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The Socialist

To organize the masses
of Capitalists
Own the means of production

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SHALL THE SOCIALIST PARTY OWN ITS PRESS?

This is the first instalment of our three months' discussion of the above subject.

Comrade Sinclair is a member of the State Executive Committee of the Washington Socialist Party. He writes ably and trenchantly on the popular side. Next week will follow another article on the same side by Comrade Lockwood, State Secretary for the Socialist Party of Michigan.

There is much to be said in favor of our present method of a Free Press which will doubtless be well said in future issues of "The Socialist."

No. 1--By J. E. Sinclair

It has been said that the pen is more powerful than the sword. The bourgeoisie has been repeating this to itself in stage whispers for some time, and pens of various kinds—quill pens, steel pens, and ball pens—have proclaimed the power of the bourgeoisie state. The common pen is a crude affair. It belongs to the age of hand production. The machine has taken its place. This machine is the press, the most powerful prop of the plunder-bund.

The baneful shadow of ancient superstition is fading away. Men are no longer interested in theological discourses. Nor do the myths of a misty past affect them profoundly. The Bible has been dropped for the newspaper and the magazine. This may or may not be a step in advance. It depends upon the character of the new material.

At any rate the newspaper and the magazine deal with issues more or less vital. Social and economic questions are crowding out the silly serial story. Do you wonder why? Economic conditions are forcing upon men the consciousness of capitalistic inadequacy. Social unrest grows apace. The working world is studying pseudo-economics hot from a press owned by the masters of the bourgeois state. Would we expect this press to teach economic science when that science points to the fall of the wage economy? Certainly not. But you say, we have a press of our own. Look at the Socialist Press!

How do we know it is our own? It stands for us today and fights our battles. But, with few exceptions, we own nothing but our labor power. This young giant which we are nursing to maturity, this Socialist press, is not our own, and we have no control over it except to refuse it our paltry fifty cents. I do not wish to cast a shadow on the noble editors who have starved and faced persecution that this press might become a power on the side of the working class. All honor to them. But is nobility a safe thing to bank on? When by the self-sacrifice of ten thousand comrades these papers shall count their readers by the millions, how much will it be worth to the capitalist class to switch an editor-owner off onto middle class twaddle or worse devilment?

To talk about controlling such a press is as silly as the talk of the white-fanged politician at Washington who talks of controlling the trusts and the railroads. We cannot control what we do not own. Let the working class mean the class-conscious workers, own the press. Then when an editor is "seen" by the kings of coin we could make our protest effective. It is not good business to build up this mighty power in the hands of any small capitalist that happens to sympathize with us. It seems that even now the press controls us far more than we control it. This accounts for some of our factional squabbles.

This is a big question and this is written in order that we may have a sincere discussion of the matter. No attack is made on any comrade who may be serving the cause by publishing a paper for the workers. Help him whenever you can. He has his troubles. But since he asks you to help circulate his paper, maybe a little criticism would be taken kindly.

Even the best of men love influence. The editor is no exception. He will hesitate to publish anything that will undo that influence. If a blunder is made the less said about it the better. Not long ago one of these editors printed a malicious slander concerning a rival. It was undoubtedly a blunder on the part of the editor. Did he correct it or furnish proof? No. The charge, false as it was, would serve as a club over the head

Comrades, anywhere, are invited to participate, no single article to exceed one thousand words. Sinclair sent in his before this rule was made.

You will see by this first instalment how attractive this discussion can be made and how much vital Socialist propaganda can be included. There is hardly any matter of Socialist tactics or principles which will not naturally come within the range of a debate on the question: "Shall the Socialist Party officially own its own Press?"

of the unfortunate victim. It would tend to undermine his influence and perhaps increase that of the publisher of the slur. Time and again this has occurred. The other side can hardly ever get space to refute a charge in the privately owned sheet in which it was first published.

Let us look at the advertising columns. Now there are certain kinds of advertising that are doubtless permissible in this capitalistic inferno. Property for rent or for sale, notices of employment sincerely given, advertising of useful articles or of useful personal services, these and others might even be helpful to the worker as things go today. They might save him many a weary hour's tramp and are thus of real service.

But when my privately owned press advertises mining stock that even a floor walker in the Bon Marche would shun; when my privately owned press week in and week out advises me to buy a "cure" for consumption or cancer or some other form of human misery, a "cure" that is nothing short of a murderous imposition upon the credulity of dying comrades, then I think it is time that we got to thinking about the press. When one of our ablest managing editors will accept advertising from detective agencies while McParland is hounding our comrades to death in Idaho, is it not time that we ask ourselves some serious questions about our great Socialist Press?

There is no excuse for this form of advertising. It is nothing but a palpable fraud upon the workers. No matter how valuable the other material may be, the reader with common intelligence will have little faith in the Rubic catching sheet. Even if he is a sucker of the veriest capitalist magazine he knows that the editor-owner is consciously or otherwise a party to fraud. Neutralizing propaganda work by boosting some of the worst forms of capitalism seems to be part of the work marked out by a large section of the so-called Socialist Press.

Now there is money in it for the proprietor. Money means influence. More reporters can be sent to the "seat of war." Better presses can be bought, bigger prizes offered for increasing the circulation and thereby increasing the advertising rates. Great enterprise. Making the capitalists pay for their own undoing! In the meantime the consumptive dies and the cancerous demon of capital feeds on the red blood of the revolution. And we poor paper peddlers had better say nothing, but send in subscriptions until the freckles drop off the red-headed buldog. Say nothing. The press is not yours. The proprietor has merely sold some advertising space. Maybe some day editorial space will be for sale to perpetuate in ways that are dark and devious the whole world-fraud known as the capitalist system.

Comrades, this is not a safe foundation on which to build for the future. The worker has left off his psalm singing and has taken to the newspaper for his Sunday morning entertainment. It is his opportunity. Let us take no chances on nobility. Let us manage things so that we can own at least one great national daily that will always be in the hands of those who hold the little red cards. Then if our editor seeks undue powers we can clip his plumage. We have the referendum. If fraudulent advertising finds its way into the columns of our paper we can soon get it out. We can only complain now, and keep our change.

If any privately owned paper wishes then to help in the education of the workers, so much the better. We will not be wholly and solely dependent upon its good behavior. In fact, these privately owned papers might be of

great benefit to the movement, as they have been in the past. It would indeed be a bad day for the worker when no martyr-editor would come to his defense. There will always be men of the Garrison stamp, but we can never tell what the capitalist mob will do with them. Now they are bound with coarse hempen ropes, now with fetters of gold. Capitalism produces martyrs, but it also produces monsters. Haywood at one end of its coil and Orchard at the other.

Comrade Titus has noted the absence of Socialist Party representatives at the Boise battlefield. Why should the party send men there? It has delegated its most important function to small capitalist concerns. Labor unions could send reporters for their papers. Even they own papers. But what does the Socialist Party need with reporters? There are others to look after the interests of the Socialist Party!

Let us have a party press as soon as we can get it. It is one of the machines that the class-conscious collectivity cannot trust entirely to the management of "good" capitalists. Private ownership of socially operated and socially necessary machines is inconsistent with the spirit of the revolution.

J. E. SINCLAIR.

The Inhumanity of the Seattle Spirit

Many of us have been under the impression that American civilization is far removed from anything so barbarous as Russian Prisons, Russian methods of torturing their prisoners and the autocratic brutality of Russian officials.

Many of us have believed that anything as horrible as the famous "Black hole of Calcutta" was so far back in the history of the world and so far removed from American Justice that a statement that Seattle is upholding such barbarism today would be considered a rank falsehood and an impossible condition.

There isn't a policeman on the force who would not refuse to put a dog in this Black Hole of Seattle unless he wanted to kill the dog!

The city physician knows and has expressed himself as not being willing to put a dog of his there.

Have we a Board of Health; if so, how is it that they allow their regulations to be totally disregarded in the City Jail?

Have we a City Council; if so, how is it that a plan whereby some of the City Prisoners could be taken to the county jail, in case of congestion in the city jail, is held up in the committee?

When the citizens of Seattle come to realize upon investigation that they have in reality no Board of Health and they have no City Council, but a little czar in the chief of police who rules as tyrannically as the czar of all the Russias, will they wake up?

When the citizens of Seattle find out that they have something as bad, if not worse, than in barbarous Russia, will they wake up?

