Price Five Cents

WASHINGTON SOCIALIST PLATFORM DAR

An Education in Socialism. No Capitalist Paper Has Dared to Publish It. Afraid to Let Working Class Read It.

This failure of the Capitalist Class in their conduct of the affairs of

of International Socialism and of the Socialist Party of the United States. For the campaign of 1908 we present to the voters of this state the following declarations of our principles and program:

1. The Socialist Party is primarily the party of the Proletariat. We recognize the Class Struggle between the Proletarian Class and the Capitalist Class as the supreme fact of modern civilization.

3. We recognize this struggle as a struggle for the possession of the world's wealth and for all the benefits of human progr 4. We recognize the historic mission of the Proletariat to be its own ic emancipation through its political victory over the Capitalist

The growing solidarity of the Proletariat industrially in Labor Unions

and politically in the Socialist Party is a sign of this ultimate victory. 5. We recognize the increasing incapacity of the Capitalist Class to

The industrial crisis which this country is now experiencing, and of which a financial panic is the least significant feature, has in this state as well as all others reduced the dependent Proletariat to such desperate straits that it is inconceivable that they should tolerate their condition did they rightly comprehend the underlying causes. The exploiting of the Proletariat of a part of their labor product results in their inability to absorb the wealth they have created. This is known as the failure of markets and a so-called period of over-production is followed by a reaction of which the present industrial stagnation is an example. The improved methods of production which should logically result in shorter work-hours and better living wages for the workers actually results in a smaller number being employed. Thus there is a permanent unemployed problem which is intensified by the recurring periods of industrial reaction. As these crises result in acute misery to the Proletariat and are wholly the result of the capitalist mismanagement of industry, the enforced idleness of the workers must be relieved by immediate employment of jobless men on works of public utility.

CONVENTION NOTES

NOTES

Socialist Party.

It has been suggested that at least 200,000 of these platforms should be circulated in this state before election as an education in economics.

The picnic was a hummer. Considering the limited advertising, it was of Seattle refused to publish this immense. The grounds were beautiful with untouched nature. The speakers' stand beneath the arching for publication. It must be pretty maples, the hundreds of people sitting on the grass, the encircling swift river, the distant music of the dance, the hanny children of all ages made.

There was little concernity for river, the distant music of the dance, the happy children of all ages, made a scene we will all remember with

Inside the pavilion, the Bocialist ongs—above all, that "Red Flag Drill" of the young people and chil-dren, to the music of the Marseillaise, —were an inspiring education. The Swedish dance in costume was a beautiful novelty, highly appreci-ated by the audience.

The picnic came as a rest and diwersion between the first and third
days of the Convention. It was really
a reception to the delegates, and took
the place of the usual banquets and
committees. Those in charge deserve
the utmost credit. This first Socialist
picnic of the S. P. of Washington will
certainly not be the last.

**The picnic came as a rest and diwashes and took
Owing matter, to
Socialist
week mus
when it w

missed this convention for anything. It has been an education in Socialism for me."

Yet there was no dissension; that is, none of the mean, personal sort. Even the "grievance" which Burgess presented against Krueger did not develop any bitterness. The delegates tabled the whole thing and both men went on to work together like comrades. Sparks flew several times, but no mean insinuations were heard and no rancor left behind.

The better for the "Call" and socialism.

And that W. J. Ghent has taken thurt's place with Algeron Lee as stitution the most important vote of the State Party Referendum is that missecuring of an efficient State Committee the state is the State Executive, on whom the active work of the campaign and ist Party leads. It is the only party of the entire organization will fall.

We assert the victory of the Proletarian Class over the Capitalist

Class will not only emancipate the victorious class but a

Society will then be organized as one class, all enjoying together the splendld fruits of human invention.

7. We propose that the Proletariat shall conquer political power and use that power to take possession of all such wealth as is now used by the Capitalist Class to force the Proletariat to surrender the wealth it

factories, mines, railroads, machinery and land gives the Capitalist Class its power to amass all wealth in its own hands. The Socialist Party proposes to transfer that ownership from the Capitalist Class to the Proletarian Class and to use political power to that end. This is the Proletarian Revolution.

8. We know that such a Revolution cannot be accomplished in any We must win full political power in the entire nation. Executives. legislatures, courts and armies must all be captured by the Proletariat in order to effect its appropriation of all property used as capital.

9. But we propose to force from the Capitalist Class while it is still in power, such concessions as we can

Whenever Socialist Party Candidates are elected to office, the Party guarantees they shall advocate every measure which will alleviate the poverty of the Proletariat and Improve its conditions.

nder Capitalist rule and to assist the Proletariat in achieving its complete triumph, we advocate and demand:

expense at full union wages on such works as irrigation, referestation and

This is a picture of John Moinnes, member of the Brit-

ish Columbia Parliament. He was elected as candidate of

the Socialist Party of Canada in 1906. He was President

of the Phoenix Miners' Union, W. F. M. He was, when

elected, the youngest man in any house in Canada, Dominion or Provincial. He is a powerful six-footer, and has

He served with distinction in the Provincial house at Victoria, always championing Labor's cause. He introduced a general eight-hour bill, which was defeated, of course, as the Socialists had only three members out of 40. His other bills were one to forbid questioning and recording of wage-workers for the purposes of the Blacklist, and one to secure inspection of bunkhouses by competent inspec-

The other two Socialist members are Hawthornthwaite and Williams, both from Vancouver Island. McInness is

The majority of voters in British Columbia are proletarians, and only need to get together to win hands down.

