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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves
of Capital to Vote Their
Own Emancipation

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FROM THE BLACK HOLE OF SEATTLE

Vivid Reports from Vile Jail--Com- rades Tell Their Own Stories

We devote this page to the Fight for Free Speech on Free Streets in Seattle.

The picture of nine comrades who spent the night in the City Bastille forms the centre. The "Daily Evening Times" got the photo taken and made the cut.

The Socialists in Seattle have been astonished and gratified at the attitude of this paper. They know very well the Capitalist Editor, Blithen, has no love for Socialism, but they are perfectly willing he should advance our cause, even if his motive is personal and political revenge. We like to see the dogs fight each other, so long as we get the bear.

The most interesting and vivid writing about this contest is to be found on this page.

Talk about proletarians not being able to write?

Read Sladden and Wagenknecht and Allison and the rest and tell us where you will find better statements. The editorials of Brainerd and Blithen in "P.-L." and "Times" are stupid in comparison.

All these comrades were asked to write something for this page, but some were too busy.

SOCIALISTS WHO BRAVED THE BLACK HOLE STINKS



Reading from left to right: A. Wagenknecht, Elmer Allison, E. B. Ault, Hattie W. Titus, Al. Ball, John Downie, Robert S. Anderson, H. M. Wells & James Lund.

By Elmer Allison

A stink in the general meaning of the word means an odor exceedingly offensive to the olfactory nerves.

But stinks are of many and various kinds. Some common varieties are the pole cat stink emitted only on provocation of the stinker. Also the malodorous emanations stirred up by a parasitic money-mongering preacher when he undertakes to teach economics to working men, on a salary of five thousand dollars a year, emitted when his masters pull the string and turn on a flow of rot-gut.

But there is a stink which abides in and pervades every crack and crevice of the Seattle City Jail from sweat-box to dungeon, that is not a stink merely, but an aggregate of stinks. A stink before which all other stinks known on earth or surmised in hell fall flat and curl up at the edge.

I have never been able to boast an acute or analytical nose but on Monday night last I wished mightily that it was even less so. If you have never registered at the "Hotel Wappenstein" for a night's lodging and should be possessed with the insane idea that you have a right to express your ideas be they Socialist ones, on Seattle's streets let me tell you what you may expect there to endure in the way of malodorous vapors.

As you are led nearer your cell on the upper floor a consciousness of the vitiation of the atmosphere impresses itself upon you, in fact you will "smell a rat" (a dead one).

On entering you suspect that somewhere close by there is a furnace used for generating strong concoctions of stink and if you did not fear getting a "bite" of it and strangling on it you would say it was hotter than hell and stunk like the devil. But one gets used to Wappy's breath only you wonder by what method he concentrates so much in so small a space. This impels to an investigation of air holes. By guess there are seven square feet of space for air to enter and pass out and one hundred and twenty-eight cubic feet for each of the nineteen inmates. Only two small barred spaces open on the outside air, the rest open on corridors and inside shafts.

An open toilet bowl is in one corner within two feet of the drinking faucet and sink. Two very ill drunks take turn about vomiting at the toilet bowl. The air which enters by way of the peek hole is cooler but far from pure. Fact is, it is laden with rot and there we discover the manner in which some of the stink enters, the rest merely rises because it cannot stay on the floor. The heated breath of nineteen men confined in so small a space soon generates an atmospheric condition that to be understood must be endured.

Yet this is the condition which the real Socialists of Seattle and vicinity are up against if they try to maintain their right of free speech. Needless to say we are not going to fall down before even that putrid obstacle. Fifteen hours of it on Monday night have strengthened the convictions of us who endured it until we feel like the well-known cat which wouldn't stay away—and we won't until the right to teach Socialism on the streets of Seattle is established.

HOW IT HAPPENED

By A. Wagenknecht

It is 7:30 Monday evening, October 28, and we are off. The market place is black with people and umbrellas, for it is raining hard. No less than 1500 are present to witness the arrest of Socialist street speakers. The meeting has been well advertised.

John Downie, state chairman, has mounted the box which has been placed in an entirely unused section of the Market Place. The crowd cheered. He told them of the arranged parade to the city council chamber.

Downie is arrested and Robert Anderson, "The Socialist" newsboy, mounted the box. He announced the Labor Temple meeting for Sunday, Nov. 3. Said he was glad to see so many people who believed in free speech. (Immense applause.) He then asked all not to forget the parade to the city council and was arrested.

James Lund of Redondo, Wash., was next. He was dressed for the occasion. He knew the jail was filthy from a previous experience. He asked the audience not to forget to parade to the council chamber and he started on his trip to jail.

E. T. Allison, secretary of Local Bangor, Wash., was next in line. He announced the Labor Temple meeting. He was then accommodated with his first auto ride in the police patrol.

A. G. Ball, member of Local Portland, Ore., then tried to exercise the right of free speech. "Workingmen, Working women and Parasites," said Ball. That's all. He followed the others.

E. B. Ault jumped on the box, cried out against the outrage, jumped from the box in the hands of an officer.

H. M. Wells, a Seattle Socialist, lawyer, recently admitted to the Seattle bar, came next. The crowd was reminded by him about the parade to the council chamber and announced that a woman would be the next speaker. And he was arrested, as was expected.

Mrs. Titus is on the box. She asks if her hat is on straight and is assured that it is. She then talks of the Revolution of '76. The officers seem timid in placing her under arrest. She said a word or two about our Revolution. That seemed to settle it. Officers were afterward heard denouncing the officer delegated to arrest Mrs. Titus for his hesitation.

The immense crowd commenced moving toward First Avenue. Calls

were heard on every hand reminding us of the trip of the council!

A Wagenknecht, while walking towards the City Hall, was arrested for asking people to parade to the council, and was placed in the police auto. Wm. Nietman, a Seattle Socialist, called out "Good-bye Wagenknecht" and was promptly saved further pains at parting. He went with Wagenknecht to police headquarters.

We are all here in one cell, except Mrs. Titus who occupies the cell to the left and Robert Anderson the one to the right. We walk the floor and tell our several stories. All are good natured.

The air is getting unbearable. There are 19 men now in this cell, hardly room enough for all of us to lie down, conceding that we do not care to lie in a mixture of water, etc., nor too close to one "rummy" man, three drunks nor one individual who takes a particular liking to vomiting. He vomits because he wants to. He drinks a cup of water and then sticks his fist down his throat, holds down his head and lets it run out again. He does not always hit the toilet bowl either, and as a result, he makes tracks of his vomit in his walk around the cell. Spitting on the floor of the cell is being strenuously objected to and some are kicking against smoking.

The jailer is heard. We kick against the cell door and demand fresh air. Many of us are in our shirts with suspenders off of shoulders. Shoes are being taken off. We are beginning to sweat. The jailer hears us. He opens the door and demands to know who wants fresh air. We all want fresh air. He commands us to come with him. We put on our clothes and shoes and follow, all except the dead drunks. Even the man with the vomit habit stays with us. We would much rather have left him behind. He has vomited eleven times since our imprisonment.

We go down two flights of stairs and are shoved into a big iron cage about 18 by 12 feet. One man is already here. There are 14 of us altogether. The air is damp and we feel chilled. The cage is divided into three parts. Two cells with four sheet iron bunks each and a corridor.

The drunks are using the toilet bowl. It does not flush. The chill, damp air becomes foul. The bunks are covered with dust one fourth inch deep.

The vomit fiend has obliged us with three more vomits. The last one hit the floor only. The corridor floor of the cage becomes slimy.

Everybody is cold. The jailer who handed us the gold brick has appeared several times and was made the recipient of scathing denunciation by the Socialists and unchole language by the drunks. The jailer remarks that what we wanted was fresh air.

It is morning. Daylight is visible. The trustees are beginning their work. We ask them as they pass if they are Socialists. We tell one of the condition of the toilet bowl. He crawls upon the cage and it seems to us as if he were pouring water down a funnel into a pipe that leads to the bowl. The bowl leaks at the bottom. The wash is running all over the floor.

We are getting wet feet. The chain gang passes. We ask them all if they are Socialists. We see them shackled.

Our remarks are caustic and can be heard by the chain gang and guards.

Jailer again appears and pities us. Says we have been misled. We tell him to keep his pity and bring us ham sandwiches. Trustees appear with breakfast. A sumptuous repast. Dirty coffee and a half loaf of stale bread each. The coffee is hot and we drink it to get warm. We tell trustees to take bread to Wappy with our respects.