When the Labor Unions learn that the Chief of Police, appointed by the mayor they supported, has the power to have one of their brothers arrested for spitting on the sidewalk or getting a little drunk, and if he hasn't the price to pay the fine he can be put into a cell where he can get only half as much air to breathe as is prescribed by the Board of Health, and foul air at that, will they wake up?

Is the Seattle Spirit so commercial that it can only consider sky-scrapers, so brutal that only dollars count as against human lives? If so, will the Seattle Spirit be branded throughout the country as a Spirit of such inhuman greed that the lives of men and women go down before it with no more regard than for so many tree stumps? Now for a few facts!

In the "chain gang" cell there were confined for a time some 18 men who were saving the city \$45 per day. That cell contained 2700 cubic feet of foul air.

The air came through an opening less than one half a square foot in area. It came from a corridor into which the air from other cells was also emptied.

The Board of Health requires in their regulations 550 cubic feet per man as a minimum. I leave you to do your own reckoning. How many times will 18 go into 2700? In this cell there is an open toilet bowl,

Sometimes this bowl is out of order. Sometimes this bowl overflows and the stench is something frightful. The men sleep and eat in these conditions. Sometimes a man is sick.

Nobody knows or cares what the disease is. It might be Bubonic Plague—nobody would be the wiser.

The men in the cell have to stay just the same. Only the falfos can keep out of the way.

They do not even enter the corridor all night long!

Are they afraid that the air that comes through that half square foot of exit might be so thick with bodily excrement and disease that a whiff of it might endanger their lives?

This is no dream! Seattle is going to find out a few facts!

What will Seattle do about it? We would like to find out what the real Seattle Spirit is!

Darrow Will Recover

Clarence Darrow is reported dying, but latest despatches through "The Socialist's" special service are to the effect that he is not in any immediate danger, though a very sick man.

The operation was for antral abscess behind the left ear. Extension to the cerebral meninges with resulting meningitis is still possible. He will not be able to face a long trial for several months.

Boise opinion is that neither Moyer nor Pettibone will ever come to trial.

Great relief will be felt in all Labor circles to learn that Darrow is improving. He is the shrewdest and one of the ablest lawyers devoted to Labor's cause in America. He was coming to see and adopt the Socialist position. He told the Editor of "The Socialist" a year ago that he had long rejected the Class Struggle teaching, but added, "I now see you Socialists are right. The Class Struggle must be the basis of all political action for the Wage Workers."

CALM REVIEW OF THE SEATTLE SITUATION

By John Downie

Many people have heard of dissensions among Seattle Socialists. They would like a clear view of the reasons.

The following article is both clear and calm. John Downie is well known for his deliberate and temperate way of viewing things. He is chairman of the Socialist State Executive Committee in Washington and Delegate to the Seattle Central Labor Council from the Carpenters' Union. He knows whereof he speaks.

To the Comrades of Washington:

It is with diffidence and hesitation that I bother you with the affairs of Local Seattle, but in the interests of the Socialist Party in this state I deem it my duty to give as truthful a history of Local Seattle as it is possible for one to give who has been in the fight from the beginning.

I came into the Socialist Party, then the Social Democratic Party, out of the Socialist Labor Party, and attended the first state convention of the party, held in Seattle, July 4, 1900, as a member of Local Spokane. I transferred to Local Seattle some time during the latter part of November in the year 1900. I joined the Socialist Educational Union, then publishers of "The Socialist," about the same time and have been active in Local Seattle from that time up to now with the exception of one summer when I was out of the state. So I come to you as one who has the facts at first hand and not as one who has come into the movement years after and has depended upon hearsay for his statements.

In starting to give you a brief history of the movement in Seattle, I will refer to a pamphlet written by Ira Wolfe and adopted by the ninth ward branch of former Local Seattle.

Ira Wolfe makes the claim, on page two of his pamphlet, that all the statements contained therein are "absolutely true." Let us see if they are.

On page nine we find this statement: "Pike Street Branch was composed of those who desired to use party funds to aid in the publication of the paper (meaning 'The Socialist') and Central Branch opposed such action." This, comrades, is an absolute falsehood. The Socialist Educational Union, publishers of "The Socialist," never asked Local Seattle for one cent to sustain "The Socialist" and Local Seattle never contributed one cent towards "The Socialist," and that never was an issue in Local Seattle. In one meeting of Local Seattle, Comrade Titus, on behalf of the Socialist Educational Union, was granted permission to solicit contributors from a propaganda meeting audience, which he did. It is also true that Local Seattle bought bundles of "The Socialist," both to sell and for free distribution. They did this with other Socialist papers as well. But to say that the Socialist Educational Union or those comrades who were active in support of "The Socialist" tried to get party funds for "The Socialist" is a baseless lie.

Local Seattle always sold papers at its propaganda meetings and prior to elections the local usually bought an extra bundle for free distribution. Some comrades would want to purchase "The Worker," some the "Chicago Socialist," the "Appeal to Reason" or some other Socialist paper in preference to "The Socialist." In fact the "Appeal" was more persistent in forcing itself on Local Seattle than any other paper in the movement. Surely Ira Wolfe could claim with equal reason that these other papers tried to get the local funds and thus cause Local Seattle to divide.

In referring to the comrades who were supporting "The Socialist" (p. 8) he says, "but they forgot that the party needed funds, too, and criticized those who cared more for the needs of the party than for the needs of the paper."

This, comrades, is false. I personally have had as much to do with raising party funds as any member in Seattle and I know that the comrades that supported "The Socialist" were among the very best members in the local to put up party funds, and the records of the National Office, the State Office and the Local will bear me out. On the other hand, the records will show that those who have been fighting "The Socialist" refused to raise funds for either National, State or Local purposes.

When the National office sent out their campaign coupons, Central Branch and its members not only refused to handle them, but instead had an imitation printed and sold them for the exclusive use of Central Branch, and to the detriment of the Local, State and National Office. Surely, comrades, I could with more justice and a great deal more reason inculpate that Central Branch wanted and used the money thus raised, not for the good of Socialism, but to help it control Local Seattle, than Wolfe has for the many insinuations in his book of twenty-two pages. But I shall not deal in insinuations but in facts.

When the State Committee appealed to the state membership to pay off the state indebtedness, these same comrades not only refused to contribute to a fund for this purpose, but even refused to allow the Local secretary to accept money from those comrades who wanted to see the State Office out of debt.

There are many other mis-statements scattered thru the book, such as, that Local Seattle started the publication of "The Socialist" (page seven) which is not true, and on page three he states that "The Socialist" would not publish anything that the faction opposing it offered. Whatever may be said for or against "The Socialist," tho it has not published everything that was offered, it has published the best that was offered on either side of any Party question. And if the Central Branch faction did not get their side published in "The Socialist," it was because they did not offer it for publication.

In reviewing the past I will only touch on those incidents that have a bearing on the factional fight that has troubled Local Seattle so long.

Up to about the third year Local Seattle was fairly harmonious, though certain personal animosities crept in. It stood for a united policy. In the Party's trouble with Local Whatcom the Local membership was almost

if not quite unanimous in condemning the action of Whatcom and their middle class platform. In the trouble with Local Spokane, the membership was fairly unanimous in disciplining Local Spokane for their action in allowing non-members to participate in their municipal convention.

Now, right here a difference in policy began to creep in. As to whether it was mainly due to jealousy on the part of some, or the power of "The Socialist," or a creeping in of a change in fundamental principle, or both, is a matter of conjecture. But whichever it was, Local Seattle up to that time presented a united front to the old political parties. I honestly believe, that if we had been allowed to continue, the Socialist Party would be at this time, one of the most important factors in the municipal life of this city. In fact, the old party politicians of that time expected it.

About a year after the Spokane matter was settled, there came into Local Seattle a man, who started in to control the Local in the interest of the "Appeal to Reason." For some time Local Seattle did not handle the "Appeal" as a majority of the membership considered that the "Appeal" was loose in its Party policy and erratic in its presentation of Socialism, and therefore not a good propaganda medium, and dropped it.

This man got himself made Local organizer and flooded Seattle with the "Appeal" and other matter boosting the "Appeal," which the Local afterwards had to pay for. I know this because I was treasurer when the Local paid him.

Now, the personal animosities above referred to had somewhat developed by this time. Certain comrades were making it a point to talk to the comrades as they came into the movement and tell them what a terrible man Titus was. He was a politician, he would sell out the Party, he was a dictator and all that sort of stuff was circulated. And the comrades that supported "The Socialist" were his dupes, serfs, vassals and any other name you may think of.