State Committee any one city: Mrs. J. H. Steele and

the State Party Referendum is that 30 miles from Seattle and 50 miles

mitte, especially those five who must 25 miles from Seattle, 5 miles from

the West Side, with approximate air

line distances from Seattle and Ta-

coma. Only one can be chosen from

miles from Tacoma; L. E. Alier and

H. Barth, both of Tacoma, 28 miles

from Seattle; W. W. Smith, Everett.

Tacoma; E. E. Martin, Bangor, 18

the only member from Eastern British Columb

there will be at least one more next election.

worked underground some nine years.

tors three times a year.

The Washington

(b) Preservation from capitalist destruction, of natural resources such

as mines and forests, in order that abundance may be preserved for social use after the Revolution

(c) Abolition of Court injunctions in Labor disputes. (d) Abolition of all Oriental immigration which is subsidized or

stimulated by the Capitalist Class and all contract labor immigration. (e) An eight hour day and a five and a half day week for all classes

and further reduction when that concession has been secured.

(f) Abolition of employment of children of school age. (g) Reduction of residence qualifications necessary for the franchise

(h) Absolute freedom of press and speech.

 Equal suffrage for men and women.
 Initiative and referendum in order to protect against continued. Capitalist corruption of representative government.

11. We recognize that the class of small farmers is also a working and producing class, exploited, as well as the Proletariat, of all its product pt a bare living.

We point out to the small farmer that his exploitation is due directly to the great capitalist combinations known as the Trusts.

also point out to the small farmer that the Trusts derive their greatest income from exploitation of the Proletariat and will, therefore, continue to exist in full power so longas the Proletariat remains a subject

and exploited class.

In a word, the small farmer can only secure his own emancipation by joining the Socialist Party and thus assisting in hastening the Proletarian evening, July 4. The convention held

12. The small capitalist is doomed. The Trusts by the laws of compe tition are destroying and proletarianizing the old-fashioned "Business Man." The wise among this class will recognize the facts, accept the inevitable and join forces with the Proletarian army in its march towards the World's Emancipation.

"Proletarians of all lands, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

As always, the first day of the Convention was occupied with routine work, credentials, organization, election of committees and getting used to one another. To many, the first day always seems wasted. But it is not. It is essential to a body of people that their differences become adversed and their attangeness to each

By Sunday morning the preliminaries were all completed, the committees were ready to report, and all day Sunday things went flying. From 8 a. m. to 11;30 p. m., with only an hour for lunch and 45 minutes for supper, the delegates hammered away at business. The constitution had been nearly completed at the Saturday night session, patiently and thoroughly considered section by section. On Sunday Resolutions and Platform Committees reported. Then at last all duliness disappeared. There was nothing cut and dried. Every subject was sharply debated. The three-minutes rule was adopted, thus giving everybody a chance, but no chance whatever for flowery talk. It was live discussion by live men on the subjects. One delegate was heard was live discussion by live men on live subjects. One delegate was heard to say afterward, "I would not have missed this convention for anything writer on the New York Socialist

It is three years since the editor of which disregards expense.

The Socialist" has attended a So It is three years since the editor of which disregards expense.

The Socialist convention in Washington. Therefore the personnel of the attendance was almost wholly strange has adversated the socialist Party in Seattle Five of these, one from the Head-has adversated the improvement.

Thirty nominees were selected by Seattle and 40 from Tacoma; C. W. Longmire, of Yeim, 50 miles from are to be elected by the membership. Seattle and 25 from Tacoma; Albert tendance was almost wholly strange has adversated the improvement.

form of 1906 was written by him and it explicitly proved to the farmer he had no chance except with the ialist Party.

There was little oportunity for enthusiasm and none for fireworks. Too much business to attend to. But after adjournment Sunday night, the tired delegates waked the echoes with cheers for Debs and Hanford, cheers for Socialism and the stirring notes of the "Marseillaise" and "Hurrah! Hurrah! We'll Bring the Jubilee!" It was plain to be seen then that these was plain to be seen then that these serious men and women were fired with that intense zeal and consecra tion which a great cause always awakens and will burn away all op

Owing to the pressure of convention natter, the Critique of the Finnish Socialist Movement, announced last week must be deferred to next week, when it will certainly appear.

attle occasionally. His last arrival was immediatly followed by the organization of the "Social-Democratic Party" in Seattle and the publication of "Bulletin" of big claims. He was in justed, and their strangeness to each other wear off, before they can do Democrats' may prove his easy dupe good work unitedly.

The "Social-other wear off, before they can do Democrats' may prove his easy dupe good work unitedly. once more. We suggest him as their

Daily, "The Evening Call." So much the better for the "Call" and Social

ist Party leads. It is the only party of the entire organization will fall.

which disregards expense.

Thirty nominees were selected by Seattle and 40 from Tacoma; C. W.