Ault uses a loaf of bread for a pillow. Says it serves. Downie is so mad he can't sleep. Wells adapts himself to his environment and dozes. Lund, who was a sailor, talks with the sailor drunk. Allison philosophizes on stink. Ball is kept busy telling us the time. He smuggled in his watch. We all smuggled in one thing and another. The Communist Manifesto, "No Compromise," "Socialism Utopian and Scientific," papers and pencils; all with us.

The trustees return and gather the tin cups and left-over bread. One trustee dumps the left-over coffee in toilet bowl and he hits the cups against the inside of the bowl to empty them.

A new jailer appears. We demand to be transferred to a dryer and warmer cell. Our arguments are heeded. We again find ourselves in our former cell. The Socialists are occupying the best corners.

Our vomiter is just in the midst of his sixteenth performance. The head drunk is brought whiskey by the jailer. He is sick from whiskey and needs more. Jailer says he feels sure we don't drink. We admit we don't.

Jailer calls out the State Organizer. Times reporter wants to take our pictures. We all consent and it is done.

We hear the Marseillaise sung in French in the women's cell. Nietman and some others of us sang it in German in the cage below.

Everybody is walking, anxious for trial. The door opens. The Socialists are called out one by one. We are marched to the police clerk's window. We are met by comrades who tell us we are free. The trial has been postponed. We walk up Third avenue. We all breathe deeply of the good fresh air. We eat, we wash. We are ready for another skirmish with capital's hirelings.

A BETTER WAY

By Al. Ball

When you are tired of life under this system of government, do not commit suicide but join the Seattle Free Speech Club then you can break into the city jail if you cannot pass in your checks fast enough otherwise. In No. 2 and 3 receiving cells all you will have to do is to ask Jailer Corbett for a little fresh air and he will put you in a place where your misery will soon end, and therefore die in a good cause and avoid disgrace.

Yours for the Revolution.

AL. BALL

Wappenstein says, there will be a riot yet at these Socialist meetings and it won't be the police that are killed either. So, if there is a riot, it won't be the police that are killed. It must be the police that are to do the killing. And if it is the police that are to do the killing, who will be the rioters.

"IS LIFE SO DEAR"

By Tom Sladden

I arrived in Seattle Sunday the 27th of October on the invitation of the State Committee of Washington to take part with the regular organization of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington in their fight to establish a right for the Socialists, as well as any other law-abiding organization, to use the public streets, (which belong to no man) to tell as little or as much as they may know to any that are willing to listen.

I find the fight here is a fight between Socialists who are law-abiding citizens, and certain city officials, who are, properly speaking, anarchists, who do not consider the spirit but the letter of the law only, and who interpret the law, not in the interests of the good of the community, but according to their individual prejudices and bigotry.

We will have with us in this fight not only every real Socialist, but every man and woman in whose veins circulates a drop of red blood, every person who is worthy of being a link in the chain which will carry humanity upward and onward.

We have advanced all through the dark ages until today, man, in this, the beginning of the 20th century, has developed certain ideals and certain desires. And one of the ideals of humanity in all civilized countries at this late date, is that no person shall be persecuted on account of their religious or political convictions.

In spirit and sympathy the community is with us in this struggle, and although arbitrary police power is a strong thing in its way and at times, yet the public sentiment once aroused is the force that sways society.

In the place that the Socialists attempted to speak last night no travel was interfered with or could be interfered with unless it was some person who was going down that street with suicidal intent. It was a blind street and the only place anyone could be going would be to jump over a bluff.

I did not come to Seattle to be arrested, but to insist on my rights. If arrest is the cost, I, like all the Socialists in the City of Seattle, am ready.

A right which is not worth standing up for at any cost is not worth having. One of the primal desires of man is that desire for a relative personal freedom, an unfettered brain, unshackled limbs and an unowned body. But in human society there is that which is worse than shackled limbs, and that is a shackled brain, a dishonorable freedom.

Patrick Henry one time was interrupted by one of his co-patriots, who made the remark in fear and trembling: that even the walls have ears. The answer of Patrick Henry, an answer that comes ringing back through all the years intervening was this: "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet that you would purchase it at the price of chains and slavery?"

And does the mayor of Seattle think that Socialists in the United States are going to surrender one of the rights which all the Henrys of all the ages have demanded—the right of speaking freely to the public, because he holds over them a policeman's club and a lousy jail?

Even if a side street was obstructed here, the fact that four or five thousand people wished to use it for a certain purpose, should be sufficient

for that street to be surrendered to them for the time being.

The comfort of five thousand people should be of more weight than one drunken desirable citizen, an automobile, and a chippy. Let them go around. In a country road this would be impossible, in this city, the most an obstructed side street could amount to would be a trining inconvenience to a very small minority.

If 40 men in the Chamber of Commerce wished to rope off a dozen streets for a street fair, who doubts but that these thoroughfares would be blocked for a week if they wanted them? Every city in the land takes a street once in a while declares it a boulevard, and denies the right of certain kinds of vehicles on it. That would open the question, "when is a street a street and when is a street not a street?"

If the authorities of Seattle can stop us speaking on the streets they can stop us as well in a hall. We might as well start the fight first as last.

I try to be honest; I try to do as nearly right by my fellow man as possible, I try to obey the laws, but when such laws are passed that I cannot obey them and retain my self-respect, I shall retain my self-respect.

THE DANGER OF RIOT

By H. M. Wells

Wappenstein has changed his base of attack. Realizing at last the overwhelming public opinion against his poor pretext of "obstructed" streets, he has changed the theory of his persecution.

Wappenstein fears riot!

Now, riot is a very horrible thing. If the chief's fears are genuine he and his men should have the sympathy of fair-minded citizens, regardless of the degree of their desirability.

There is nothing more cowardly than mob violence; there is nothing more difficult to control. But I want to say after my experience at Pike Place last night that there will never be a riot nor anything approaching turbulence at any Socialist street meeting in Seattle, unless incited by those whose duty is the preservation of the peace.

I am proud of the audience to whom I addressed two prosaic sentences before being pulled from my improvised rostrum. No crowd could have responded more courteously to the requests of those under whose auspices the meeting was called. Massed in the unused southwest corner of the market place, they waited quietly and patiently in the falling rain, now and again breaking into quick applause, then smothering it at the request of the speakers.

One German boy, unable to speak English, was arrested for saying "Good-night" to a friend who was being put into the patrol wagon. A street car conductor, who was a disinterested spectator, engaged in a quiet conversation with his neighbor, giving it as his opinion that Socialists ought to have the same rights as were accorded the Salvation Army. Suddenly his arm was twisted behind him by a "plain clothes man," and he was hustled out of the crowd and to the station. J. W. Bingham said in a conversational tone that the crowd was going to the city council, and C. Newman addressed a stammering remark to those beside him, and both fell in to the clutches of the officers. All of

these men were unconnected with the Socialist organization, and were taken out of a crowd whose low-voiced comments showed them to be almost solidly in sympathy with the arrested Socialists. Yet there was no demonstration, other than a few good-natured cheers as the crowd dispersed after the last arrest. The fact is that Seattle crowds have been already educated up to the necessity of preserving order. They are a fair-minded, friendly crowd, who gather to listen to Socialism expounded on the streets, and they realize what Socialists continually warn them, that there is nothing that will injure Socialism so much as a display of disorder.

But the authorities who desire to injure Socialism realize that fact also. It will not be strange if their desire to see Socialists discredited by a riot will not lead them to encourage one.

I will suggest to Wappenstein a plan to avoid the danger he so greatly fears. Everyone will admit that a Socialist street meeting without policemen is in no danger of riot. We will furnish Wappenstein with a list of our speakers and where they may be found after our meetings. If he desires to punish them for alleged obstruction of the streets he can then do so without danger of riot. If, knowing this, he continues to use such tactics as those he employed last night and trouble results, will Socialists be responsible?

FALSE LABOR LEADERS

By John Downie

Seattle, Oct. 29th, 1907.

The fight is on. What will the comrades of the world say if we lose? Surely they would consider us unworthy representatives of the Socialist movement. But lose we must not. It is true we are up against a combination that few comrades have had to face in this country. A city administration that poses as the friend of organized labor, our natural allies, in fact is supposed to be a labor union administration, and the allegiance of organized labor to the administration is kept intact by sops in the shape of fat jobs and the hope of more by some of their so-called leaders. On the other hand the administration is the most brutal the Socialists have had to run up against in this country.