The writer had it dinned into him for over two years and most any member of Local Seattle can testify to the truth of these statements.

You can imagine, comrades, what a demoralizing effect such tactics must have on an organization, and they had their effect on Local Seattle. Of course, a good many comrades did not swallow all this stuff, but used their own judgment instead, but some of them did; and those that did, could be used by any old thing so long as it was against Titus and "The Socialist."

This was the condition of Local Seattle when Mr. Hutchison struck town. Of course, to displace "The Socialist" by the "Appeal," it was necessary to fight "The Socialist" and Comrade Titus as its editor. To fight this paper it was necessary to organize all the elements that were in opposition to it. Let us see how it was done.

It was not long till Central Branch, which at that time comprised nearly all the members of Local Seattle, was split in two by trumped up charges against Comrades Curtis and Titus, charges, that if the comrades preferring them had been in their right mind, would never have been considered for a moment. It will not be necessary to go into details as to what the charges were. Suffice it to say that if they had had the least value, they would have been carried beyond Central Branch. But they did what was wanted. They separated the elements and placed them in well defined opposition to one another, and since that day, the energies of Local Seattle have been wasted to a great extent by the Opportunist trying to force loose Party tactics and methods on the organization.

The Pike Street Branch was a result of that fight, which lasted through three hard fought business meetings of Central Branch.

The next big fight that took up the attention of Local Seattle was that of Central Branch preferred charges against Pike Street Branch and Comrade Titus. Comrade Titus, on the complaint of some comrades that could not get official ballots for a Local referendum that was before Local Seattle, had some cards printed expressing the wish of the comrades signing them in regard to the question before the Local.

Prior to this it was the practice of comrades who did not happen to have an official ballot on a referendum, to write a note signifying their wish in regard to the question before the Local, sign it and send it in and it was counted with the rest of the ballots. The writer of this voted on at least two referendums in this way and on one occasion, wrote ballots for two other comrades and their legality was never questioned. But those cards expressed a wish contrary to the wishes of those in control of Central Branch and in that lay the crime.

Those charges took up the attention of Local Seattle for some time. Two or three meetings of the State Committee were given to them and they were finally settled by a state referendum, exonerating Pike Street Branch and Comrade Titus.

There are many more things I would like to say but space forbids. In justice to the Ninth Ward Branch members of former Local Seattle, who endorsed Ira Wolfe's pamphlet, I may say, that they are not old members and had to depend upon hearsay for those statements they claim to be facts. Ira Wolfe himself came into the Local after the incidents above referred to had taken place.

Your Comrade,
JOHN DOWNIE.

BASIS OF TACTICS

"The supreme importance of tactics and the necessity of maintaining its class struggle character, is something the party has been well conscious of from the beginning. If we read the proceedings of the early conventions held in the seventies we find that in all questions of tactics the thought was continually kept in the foreground that the party must be kept clean from all mixture with all other parties, every one of which, no mat-

ter how much they differed from each other or how furiously they fought among themselves, stood upon the ground of bourgeois society as a common basis. This separation of the Social-Democracy from all other parties, this essential difference, which silly opponents take as a reason or pretext for declaring us political outlaws, is our pride and strength."—By G. Liebknecht. "No Compromise, No Political Trad-

THE REASONS FOR REVOKING LOCAL SEATTLE'S CHARTER

Statement of Facts Issued by the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Washington, Presenting a Portion of the Evidence on Which They Acted--The Original Charges, Acknowledgement of Their Receipt by Local Seattle, Etc., Etc.

State Committee, Socialist Party of Washington, Tacoma, Wash., Sept. 30th, 1907. State Headquarters, Comrades--

By Referendum "D" you are called upon to vote on the question "Shall the State Committee be sustained in revoking the charter of Local Seattle." In order to vote intelligently upon this question the one thing, and the only one, to be considered by you is the facts leading to this action by the State Committee. The presentation of anything else could only be for the purpose of avoiding the real issue and to mislead you. Therefore the Washington State Committee has ordered that all the facts, and only such, which are substantiated by the records in the State Office, and by the records of the expelled local in Seattle, may be laid before you in order that you may come to an unprejudiced and unbiased conclusion.

Under date of March 6, 1907, the Dominion Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Canada, forwarded the following charges against Walter Thomas Mills (who at the time was a member of the now expelled local, whose appeal from the decision of the State Committee is now before you for your consideration) to the Washington State Committee:

The Charges

"SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA. Dominion Executive Committee, 551 Barnard St.

"Vancouver, B. C., March 5, 1907. D. Burgess, State Secretary, S. P. of Wash.

"Dear Comrade:-- I am instructed by the Dominion Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Canada, and in compliance with a request made by Comrade A. Wagenknecht of Seattle, to send a statement of the facts in the matter of the actions of one Walter Thomas Mills while in the Province of British Columbia.

"This committee charges W. T. Mills with conduct detrimental to the best interests of the Socialist movement and utterly opposed to the platform and policy of the Socialist Party of Canada in whose territory he was speaking in that he, at a meeting held in Victoria, B. C., prior to the recent Provincial elections, did advocate fusion and compromise and spoke in the interests of candidates put up by a political party (Canadian Labor Party) opposed to and by the Socialist Party of Canada.

"This committee understands that W. T. Mills is a member of Local Seattle and hopes that steps be taken to discipline him.

"Comrade Wagenknecht has been supplied with full particulars and I will be glad to supply you with these if required.

"Yours in the cause, (Signed) J. G. MORGAN, Secretary Dominion Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Canada."

The Washington State Committee placed the charges on file and voted to defer action till they could receive proof from the Canadian Executive Committee preferring the charges. (Comrade Wagenknecht was at this time National Committeeman.)

Sunday, March 24, the Washington State Committee, having received sufficient proof to justify further action, ordered its secretary to forward to Local Seattle a certified copy of the charges received from the Dominion Committee.

In all this the Washington State Committee was following the State Constitution, which says:

What the Constitution says

"Sec. 3. Any member, or Local, advocating fusion, with any party, or faction not representing Revolutionary Socialism, or any Local exonerating any of its members for fusion, or any member signing or depositing a pledge, promising to support, politically, any party or faction, not representing Revolutionary Socialism, or

any Local exonerating such action, on the part of its members, shall, upon sufficient evidence being presented to the entire State Committee, be expelled from the Socialist Party by a majority vote of the State Committee. Provided, however, that in case of members violating the Revolutionary Principles of the Party, or the tactics that are the outgrowth of these Revolutionary Principles, hereinafter designated as Party treason, such members shall be tried by their respective Locals first; but, if Locals fail to try members charged with Party treason, or if Locals exonerate members so charged and found guilty, the Local itself shall be held responsible.

"Sec. 6. In case charges are deposited with the State Committee, if the members charged have not yet been tried by their Local, the State Committee shall forward the charges to the Local where charged members hold membership."

Seattle Gets the Charges

Local Seattle, by its Executive Committee, received these charges officially on Sunday, March 31st, and referred them to a committee already selected one week before to investigate rumors.

In a letter to the State Secretary the Local Secretary of Seattle says: "and on March 31st this committee was given full power to investigate the CHARGES then laid before the Local."

"On April 7th the City Executive Committee voted to call a mass meeting on April 28th 'TO TRY WALTER THOMAS MILLS ON CHARGES PREFERRED BY THE DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.'"

Under date of April 10th, 1907, the Secretary of Local Seattle sent out the following call:

"Dear Comrade:-- By order of the City Executive Committee I am instructed to notify you that the time and place has been set for two mass meetings. The first one will be held at 10 a. m., Sunday, April 14th, 1907, in Hall No. 2, Labor Temple, for the purpose of electing delegates to the State Convention.

"The second one will be held Sunday, April 28th, at 10 a. m., in Hall No. 2, Labor Temple, to try Walter Thomas Mills on charges preferred by the Dominion Executive Committee of Canada.

"This committee understands that W. T. Mills is a member of Local Seattle and hopes that steps be taken to discipline him.

"Comrade Wagenknecht has been supplied with full particulars and I will be glad to supply you with these if required.

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and helped to elect both these important officials, over the protest of some members of the local.

The certified copy of the charges was read by R. Winsor, secretary of the investigating committee, who reported that his committee had not been able to find any evidence in support of the charges against Mills.

