at a fair and honest trial before a jury of his peers.

Be it further resolved, That we denounce the utterance of Gov. Gooding, condemning Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone in advance of a trial, thereby prejudicing their cases; and we further denounce President Roosevelt for prostituting the office of President of the United States by calumniously stating in advance of any trial that the above mentioned Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were undesirable citizens.

H. HANSEN, Pres. G. EKSTRAND, Sec.

## THE LITTLE RED PASS BOOK.

The little red pass book stamped all up to date. I carry it nearest my heart, for it is THE evidence, early and late.

That a soldier is doing his part.

There are many good fellows who boast of their work.

For the cause they hold dearer than life.

But the little red book proves I am no shirk, it certifies I'm in the strife.

Let braggers and boasters and martyrs (?) beware.

How they talk when I am around. "Let's look at your pass book." Now isn't that fair?

"Can the stamps on the month squares be found?"

It's the mite every month, so willingly paid.

That course in this warfare so glorious.

It's the little red pass book (may it's color ne'er fade).

That will make our grand army victorious.

The number I have are priceless to me.

Each year will my treasures increase.

For each one declares I am yet to be free—

Will yet see the glory of peace.

I have fled them away where the sacred things hide.

From the profaning eyes of the world.

And there they will stay until Justice abide.

'Till the flag they resemble unfurled.

And if I am dead, my children will shout.

As they fondle these trophies of war.

Saying: "These are the guns that put them to rout—

That battered the gates ajar!"

Miss a month? miss a stamp? no, never—not me;

I'll dig, delve, borrow and scratch. All pain will be gladness—I'll suffer with glee.

That the month squares and due stamps shall match.

By Dan Hogan, State Secretary, Socialist Party of Arkansas.

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You are perfectly safe in buying at the Grote-Rankin Store, as every effort is put forth to see that store service is the best, that goods are marked fairly, and that every customer is satisfied, no matter how small or how large his purchase.

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HERMON F. TITUS, Editor; VINCENT HARPER, Special Editor; ERWIN B. AULT, Managing Editor.

D. BURGESS, Slave Market Reports; JAS. D. CURTIS, Socialism and the Schools; EDWIN J. BROWN, Socialism and the Law.

TO GET THE FACTS

What is undesirable to the capitalist class is desirable to the working class.

Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, our fellow "undesirable citizens," are desirable to us.

It is undesirable to the capitalist class that the newspapers of that class print the truth about the Moyer-Haywood trial now taking place.

It is desirable that the working class get the truth about this famous case.

Hermon F. Titus, editor of "The Socialist," is now in Idaho. He is reporting the trial for "The Socialist" exclusively.

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Great Responsibility Resting Upon Socialist Reporters at Haywood Trial—Eyes of Whole Country on Socialists as Champions of the Arrested Men—No Such Test Ever Before Had—May Make or Break the Party.

Not only Wm. D. Haywood is on trial at Boise for his life. The Socialist Press directly, and the Socialist Party indirectly through that Press, are on trial for their life, too.

Capital has its best newspaper talent centered here to place this case before the American public. Cartoonist Steele of Denver, has a great picture showing the Press as an imposing woman figure with stern features sitting on the mountain side and throwing the calcium light of publicity on this little Idaho city in the distant valley for all the world to see.

As analyzed in "The Socialist" elsewhere in this issue, the finest body of trained reporters have been placed here by the great news agencies of Capital. They know that this trial derives its significance from the battle array of Labor against Capital standing behind the contestants.

It is no accident that the best war correspondents are included in this list of news gatherers. This is war, and war correspondents are needed to report the battle.

But what sort of preparation have the Socialists made to report the case? Capitalism is here with its best. They know Capital is on trial. They will make no mistakes.

The Socialists have charged the Capitalist Press with partiality and misrepresentation in the interests of its own Class. We say all the daily news is colored, usually consciously, always at least unconsciously, to promote the ignorance of the Working Class to its own interests and to keep the Capitalist Class in power.

On the other hand, the Socialist Press claims to tell the truth. The Working Class has no interest in concealing the facts. "The Socialist" asserts if all the facts were known to the Working Class, without any deception or gloss, the rule of Capital would fall because of the awful conditions prevailing.

"The Socialist" says to the Proletarians: "We Socialists are scientific. We welcome facts. The facts are with us and against Capital. All our philosophy is a scientific philosophy opposed to bourgeois guesses and falsehoods."