Instead of allowing us out on bail, they start in to punish us by keeping us in a jail that has been declared by the Board of Health to be unfit for human habitation, and after an experience of two nights in the miserable place I know the air is so vile that it is simply torture to stay in it. But "Whom the gods would destroy their first make mad." The city administration is mad already, so we will meet their excesses and continue to fight until organized labor and all men and women who have to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, in spite of all the sops they may give to our leaders and all the canards and ridicule they may try to impose upon their credulity, will rally to our support and we will not only win our right to speak on the street, but our right to produce our means of life without having to depend on an enemy.

JOHN DOWNIE.

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

FREE SPEECH FUND

Comrades have responded quite liberally to our call for funds with which to carry on the fight for free speech in Seattle. The State Secretary has been detained in Seattle on account of this fight and has received since Seattle from various sources, \$46.50 and more promised. In next week's issue of "The Socialist" a full and complete statement of all moneys received and expended will be published. However, owing to the fact that some lists of subscribers are very long ones, the names of the remitter can only be published. Our fight will be a long one, nevertheless victory will in the end be ours. Again we call upon all comrades who can to assist us, either by coming to Seattle and taking a hand in this fight or by sending contributions.

RICHARD KRUEGER,
State Secretary.

Dr. Falk subscribed twenty-five dollars to the free speech fund.

HERMAN CALLS FOR FIRST PRINCIPLES

To my mind Comrade Rigg's answer to my last is confusion worse confounded.

He seems to have the knack of skillfully evading the central point involved in this debate. I refuse to be side-tracked by any skillful manipulation and again assert that this debate arose out of a definition of "Surplus value" and "Labor cost" by Comrade Rigg to which I took exception. He now opens his last article by claiming that I misrepresented him when I contended that the difference between us is that he maintained that "surplus value" is extracted from the consum-

ers instead of the producers of wealth and then proceeds to defend that very proposition.

I understand very well what he means and has meant by the term "labor cost" but still insist that his application is wrong. "Labor cost" does not express what the workers receive in wages for producing a commodity, but the actual value of the commodity and is the basis of exchange of one commodity for another—including the commodity money.

I again repeat, therefore, that surplus value is acquired, not by selling commodities above their value but

at their labor cost of production. I am just as desirous of getting somewhere with this debate as Comrade Rigg is and I suggest that if he gives us a basis from which he draws his conclusions it may be a stimulant, and I therefore, for the second time request that he define what constitutes a commodity, what determines its value, on what terms it exchanges with other commodities and what regulates its price.

Comrade Rigg says: "If goods were sold for no more than the workers receive in wages for their production there could be no surplus value and therefore no exploitation"—true, but such a condition is impossible. So long as private ownership in the means of wealth production continues no capitalist—unless he is crazy—will pay more for the labor-power which he buys than its market price and under the new order—the co-operative commonwealth—wages will be a thing of the past for the simple reason that wages express only the value of labor power and not the value of the labor performed.

I assert that we do not agree on what labor-cost will mean under socialism any more than we agree on what it means now.

To me "labor cost" under socialism will express the same idea as it does today; namely, the amount of necessary social labor crystallized in a commodity, therefore, under socialism ship-builders, as well as all other producers will receive an equivalent for services rendered, which will enable them to take back from society in the form of consumable wealth the exact equivalent of what they give to society in the form of labor.

Today they receive an equivalent for only part of the labor performed—this is known as wages, the rest is unpaid labor or surplus-value which is distributed among all members of the capitalist class, both strong and weak, in accordance with their economic power to exploit labor and to exploit each other.

To say that Socialism would abolish the capitalistic wage system and substitute another wage system is ridiculous. Wages implies robbery; therefore the wages system must be abolished before the working class can be emancipated from economic bondage.

Comrade Rigg says: "Comrade Herman thinks he only pays for some shabby clothing," etc. I not only think it, but I know it. The \$20.00 which I pay for that shabby suit represents the wages which I received for producing say \$40.00 worth of wealth the same as the \$10.00 represents the wages paid to other workers for producing the suit. The difference in both cases is surplus value which never passes through our hands as our own, and consequently is not paid by us (through the capitalist or otherwise) for the auto and other fine things which they (the capitalist class) enjoy. The next illustration used by Comrade Rigg is so erroneous that any school boy could pick it to pieces. If Mr. Hard-Working Farmer pays \$100.00 to some other capitalist what cost him in labor-power and raw material \$30.00, and if Mr. H. W. Farmer is the one exploited in this transaction kindly point out to us just how much better off the producers of the machine would be if it were sold to Mr. H. W. Farmer for \$30.00 instead of \$100.00?

I did ask the question: "Can a capitalist who never produced a penny's worth of wealth in his life be exploited?" When Comrade Rigg states "He now tells us, they exploit each other," he is simply begging the question. Kindly bear in mind, there are capitalists who produce no wealth and there are other capitalists—such as the farmer and other petit bourgeois—who do. Those of the first class are not exploited for the simple reason that their economic power is so great they need not submit to it, while those of the second class are so weak economically that they are forced to give up the greater portion of what they rob from the proletariat as well as what they produce themselves, all of which goes to still further increase the power of those who are already the strongest, and all of which is used to still further crush the dying middle class—who, while they like to skin the working class, all right, don't like to be skinned themselves, and therefore set up a howl of "bust the trust" and demand the government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, etc.; all of which would do about as much good to the working class as the hole in a doughnut would do a starving man.

Comrade Rigg also states: "I do not understand how he (the farmer) ever had any wealth to retain." All I need say in reply to that is, if he never had any to retain he never had any to be exploited of, and therefore would have no kick coming. In conclusion I would suggest that Comrade Rigg do not allow his imagination to carry him all over creation, but get back to the point at issue—What is "Labor Cost" and how is "surplus value" extracted.

EMIL HERMAN.

MONTANA DEFENDS MRS. HAZLETT

Helena, Mont. Oct. 27, 1907. Seattle Socialist.

Dear Comrades: The enclosed material is a copy of a letter sent to the Saturday Evening Tribune by registered mail. I do not suppose that he will print it, so send you a copy with a request that you publish same.

Fraternally,
JAMES D. GRAHAM.

Helena, Mont. Oct. 27, 1907. "Saturday Evening Tribune," Seattle, Wash.

Comrade: In your issue of October 19th under the heading of "Pinkerton Socialists" you make a dastardly attack on the editor of the "Montana News" and classify her with Pinkertons for the purpose of embarrassing the "Appeal to Reason" by involving its correspondent, George H. Shoaf, in trouble.

When a copy of the paper containing the affidavit in question reached the office of the "Montana News" from an Idaho and investigated the entire Montana, I immediately went to Boise, Idaho and the Socialist Party of unknown source, on behalf of the "Montana News" relating to Mrs. Hazlett.

After a thorough investigation, I secured ample evidence to prove conclusively that Ida Crouch-Hazlett, editor of the "Montana News" did not inform the police authorities of Boise of Shoaf's action, or have any dealings whatever with the authorities of Boise or Ada county. On the contrary I secured enough evidence from reliable witnesses to prove beyond a doubt that the conduct of Shoaf was known to boarding and lodging house keepers, and the press of Boise before Mrs. Hazlett was acquainted with the facts of the case.

Moreover, the entire contents of the affidavit are false from the beginning to the end. The affidavit you speak of was not made by a woman but by a girl fifteen years of age and the one whom the authorities of Boise allege that Shoaf had criminal relations with.

People who know the girl claim that she is not capable of writing the stuff that is in the affidavit and without a doubt the affidavit bears all the earmarks of the pen of George H. Shoaf who had succeeded in getting the girl to swear to the slanderous article of his pen. Not content with endeavoring to clear himself, he stoops to the lowest act a man can be guilty of, that of endeavoring to ruin a woman's character and reputation.

Instead of Shoaf being the victim of a conspiracy, it is Mrs. Hazlett who is being made the victim by Shoaf and his friends, for no other purpose than that they are all jealous of the work she has done in reporting the trial at Boise and are making a dastardly effort to affect her effective work for the party and in doing so, use the most effective means of attacking a woman at her most vulnerable point, that of slander, and no man of honor would be guilty of such a deed.