However the Dominion Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Canada was represented in the person of J. G. Morgan, its secretary, with an abundance of evidence conclusively proving the guilt of Mills. This Comrade from Canada had the greatest difficulty in receiving recognition and when finally he was ready to proceed and introduce his evidence against Mr. Mills, the defendant in this action, Mr. Mills, made the following motion: "As there are no charges before this body, I move that we now adjourn."

This motion, contrary to the Constitution, was put by the chairman, who was nominated by Mr. Mills. The motion carried and Local Seattle did adjourn.

State Convention Declares Mills Under Charges

On May 4 and 5, 1907, the Socialist Party of Washington was assembled in a Delegate Convention in Seattle, to which Mr. Mills was elected by the 10th Ward Branch of Local Seattle, as their delegate. His seat as such delegate was contested on the ground that charges of Party Treason were pending against Mr. Mills. By a vote taken by roll call Mr. Mills was unseated, because our laws state that a man under charges shall take no part in party proceedings.

The State Executive Committee at the regular meeting of May 26th received again the charges against Walter Thomas Mills for Party Treason from the Dominion Executive Committee in the following letter:

Canada Executive Renews Charges

"SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA. The Dominion Executive Committee, Vancouver, B. C., April 30, 1907. To the Washington State Committee, Socialist Party:

"In view of what took place on Sunday, April 28th, in Seattle, this committee desires to reiterate the charges it made against Walter Thomas Mills and submitted to your committee on March 6th of this year; those charges being that said W. T. Mills at a meeting held in Victoria, B. C., on the 28th of December, 1906, was guilty of 'party treason,' the facts being as follows:

"That said meeting was held in the interest of the Canadian Labor Party, a political party opposed to and by the Socialist Party of Canada;

"That Walter Thomas Mills advocated the election of candidates put up by the said Canadian Labor Party;

"That he advocated fusion and compromise by calling upon his hearers to vote a mixed Socialist and Labor ticket.

"This committee submits that such conduct is opposed to the platform and policy of the Socialist Party of Canada and detrimental to the best interests of the Socialist movement.

"This committee further charges that W. T. Mills continued to speak in Vancouver for individuals who have formed an independent Social Democratic Party after having been suspended or resigning from Vancouver Local on account of insisting on bringing Mills here after the local had repudiated him.

(Signed) "J. G. MORGAN, Secretary. "E. T. KINGSLEY, Organizer. "JAMES PRITCHARD, "J. E. PETERSON, "R. P. PETTIPiece, "A. R. STEBBINGS."

The Washington Executive Committee at this meeting passed the following motion:

"Moved that in consideration of the fact that the recent State Convention of the Socialist Party of Washington, has declared that there are charges against Walter Thomas Mills, and that said charges are still pending, we hereby demand that Local Seattle take action upon said charges against Walter Thomas Mills, within three weeks from this day, or on or before the 16th day of June, 1907, and report to the State Secretary the action taken in this matter; and we hereby refer the said charges back to Local Seattle."

Local Seattle Again Notified

A duly certified copy of this motion together with the minutes of this meeting were forwarded to the City Executive Committee of Local Seattle on May 27th, 1907. In a letter from the Seattle Committee, replying to the demand of the State Committee under date of June 2nd, they say: "WE DECLINE TO ACT." This under the pretext that they could not override the will of the local; but thereby defying the Socialist Party of Washington, which by a vote of two to one in State Convention had declared that charges are pending against Mills.

State Committee Orders Local Seattle Tried

On June the 23d, 1907, the full State Committee unanimously voted that the State Executive Committee shall try Local Seattle for failure to try Walter Thomas Mills, as per Constitution, which says in Article IV, Section 12:

"In all trials before the State Committee, either the whole State Committee shall vote to meet and try those charged, or they shall delegate the State Executive Committee to get the evidence in the case, and submit same, together with a statement of not more than 500 words from both those preferring the charges and those charged, to the entire State Committee, upon which the State Committee shall act."

Under date of June 25th, Local Seattle was duly notified that July 7th had been selected as the day on which they would be tried by the State Com-

mittee, for failure to give Walter Thomas Mills a trial as per Constitution and the local was requested to submit any evidence which they may wish to introduce, together with a statement of not more than 500 words.

Under date of June 30th the Seattle Executive Committee addressed a letter to the State Committee giving notice that they decline to avail themselves of the opportunity to make any defense whatsoever.

By this unwarranted proceeding Local Seattle forced the State Committee to render judgment by default, and now they ask the State membership to set aside this judgment.

In view of these facts and in view of the demands of our Constitution, saying, that when a local refuses to try members, the local shall be held responsible, the State Committee, elected by the State membership for the express purpose to uphold the Constitution, did not have any other alternative than to revoke the charter of Local Seattle.

State Committee Is Unanimous

The State Executive Committee ordered its secretary to issue a State Committee Referendum upon the question: "Shall the charter of Local Seattle be revoked for failure to try Walter Thomas Mills as per Constitution?" This proposition was duly submitted to the State Committee, together with the evidence. At the meeting of the Executive Committee on July 21st it was found that the vote upon the above question was unanimous in the affirmative, and the Committee passed the following motion:

"The State Committee by unanimous vote has declared that Local Seattle shall be expelled and the charter is hereby revoked."

You can not vote intelligently unless you have been familiar with much that has preceded the taking of the Referendum. And so in this instance. Much has been said by Mr. Mills and some of his supporters, but few, if any, facts have been stated. In view of this it is that the State Committee deems it its duty to lay the facts before the state membership and have ordered that in addition to the above, the findings of the Dominion Parliamentary Committee elected by the Dominion Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Canada for the purpose of investigating the actions and conduct of Walter Thomas Mills, while in Canada be appended.

Socialist M. P. P.'s Report

"Legislative Assembly, Victoria, April 19, 1907. J. G. Morgan, Secretary Dominion Executive, Socialist Party of Canada, Vancouver, B. C.

"Dear Comrade:-- As requested by the Executive, we have investigated as fully as it was possible for us to do, the charges made against Comrade Walter Thomas Mills of Seattle.

"We find that Walter Thomas Mills came to the request of a Capitalist Labor Party, spoke on the platform of said party, and appealed for the election of the representative of said party.

"He further appealed for a collection and obtained one, in aid of the candidates nominated by said Labor Party.

"Yours for the Revolution, "J. H. HAWTHORNE, THWAITE M. P. P. "JOHN MCINNIS, M. P. P. "PARKER WILLIAMS, M. P. P."

Besides the above report of the three Socialist members of the British Columbia Parliament on the actions of Walter Thomas Mills while in Victoria, B. C., there is on file in the State Office substantiating evidence, namely evidence proving Walter Thomas Mills guilty of advocating the election of capitalist party candidates during the last parliamentary election in British Columbia. This evidence is as follows:

Other Evidence

A statement and affidavit signed by Comrade Mose McGregor of Victoria, B. C.; a statement from Comrade John F. Leheny of Maggie Miners Union No. 7, Western Federation of Miners; a statement by J. G. Morgan, Secretary of the Dominion Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Canada; an affidavit by Comrade John T. Mortimer of Vancouver, B. C.; and statement and affidavit signed by Comrades E. O. Mar-mo, William Steven, George Oliver, H. J. B. Harper and J. C. Watters, members of Local Victoria, Socialist Party of Canada.

You are called upon, by the accompanying Referendum "D," to register your vote, which either will reverse the decision of the State Committee or will sustain the decision of the State Committee in revoking the charter of Local Seattle.

By Order of the SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON, RICHARD KRUEGER, State Secretary.

Up-to-Dateovitch In Seattleski

(Recited by J. B. Osborne, Sunday Evening, Oct. 29, 1907.)

Czar Charleswilaski Wappensteino-vitch

Sits on his royal throne-ski, And swears whate'er he might thinko-vitch

In Seattle must be done-ski.

He sealed his Russian heartovitch, With coin from the tenderloin-ski. "You Socialists are smartovitch, You think, but I have a black holeski.

"You claim the legal rightovitch Of speaking on the streetski! I'd have you know my mightovitch Will bring you to defeatski.

"Not constitutionalovitch? (Ha, ha, get up to dateski!) It is Wappensteino-vitch, And goes at any rateski.

"I'll allow you no ballio-vitch. My will, it must, be done-ski. I'll chuck you all in jailio-vitch If you don't be goodski."

—A MUTINEERSKI.

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HERMAN ANSWERS RIGG

Another Instalment of the Lively Debate On the Farmer Question—Rigg Asked to Analyze

It is difficult to debate with one who continually reasons in a circle and continually refuses to be pinned down to any definite proposition.