We are printing the Platform conspicuously. It is the first American Bocialist platform to take an absolutely unequivocal stand on the proletarian basis of the political organization. A motion was made to strike out that section relating to the Farmers, but after vigorous debate, it was voted to retain it. Some comrades expressed surprise that the editor of "The Socialist" should advocate a member of the Executive Committee. The nearest you can come who have read a finite bubonic Committee. The fact is, no candiform to more severed a finity of the bubonic come; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 lake, 55 and 85.

Here are 17 names, some 5 of the capitalist to the Farmers, but after vigorous debate, it was voted to retain it. Some comrades expressed surprise that the editor of "The Socialist" should advocate a hall, and with a five y date living within 100 miles of either come; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 lake, 55 and 85.

Here are 17 names, some 5 of the Executive Committee. The names, some 5 of the capitalist to get an efficient Executive. Then, mittee. The nearest you can come to predicting is this: If Seattle is chosen, either Mrs. Steele or Emil Marxian Orchestra will play.

The following are the nominees on Barth or Aller will be on the Exceptive Committee.

The following are the nominees on Barth or Aller will be on the Exceptive Committee.

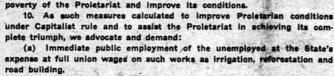
Walter Thomas Mills arrives in Se

Undoubtedly a great gain all round, securing of an efficient State Com- from Tacoma; C. C. Hale, Puyallup

In all matters which concern the act as the State Executive, on whom Tacoma; E. E. Martin, Bangor, 18 public health and morals the Social the active work of the campaign and miles from Seattle, 30 from Tacoma;

Therefore the personnel of the attendance was almost wholly strange to him. A few old faces, like Downie, has advocated this improvement. Now quarters and the four others who reside nearest the place selected as Morris, but most of them later arrivals. The cause constantly attracts new recruits. Most of the new comrades were in middle life, well constantly attracts new recruits. Most of the new comrades were in middle life, well constantly attracts new recruits. Most of the new comrades were in middle life, well constantly attracts new recruits. Most of the new comrades were in middle life, well constantly attracts new recruits. Most of the new comrades were in middle life, well constituted in 1900, if given the chance, are the two cities nominated as Head-Tacoma; G. L. Whiting, Snohomish, are the two cities nominated as Head-Quarters. The Executive Five will be different according to the Headquar-coma; G. L. Whiting, Snohomish, and more unity of spirit.

We are printing the Platform conclusive sets a foothold in Seattle, the date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom coma; Bostrom, of Bellingham, 70 date living within 100 miles of either coma; Bostrom c



ecutive Committee. Not another prophesy can be made with certainty. You might claim if Tacoma wins then Strausbaugh and Bostrom, a hundred miles away, could not possibly get on; yet all the others nearer might be defeated altogether and not be elected on the State Committee

As we said at the outset, it is a bungling method and the only absolutely sure and safe way is to vote for no one on the State Committee who we do not think would make a proper member of the Executive Com-

The remaining nominees for the State Committee are Jonas, Aberdeen: Lindstrom, South Bend; Thompson Ronald; Reinert, Oroville; Horsefeld, Roslyn; Elliott, Colfax; Warren, Spo-kane; Barber, Spokane; Rood, Riverside; Harkness, Northport; Ferris, M. A. L.; Smith, Aberdeen; Ada Gatchell, North Yakima.

Party Ownership Is Endorsed

Both Washington and Idaho in convention assembled, declared in favor of a proposed plan for Party Owner ship of "The Socialist." The ques tion will be submitted to Referendum. The plan is entirely new and it is The plan is entirely new and it is believed will solve the practical difficulties which have heretofore characterized all plans in the United States and which have led our party to forbid constitutionally all "official organs," designated by Executive Committees.

The chief features of the new plan are (1) that the Locals shall be sole owners of stock and sole voters in best numbers. Miss Window is about service rendered as secretary Coonrod made a report to the constitution relative to the condition of the party throughout the state. He stated in response to inquiry that he believed the membership of the party had doubled during the party had had about \$100 occurs the party had doubled during the party

owners of stock and sole voters in the election of Board of Directors, and (2) that every member of the Party shall pay increased dues and the Local.

This will be her last appearance for Party shall pay increased dues and the Local.

initiate a Referendum on this subect, so that these three Northwest states may come into possession of a paper with an established circulation, a paying advertising patronage, a world-wide prestige and a fine

printing plant. With the new support, it is be lieved "The Socialist" will at once be able to equip its office with every needed appliance, to pay its editors adequately and to issue a newspaper which shall be a credit to the party and a most effective instrument of organization and propaganda.

clerical work will be saved to the state secretaries and every member kept in closest touch with all party

Opening of New Hall

FOOT OF CHERRY STREET.

Dr. Titus speaks on "Taft, Bryan W. H. HetzarVancouver and Deba."