If the affidavit was really written by the girl, it will become the editor of the "Saturday Evening Tribune" to take the word of an irresponsible fifteen year old girl and without making any investigation, use the same to blacken and slander the character of a woman who stands so high in the activity of the American Socialist party and who has devoted so much of her time to the cause of Socialism as Mrs. Hazlett. Especially when there is a letter on file in the office of the "Montana News" that Mrs. Hazlett received when in Boise from Walter Thomas Mills requesting her to send a weekly report of the Haywood trial to the "Saturday Evening Tribune" for publication. A request she had refused. While the authorities of Boise and Idaho are quite capable of enforcing the law without any assistance from Mrs. Hazlett or any other Socialist, one thing we must remember, that the Socialist Party cannot stand sponsor for, endorse or encourage in any way acts of violence or moral degeneracy whether such acts be committed by a Socialist or a representative of a Socialist paper, regardless of whether the individual be Geo. H. Shoaf, Walter Thomas Mills or anyone else. Moreover, any Socialist paper that will raise the worn, thread-bare cry of conspiracy when anyone is charged with the same, is a detriment and a disgrace to the Socialist Party at this time.

Pinkertons are usually people who will stoop to anything for money, and are the most despicable element that we have in society. When you put Comrade Hazlett in their class, the Socialist Party of Montana will have to resent it.

Mrs. Hazlett has worked for the Socialist Party of Montana for two and a half years, the second longest time ever given by any one person to the movement in this state as an official, and her record with the Montana movement has been above reproach, her entire time being devoted to the work, and the stability and thoroughness of the work she has done needs no apology. Moreover, every cent that Comrade Hazlett has earned from the party over and above her cost of living she has always donated back to the party to assist in carrying on the work of organization.

Before coming to Montana Comrade Hazlett gave her entire time to the movement in Colorado, and from her wages as National Organizer she gave every cent over and above her living expenses back to the party work in various states. If this is the material that Pinkerton Socialists are composed of, then I hope that we have a large growth of them within the party

You Socialists Just Can't Win!

You haven't got the organization to win, and that's a fact. When you sap the resources of the enemy by making Socialists and party members of working men who now support capitalism you will have some chance.

Dreamers, rightly named, are those who give no thought to organization, and imagine the enemy will fall before their individual knowledge and effort.

The Socialist Party started the last Presidential campaign with 15,975 members, made some noise, and had 409,230 Socialist votes counted.

The party membership now numbers about 30,000; it can be made 40,000 before the end of the year. If the vote in the next campaign is proportioned, as previously, to the membership, America will take her rightful place in the international procession and STAND A MILLION STRONG.

Are you a member? If not, then do something worth while, join the party and have the President of the United States talking about you in his next speech. Here is an application blank. Below you will find your State Secretary. Do it now; today.

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 opposed to all parties formed by the propertyed 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 510, Globe.
- Arkansas.....Dan Hogan.....Huntington.
- California.....H. C. Tuck.....523 Seventeenth street, Oakland.
- Colorado.....Thos. L. Bue.....1442 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.
- Kentucky.....Frank H. Streine.....327 West Tenth street, Newport.
- Louisiana.....Geo. F. Weller.....1022 Orange street, New Orleans.
- Maine.....W. E. Pelsey.....198 Lisbon street, Lewiston.
- Maryland.....H. C. Lewis.....418 Equitable Building, Baltimore.
- Massachusetts.....James F. Carey.....699 Washington street, Boston.
- 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. F. Roe.....Room 33, Crocker Block, Omaha.
- New Hampshire.....W. W. Wilkins.....Box 121, Claremont.
- New Jersey.....W. B. Killingsbeck.....62 Williams street, Orange.
- New York.....John C. Chase.....239 East 84th st., New York, N. Y.
- North Dakota.....A. M. Bieda.....Box 513, Fargo.
- Ohio.....John G. Willert.....3469 West Fifty-fourth st., Cleveland.
- Oklahoma.....Otto F. Bransetter.....Norman.
- Oregon.....Thos. A. Sladden.....269 Davis street, Portland.
- Pennsylvania.....Robert B. Ringler.....628 Walnut street, Reading.
- Rhode Island.....Fred Hurst.....1923 Westminster street, Providence.
- South Dakota.....M. G. Opsahl.....Sioux Falls.
- Tennessee.....J. T. McMill.....615 Blackmore avenue, Memphis.
- Texas.....W. J. Bell.....106 West Erwin street, El Paso.
- Utah.....Jos. MacLachlan.....First National Bank Building, Ogden.
- Vermont.....Alexander Ironside.....33 Avers street, Barre.
- Washington.....Richard Kruger.....2805 1/2 Pacific avenue, Tacoma.
- West Virginia.....Geo. B. Kline.....McMechen.
- Wisconsin.....E. H. Thomas.....244 Sixth street, Milwaukee.
- Wyoming.....Wm. L. O'Neil.....304 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.

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Those "Undesirable Citizen" buttons are going fast. Only a very few more left. The price is still 5 cents by mail prepaid.

Helena, Mont. Oct. 27, 1907. Seattle Socialist.

Dear Comrades: The enclosed material is a copy of a letter sent to the Saturday Evening Tribune by registered mail. I do not suppose that he will print it, so send you a copy with a request that you publish same.

Fraternally,
JAMES D. GRAHAM.

Helena, Mont. Oct. 27, 1907. "Saturday Evening Tribune," Seattle, Wash.

Comrade: In your issue of October 19th under the heading of "Pinkerton Socialists" you make a dastardly attack on the editor of the "Montana News" and classify her with Pinkertons for the purpose of embarrassing the "Appeal to Reason" by involving its correspondent, George H. Shoaf, in trouble.

When a copy of the paper containing the affidavit in question reached the office of the "Montana News" from an Idaho and investigated the entire Montana, I immediately went to Boise, Idaho and the Socialist Party of unknown source, on behalf of the "Montana News" relating to Mrs. Hazlett.

After a thorough investigation, I secured ample evidence to prove conclusively that Ida Crouch-Hazlett, editor of the "Montana News" did not inform the police authorities of Boise of Shoaf's action, or have any dealings whatever with the authorities of Boise or Ada county. On the contrary I secured enough evidence from reliable witnesses to prove beyond a doubt that the conduct of Shoaf was known to boarding and lodging house keepers, and the press of Boise before Mrs. Hazlett was acquainted with the facts of the case.

Moreover, the entire contents of the affidavit are false from the beginning to the end. The affidavit you speak of was not made by a woman but by a girl fifteen years of age and the one whom the authorities of Boise allege that Shoaf had criminal relations with.

People who know the girl claim that she is not capable of writing the stuff that is in the affidavit and without a doubt the affidavit bears all the earmarks of the pen of George H. Shoaf who had succeeded in getting the girl to swear to the slanderous article of his pen. Not content with endeavoring to clear himself, he stoops to the lowest act a man can be guilty of, that of endeavoring to ruin a woman's character and reputation.

Instead of Shoaf being the victim of a conspiracy, it is Mrs. Hazlett who is being made the victim by Shoaf and his friends, for no other purpose than that they are all jealous of the work she has done in reporting the trial at Boise and are making a dastardly effort to affect her effective work for the party and in doing so, use the most effective means of attacking a woman at her most vulnerable point, that of slander, and no man of honor would be guilty of such a deed.

If the affidavit was really written by the girl, it will become the editor of the "Saturday Evening Tribune" to take the word of an irresponsible fifteen year old girl and without making any investigation, use the same to blacken and slander the character of a woman who stands so high in the activity of the American Socialist party and who has devoted so much of her time to the cause of Socialism as Mrs. Hazlett. Especially when there is a letter on file in the office of the "Montana News" that Mrs. Hazlett received when in Boise from Walter Thomas Mills requesting her to send a weekly report of the Haywood trial to the "Saturday Evening Tribune" for publication. A request she had refused. While the authorities of Boise and Idaho are quite capable of enforcing the law without any assistance from Mrs. Hazlett or any other Socialist, one thing we must remember, that the Socialist Party cannot stand sponsor for, endorse or encourage in any way acts of violence or moral degeneracy whether such acts be committed by a Socialist or a representative of a Socialist paper, regardless of whether the individual be Geo. H. Shoaf, Walter Thomas Mills or anyone else. Moreover, any Socialist paper that will raise the worn, thread-bare cry of conspiracy when anyone is charged with the same, is a detriment and a disgrace to the Socialist Party at this time.

Pinkertons are usually people who will stoop to anything for money, and are the most despicable element that we have in society. When you put Comrade Hazlett in their class, the Socialist Party of Montana will have to resent it.

Mrs. Hazlett has worked for the Socialist Party of Montana for two and a half years, the second longest time ever given by any one person to the movement in this state as an official, and her record with the Montana movement has been above reproach, her entire time being devoted to the work, and the stability and thoroughness of the work she has done needs no apology. Moreover, every cent that Comrade Hazlett has earned from the party over and above her cost of living she has always donated back to the party to assist in carrying on the work of organization.