As I remember it, I challenged Comrade Rigg's definition of Labor Cost and Surplus Value.

Up to the present time he has done no more than to assert that Labor Cost is what the worker receives in wages and that surplus value is the difference between said wages and the amount paid by the consumer for a commodity and that therefore the consumer and not the producers of wealth are the ones exploited by the capitalist class, but has given no basis for his conclusions.

It will be remembered that in my last article I defined the terms "Commodity, value, exchange value, labor power and price" and as a result arrived at the conclusion that surplus value is extracted from the producers instead of the consumers of wealth and that labor cost is not what the workers receive in wages, but what the consumers pay for a commodity.

I therefore request that Comrade Rigg briefly analyze for us the causes that led him to the conclusion that labor cost and wages are the same thing and that surplus value is extracted from the consumers of wealth.

Comrade Rigg asserts that we agree on what Labor Cost will mean under Socialism and then continues: "It will mean what the commodity sells for," as he says, "and will also mean what the worker receives in wages for the production of the commodity."

I submit that I never made such a statement and I suggest to Comrade Rigg that if Socialism means anything, it means the abolition of the wage system.

Comrade Rigg says "The price paid includes not only what we (through the capitalist) pay the laborers for producing the article, but the capitalist's profits as well."

I presume by "we" he means the farmer and the working class? If so, I will say it is the first intimation I have had that the capitalist class are the slaves of the working class and that we are so well to do that we can afford to do all the paying.

Up to the present time I have always had an idea that the only things I paid for, as a wage-worker, were the shabby clothing, the coarse food and the miserable shelter which I can buy with the price (wages) I receive for my commodity—labor power; and to tell the truth, until Comrade Rigg points out just how it is possible for the working class and farmers to pay for everything and yet have practically nothing, I must persist in sticking to that idea.

Comrade Rigg says, "Under the present system a commodity sells for the labor cost plus the surplus value, i. e., rent, interest and profit," thereby leaving the impression that the consumers of wealth are exploited because they get less than they pay for.

I say, a commodity sells for the value of labor power plus the surplus value (which is distributed among the capitalist class in the form of rent, interest and profits, according to their economic power to exploit the working class as well as each other) and that the working class are exploited because they receive less than the value of their labor. (See chapters

7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of "Value, Price and Profit.")

From the way Comrade Rigg spells out the word revolutionary, I take it that he does not consider himself a revolutionary Socialist.

I pride myself with being revolutionary and it is because of that fact that I do recognize the law of evolution and therefore do not contend—as he asserts I contend—that the co-operative commonwealth will be established until all the factors of capitalist production have been perfected and the factors making for the new economic order have been fully developed.

Right here I want to deviate a moment to protest against being made to advocate things which I do not favor: For instance, I do not advocate an increase of wages as a means of abolishing the capitalist system.

I maintain that the working class are exploited as a result of capitalist class ownership of the machinery and land, collectively used in the production of wealth and that for the working class to emancipate itself it is necessary to substitute working class ownership for capitalist class ownership in the means of wealth production.

Comrade Rigg seems to forget that we have passed out of individual into social production, and otherwise ignores the law of social and economic development, else he would not, for the second time during the course of this debate, accuse me of advocating the impossible thing of giving the workers in one industry the full product of their toil, while the workers in all other industries received only the value of their labor power.

HEATH REPLIES

Agrees It Will Be Better Not to Make National Plate Matter Social-Democratic

Milwaukee, Wis., Sept. 9, 1907.
Editor Seattle Socialist.

Dear Comrade—I note what you say about the Socialist plate matter in your issue of September 7, and inasmuch as the party at large is concerned in the matter, I feel that I ought to make some reply. When the contract was finally signed with the plate matter people, the American Press Association, we were confronted with the fact that the company had never been able to make a permanency of either a Republican page or a Democratic page and that our seventy odd contracts (the number has been considerably increased since) were none too many nor too sure. It was my suggestion, inasmuch as some publishers of capitalist party newspapers might not care to use the plate matter indiscriminately, that the company supply department headings, under which the matter might be run merely as a feature, instead of as though editorially endorsed. I suggested that such headings be prepared and supplied to the publishers by the company, and the manager said the easiest way to do this would be to set up the headings and include them in the first page issue. I prepared three headings, one to be used in states where the party goes under the national party name, one for papers published in Wisconsin where the party is known officially as the Social-Democratic party, and one for general use or for papers published in the state of Minnesota, where for legal reasons our comrades have to use the name Public Ownership party as the official party title.

Any student of history knows that classes rise or fall together.

Any student of political economy knows that an increase or reduction of wages in one industry affects the wages of the workers in all other industries.

A commodity is not produced until it is in the hands of the consumer, therefore to assert that the workers in the Oil Industry are exploited of the difference between what they receive in wages and what the consumer pays for it is ridiculous—all the workers in society contribute to the production of oil as well as to the production of all other commodities. Therefore the only way to determine the extent of exploitation is to take the social product of a nation for a certain definite period and deduct from that the total wage of the working class as well as the value of the product allowed the individual producer—such as the small farmer.

I know from experience that the only thing that the average small farmer can boast of is that he has a steady job; in fact, it is so steady that he finds it necessary to get up at 4 a. m., walk around in his sleep and wake the cows that left a call the night before, milk them, do other chores, work hard all day, do more chores in the evening, up till 9 or 10 p. m., that his wife and children also work hard and that for all this they enjoy only the existence of a beast of burden—but that does not alter the fact that the labor which he hires is as necessary to society and is exploited to the same extent as the labor hired by the Standard Oil Co. The fact the farmer is not permitted to retain this wealth, but is in turn deprived of it by more powerful members of his own class, makes no difference to the wage worker.

In conclusion, I request Comrade Rigg, for the benefit of myself, as well as others, to define what a commodity is, what determines its value, on what terms it exchanges with other commodities and what regulates its price.
EMIL HERMAN.

I think there would have been no criticism of this on your part if these headings had been placed down at the bottom of the page, as I supposed they would be. I might add in this connection that Minnesota and Wisconsin were at the head of the list in the matter of orders for the use of the plate matter, so were entitled to consideration. I note what you say also about the use of the term Social Democracy. I will not charge you "with picking for flaws" in this case, as the plate page is a party affair and must be open to inspection and criticism at all times, and I think I could pick a few flaws in that first issue. But the term Social Democracy is orthodox throughout the international movement. And I would point out that whereas the term was used fourteen times, as you say, the term Socialism was used nearly seventy times, which is probably about the ratio in which these interchangeable terms will be found in the writings of Liebknecht, Jaures, Kautsky, Hyndman, Bebel and others. Probably, however, you will find the second issue of the plate page less objectionable in this direction, as, especially in the writing of the headings, I took especial pains to leave the term Social Democracy out, as the result of the criticism made by an Eastern comrade, even in cases where the number of letters required to the line would have made it the handiest to use.

In conclusion I urge you not to feel any reluctance in criticizing the Socialist plate page, only I would kindly ask indulgence for that first issue, and especially for the fact that an unfortunate placing of department heads made it appear as if divided into three departments so far as the text went also. Asking you to print this letter, I am
Yours for the cause,
FREDERIC HEATH.

There are Socialists and Socialists and Socialists even in Seattle. Besides us and our friends, there is the Socialist Labor Party. At a recent Osborne arrest, the state organizer was talking to a few friends about bondsmen and as a crowd was collecting he moved on with the remark that he had better move on, otherwise he might get arrested for obstructing the street. At this point, our friend, the Socialist Labor Party man, butted in with the question: "You claim to be a revolutionist, don't you?" Our direct actionist repeated the question three times. Although not recognized by many, the question was a gem in sarcasm. Our S. L. P. friend meant to shame the state organizer for wishing to avoid arrest. About a half hour after this occurrence a few of us took a walk down to the S. L. P. corner, where a few of these "only" Socialists sell the "only" Socialist paper in the U. S.

There we learned (not to our surprise) that a policeman had just asked the Socialist Labor Party to discontinue their street meeting, and they did. So there you are.

The state organizer has spent a little of his time in Seattle's bastle. Let it be said here, that up to now, in these two years that this fight for free speech has been in progress, neither the S. L. P. nor our other friends, the opportunists, have put a foot in it.