FIRST: Maxim Gorky's "Man." translated by Edmond Peluso from the Italian. Never before appeared in English. A remarkable parable. SECOND: "Colorado Breezes," by Swenson.
Palouse—A. A. Anderson, Mathew Edward Morgan, of Denver.

breezy, indeed. Comrade Morgan formerly contributed "Nebraska Breezes" to "The Socialist." For the last five years Morgan has been in retirement. Now he reappears as a National Lecturer for the Socialist Party. He will tour the East during the campaign, and will send in his brilliant criticisms and re-ports to "The Socialist." The older readers of this paper will remember

and welcome Morgan THIRD: Tom Sladden's latest, entitled "Injunction," a reply to an edi-

torial in the "Oregonian."

FOURTH: A fourth instalment of Langerock's "Blanket Stiff." FIFTH: Criticisms of the Bryan

Platform. All these are just the thing for pro-

The Best Ever

Editor Titus announced that he would not continue as editor under my circumstances.

It is possible that Oregon will also as bear in a duet with Miss Window.

A dance will follow the entertainment. Good music and one of the best national platform for the state platform. This reported from the state platform. would not continue as editor under Richard Gregory, one of Seattle's best

ment. Good music and one of the best dance floors in the city.

Work for this. Proceeds to apply on expense of new hall.

Washington Socialist Ticket

Presidential Electors.
G. W. MorrisArlington
J. G. Elliott
J. E. JanesBuckley
C. L. WhitingSnohomish
W. H. HarrisCentralia
Governor.
Geo. E. BoomerProsser
Lieutenant Governor.
W. E. YibbetaEverett
[[12] [[마다] [[ր다] [[րt] [[рt] [[pt] [pt]

W. E. RichardsonSpokane E. J. BrownSeattle Congressmen.
D. Burgess Seattle, No. Dist:

Emil Herman Tacoma, So. Dist. The Seattle Socialists have at last R. F Warren Spokane, East Dist. in order to make of Seattle an un-Secretary of State. E. E. MartinBangor

(To be Filled.) Land Commissioner. Derringer Buckley sive.

PARTY MEETS

Presidential electors-Mrs. Anna L Monroe, Orofino; John T. Lough Lookout; Mrs. Grace E. Workman

Bolse.
Congressman—H. A. Barton, Coeur d'Aleue.
Governor—Ernest Untermann, Fior-

Lieutenant gövernor—John Chenoweth, of Middleton.
Supreme judge—Samnel H. Orr, idaho Falls.

Secretary of State—H. H. Fried-heim, Twin Falls. State treasurer—Mrs. Florence E.

State treasurer—Mrs. Florence E. Rigg, Rupert.
State auditor—Thomas J. Coonrod. Superintendent of public instruction

George W. Herrington, Kellogg, Attorney general—Louis, E. Work-man, Boise. State mining inspector—Wm. F.

Bradley, Boise.

The abovet icket was nominated at morning, afternoon and evening sessions and the delegates present numbered thirty. In addition to these, the session was attended by a large number of members of the party. There was a small attendance from the scottlers courted to the contract of the party. the southern counties due to the fact

that the journey here is both a long and an expensive one. The convention met at ten o'clock when committees were appointed and adjournment was taken till the after-Week

Week

Work

Work

Week

Week

Week tials committee showed the following delegates entitled to seats in the

vention, the local they represent also being given Wardner—G. W. Herrington. Wallace—D. C. Coates. Peter C.

Very Miller.
Peck—W. E. Ratcliffe.
Kippen—W. A. Harris.
Coeur d'Alene—Jay Rand Sanburn.
Russell—C. T. Monroe, Frank

Florence—J. G. Wanhope. Stites—T. C. Percefull. Moscow—Thomas Sullivan. Kooskia—B. L. Doyle, Frank P. Tur-

Clearwater—C. W. Perry.
DUBC W. F. Bradiey.
Lewiston—M. T. Hartnett.
Orefino—Walter Tone, W. H. Glea

on.

Nez Perce—C. S. Newkirk.

Twin Falls—A. L. Hiltbrunner.

Tahoe—E. D. Scott.

Harrison—W. L. Sommers.

Athol—Joe Napier.

Liberty, (Russell Ridge)—John Sen-

Melrose—J. T. Lough.
The committees on credentials and esolutions were as follows: resolutions were as follows:

Committee on credentials—J. T.
Lough, C. D. Scott, John Senter.
Resolutions and platform—D. C.
Coates, John Wanhope, Z. C. Scott,
B. L. Doyle, M. T. Hartnett, W. L.
Bradley, C. T. Monroe.
Secretary Coonrod made a report of the convention relative to the confi-

Miss Sargent a noted singer recently resolutions committee and during this

form. This report was adopted, it including also a resolution inviting the women to exercise the right of franchise granted them in Idaho and join in the work of the Socialist

party.

A recess was then taken to 7:30 o'clock in the evening.

The evening session of the convention was devoted to the work of nominating the ticket, after which a vote

of thanks was extended to the local members of the party for the ar-rangements made for the convention. Among the matters considered by the convention was a proposal to have the party organizations of this state, Oregon and Washington, achave the party organisation, acstate, Oregon and Washington, acquire "The Socialist," a paper devoted to Socialism and published in Seattle. The subject was presented to the convention here by Manager Ault of the paper, and was referred to the state executive committee.