Before coming to Montana Comrade Hazlett gave her entire time to the movement in Colorado, and from her wages as National Organizer she gave every cent over and above her living expenses back to the party work in various states. If this is the material that Pinkerton Socialists are composed of, then I hope that we have a large growth of them within the party

(Continued on Page 2.)

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With the September issue of the Socialist Party Official Monthly Bulletin it enters upon the fourth year of its publication, with No. 1, Vol. 4.

"It is a paper that all workmen ought to read. I renew for three months and send another sub. I will try for more."—R. B. Ellis, Derwent, Ohio.

National Committee Motion No. 15, upon which vote closed Oct. 1, was adopted. Vote: Yes, 30; No, 6; Not Voting, 26.

Motion No. 15.—"That the National Secretary be instructed to give the Party Papers operating a job institution the entire job printing contract of the Party. Time only preventing."

"I am sending a sub. I think we can get him on the right track after reading your paper three months. I will mail one every time I can in the Idaho mountains."—T. E. Files, Cambridge, Idaho.

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EVERY LAWYER

Should read Darrow's closing argument in the great Haywood trial. This speech was printed in full, just as delivered, in "The Socialist," delivered in Seattle and vicinity for 25c. Address "The Socialist," Box 1673, Seattle, Wash.

We still have a few more "Undesirable Citizen" Buttons for sale, 5c each. "The Socialist," Seattle.

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WALTER THOMAS MILLS-- HIS RECORD

By Thomas J. Morgan of Chicago

Mills has deluded the party membership in so many sections of the country and disrupted the party so often that it becomes the duty of every loyal Socialist to enlighten his comrades as to his record. In pursuit of this purpose "The Socialist" requested Thomas J. Morgan, of Chicago, to present a succinct account of Mills' career. Comrade Morgan is one of the oldest and most active party members in Chicago. He has never been accused of being an "impossibilist." He belongs rather to that Opportunist wing where Mills himself is supposed to shine. But Morgan is a pretty level-headed lawyer and will hardly write anything of a personal nature which he cannot be responsible for.

This account of a career thick with "busted" schemes will be a revelation to many devout hero-worshippers in the Socialist ranks.

Mr. E. B. Ault:

"Dear Comrade: In reply to yours of the 16th, I submit the following:

In the winter of 1905 Mills originated a scheme for a lecture course in the Loop District of this city independent of the party, with the aid of its name, headquarters, weekly paper, editors, manager and county secretary. I as executive committeeman protested and was forced to present Mills' public record as a menace to the party. We defeated his scheme, and here is a brief statement of his public record at that time as I presented it:

Mills was a minister, an evangelist, temperance lecturer, etc. In 1892 he was appointed by the World's Fair directorate to have charge of World's Labor Congress. Using his prominence in the above matter he built a dormitory (hotel) in Harvey, 18 1/2 miles from the World's Fair, for visitors to that exhibit, made contracts in advance, etc., and when the people came and found where and what it was there was a public scandal and the place was finally burned down before the end of the fair.

Next he organized a colony scheme up in Michigan, got a lot of people up there, who put in their money, and that busted.

Next he organized a school near Kankakee in Illinois, got a lot of people interested financially, and that busted.

Next organized some co-operative scheme, near stock yards, this city; that busted.

Next organized People's University or Institute, in Berrien Springs, Michigan, got a lot more people to invest their money and property, and from there stepped into the Socialist party because, as he publicly asserted, his Berrien Springs enterprise was on a solid financial basis, needed his assistance no more and he could see a wider field for his activities in the Socialist party. A few days after he made this declaration the Berrien Springs enterprise busted all to pieces and Mills was in a fair way to be put through the courts for his share in it.

With this public record aired in the files of our daily papers I insisted it was dangerous to set him up as the representative of Socialism in Chicago.

When I set this up, of course he made a fuss, and we had it out face to face, and I called his attention to the fact that from the day he entered the party he had by one scheme or another fed on the organization and its members.

Since then I have learned more, which I now refer to briefly:

His immoral conduct in New York state has excluded him from party affairs there. To save the good names of the two families of comrades who were victims no official action was taken to punish. Information obtained from State Secretary Chase.

His book, "Struggle for Existence," was mainly written by another comrade and credit denied. Information,

Comrades Benton and G. R. Kirkpatrick.

As lecturer at \$10 per lecture he used the opportunity to work each place for sale of book and left each place financially dry.

His Kansas City scheme was interesting.

A school for Socialists paid for by Socialists.

A barn-like structure on a bleak bluff back of the stock yards, reached by worst car line in the city.

Rented for one year, \$2,000 spent in furnishing it; the school term was three months.

Reports of school doctored by Mills to read good and draw comrades on.

Side lines to school, a publication, "The Socialist Teacher," got subs. for one year from all over U. S.; died in three months.

Colony scheme located on Comrade Yates' farm; some money made and Yates and other comrades fooled.

Socialist settlement on Rosedale hill, Kansas City. Building sites blasted in side of hill. Houses to be built like old Mexican missions. Got comrades to labor in hopes of pay. Never realized, as scheme busted.

How Mills got new typewriter for his school. Told a hard luck story to Judge Crosby, no money, etc., etc. The judge gave him a new \$110 machine.

He then surprised the judge by paying \$100 for photograph camera. Got an outfit for visit of himself and family to the Yosemite Valley, Cal.

In this Kansas school enterprise Stitt Wilson, Spargo and other names were used on bill heads without authority.

Information relative to Kansas enterprise may be had from Farmer Yates, known to State Secretary Palmer of Nebraska; Emil Schultz, 1612 N. Main St., Kansas City; C. C. Tyler, Highlands, Cal.; Frank and Kate Richards O'Hare, Miles, I. T.

Next, a scheme to supply matter for insertion in Capitalist papers at \$2 per month to Comrades and Branches. Comrades to get matter inserted in their local papers.

The last enterprise, his present paper.

Another scheme overlooked. A Colony and School in Colorado.

This scheme was advertised in the "Alliance of the Rockies." Editor, Southworth.

Information on this, Louis Dalgaard, manager advertising Chicago Daily Socialist.

The ability of Mills to continue in his peculiar work in the party is due to the silence of those whom he has bitten and fooled, and while he is under expulsion from your organization, comrades ignorant of his record are ready to welcome him here because of his ability to talk.

Fraternally yours,
THOMAS J. MORGAN.

I hope when you are through with him that some means will be adopted to make his exclusion from the party permanent.

GENERAL NOTES

A late issue of the "Chicago Daily Socialist" has an editorial in which it is stated that wiping out the class struggle "can only be accomplished when the workers own the capital with which they work, only when laborers are capitalists." And more to the same effect. When a man of such prominence in the movement as Simons makes a break like that it is time to ask what the Socialist party is coming to. Simons is one of our "scientific" Socialists, too. Any Socialist who does not know that the triumph of the working class must be the abolition of capital, or else be barren, should be required to take a course in the fundamentals before being allowed to edit a Socialist paper.

The "Miners Magazine" takes occasion in a recent issue to tell the Socialist papers how they should conduct themselves toward each other. Perhaps the "Magazine" could make use of some of that advice itself. Comrade O'Neill is not known as the most pacific man on earth when somebody does something not to his notion.

It's certainly a shame that I cannot get the credit for the work I do. A recent issue of the "Nevada Workman" contains a reply to my note criticizing its typographical appearance. In the first paragraph Comrade Titus is called to task for the statement, though he had absolutely nothing to do with it, as a glance at the head of the department would have shown the "cock-sure" man from Nevada. Also he indulges in some "airy persiflage" by calling us "comrats," presumably a play on comrades. If Mr. Bland has any arguments in favor of "direct action" he had better trot them out instead of saying silly things about "dropping a chewing gum wrapper into a ballot box in the hands of the enemy."

Even the "Weekly People" has "seen a great light" and come to its milk by raising the subscription price to \$1.00 per year. Pretty soon some of the rest of our papers will find the impossibility of making both ends meet by charging for subscriptions only about one-fourth what it costs to get out a paper.

"I send five dollars—half the organizing fund and half the free speech fund. I am in my 74th year and haven't got much to show for my 54 years of work on the Pacific Coast. I can't at present do as much for Socialism as I would like, but I will do all I can. The Socialist came to hand last night and I finished its pages before laying it down—and myself as well. If that issue don't wake up the Rebs. of Seattle to a sense of

what labor is getting in that capitalist ruled city, I can't imagine what can."

—Nathan Vorhies, Ocoosa, Wash.