If it is true that every knock is a boost, then we consider ourselves boosted until we are sore. We have been knocked until we are considered dead. So it is reported. Deader than the Sahara desert. Who said "The Socialist" is dead? Why, our friends, the fusionists. They have said it many times to many comrades.

Two of the last so informed are Comrade Haugen of Bellingham and Comrade Strausbaugh of Clippier. They both write: "I was surprised to learn that 'The Socialist' is still on top. Heard that it had ceased publication until I came across a copy the other day."

No, we are not dead. What is more, we are not going to die. We have bought a printing plant, but not to be used for jewelry. Our paper will visit you as long as you care to pay for it.

Another difficulty confronts us. Everybody does not know where we live and somebody never tells them. Several times comrades have inquired at the Socialist Temple (Mills' hall) for the way to "The Socialist" office. Several times that we know of, comrades have been told that there was no paper by that name and several times comrades have been directed to the "Saturday Evening Tribune" when they wanted to see us. And when they visited the Tribune and found out they had been fooled, it was with some hesitation that the "Tribune" told them our address. What the fusionists of Seattle gain by these tactics we do not know. We do know that we are not losing anything, for the comrades that are looking for us will look for us till they find us.

In the meantime we shall continue to inform all that ask us of the correct address of the "Saturday Evening Tribune."

Seattle fusionists say they are not fusionists. We agree that some of these fusionists are not fusionists. They are fusionists because they have a personal grudge against a few of Seattle's revolutionary Socialists. Being a fusionist because of a personal grudge is just twice as bad as being a fusionist because you believe in it. But there really are real fusionists and compromisers in Seattle. There is Comrade Smith of Columbia station, who dabbled in capitalist politics in his ward; there is Comrade Parsons of Dunlap, who helped vote several hundred dollars out of the treasury of the Carpenters' Union into the barrel of the Democratic party during the last campaign; there is Comrade Olson of South East Seattle, who went into capitalist politics in his ward for the purpose of building up his business; there is Comrade David McClure, who told us the same time he came to inform us that he would do no more business with us that he had a right as a Socialist to vote for the next best party when the Socialist Party had no ticket in the field. There are others. All these comrades are supporters of Comrade Mills.

A fine job. That of sitting in a chair and calling comrades Pinkerton Socialists on paper. It is so easy. We are not prepared to say what harm it does to the caller. We do know that it does not help the Socialist Party. There is a constitutional way to rid the party of Pinkertons. Prefer charges and produce the proof. The membership will do the rest. If you have no proof and consequently cannot prefer charges that will stick, then you must either consider yourself beaten in the argument or call your opponents names. A very good detective, when suspecting anyone of crime, keeps his mouth shut until he has sufficient proof. We give

this advice hesitatingly, lest we should be accused of knowing something about Pinkertons and their ways.

The worst of all is this: Mills and his comrades are going to expel all those who do not agree with him and his from the Fusion Club. "The Tribune," in which this information appears, does not say that we shall be accorded a fair and impartial trial. Not having been notified that we were under charges, we can fairly assume that we are to be fired without our approval. We do not care so much about this as we do for the fact that we missed the pleasure of learning just how a trial should be conducted. Our opportunistic friends have always told us so much about conducting party affairs and have told us so many times that we did not know how, that they should have surely favored us by informing us of the charges against us and the date of the trial. They have done neither, so we conclude that they conduct trials in this manner.

And they now pretend that we have a pretended state committee and a pretended state constitution and other pretended things. If our state committee and state constitution are pretended, then we also have a pretended state membership who pretend to be Socialists. Two years in succession, by a referendum vote of two to one, a revolutionary state committee was elected together with a revolutionary constitution and platform. Maybe our comrades who pretend that we are all pretended, do not believe in the referendum. Maybe they believe in pure, democratic, anti-autocratic minority rule.

Comrade Mills is trying hard to organize a party. He is even trying to capture part of the regular organization to do so. Dues stamps are being issued to his Seattle supporters. What kind of stamps these are, what they are sold for and where they come from, we cannot tell. He asks the rest of his friends, those who are still buying regular dues stamps from the state committee, to report to him of their Socialist work. If this is not trying to bust the regular party organization up in business, what is it? This trying to benevolently assimilate the regular organization will do all right in states where the opportunists are in the work in Washington.

Remember a year ago? Remember Nina Wood's meeting at which Mills spoke and at which he collected about eighty dollars to help pay for Nina Wood's court expenses? Nina Wood, if you will remember, was arrested and had to stay in jail all night for talking Socialism on Seattle streets. Do you remember what Mills said at this meeting? Something about dying for free speech and the only time he would not speak upon the public streets would be when he was dead. Free speech on the streets of Seattle is in danger. Where is Mills? Why does he not defend this right?

Comrade Latimer, a staunch supporter of Mills, should use more diplomacy. He admitted to a South Bend Comrade that he knew Mills was guilty of fusion but—well, the trial was not conducted right about for this reason he defended Mills. Latimer forgot that former Local Seattle was given a second chance to try Mills. This trial could have been conducted right. Question: Why did not former Local Seattle give Mills a second trial? Conclusion: Probably they thought Mills guilty.

Mills says: "The Washington Socialist Party has no right to try me for any act committed outside of this state." Again we disagree. Mills came to Washington. He joined the Party here. He subscribed to the local and state constitutions when he joined. Being a member here he was responsible for all his acts to the Party in this state. The Party in this state says: No fusion for us. Mills breaks this law and is promptly punished by the Party in this state. All this is just as it should be. Does Mills want to be tried where he can not be disciplined? So long as Mills retained his membership in Washington, it was the duty of the Socialist Party of Washington to take care of him.

COLOR LINE REACTIONARY?
Editor "The Socialist":
On reading Fowler's article on the "Redlight District" I conclude he had a pair of amber glasses over his eyes when he made his rounds. Are we to understand that none but brown men and women engage in the business? Is he treating the subject wholly from a Socialist standpoint or a color standpoint? Is not his "segregation of the races" entirely reactionary? Does not the line of development lie in the opposite direction?
These are a few of the many questions that have come to mind since reading his article. Perhaps a subsequent article will tell us about the connection of the white man with this traffic.
U. G. MOORE.

Editor's Note: Fowler is now in the Hospital for the Insane, and cannot himself reply at this time. It may be that, as organizer of the Japanese Exclusion League, Fowler saw too much "color," but we do not believe the introduction of a yellow color line in addition to the black color line we already have is in the direction of intelligent evolution.
Racial development under the lead of Capital for such races as are fit seems to be the next step of progress.
The indiscriminate application of the "Brotherhood of Man" is Utopian and not scientific.
An invasion of Asiatic workmen into America would delay Socialism.

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Application for Membership in the SOCIALIST PARTY.

I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposite to all parties formed by the propertied classes, hereby declare that I have severed my relations with all other parties; that I endorse the platform and constitution of the SOCIALIST PARTY, and hereby apply for admission to membership in said party.

Name in full.....
Street Address.....
City or P. O.....State.....

LIST OF STATE SECRETARIES.

Alabama.....	Thos. Freeman.....	Fairhope.
Arizona.....	J. G. Kroon.....	Box 678, Globe.
Arkansas.....	Dan Hogan.....	Huntington.
California.....	H. C. Tuck.....	823 Seventeenth street, Oakland.
Colorado.....	Thos. E. Buie.....	1842 Champa street, Denver.
Connecticut.....	Alfred W. Smith.....	746 Chapel street, New Haven.
Florida.....	Henry L. Drake.....	Box 1033, St. Petersburg.
Idaho.....	T. J. Coonrod.....	Emmett.
Illinois.....	James S. Smith.....	163 Randolph street, Chicago.
Indiana.....	S. M. Reynolds.....	309 1/2 Ohio street, Terre Haute.
Iowa.....	Edw. J. Rohrer.....	Nevada.
Kansas.....	A. O. Grigsby.....	Fifth and Seneca streets, Leavenworth.
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Michigan.....	G. H. Lockwood.....	1018 Eggleston avenue, Kalamazoo.
Minnesota.....	J. E. Nash.....	45 South Fourth street, Minneapolis.
Missouri.....	Otto Pauls.....	324 Chestnut street, St. Louis.
Montana.....	Jas. D. Graham.....	Box 908, Helena.
Nebraska.....	J. P. Roe.....	Room 521, Crouse Block, Omaha.
New Hampshire.....	W. W. Wilkins.....	Box 521, Claremont.
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Wisconsin.....	E. H. Thomas.....	344 Sixth street, Milwaukee.
Wyoming.....	Wm. L. O'Neill.....	704 South Fourth street, Laramie.