E. B. A.

Take this talk about a sea wall for Seattle, not alone to protect against the plague by cleaning out rats' nests under old wharves, but for purposes of commerce and transhipment, and equalled Pacific port. It was the Socialist Party which proposed this improvement throughout the city cam-ment to the thousands of jobless men.

Sometime the Wage Workers of Se ty stands for everything which makes for human progress. Capitalism is retrogressive. Socialism is progres-

THE BLANKET STIFF did not reappear with the slump in protesting. There are mills with clean botels, decent accommodations, private rooms. If they did really expressible to force five millions of such men as these into a state is all that "Teddy" and his protege which took place in the mode of distribution. Competition has killed it. Now the stiff has found a job. It tribution. Competition has killed it. The series and produced the monopoly of the master on the wagethority of the master on the wagethere is only one thing she than the deputation of the capitalist system, and must result in its doom. The capitalist system, and must result in its doom. The capitalist system, and must result in its doom. The capitalist system, and must result in its doom. The capitalist system, and must result in its doom. The capitalist system, and must result in its doom. The capitalis

a bunk in the bunknoise and a matter of imitation ruled today by agreements. But where industrial in his vernacular, he proceeds to "roll oncentration has in a certain measure." Meals in camps are now every-where 25 cents straight. They reachfigures of the preceding panic. The stupid system of distribution. issioner of labor of the state of Washington is authority for the state prices today, but the blanket stiff in paid since the day these shacks were ment that during the whole of this camp is made to feel them most of built several hundred times the prices period the price of the necessities of all. For not only does he pay ille life rose faster than the price of labor gitimate profit to the retailers' com-

sponding to the average daily wage of \$2.50 for common labor has rethis panic and the men are still paying 25 cents a meal straight, now that the average price of common labor per day has dwindled to \$1.75. Why are we now paying boom prices and getting panic wages? The low prices of flour and farm produce which were general during the depression of 1893

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Nicely Furnished Rooms—Trace Solicited. Reems from 25c to \$1.00.

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SERVICE

MRS. G. B. PALMER, Prop.

ed that figure last year when common ated waste and given us the embryo perior accommodation, they want pro-labor came up to \$2.50 a day. This of the social mode of production of it on their investment and a second was the result of an increase which tomorrow, the agreements of the re-took place together with the increase tailers resulting in the high prices in wages and the recovery of the of today have not in the slightest deprice of labor power from the low gree improved our antiquated and

As a result we all feel the high bine, but he has also to pay a profit to his employer for boarding him.

Under the capitalistic system every activity is carried on for profit and mained stationary since the start of the more so when the man who car ries on a business can, as an employ er, oblige his employee to become a customer to his side-line-boardinghouse-busin is in order to obtain work

> All over Europe laws have been enacted prohibiting employers from paying wages in stores or saloons owner by them, hiring men in same, keep-ing stores, lodging or boarding houses in connection with their plants. The enforcement of these laws is very lax everywhere and too much has been expected from them. If they have in a few cases made the working man a little more independent, they have not done away with the fact that the W. S. Watt blanket stiff has got to pay a profit to the man that feeds him, be it his employer or some middle class board-

I have heard the fact that the em ployer makes a profit on the boarding of his men denied by a few sub contractors. They were generally would-be capitalists made to feel that they had no capital by the head con tractor who on the strength of the credit wanted by the sub, compelled him to order his groceries through him. For this socially useless inter The Oregon House ference in the distribution of food stuffs the head contractor claims a commission which often does away with the boarding profits of the petty

> Boarding their men for profit, it be comes the purpose of the rallroad, contractor or manufacturer to give the men the least amount possible for their money. Hence the disgraceful condition of our camps, their lack of drainage and ventilation, their filth and vermin, their foul smells and breeding of infectious germs. Has not the Pacific Construction Company rec ognized that the average yearly mor tality of its railroad camps is 25 per 1,000? How could it be otherwise in the absence of any kind of sanitary measures, Sanitation costs money, The man who sweeps the bunkhous does not labor in the cut and he has got to be paid anyhow. The same is busy burning rags, kitchen refuse and other kinds of garbage. What would become of profits? Are they not the primary aim of any industrial enter

> The health of the workingmen and profits are incompatibles. For profit the working class is poisoned by un

plying for his job. So the profit mill is run at full speed, the food has be ciallst Party, as the case may require. worse or scarcer, the kitcher staff has been reduced below the con ventional number of one assistant fo every 25 boarders. The overworked kitchen crews reduce the amount of food put on the tables and empty dishes are not refilled. I witnesse a typical scene in this line. There vas one set of dishes for twelve men in a camp. Not half of them had helped themselves when all dishes were empty. There was one walter for fifty men, so that more than hall the people had not made a start with their meal, when the other half were practically through. Then a refilled bread plate came back and before the waiter had time to put it down on the table so many hands had grabbed

"Princess Royal" leaves Seattle 10 p. m. for Vancouver direct, daily exempt Tuesday. Pier A. foot of Washington street.
"Princess Victoria" leaves Seattle as a. m. for Victoria and Vancouver. Both these splendid ships make connections with Canadian Pacific Transcontinental trains and offer the public such a steamship service as Puget Sound has never heretofore experienced. Canadian Pacific office, 609 First avenue. out of which he can emerge stronger and better prepared for the inter-course with other individuals. He is worse off than the tramp, for the vagrant can go in the deep silence of the woods, think, read and tell him-self stories, lie on his back and look Light Airy Rooms. Staam Heat, Chectric Light, Hot and Cold Water in Every Room. Free Bath. Special Inducements to Transients. Phone at the sky and not be disturbed. A lad. 1125.

to strengthen it by making my employer into a combination landlord.

grocer and boarding master.