A number of copies of the "Pinkerton Labor Spy" still on our shelves. The book to show your trades-union friend to open his eyes. Price, 25 cents, prepaid.

FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

Many letters are being received applying for definite dates for Comrade August Bebel involving an enormous amount of unnecessary correspondence. Comrade Bebel will surely not arrive in this country before April next, probably not till May. About January or February applications will be solicited and no information regarding dates can be given before that time.

Charters were granted by the National Office to Locals Gastonia, North Carolina, six members; Willard, New Mexico, five members, and Estancia, New Mexico, ten members.

On National Referendum A, 1907 State Secretaries should compile and file with the National Secretary a complete tabulated statement of the vote by Locals in their respective State or Territory on or before Nov. 1st, 1907.

Eleven locals have been organized in the State of Florida during the three months of July, August and September.

Applications for dates for Comrade Ben Tillett, of England, who is expected to reach San Francisco the middle or later part of November, have been received from several points in California, St. Louis, Mo., and Cleveland, Ohio.

National Committee Motion No. 16, which provides for a campaign of protest by the Party from November 1st to May 1st against the "Dick Military Law" has been adopted by the following vote: Yes, 31; no, 17; not voting, 17; vote closed October 22nd.

Official returns of the recent election in Oklahoma, from all but four counties, shows a Socialist vote of 9,476. The Socialist vote in the last Presidential campaign was 4,443.

National Executive Committee is now voting on motions by Comrade Work, first to authorize the National Secretary to furnish cuts and press sheets for speakers toured. Second, that the State Organization headed by George Wells as State Secretary and

G. C. Porter as State Organizer be recognized as the bona fide State Organization of the Socialist Party of Nebraska and that the National Secretary be instructed to sell dues stamps to that organization and no other.

Comrade Andrew Jacobson, of Oklahoma City, who was a member of the State Executive Committee for two years, died Oct. 13th. He was a member of the Tailors' Union and one of the most active and fearless workers in the cause of Socialism.

Contributions to the National Organizing Fund reached a total of \$1,057.36 up to October 25, 1907.

The prosecution at Boise, Idaho, is again responsible for the postponement of the trial of Geo. A. Pettibone. The new date set is Oct. 23th. Meanwhile the continued confinement is breaking down the prisoner's health.

The cases against Vincent St. John and other members of the Western Federation of Miners, charged with conspiracy to murder one Silva, at Goldfield, Nev., were dismissed upon motion of the district attorney.

National Organizer Geo. H. Goebel recently organized locals at Flag Staff and Winslow, Ariz. National Organizer Gus E. Miller organized locals at Midland, Snyder, Colorado, Red Bluff and Cottonwood, Texas.

By a recent referendum W. S. Baldwin, of Fairhope, has been elected a member of the National Committee for Alabama.

CUT OUT THOMPSON

Tacoma, Wash., Oct. 3, 1907.

J. Mahlon Barnes.

Dear Comrade:—I move that Carl D. Thompson be withdrawn from the list of national speakers and organizers until after his recent action in speaking for an organization opposed to and by the S. P. of Nebraska has been investigated and acted upon.

(Signed) EMIL HERMAN,
Member of the N. C. from Wash.

Comment:—I make this motion and hope it will be favorably acted upon by the N. C. because I think it is high time that S. P. speakers and organizers should be made to recognize the fact that we have a regularly organized S. P. in this country and that they are expected to work in harmony with and not against—as Carl D. Thompson is accused of having done—the S. P. of the various states recognized by the National Organization.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DODGES

I have the following to report regarding the consideration given to the motions submitted Oct. 9th.

On the question of recognizing and selling stamps to George Wells as State Secretary of Nebraska, Comrade Work voted "Yes"; Comrades Hanford and Hillquit "No." From other members of the Committee, there was no expression. No action has therefore been taken.

LETTER OF COMRADE HILLQUIT.

"I can see no reason why the National Executive Committee should at this time reconsider its action in the matter. The action was taken deliberately and in accordance with the provisions of the national constitution as interpreted by the members of the committee. Comrade Work has failed to show wherein our interpretation of the constitution was erroneous. I must also take exception to his statement that 'at the March meeting of the Executive Committee, the entire committee was convinced that the Wells-Porter faction was the real Socialist Party of Nebraska.' I for one, was and am far from being convinced of it."

On the question of furnishing cuts and press sheets to locals for speakers toured, Comrade Hanford, Hillquit and Work voted in the affirmative. Comrade Berger in the negative. The motion is therefore adopted.

LETTER OF COMRADE BERGER.

"Please record me as voting NO on the motion of Comrade Work that 'a National Secretary is authorized to furnish cuts, etc., to locals for speakers toured by him.' We need the money in the National Treasury for more important affairs than to advertise the faces of the orators."

LETTER OF COMRADE HANFORD.

"I voted YES on this motion, as it is permissive, and not mandatory. At the same time I am under the impression that it is unnecessary, and that the National Secretary already has the necessary authority."

LETTER OF COMRADE UNTERMAN.

On submission of Oct. 3rd. Received too late to be included in report on that subject.

"After reading the recent developments in the Nebraska controversy, as stated in your letter of Oct. 3rd, I have come to the conclusion that it will not settle the difficulty in any way to merely recognize Comrade Roe and ignore the other faction. We have already done so, and the trouble is still the same as ever.

"I concur, for this reason, in Comrade Work's suggestion to suspend the State of Nebraska, let each local pay dues directly to the National Office, and continue this until such time as the various locals shall agree on a common basis for the settlement of their difficulties. To go into the presidential campaign with the organization in its present shape will practically lay Nebraska lame, and the chances are that they will get together sooner, if we eliminate both quorums and their National Committeeman for the present and let the locals do their propaganda work without this double-headed hydra."

MRS. HAZLETT DEFENDED

(Continued from Page 2.)

The motto "Never attack anyone under the flag" that the "Tribune" carries at its mast head, does not harmonize with the utterance of its editor and it is now up to you to drop that motto, apologize to Comrade Hazlett for your slanderous remarks or place yourself in the ranks of the hypocrites.

JAMES D. GRAHAM,
State Secretary S. P. of Montana.

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Published Weekly, by Trustee Printing Co., 14 News Lane, Seattle Wash.
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All remittances should be made payable to "THE SOCIALIST," Seattle Wash.

All business communications should be addressed to "THE SOCIALIST," Seattle, Wash.

Communications intended for the Editor should be so addressed. Rejected manuscripts will not be returned unless stamps are enclosed.

Communications intended for publication should be mailed in time to reach "The Socialist" office not later than Monday.

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VINCENT HARPER.....Special Editor
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Special Contributors.

D. BURGESS.....Slave Market Reports
JAS. D. CURTIS.....Socialism and the Schools
EDWIN J. BROWN.....Socialism and the Law
E. C. JOHNSON.....Socialism and the Church
EMIL HERMAN.....Socialism and the Farmer
E. L. RIGG.....Socialism and the Middle Class
C. W. BARZEE.....Socialism and the Middle Class
A. B. CALLAHAM.....Socialism and the Middle Class
O. V. STAPP.....Socialism and Literature
EVSTAFIEFF ROSE.....Socialism and Art
MRS. FLOYD HYDE.....Socialism and the Home



AS IT WAS



AS IT SHALL BE

WILLING TO GO

The Socialist:
Comrades: I am willing to go to school if necessary for the cause. It is all we have to work for.

So Sir Tom is calling Comrade Hazlett a Pinkerton spy. Oh, no! The comrade is only one of the spies of Justice, as all are that are trying to right the wrongs of the poor working class, that have been hoodooed by such as he.

Comrade Hazlett is trying to change conditions so that we women may be emancipated from state chattels, farmed out to man for a lifetime for the magnificent sum of \$2.50 per in the state of Washington.

No wonder the old mammas of the South called us "pore white trash," when she could command from five to eight hundred, according to ability. A few more years of civilization and education along the lines of capitalism and we won't be worth ten cents a baker's dozen. Are not now, unless we accept a master.

Yours in the fight for Peace,
ADA GATCHELL.

A number of copies of the "Pinkerton Labor Spy" still on our shelves. The book to show your trades-union friend to open his eyes. Price, 25 cents, prepaid.

POLITICS IN SEATTLE

The political situation in this city gives the Socialist Party a decisive influence in the city election next spring.

The present mayor was elected by Labor votes, winning by the narrow margin of 15 votes. He was also elected by factional Republican support. He was also elected by church votes. He was always a Democrat, and he affected "Municipal Ownership."