Speaking of Presidents, gather in the members, and we comrades will elect one of our very own. Every new party member brings nearer the day of deliverance.
The tools required for the job are a Red Card for yourself and a membership application blank for your friend and fellow worker. Easy, isn't it? Well, that's the way to win.
J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary,
289 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

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WAGE WORKERS & FARMERS

Burgess Replies to Price

Editor "The Socialist":
To explain why I have not sooner replied to Comrade Price, whose article appeared in your issue of June 29, would take entirely too much space. Hence I shall proceed as though there had been no delay. I would not attempt a reply even now if I could see any way to honorably escape the task, for all my time is fully occupied at this writing.

Comrade Price speaks of the wage-workers as if they had been a perpetual feature of society throughout the ages, whereas this class is a modern production, the child of capitalism. Hence all that Price says about the centuries of training is not applicable.

I think that Comrade Price is unfair; perhaps unconsciously so, when he assumes that I impugn the motives of any class. I do not call the motives of the farmers in question at all. I affirm that the farmers as a class will not accept the teachings and the practice of Socialists because to do so is to do violence to their immediate material interests. From the Socialist point of view it is class interests that divides society, and not

As a class the small property holders are cowardly, timid, disposed to compromise, to fuse, to do anything to save their property. As a class they plead for conservative action. This class are not revolutionary. They are reactionary—always pleading for things to remain as they are for fear that they may get worse. The middle-class victory in Chicago in the election of Dunne is a splendid modern example of the attitude of the middle class. After gaining a political victory, this class was too timid to reap the rewards. In the presence of the large capitalists they cringed, and scraped and allowed their victory to turn to ashes in their hands.

In Paris in the time of the Commune this class was true to its instincts, and betrayed the only class that had the courage to fight. And it is ever so. That is why I have no confidence in this class. I realize that if our class, the working class, is to have freedom we must secure such freedom for ourselves. That individuals in the middle class will render us assistance I do not doubt, and I shall be the first to recognize this service and to do all that can be done to reward those of the middle class that make such sacrifice, for it is a sacrifice for members of one class to aid another class.

Comrade Price denies that the workers have an historic mission, but he gives no reason for such denial. I affirm that the workers have such mission, and my reason for so thinking is the fact that the capitalist class is decadent, the middle class is disappearing, has no mission because it is but a survival of an outworn system of wealth production. The working class is the only efficient class in modern society; it is vital to society. It is the only class that can perform all the processes of modern production. And because this is so, I believe that it is the mission of this class to administer the affairs of future society.

I am willing to admit that Comrade Price is as bold as he suggests, and I am willing, for the sake of the argument, to admit his assumption, that boldness is an essential factor in the emancipation of our class, and yet I believe that the working class can and does surpass the boldness of any middle man. I see men working under conditions that require the very highest degree of courage. Look at the list of killed and wounded in the industrial army. To face an enemy that is armed, and to fight for the masters, has always been regarded as exhibiting great courage, but those who do this are cheered and encouraged by every man known to man. Those who fall in the industrial war have nothing to cheer or encourage them. Their courage must far surpass that of the man with a gun in his hand. Courage, fortitude, bravery, are characteristics of the working class the world over. To assert that this class is slavish, cowardly, timid, is but to slander them. I admit that there are slaves among them, but deny that this class is cowardly. It is the bravest, the most heroic, class in the history of this world. This does not mean that they are bloodthirsty.

Comrade Price asserts that the working class makes up the bulk of the army and navy. I do not know that this is so, and, in fact, I doubt it, for I have made diligent inquiry among the members of the army where I have met them and I have been inclined to think that most of the recruits come from the farmers and small merchant class. I am not sure that this is so, but I have much reason for the entertainment of this belief, and I think that there are good reasons why this may be so. The middle class has been trained to look for something higher for their sons than wage slavery, and the pomp and show of military life appeals to the class that has never seen behind the scenes, as have most of the wage workers. I am rather pleased to think that there is this opportunity given to the sons of farmers and small merchants to get glimpses of the causes that send men to slaughter one another. I find that many of these members of the army can be relied upon to shoot too high to kill.

If the capitalists are as dangerous as some middle class people seem to think, we may need the army when we come into the control of the powers of government. We, the Socialists, will then command the army and navy. Don't get alarmed, comrade. You are too bold to fear something that may never have to be met. I belong to that class that you describe as slavish, and yet I do not fear the army, nor the navy.

Well, I find that I cannot reply further to Comrade Price at this writing. My time is up, and I must close.
D. BURGESS.

The next issue of "The Socialist" will have the closing article in the first series by Hermon F. Titus on "Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism." This covers the "Principles of Revolutionary Socialism," which will be printed in a 5-cent pamphlet. Send for sample copy. It is an education.

Darrow's great speech to the jury in the Haywood case is just beginning to be appreciated. The only place it can be secured in its original form, without alteration and revision is from "The Socialist." Price is only 10 cents prepaid.

Lower Hall crowded last Sunday night at Labor Temple. Another Free Speech meeting tomorrow (Sunday) night.

THE MILLS REFERENDUM

Elsewhere appears full statement of State Committee explaining why they revoked Local Seattle's charter for declining to put Mills on trial for Fusion.

The issue is plain as daylight, namely, shall the Committee be sustained for obeying the Party Constitution? To vote "No" will be to condemn the committee for doing exactly what the constitution directed them to do.

Patently, and without any haste, the Committee gave Local Seattle every possible opportunity to try Mills for his Victoria compromise and the Local refused.

If the committee had not cancelled the Local's charter, they would have disobeyed the constitution itself, which explicitly provides in such cases, "the Local shall be held responsible for failing to try a member charged with party treason. Expulsion is the only penalty provided for such treason."

Even if Mills had not been guilty as charged, the committee had no alternative but to act as they did. Otherwise, we might as well have no constitution and go out of business as an organization. If a Local can defy the State Constitution and State Committee then we have no party organization.

But Mills is guilty. He does not deny supporting Earnest Hall, a candidate of the "Labor Party," a man not claiming to represent the Socialist Party, and opposed by the Socialist Party of Canada.

Mills has denied all sorts of things but not the one thing he is charged with. He has written yards of personalities, but always dodged this one issue.

If we are to have a party at all, if we are not to flout our State Committee and Constitution, and if we are not to stand by a man guilty of political compromise and party treason, we must vote "Yes" on Referendum D, and thus support our State Committee.

Kemp's Mandolin Club and Gladden's String Orchestra at Protest Meeting Sunday night at Labor Temple.

"REVOLUTIONARY" FLUNK

Local Spokane has given most recent talk "revolution," and shamelessly submit to the indignities of capitalist injustice when a true test comes of their class alignment.

After the wonderful popular demonstrations consequent on Mrs. Hazlett's arrest, when Mrs. Hazlett stood up so courageously under all the trying circumstances connected with the case, the Spokane local crawled and backed down and refused to continue the case, leaving Mrs. Hazlett to carry on the appeal alone backed by the Montana state organization.

The excuse of the Spokane local was that it did not have enough money to carry on the fight, and that the money would be better spent in literature. A goodly number of the membership of Local Spokane consists of business men, some of them worth \$10,000 and over. They would have no trouble putting up money for a business court case, but to fight the battles of the working class for a chance to carry on the propaganda of Socialism—that is a different proposition.

Every other sort of a party, religion or fake can pack the streets of Spokane, and not a word is said. By its cowardly crawling and deserting Mrs. Hazlett in her fight Local Spokane wins the gratitude of the city police administration that openly boasted before the judge's decision that they were going to "soak it to her."

It is certainly a pretty time to go poking off in a corner reading literature when an incident of the class fight is on that demands action.

We read Socialist literature that we may learn to act when the time comes, not to desert our standard and go on reading.

For the facts about Local Spokane's desertion of Mrs. Hazlett, we are indebted to Comrade Hazlett herself. We trust she will carry the fight on alone, if necessary, though we have no doubt many comrades in Spokane will stand by her. She went to Spokane under the auspices of the local, was arrested, tried by police judge, fined \$25, and gave notice of appeal for jury trial. Then the local abandons her case. She has her own standing to maintain now.

Combined orchestra Sunday night at Labor Temple (not Socialist Temple), Sixth and University.