But there are no philanthropic employers. Whenever they provide a superior accommodation, they want profreward because they offer something better than the general run.

man shacks providing a little privacy but for this slight advantage the blanket stiffs have in the shape of rents built several hundred times the price is cost to build them.

Who cannot, around the sound point to a mill or more where board and accommodations are a little better and wages 25 cents a day lower than the going rate.

mon fate of all wage-workers of be ing robbed of surplus value, we have seen the blanket stiff grafted upon by the employment agents and exploited by his employer acting as his boarding master. It is enough to get sick of the whole capitalistic system. But the blanket stiff cannot be sick, neither can he remain healthy without a new species of graft picking him out

But of the hospital graft I shall speak in my next article

On "Foreign" Comrades

Speaking Organizations to the National Convention of the Socialist Party.

Chicago, Ill., May, 1908.
To the Delegates of the Convention:
Comrades, we are not going to burden you with all the material which came before us for consideration. You have had enough of it these few days. We wish to state, however, that your Committee on the Relationship of Foreign Speaking Organizations to our Party consider them worthy of our time and labors. We must not forget that they are proletarians, suffering from the rule and oppression of the same master class, you and we who are assembled here suffer. Neither must we forget that they are the vicmust we forget that they are the vic-tims of the ward heelers and pros-titutes who sell themselves to blight the lives of millions of men, women and children by misleading those of the foreigners who have not tasted of the food of the Socialist philosophy. We have had before us Comrade Fraenckel, Cook County Secretary; Comrade Mor Kanfraen reseased

A thorough investigation into the affairs of the above named organiza-tions resulted in the unanimous conclusion that our Party pays more at

profits are incompatibles. For profit the working class is poisoned by un wholesome food and the blanket stiff made to eat grub that causes a permanent epidemic of diarrhea.

Since the start of the panic conditions have become worse, the unemployed market is well supplied, for every man who quits the camp as a matter of protest two others are apmatter. Same to be issued only by the

4. All foreign speaking organiza-tions affiliated with the Socialist Par-try must and shall conform in every respect with the Socialist Party na-tional, state and local constitutions, platforms and resolutions.

5. They should function only as

union, education and organic eaus of the Socialist Party. U. SOLOMON, Chairman, LOUIS GOAZIOU, ESTHER NIEMINEN,

At a "Boes" Dinner

Lothrop, Mont, May 30, 1908.

Editor, "The Socialist:" I am convinced that we are facing a terrible crisis, the most fateful and the most significant in the history of this world. Not many days ago I was asked to dine with some "boes" and I accepted the invitation. At that dinner in the jungles I met men of varied attainments. There were men of skill, men of training in the schools, men of travel.

The dinner was cooked in the many Lothrop, Mont, May 30, 1908.

this.

What do we have to offer just such men? We ought not to mock them as do the masters. These men admit that the theory of Socialism is all right. No one in that dinner company disputed with me about that, but they did tell me that they could not live upon mere theory, and I must confess that it seems to me that something more tangible is required. Will the Socialist Party give an answer?

D. BURGESS.

Editor's Note—These men can educate those who can vote. The Socialist Party demands abolition of such residence qualifications as prevent these men from voting. Any suggestion of mere mob resistance will only play into hands of capital.

For those who believe that the Social Revolution is not going on every day of the year, we want to announce a fact just happened in France, which in itself is a whole Revolution. The labor organizations of France, under the instigation, of Comrade Negre, the Socialist teacher who was dismissed by Premier Clemenceau for expounding his beliefs, have organized a congress at Lyons with the purpose of drawing up a resolution to form with the help of all labor organizations of France, schools for the proletarians's sons, which will be in opposition to the government public schools.

The society women of Honolulu will never attend a bail at which they are expected to dance with the Salt Meats.

For Scientific Socialism get "The Salt Meats.

For Scientific Socialism get "The Corner Fremont Ave. and Blewett St. Socialist."

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Figure 7.

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For Scientific Socialism

supervision of the labor organizations, and the program of the studies would be made up at the proletariat's suggestion, so that their children would be taught true history and good literature, class consciousness and modern economics, and thus be well armed for the struggles which they will undoubtedly have to take up later on. The course would be free, the labor organizations covering the expenses, and the teachers would be chosen among the Socialist comrades who have either been compelled to resign from the bourgeois civil service or among, those who think they can best serve the cause of the revolution in educating the coming generation. This will also stop the persecution of the will also stop the persecution of the teachers by the government, for the Socialist teachers will always be sure

Once more France has shown her wise foresight and daring enterprise in the domain of the revolution, and we heartlly wish that this idea will be carried out immediately.