He retains his Democratic support or will get it by timely trading. The Christians continue to think him good. The Wilson Republicans still admire him. "M. O." reformers are easily satisfied.

The Labor vote is the only uncertain quantity in Mayor Moore's political horizon. Without the Labor vote he stands no chance against a strong, respectable Republican. For this Labor vote he has paid its price, the Street Commissionership to the Carpenters' Union. It is pretty cheap, but so is Union Labor—in politics.

Now here is the point. The Socialists also appeal to the Labor vote. They almost defeated Moore at the last election. Had they stood solid against the Municipal Ownership middle class delusion, Moore would never have got his place.

If the Socialists increase, the real, uncompromising, revolutionary kind of Socialists, who cannot be cajoled, bullied nor bought, if they increase in Seattle and lead Union men to see their class interests and vote the Socialist ticket in any considerable number, then Moore is defeated.

Reading these simple facts in mind will explain many hard and mysterious capitalist dogmas in this city. For instance, why have the Blithen papers, which have no possible love for Socialism, been supporting the Socialists in the street fight? Because Blithen hates Moore and sees that an increased Socialist vote means a diminished Labor vote for Moore. He doesn't think we count large enough ever to menace his position as a capitalist. So he encourages us so as to accomplish his immediate end, the overthrow of his enemy.

So with others. Everyone who wants to defeat Moore will cheer on the Socialists as the surest way to cut down his Labor vote. This explains why the Republicans stand by Moore and Wappenstein in their fool policy against the Socialists on the street speaking question. The Republicans are astute enough to perceive that Moore is killing himself and making new Socialist votes by every act of persecution aimed at us.

Moore hates us and imprisons us because we are his only real danger. He hopes to suppress us by his coercive policy, not wise enough to perceive what his Republican opponents see, that this policy of force and arbitrary exercise of power, only adds to our adherents and drives thousands to study our teachings.

Our own Socialist policy is clear as day. Straight ahead to proletarian converts. Moore's resentment at us, Blithen's desire for vengeance on Moore, the Republican's cunning egging on of Moore, all work to one end for us, increased attention of the workers given to Socialist politics as the only politics for them.

We have a magnificent opportunity in Seattle if we do not falter a single hair's breadth. While the "Labor Mayor" keeps us in jail, every wage worker in the city turns his mind towards the party which can turn out men willing to suffer such indignities for the sake of the Workingman's cause. The Socialists on the chain gang are elevated on a cross for every proletarian in the city to behold and love and follow. Capitalist factional politics becomes the highest instrument of Socialist propaganda. Their apparent victory spells real defeat.

AND THE FIGHT WILL GO ON TILL WE WIN

(From Monday Evening's Red Extra, Issued Immediately After the Arrests.)
The town belongs to the Socialists tonight.

Without any show of violence, but assisted by Wappenstein, the Socialists painted the town red.

Three thousand people stood respectfully in the rain at the open market place while one after another the eleven Socialist speakers were hauled down by the officers under the chief's orders.

No one was allowed to say more than two sentences. Most of them simply said: "You are all invited to the city hall after the arrests to present a petition to the city council."

Only Mrs. H. F. Titus, the last speaker, was allowed to say more. She stood silent for at least three minutes. Some one called, "Hats off," and a thousand bared heads glowed in the rain. Cheers followed her arrest.

The police showed all the speakers the utmost respect. Evidently his patrolmen had no sympathy with Wappenstein's foolishness.

Chief Wappenstein refused several offers of one hundred dollars cash bail for Mrs. Titus. Formal written demands for release on bail were thrown on the floor by the chief.

Attorney Brown was refused permission to see his clients.
Mrs. Titus was thrust into the woman's cell and no one can see her, not even her husband.
This is America.

ROLL OF HONOR.

John Downie, carpenter; Robert Anderson, newsboy; James Lund, farmer; Erwin B. Ault, printer; Elmer Allison, clerk; A. L. Ball, blacksmith; E. H. Wells, lawyer; Hattie W. Titus, proprietor "The Franklin"; Alfred W. Wagenknecht, organizer Socialist Party.

Two others were arrested for calling, "Everybody go to council chamber."

The crowd went. The council was in session. The city hall was packed with thousands reaching from the council room on the third floor down the three flights of stairs to Third Avenue and then down Jefferson street to Second Avenue.

The council had a petition from the Socialists for an immediate hearing. Conway moved to give them ten minutes. His motion was voted down 11 to 6. H. H. Gill was presented with a bouquet of red carnations by Republican representatives McMasters and Jackson in compliment for his speech. "Pile the Socialist dogs ten deep in jail and pile bricks on top of them."

"WAGE WORKERS ON THE BRAIN"

Outlook, Wn., Oct. 12, 1907.

Editor "The Socialist":
Comrade Burgess says that the wage worker is a modern feature of society made possible only by present capitalism.

In reply will say that wage workers and capitalism have existed for many centuries, and there have been few times when labor has been better paid than right now, although, of course, never before did it produce more for that pay than it does at the present, by the use of labor-saving machinery.

It is not Comrade Burgess that impugns the motives of the farmer class so much as others do of the so-called, self-styled revolutionary scientific Socialists. He is the fairest and most courteous of that class, and I have good reason to know that personally he respects me as I do him, although we met only once. I sometimes write sarcastically, and if the comrade feels I am hitting at him, let him dodge and let the blow fall on the other fellow.

I am not claiming any special intelligence or activity for the farmer in the Socialist movement. In fact, I know from a long experience with the average farmer that he is a lunk head when looking out for his political welfare. Our worst enemy in old Alliance days was the farmer who would not unite with us. The farmers as a class were fools for going into fusion instead of keeping their organization in the middle of the road.

The Farmers' Alliance went down, and so have wage workers' organizations gone down. The wage workers, like the farmers, as Comrade Burgess well knows, are mostly fools. In trying to organize them we have a thankless and almost hopeless task. Comrade Burgess is working hard to organize the wage worker and his salary is a mere pittance, while many wage workers, some of them Socialists perhaps, squander their money at the saloons and houses of ill-fame.

I have met farmers and wage workers who were grand men. It was a pleasure to be in their presence. Their voice, time and money were at the service of the cause. Their efforts were limited, however, by their environments.

We all get tired at times of the sacrifices which seem to do no good, and which are apparently unappreciated. When I first came into this state I said that as soon as I got well settled in my home I would devote a good deal of time to working for Socialism. But, alas! I found that to properly raise a family of boys and girls required my presence at home and a good deal of money, too. Of course I could let the children run wild and uneducated, as some do, but would that be right? Is not our first duty at home? Do not the wage workers who receive big pay try to have all the comforts of life they can, and is it not right they should?

What I am protesting against is the unfair treatment that farmers who are Socialists receive at the hands of some of the comrades. We are told that we are capitalists, and can not be true Socialists. And just here I wish to ask which is the worse for the Socialist cause, for a man to have a little capital or to have a big capitalistic mind as many wage workers and proletarians possess?

We are always hearing Marx and the Communist Manifesto quoted, just as if those men were gods or their books Bibles. To my mind Kantsky is a more entertaining and reasonable writer. In his "Class Struggle" he mentions the lackeys of the rich, and the proletarians in the great Boise trial.

slums who are less likely than the farmer and small merchant to become Socialists.

Now, I am not caring which class furnishes the greatest per cent of Socialists, just so we get there. To convert men and women to Socialism I find that "Merrie England" and Bellamy's books, and the "Appeal" and "Wishires" are my best aids. It seems rank folly to advise the average farmer or wage worker who is seeking for light to first read the "Communist Manifesto" as did Mrs. Lewis when she spoke here.

Some of our Socialist lecturers are learned fools. Some of them are very unwise in their tactics. For instance, Mrs. Lewis refused to speak under the Stars and Stripes, which the comrades at Cle Elum or Roslyn hoisted above the booth they had arranged for her to speak in. Had I raised that flag it would have stayed, and Mrs. Lewis could have walked out before I would have lowered it.

If it is not necessary to be a fanatic to be a Socialist or to be unloyal to one's native land.
Comrade Burgess says I deny that the "workers" have an historic mission. I wrote "wage workers." The comrade has the wage working theory on the brain very badly. Just as if the wage worker was the only one who worked and produced anything. Very well, I will agree with you that the worker has an "historic mission," whatever that may be, not because the good Marx, or the Bible or the "Communist Manifesto" says so, but because I believe the worker, whether he be farmer, merchant, clerk, carpenter or laborer, will some day get tired with dividing up with those who do nothing but skin them.