TACOMA NOTES

Local Tacoma meets every Sunday at 6:30 p. m., in Columbia hall, corner Ninth and Tacoma avenues, to transact the business of the Socialist party of this city.

The attendance at these meetings is not what it should be, many of the members are derelict in their duty. It seems that they are willing to unload all the work and responsibility of conducting the affairs of the organization upon a few faithfuls.

You, dear reader, may be one of those who do not deem it necessary to attend these meetings. If so, you should change your ways—wake up! do something; attend out next meeting and every meeting thereafter if possible; prove to the rest of us that you mean business by shouldering your share of the responsibilities in building up a clear-cut revolutionary party of the working class.

VOLUNTEERS FOR JAIL

The Seattle Socialists have spent about \$150 the last month in maintaining their right for Free Speech on the streets, besides the payment of Titus' fine of \$120 by an unsolicited friend.

Osborne was arrested four times and three of his cases are to be tried on appeal from the Police Court to the County Court. These jury trials cannot be reached before November and the capitalists may postpone still later.

Meantime, what shall be done? Osborne has gone to Oregon to work and the Seattle comrades will conduct the fight without his aid till he returns for his trials. The Anti-Fusion Club of Seattle has requested the State Committee to issue a Call for Volunteers, addressed to Socialists everywhere, and especially in these Northwest states—Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and British Columbia.

We need men who will not flinch from even the Seattle city jail. There is no other way. The courts of the city are against us, supported by all brands of capitalist parties, from the Republican down to the Capitalist Labor Party.

Spring bed Socialism is past in Seattle. It means cement floor in a jail from now on. Either that or cowardly surrender.

Burgess writes: "I am in favor of saving our money; lie in jail. It is foolish to try to fight the capitalists in their own courts. As well for an unarmed man to try to fight a man that is fully armed. Eat up their substance by lying in jail. I still think we ought to call for volunteers and fill the hell hole in Seattle. If 40 of us would descend upon Wappy his backers would flinch, and besides 40 centers would become agitated."

Who will answer that call? We want Volunteers for the City Jail, to begin Oct. 15. Send in your names at once, addressed to "The Socialist," Box 1673, Seattle, Wash.

that Socialist friend or neighbor of yours and get him or her to join the party.

Propaganda meetings are held every Sunday at 8 p. m. in the above named hall. Good speakers are always provided and the meetings close promptly at 10 p. m.

Last Sunday Mr. Alfred Shrader, business agent of the Carpenters' Union, gave us a very interesting address on "Pinkerton Pickpockets and How They Filched the State of Idaho Out of \$104,000." If you were not there, it is not our fault that you missed a treat.

Next Sunday, October 6th, A. Klemensic and Comrade T. F. Burns will debate on "Resolved, That Communism and Socialism are identical."

Mr. Klemensic will affirm and Comrade Burns will oppose. Don't fail to take this in. Bring your acquaintances along.

We had a fine time at our social last Friday night; we will probably give another on Friday evening, October 11th. Full particulars next week.

Street meetings are addressed by the local organizer Monday, Wednesday and Saturday evenings of each week.

These meetings are well attended and good interest shown. Local members should attend whenever possible and assist in the sale of literature and papers.

An important national referendum is now before the party membership. Every member should vote. You can get a ballot from the secretary, Mrs. Grace Lewis, 1311 North Eleventh street, or better still at the next meeting.

Dr. Titus on Free Streets and Clean Jail, Labor Temple, Sunday night.

OAKLAND TO SEATTLE

Sep. 24th, 1907.
Dear Comrade—The soap box agitation in general and the situation in Seattle in particular, was made the subject of an animated discussion at the meeting of the Oakland Socialist branch last evening, when the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolution
"That this meeting of Branch Oakland, Local Alameda, hereby expresses its appreciation of the action of Comrade Dr. Hermon Titus, Comrade J. Osborne, and the comrades in general, in their stand for free speech in the city of Seattle; confident that their voluntary and temporary surrender of personal liberty in defense of the people's rights of free public discussion is calculated to strengthen the cause they are supporting. Be it further agreed that we repudiate the action of Walter Thomas Mills in capitulating to the enemy by his attack of street meetings, as reported by the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, as inimical to the interests of the movement and the unity of the Socialist Party, and that such action is opposing and not supporting the movement which he claims to be defending."

"Be it further resolved, that this resolution be published in the Oakland Daily World, and that copies of the same be forwarded to the Seattle 'Socialist' and the 'Saturday Evening Tribune.'"
E. L. UZELL,
Sec. Branch Oakland.

Protest meetings Sunday nights at Labor Temple, Sixth and University, till further notice. Always good speaking; good music; free discussion.

PACIFIC COUNTY DEMANDS PROOF

South Bend, Wash., Sept. 23, 1907.
Editor "The Socialist":

Dear Comrade—The enclosed resolution was adopted at the last meeting of Local Pacific County. Please give space for same in "The Socialist." Yours for the revolution,
O. A. LINDSTAM, Sec. Pro Tem.

"Whereas, Walter Thomas Mills has in his paper, The Saturday Evening Tribune," of September 14, 1907, charged one Richard Krueger with being a Pinkerton spy (and has set forth no evidence to prove the same); and,

"Whereas, The aforesaid Richard Krueger has been a member in good standing of Local Pacific County for several months in the past and at no time known to the members of this local has been guilty of Pinkerton tactics, or have his actions in any

wise been opposed to the tactics of a true member of the working class; therefore, be it

"Resolved, By Local Pacific County, Socialist Party of Washington, in regular meeting of September 20, 1907, That we have the utmost confidence in Richard Krueger, and believe it quite impossible for him to betray the working class; and, be it further

"Resolved, That we demand of Walter Thomas Mills, that he show proof of his charge or stand convicted of a few more contemptible crimes, such as slander and treachery to the proletariat; and, be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Socialist press of Washington and to the Saturday Evening Tribune."
(Signed)

J. A. CLARK,
Chairman of Session.
O. A. LINDSTAM,
Sec. of Session.

The "Appeal" says there is no such thing as "Reform Socialism," and objects to the title of Titus' new book on "Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism." Would the "Appeal" object to this title, "Socialism, True and False"? Send a nickel for a sample copy, and see what you think about it.

BORAH ACQUITTED

With great show, a brass band, banquet and speeches, even applause in the court room, the Boise idol, Senator W. E. Borah, was acquitted of the charge of conspiracy with ex-Gov. Steunenberg and others to get government timber lands for the Lumber Syndicate. Borah even made a speech in defense of Steunenberg, who has been shown by the evidence to have put up money for "dummy" timber claimants in the interests of the Lumber Combine in Wisconsin. Borah handled the deeds both from the Government to the "dummies" and from the "dummies" to the Lumber Company. He was counsel for the Lumber Company. Yet he swore he knew nothing of the fraudulent transactions; thought they were all innocent and proper.

What a babe in the woods our Borah is!
Most intimate friend and adviser of Steunenberg and lawyer for the Lumber Company. Fraud to the right of him, fraud to the left of him, but Borah sweetly affirms, "never touched me."

That will do for Idaho idolaters, but no man of the world will ever credit it.
Borah escapes by the Scotch verdict, "GUILTY, but not proven."

The fifth chapter of "Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism" is crowded out this week, but will appear in the next issue. All the chapters put in handy form for general distribution as a 5-cent pamphlet will be ready November 1. Send your orders early.

VOTE AGAINST IT

A national referendum is being voted on to amend the Constitution. Nearly every Referendum carries, unless strong opposition develops even if plainly bad. There is a fatal tendency to vote "Yes."

National Referendum "A" is a vicious proposition aimed to give control of the Party to whoever can muster the most votes, irrespective of the principles represented.

If the National Party is to interfere with State controversies it should do so on the basis of Party Principles.

Two claimants to the party name exist in Nebraska at present. Suppose the opportunists can get more votes for their organization than the Revolutionaries can for theirs. Are we therefore to sustain the Opportunists?

No. It is better to have 50 straight, working-class, uncompromising Socialists in a city or state, than 500 Middle-class, opportunist, Utopian "Socialists."

But this Referendum ignores all matters of principle and makes mere numbers the sole criterion.

It is an attempt of Mills, Thompson and others to capture several "doubtful" states. In Washington, Mills is already laying foundations for an appeal to this new process, if adopted, by calling the State Organization a "pretended" State Committee, by issuing "due-stamps" of his own and by appealing to opportunist-Locals to go it alone.

Referendum "A" is an opportunist proposal and should be voted down.

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