E. J. LEWIS IN OREGON.

Dear Comrades: I begin to report, July 4th closed a week's meetings conducted under the auspices of The Dalles Local No. 14, with the assistance of Speaker E. J. Lewis, of Portland. The following

Lewis, of Portland. The following subjects were treated by Mr. Lewis in a masterly, lucid style possessed by probably not another speaker in the Socialist movement in America:

June 29, "Objections to Socialism":

June 30, "Prohibition—its economic base and its relation to Socialism";

July 1, "Evolution of Mankind"; July 2, "The Socialist movement"; July 3, "Organization"; July 4, 2:30 a. m., City Park, "Economic history of America."

Evening of July 4, the meetings were closed by our comrade, C. E.

were closed by our comrade, C. E. Sanders. The subject, "Why I am a Socialist," was handled in a masterly way that would be a credit to any one already identified as a public speaker, It was the comrade's initial attempt

By Bessy Fiset.

What does the active church worker gain by giving her energies and her money to the church? (I say her because, as a rule, men have sense enough to keep out of it!) There is only one thing she could possibly gain and that is a little bit of middle chass 'social prestige' that she probably would not have in any other way, and what she wants with that is more than I can tell.

As an institution the church stands and always has-stood, against the advancement of women and if ever

able them to occupy a home and have some of the comforts and luxuries of life. Some of them remarked to me: "We see men that vote have no better this device, but tehy are willing and jobs than those who do not vote." A man may vote and yet have to leave all that he holds dear and go in search of a master!" I could not deny this.

What do we have to offer the same and always has stood, against the advancement of women and if ever there is a division to be made favor able to one side or the other you can rest assured the church will decide in favor of the men every time. And yet today the churches are kept going by the energies of the women! I believe women dearly love to be hoodwinked and when they are being this.

hoodwinked and when they are being hoodwinked by some five thousand dollar, long haired, smoothed tongued species, their happiness is complete!—
Thinking women (for there must be some thinking women in the churches—it can't be that they are all intellectual nonentities) why hang on to a sinking ship—for pity's sake use tyour senses and look around you and get your bearings.

Take a week off from helping support some able bodied man who stands up every Sunday and tells you the same old thing week after week, the same old thing that you know lan't true, that he knows isn't true!
There is no one more generally use-There is no one more generally useful to a community than a doctor and yet do you run your legs off giving fairs and things to insure him a com fortable living? Do you build him

it would have suited me better if stand for something that gives your they had let me gone on and capturded the men who caused all those owners—they wanted to throw the blame for the outrage in some other direction."

PROLETARIAN EDUCATION.

I stand for something that gives your boys and girls a fair show, that holds out some chance for development—for very life itself! The time is coming, oh, so quickly, when you will be forced to decide one way or the other direction."

PROLETARIAN EDUCATION.

PROLETARIAN EDUCATION.

APPRECIATION.

Political liberty in Finland has be come a dead letter. A proclamation has been issued approved by the Czar giving the Imperial Council full power to pass on all legislation, thus abol-ishing all semblances of self-govern-

That stirring times are in store for Finland may be seen by the fact that Finland may be seen by the fact that General Seyn, the former right hand of the notorious Bobrikoff, has been appointed to the position of Governor General of Finland.

the Socialist members, who arose and left the hall in a body.

A general lock-out, more complete perhaps than any lock-out before in the history of the world, is being contemplated in Sweden.

On the ninth and tenth inst the employers' organization of Sweden held a general meeting at which it was decided to declare a general lock-out june 20th sagings all members of

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So far independently from the com

H. LANGEROCK.

Comrade Max Kaufman, representing the Jewish Agitation Bureau of the Socialist Party, Rochester, N. Y.; Comrade Smith, representing the Let-tish Local; Comrade Skala, in behalf

clusion that our Party pays more attention to the foreign speaking organizations.

We therefore recommend that all foreign organizations be recognized as party organizations, provided:

1. They are composed of Socialist Party members only.

2. Any foreign speaking organization having a national form of organization of its own be recognized only.

education and organization

T. HILTENEN, S. A. KNOPFNAGEL, Sec. of Com

of skill, men of training in the schools, men of travel.

The dinner was cooked in tin cans; we ate standing, and held our food in our fingers after the fashion of the "men of the cave."

These men have been mocked with the claim that there is work for all who desire to work, and they are taunted with the cry that none but incompetents are forced down into this abyas. As a result, these men have become resentful, and well they may be resentful.

At this dinner there were thirty assembled for the occasion and I have sat at table with more of display but less of real intelligence. I am not acquainted with thirty men in the middle class that have as high a degree of intelligence.

Every one of this dinner company is airong, vigorous, capable. They are but one of the numerous divisions of that vast army that has been turned out upon the highways because the capitalist class does not know how to

about political action, for they can take no part in politics—they are dis-franchised. They cannot toy with this device, but they are willing and ready fo act along lines that promise them some real, substantial results. They have no interest in mere trifies, They are looking for something vis-ible, tangible—something that will en-able them to occupy a home and have some of the comforts and luxuries of life. Some of them remarked to me:

CALLED OFF THE DOGS.

(From Grays Harbor Washingtonian.

June 6th, 1908.)