The Bourgeois Press, representing the Bourgeois Class, is here in force to disprove the Socialist and Proletarian assertions as to its prejudiced and deceptive character. These reporters act very differently from those of a year ago. We have accused them of unfairness. They are here to prove their fairness. We accuse them of deceiving the public. They will show us how truthful they really are. They will do more. They will show the public that the Socialists are the real deceivers and falsifiers, misleading the Working Class they profess to guide.

If the Socialist Press in this crisis proves unequal to the task, if the Capitalist Press gives a truer report of the proceedings of this trial than the Socialist Press, the Socialist Press and thereby Socialism itself will be terribly discredited with the only American public we care about, that is, the Proletariat.

Organized Labor, even Gompers himself, has taken our view of this case. Such a universal protest from the American Working Class has never been heard before. Roosevelt has heard it and tries to stem it by his repeated replies and letters.

Notice how the President replies. His main point is, "You workers have been misled by these Socialist agitators, these undesirable citizens. We are your true friends. These Socialists are lying to you. They are the real enemies of the Working Men, leading you into paths of danger and ruin."

So I say, the Socialist Press and Socialism itself are on trial at Boise before the Bar of the Nation. If we are proved to be liars and misleaders, we have lost the confidence of the Working Man for years to come. Our party may even go to pieces and have to be reconstructed. Irreparable loss will overtake Socialism in America, if it falls at this critical time to justify its assumption of leadership in the American Proletariat.

Already the indictment has been begun against us. The Denver "Post," of Sunday, May 12, contains an interview with alleged representative Socialists now on the ground in Boise. The claim is there made that these Socialist reporters declare their intention to maintain the innocence of Haywood, EVEN IF THE EVIDENCE SHOWS HIM GUILTY.



The small picture above is taken from the "P-I," the local organ of the prosperity howlers. It is intended to convey the impression that the only discontented people in the country are the ignorant foreigners.

That is, the Socialist Press, according to this charge, is prepared to falsify the evidence, if it proves to be against us.

The attitude we have held so far is the correct one, which is absolutely unassailable, namely, "WE DEMAND THESE MEN SHALL BE COUNTED INNOCENT TILL PROVED GUILTY."

Law and Common Sense and Common Decency are wholly on our side when we denounce Gov. Gooding, Pinkerton McParland and the entire Capitalist Press of a year ago for pronouncing Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone "Conspirators" and "Assassins" in advance of trial and proof.

A year ago last March, like a pack of hungry, howling wolves, the capitalist papers were snarling these foaming epithets at the very lives of our brothers in captivity. The Socialist Press called them down and off. We kept at it till the ears of the American Proletariat were reached, and now those very papers are the loudest in repeating that very call for Common Justice.

The Boise "Statesman," for example, Gooding's organ, worst offender in 1906, now, in 1907, attacks the Socialist Press for prejudicing public opinion in favor of the prisoners.

We have routed the whole pack and have them on the run. Why? Because of the reasonableness and justice of our attitude. They cannot reply to our demand. They, even they, MUST agree with our demand THAT MEN CHARGED WITH CRIME SHALL NOT BE ADJUDGED GUILTY IN ADVANCE OF TRIAL AND PROOF.

There have been some lapses from this consistent and strong position of attack on Capital. Some of our comrades have gone with and yelled for violent methods, thereby injuring our cause and giving the capitalist a chance to turn our flank. But the Socialist Press and the Socialist party as a whole have kept their heads and today we hold the point of vantage. Capital is on the defensive. The newspapers have completely changed their tone and now universally profess to be fair and impartial. They are on their good behavior, forced there by our invincible position.

Shall we abandon our position, now the critical battle time is at hand? Shall we lose our heads or keep cool?

It is the purpose of this article to force upon the attention of every Socialist in America the immense responsibility which rests upon us as leaders of the American Working Class TO TELL THE TRUTH, TO REPORT THINGS EXACTLY AS THEY OCCUR.

If the Capitalist Class newspapers can outdo us as scientific reporters, if they can prove us falsifiers, especially deliberate and determined falsifiers of facts, they will reinstatement themselves as reliable news gatherers in the esteem of the Proletariat and will utterly overthrow that necessary confidence in the Socialist Press which has been growing up for a few years past.

Comrades may think my solicitude unwarranted, my fears groundless. I am on the field of action and I know whereof I speak. That interview in the Denver "Post" had a good foundation. Socialists are actually talking that kind of "rot" in Boise. They are saying, some of them, that "hell will be a poppin'" if Haywood is found guilty, WHATEVER THE EVIDENCE MAY BE.