And the instrument of the workers' deliverance is the Socialist Party, which is my party as much as it is yours, Comrades Burgess and Titus, and you have no patent on it, and can not forbid us farmers to use it. True, many farmers stand aloof from the organization as at present controlled. They feel as if they are not welcome. The proletarian doctrine is constantly urged. And yet, of the 10,000 Socialists in the state who vote, it is safe to say that very few are strictly proletarian. Most of the 10,000 voters have fixed homes and can get to vote, which the wandering proletarian does not.

Oh, the folly, the stupidity of the present tactics of those very few who control the party in the state today! Jealousy and quarreling on every hand, and a dual organization in sight!

Fraternally,
WALTER PRICE.

It will be two or three weeks before "Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism" is in print in book form. The pressure of outside work in our print shop has made necessary the postponement of this work. Orders are being received every day. The price is five cents per copy.

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

Nothing better in the book line was ever offered at so low a price as Harper's "Terrible Truth About Marriage" for 10 cents. We want to make room for a new and better edition and so have reduced the price from 25 cents. Get your order in while they last.

For five cents we will send to any address Haywood's testimony in the great Boise trial.

SHALL THE SOCIALIST PARTY OWN ITS OWN PRESS?

BEGINNING OF MENTAL SERVITUDE

Editor Socialist:
Kindly permit me a few remarks on the subject of the party press.

I shall spend no time in prefacing my remarks with fine classical phrases or poetical vapors, but shall proceed to analyze the indisputable facts of actuality.

For the party to own the press would be the beginning of mental servitude; it would be an autocratic step towards curbing the freedom of intellectual warfare, where only the fullest expression of scientific Socialist thought can find its birth, because, first, a party-owned press presupposes management of said press by the party, and the facts relative to the party's efficiency flagrantly read, "Mene, Tekel, Upharsin."

Now I am not anxious to cast any reflections upon the intelligence of our membership, or the present executive committee, but there is an "old saying" in the Bible, I think, "that by their fruit ye shall know them." Now you will notice in the recent referendum or election of our executive committee (National) that there was a very unhealthy showing, which forebodes no good to the party. For instance, glance at the enumeration of the vote for each individual candidate for the National Executive Committee and you will find that outside of about three (that, fortunately, were elected), the party's popular sentiment expressed itself in favor of those individuals whose principles are of the Christian bourgeois reform type, an aggregation of perhaps well-meaning fools, who have practically no conception of the ground-work that is requisite for the triumph of the proletariat.

This shows the party to be intellectually deficient. The discrepancy lies in the mad rush for quantity in place of qualifying the quantity at hand.

Now the point I wish to make is this, first, the majority of the party is opportunistically inclined and a sufficient amount of scientific Socialist literature has not permeated the rank and file to an extent sufficient to counter balance the effects of the hereditary and stagnated superstition of this decaying and diseased system.

So the Socialist philosophy, as it is, is practically unknown or ignorantly repudiated by this hero-worshipping element which constitute the majority. The deduction deduced from such premises are inexorable and should suffice for the most orthodox party press advocate. Proposition (1): a party owned press would mean that those individuals whose principles the majority of the party was in favor of would control, edit and manage it. Proposition (2): The majority of the party is in favor of those individuals, whose principles inductive, scientific historical research has proven to be fundamentally wrong. Conclusion from the foregoing, the majority of the members favor those individuals whose principles, inductive scientific historical research has proven to be fundamentally wrong. Thus a false conception of Socialism would be promulgated, through the adoption of the party ownership of the press. It would be puerile to speak of inserting your opposing views for of course they would be "detrimental to the best interests of the movement." In fact the party press advocate is an idealist, a

visionary of the most erratic sort. He believes in the predominance of the idea over the material or objective facts. To him the only requisite is to get the one central idea into the heads of the working class with a little discipline and the revolution can be accomplished.

GEORGE KUNKLE,
Monaca, Pa.

MORE PLAIN TALK

In order to intelligently discuss it seems to me we should first ascertain the basis of this agitation for a party-owned press. To talk in the abstract is all well enough, but we will puffer get at the actual abstract by using a little of the concrete. If we had the source of this agitation, the why and the where of it, we shall have a fair start for a correct conclusion.

My observation leads me to divide the advocates of a party-owned press into two classes, viz.:

Those with motives of personal interest, and
Those with motives of party good.

Again, this first division is susceptible to re-division into two:

Those with a grudge growing out of having been refused space for scurrilous and personal articles, or personal differences with or dislike of some editor, and
Those with an infatuation for trying to run a newspaper or for seeing their names in print.

There are many persons whose lines of perspective always center in their personal feelings, whose main-spring is like or dislike. An editor is quite likely to harrow the feelings of some one by unfavorable comment or refusal to publish some letter or article, either personal or irrelevant in its tenor. I suspect that a Socialist editor gets more than his share of this, and so lays the foundation for personal dislikes.

That a considerable number of those who have advocated a party-owned press are of this persuasion, is no joke. The first rumblings of the "party-owned press" storm came to me from this direction, and I have no doubt there are others who might give similar testimony.

The second division of the personal motive element is worthy a little more consideration. The person in this division is honest in believing in his own ability to manage a newspaper, and without counting the cost is anxious to butt in.

For one to believe that he can run the other man's business better is a common characteristic of people which sometimes leads to success and sometimes to failure, so that when some one proposes changes in the operation of things in connection with which he lacks experience, make haste slowly is a good slogan.

This mention of motive is not made so that a way may be opened for personalities. However, the time may come when we will again be called upon to vote on the proposition, and at such a time the motives of those advocating the measure, if apparent, and their quality will have a considerable bearing on the expediency, if not on the abstract question of its correctness.

When you hear this move advocated the bray of an ass for the swish of the lion's tail.
Having thus duly cautioned you to feel the ears of this gift horse, let us proceed to the more important portion of the discussion—the good of the organization.
U. G. MOORE.
(To be Continued.)

WHO IS MEANT?

Editor Socialist: I would like to say just a few words on party ownership of the press.

Today there are in the United States only a few party-owned papers which, however, are superior in every way to the score or more of privately owned sheets, claiming to espouse the doctrines of Socialism. All are advocates of one kind of tactics or another. The readers of these papers constitute the different factions we have in our party to a great extent.

All claim to be supporters of revolutionary tactics. But when you read most any of these papers you cannot help but see that the hope therein contained is creative of nothing but reactionary tactics.

Now, what is the use of the working class supporting false educators that lead them in several different directions? For instance, one will tell him that he has just to get out and rustle subs, enough to bust the thermometer and he will have Socialism.

Not only does it keep the efforts of the working class divided, but it is a means of misleading them, on account of the editor or owner being forced by his economic interest to run the paper in such a way as will guarantee the largest profit.

I noticed an article on page one of the last issue of "The Socialist" wherein it was stated that facts were what we wanted. Have we not had a good example of what a privately owned paper could do in this state when operated for the interest of its editor? Is that not proof enough that the private ownership of a Socialist press is a dangerous weapon in the hands of some individuals? If this is true, its ownership is liable to change the scruples of its editor at any time, as he, like any other, will respond to the economic screws as they are cinched down on him, the only difference being that one will require more pressure than another; that is all. If we had a party-owned press the party would undoubtedly control its policy.

This is meant for publishing if good enough.
J. L. RHODES,
Aberdeen, Wash.

HAVE YOUR UNION ADOPT THESE

Whereas, The Socialists of Seattle have been denied the right of free speech upon the public streets, a right granted to other organizations; therefore, be it

Resolved, First, that we, the members of the Journeymen Tailors' Union No. 71, hold that the streets are not obstructed unless the travel thereon is obstructed and that the public have the right to assemble upon the streets for peaceable discussion.

Second, We condemn Mayor Moore, Chief of Police Wappenstein, for the arrest of Socialist speakers and the breaking up of their meetings, at the same time allowing other speakers the rights denied to the Socialists.

Third, That we especially denounce Chief Wappenstein for confining said speakers in dark, filthy and unventilated cells devoid of the commonest decencies, and retaining them there without water and with only the most repulsive food.

Fourth, That we extend our hearty sympathy to the Socialists in their fight for free speech and that we propose to assist them by all the means in our power.
Fifth, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to each of the city papers, the Mayor, the Chief of Police, the City Council and the Central Labor Council.

SOCIALISTS WHO BRAVED THE BLACK HOLE



Reading from left to right: A. Wagenknecht, Elmer Allison, E. B. Ault, Hattie W. Titus, Al. Ball, John Downie, Robert S. Anderson, H. M. Wells & James Lund.