Now, I firmly believe Haywood is innocent, and I do not believe the evidence exists to prove him guilty. But rather than say I will falsify that evidence, as it is presented and misled the Working Class, I would have my hand palmed as it writes. We are on trial for truthfulness and fidelity. If we prove false, we deserve and shall receive condemnation and banishment, while the Capitalist Press will receive praise and renewed lease of confidence and leadership.

Nothing is gained by irresponsible and unfounded publications in our prosecution of this case. They only react on us as purveyors of news. "Yellow" journalism, being the publication of sensational rumors, without investigation and corroboration has no place in Socialist papers. The facts alone are "yellow" enough. The facts are so damnable and awful, the simple facts of Capitalist Society, facts which the capitalist dailies dare not reveal except by accident, that any paper which presents the plain, unvarnished truth will be not only yellow but red, blood red, with the horrors of suffering, despair, meanness, partiality, hypocrisy and treachery which make of modern industrial society a hell with a painted glass front. That painted glass front is the Capitalist Press, hiding the hell behind. It is the mission of the Socialist Press to substitute a clean and transparent glass front, without screens or false pictures, and let the Proletariat behold with unaverted eyes the foul forms which people this Bourgeois Hell of the World.

Right now and here, in Idaho, as we report this Haywood trial, the Socialist Press has its greatest opportunity to be a transparent medium through which Working Men may see things as they are. They will be dreadful enough, so dreadful the capitalist reporters will be driven from their present assumed attitude of impartiality and compelled to hide things and color things in favor of the Class they stand for, and are owned by.

But the Socialist Press must stand the test, justify its existence and win the everlasting confidence and leadership of the American Proletariat. It is our greatest chance ever!

HERMON F. TITUS.

The facility with which some Socialist papers steal the work of others without the slightest compunction is astonishing. Capitalist newspaper ethics are certainly flimsy enough, but some Socialist editors do not even pretend to observe the commonest of these. The reason for this is the use in the issue of May 4 of "Labor," St. Louis, of a cartoon which appeared in "The Socialist" some four years ago and again last year illustrating the Socialist Military bill. Not only was "The Socialist" not given credit but an attempt was made to erase the artist's name and it was scratched so as to

be unrecognizable. A similar case occurred in the case of the "Chicago Daily Socialist," where one of the principal figures of the same cartoon was "lifted" and no attempt at credit given.

The National Committee is now voting on Motion No. 7, which provides for the calling of a National Conference of labor organizations by the National Executive Committee in the event of the conviction of either Moyer, Haywood or Pettibone. Vote will close May 28th.

SEATTLE AND WASHINGTON

Carl Swante, one of the best liked comrades in the Seattle Socialist movement, has been confined for some time at Providence hospital with tuberculosis. This week, however, he was moved to Comrade Mrs. Allison's ranch near Bangor on Hood's Canal, where the fresh country air and food are expected to bring him around in his old form.

Comrade H. Von Appen, of La Conner, dropped in on us last week to let us know the boys up there like the paper and will keep things moving in the sub line. He says that Comrade Gordon Johnson is one of the best sub hustlers in the northwest, and we are inclined to believe him, judging from the number he has already sent us.

At the City Executive Committee meeting last Sunday at the Labor Temple the Speaker's Committee was discharged on the ground that it had failed to act in securing outside speakers for the propaganda meetings.

During the remarks occasioned it was found that a majority of the Committee had negotiated with some of the British Columbia comrades with a view to having them speak here during the month, and it is surmised the Committee was removed because of that action, since the majority present were opportunists. A resolution was also adopted declaring that the State Convention acted in an unconstitutional manner in refusing to seat Mills and notifying the State Committee that Local Seattle would have no more to do with the charges against Mills. The Secretary's report showed a debt of \$50.00, which is somewhat of a contrast to the state of the finances at the time the members of the Propaganda club came into the party. When there was a large cash surplus.

Mr. Lewis, a wealthy mill owner of Raymond, has donated \$25.00 to the Finnish Local and the I. W. W. of that town, who are building a hall together.

The Socialists of Spokane conducted a vigorous campaign along the lines of "constructive Socialism" as laid down by Milwaukee, but the result in votes was not so great that it scared capital much. Spokane is good ground to work in, and if the comrades there would wake up to the fact that the working class wants straight revolutionary Socialism and would give it to them they would make much greater progress.

Big Eddy has gone off on a tangent and given Comrade Titus a roast because I stated a week or two ago that Big Eddy's paper did not contain Socialism that would scare anyone very much. Anyway, we are glad to see that the Socialism in the "Olympia State Capital" is larger in quantity and more vigorous in quality since our paragraph appeared. Maybe that's not the reason, but our first remark was well founded, just the same. Keep up the improvement, Big E, and you will be doing big work in Olympia.

Comrade Elmer Allison, who has just returned from an extensive trip through the east, is now assisting in "The Socialist" office.

The latest "daily" to be heard from is the "Buckeye Daily Socialist," to be published at Girard, Ohio, when Comrade Benjamin gets money enough. Better go slow on those dailies, comrades. When a weekly cannot get support it is going to be a hard pull for a daily.

W. M. Mangasarian, the great independent preacher of Chicago, has consented to debate the subject of Socialism with Arthur Morrow Lewis, well known to Socialists of the coast. The debate will occur in Orchestra Hall, which seats about 3,000 people. The Auditorium, seating 4,000, could not be secured owing to the fact that it is changing hands, so a great many who would otherwise hear the debate will have to be left. The announcement has created great excitement in Chicago, as Mangasarian, while opposing Socialism, has heretofore refused to discuss the matter with any representative Socialist.

"THE SOCIALIST" TOLD THE TRUTH

DUES-PAYING ORGANIZATION.

It is to be regretted that so large a number of those who believe in Socialism fail to identify themselves with any Socialist organization. It is a rare thing that the question of dues paying is any longer discussed among those who are Socialists. It seems to me that the argument for a dues-paying organization is unanswerable. This is what I have said about it on page 617 in the "Struggle for Existence":

(1) Because those interested in any measure ought to pay the cost of its promotion.

(2) Because if the Socialist party is ever to come into power large sums of money must be expended in the support of the party. If these sums are provided by voluntary contributions taken in an irregular way the burden will fall heavily on a few. If all pay small sums and do so regularly, no one will be seriously burdened and the cause will be supported.

(3) All should have equal right to be heard in a political party. But the dependence of the party on the payments of a few would give to that few undue influence in the councils of the party.—Saturday Evening Tribune (Mills' paper), May 4, 1907.

BUT WITHOUT RED CARD.

I, the undersigned, do hereby affirm that on or about the 15th day of December, 1906, I was traveling on a Northern Pacific passenger train between Portland and Seattle. That a Tacoma-Mr. Mills and some other Socialists boarded said train and seated themselves directly in front of the seat I was occupying.

That the topic of conversation was the condition of the Socialist movement among party and the prospects for Mr. Mills' newspaper venture; and ways and means for making it a success.

That in the course of this conversation Mr. Mills became especially strong in his denunciation of our present form of party organization and—That among other things Mr. Mills said in a very forcible manner, using his fist to emphasize his remarks, "I tell you, the damnation of the Socialist movement is that red card. If we could just get rid of that the party would grow by leaps and bounds."

That other things derogatory to the present party organization were said and a determination to change affairs in the northwest expressed, which was gained from fragmentary remarks made so loud that all could hear.

That the above is absolutely true in all essential parts, I now reaffirm.

(Signed) E. B. AULT.

Mr. Mills also says, on page 605 of his "Struggle for Existence": "Limiting the Membership.—It has been proposed to limit the party membership within the states, and state party constitutional regulations have been written and proposed with a view of forbidding many of those who vote the ticket from being able to obtain representation in the party councils. Without regard to whether this policy is a wise one, it will not be possible to practice it, in most states, under the operation of the primary laws, whenever the party shall have become strong enough to maintain a legal existence under the primary laws. ON THE WHOLE, IT MAY BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED THAT, IN THE LONG RUN, THOSE WHO VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET WILL CONTROL THE SOCIALIST PARTY, AND THAT NO DEVICES FOR PREVENTING THIS CAN LONG POSTPONE OR ULTIMATELY PREVENT SUCH A RESULT." (Black letters, ours.)

SOCIALIST PARTY NEWS

By ERWIN B. AULT

The following motion was adopted by the National Executive Committee upon the affirmative votes of Comrades Hanford, Hillquit, Untermyer and Work. No expression from other members. "The Secretary is hereby authorized to pay to Comrade Oneal mileage from and to his place of employment and per diem for time lost in attending the meeting of the Constitutional Committee, of which he is a member." By the same vote as above recorded, the National Executive Committee decided to retain Comrade Fred L. Schwartz as National Organizer.

Local New Haven, Conn., has expelled Max Slater for misappropriation of party property and for refusal to settle and obey the written summons of the party.

"The Socialist" is in receipt of a letter from a man in West Virginia who "finds that his independent opinions on the industrial conditions and commercial affairs of men are strikingly in harmony with those of Socialism" and "feeling that there is no nobler work than living for the rights and liberties of man" he would if possible "like to associate himself in some remunerative employment in connection with Socialism." The young man, for he is a comparatively young man, also says that with but short preparation he would be qualified to take the lecture platform and act as organizer for the party. He is a professional man, an "intellectual," who lost his government position and finds it hard to make a living. It is about time that it was made plain once for all, to use an expression of Ben Hanford's, that the seats in the Socialist camp are all benches and none of them, have cushions. If the young man wants to become a Socialist, well and good, we will assist him with all our power, but if he has the idea that in return for his great consideration in becoming a Socialist we owe him a living, he must be disabused of the idea as soon as possible. The Socialist party is no philanthropic enterprise to enable the cast-off tools of the capitalist class to recoup their shattered fortunes.

Owing to the postponement of the actual trial of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone and in order to get on a more substantial footing, the promoters of the "Daily World" of Oakland, Cal., have decided to postpone the publication of that paper for two weeks or until the beginning of the actual trial.

Our comrades who still prate of municipal ownership as "a step in advance" and "making toward progress" and "benefits the working class" should read the statement of the waitress in Adelaide, Queensland, Australia, where the Labor Party has power and where municipal ownership is advanced. Among other things she said, "I would sooner marry a Chinaman than be a waitress in Adelaide." Which is but another link in the chain of evidence that M. O. helps the workers—not.

The Socialist Publishing Company, of Indianapolis, Ind., has issued a new paper without a name. They expect to get a name through the medium of a prize contest. The price has been made 25c a year, and an effort is being made to reach all the Socialists in the country and get them to subscribe for stock. The paper is not above the standard of a dozen other Socialist papers and evidently expects to try to capture the field of the "Appeal to Reason."

Dan DeLeon has uncovered another "deep laid plot." This time he says he is supposed to be the writer. He says that Socialist party members in the northwest think he was responsible for Walter Thomas Mills coming out here to break up the regularly organized movement. We do not know

where Prof. DeLeon got the information, for no member of the party in Seattle will admit he ever intimated or thought such a thing. For ourselves, we had no intention of refusing to work with DeLeon, no matter what else he might do, and we give him credit accordingly. Danny is getting old and his visit to this damp country must have given him water on the brain. Mills may have been sent here, but it was not by you, Danny, and you need not try to get the credit for it.

In Italy a bitter controversy is raging between "L'Azione," the organ of the Syndicalists or unionists, and "Avanti," the organ of the Socialist party, over their respective backers. "Avanti" some time ago made the declaration that the capitalist was supposed to be behind "L'Azione" was not a capitalist at all, but that the paper was receiving support from the Italian government in the hope that it would succeed in breaking up the Socialist party. (It may be mentioned in passing that the Syndicalists are very similar to the "direct action" advocates in the I. W. W., are, in fact, probably the fountainhead of DeLeon's inspiration.) On the other hand, the Syndicalist charge that Ferri has secured large sums from the Banca d'Italia on his unsupported security, asserting that Ferri is not a responsible party and the bank would not put up the money unless they were getting returns in disorganization of the forces of the working class. The party executive has inquired into the matter and condemned the Syndicalist paper and the matter rests there for the time being. This for the benefit of those comrades who think that the only place in the world where Socialists fight is in Seattle, Wash.

It will be interesting to those comrades who think the Australian Labor Party is a Socialist party to learn that at the last conference of the Victorian Labor Party at Melbourne in April a proposition to announce as their objective the "securing of the full results of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange" in place of "through the collective ownership of monopolies, and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the state or municipality" was voted down by a vote of 49 to 29.

ONE WAY OUT. "But the 2-cent passenger rate would spell ruin for the railroads," protested the Manager.

"I'll tell you how to avoid the ruin," said the Advocate of Lower Fares. "And how?" "Carry your passengers through safely so they will have an opportunity to travel back," said the Advocate. This was something the Manager had not given much thought to, but said he would think it over.—The Commoner.

THE SOCIALIST WOMAN. Is a magazine that you must have. It is a magazine devoted to the cause of the Socialist women of the world. It is high time for our women to wake up and join their brother comrades in the overthrow of the present society with its multitudinous ills. The Socialist women must have at least one propaganda organ in which to express themselves, to get acquainted with each other, to organize firmly and strongly, and to fight the injustices that obstruct their way. The Socialist Woman is full of fire and militant spirit. The Socialist Woman is always alive and at the front. Come, comrades, join us in our work, and prove to the world what women can do. The Socialist Woman, edited by Josephine Conger-Koeko, is published monthly, price 5 cents a year; for bundle of 12, 50 cents. Send in your subscription order to a bundle today, for discount. Address: The Socialist Woman, 55th St., Chicago.