"For the purpose of trailing criminals and otherwise assisting the detection of law breakers, Dr. M. D. Wheeler of this city will import a pair of thoroughbred blood hounds. The officers of the county have been consulted with regard to the uses to which the dogs could be put and have signified their sanction of the plan. The dogs will be the private property of Dr. Wheeler, but will be at the disposal of the sheriff or police officers whenever needed.

"Dr. Wheeler is the man who handled the dogs in the Cripple Creek district in Colorado at the time the Independence depot was blown up remainded."

district in Colorado at the time the ment of all—where there is no race Independence depot was blown up resulting in the death of fourteen miners. At the time he was living in takes up his and her share and joythe district and owned a couple of blood hounds. In endeavoring to trace down the perpetrators of the outrage Dr. Wheeler was called upon and with his dogs went on the trail. "I could have landed the men who did that job, too," said the doctor yesterday, "but they called me off when the scent became too strong to suit the Mineowners. I got \$500.00 for the use of my dogs anyway, but it would have suited me better if stand for something that gives your they had let me gone on and capturboys and girls a fair show, that holds

France, schools for the proletarians' sons, which will be in opposition to the government public schools.

These schools would be under the supervision of the labor organizations, and the program of the studies would be made up at the schools.

o find an occupation.

THE CHURCH

home and keep it in repair?

No, a physician is at it day and night to keep his own roof over his family and usually has to wait longer than any one else for his money.

ment.

General of Finlahn.

At a recent session of the Russian Duma one of the Socialist members made an impassioned speech against the appropriation of money for the purpose of buying costly sacred paintings. After this speech the majority passed a motion excluding the speaker from the 15 following sessions. This caused a demonstration among the Socialist members, who arose and left the hall in a body.

sanders. The subject, "Why I am a socialist," was handled in a masterly way that would be a credit to any one already identified as a public speaker. It was the comrade's initial attempt in the contract between the country. The trouble began April 1st when the contract between the building trades and the master builders in week's features, but it will take something bigger than a phonograph to stop Lewis. Collections were good, and literature sales amounted to about \$12.00.

W. Al CRAWFORD.
The Dalles, Ore., July 5, 1908.

Remember, friends, "The Socialist" will give Five Dollars for the best answer to this question: "Why a Workingman's vote for Debs and Hanford is not 'thrown away." Not to exceed three hundred words.

Held a general meeting at which it was decided to declare a general lock-out June 20th against all members of out June 20th against a

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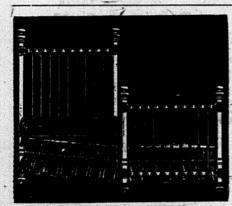
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UNTERMANN REPLIES Scores Wagenknecht and Osborne

June 23, 1908.

Dear Titus: Dear Titus:

"The Socialist" of June 13th has just reached me, with its interesting account of the personal impressions received by some of the Western delegates at the national cenvention. Some of these personal impressions refer, also, to me, among other comrades. They refer to me in such a way that the reader may overlook the triffing circumstance, that these references are merely personal impressions, not actual statements of fact. What I really am, and what some individual comrade thinks I am, are two What I really am, and what some individual comrade thicks I am, are two vastly different things. The reference of Comrades Wagenknecht and Osborne to my personality and my qualifications are mere personal assumptions based upon nothing but their own individual impressions of me after a few hastly glimpses of me, and yet they judge me in a way that tends to create the impression as though their personal ideas of me were undeniable and true statements of fact. Permit me to take exception to this hasty and misleading manner of scattering false statements concerning me broadcast among the

concerning me broadcast among the comrades who read "The Socialist." In comrade Wagenknecht's account, In comrade Wagenknecht's account, I take exception to the following passage, with which he begins his article: "The Washington comrades would have smiled much, had they had the chance to watch the work of the Credentials Committee in considering the Washington contest. The hidden attempt of some of the committee to play into the hands of Hutchison. Then the cowardly argument that both sides were right and ment that both sides were right and both wrong. Untermann proved that his place in the Garden ment that both sides were right and both wrong. Untermann proved that his place in the Socialist/movement was not with the organization work, for he showed utter ignorance in system and regularity. He surely has not received the drilling in local work that the average member should."

Comrade Wagenknecht here makes two assertions, for which he has no proof and can never furnish any proof. In his first assertion he charges me

In his first assertion he charge with secretly trying to play into the hands of Comrade Hutchison. In his second assertion he makes an offsecond assertion ne many train-hand statement concerning my trainnand statement concerning my train-ing in organization work, for which he cannot bring any other proof but his own unsupported opinion. His first assertion, namely, that I was secretly in league with Hutchi-

was secretly in league with Hutchison is a mere theory, growing out of the fact that I happen to have a different opinion of the merits of both sides to the Washington contest than Comrade Wagenknecht has. Only and nothing more. In Comrade Wagenknecht's superficial mind a man who differs with him is secretly in league with his opponents. The simple fact is, indeed, that I did not immediately champion Wagenknecht's his professions; and that the place for side without having heard both sides in sprofessions; and that the place for side, without having heard both sides to the controversy. And because I had the incredible temerity to listen impartially to both sides and question impartially to both sides and question both sides without any preconceived notion as to who was in the right, therefore Wagenknecht quickly arrives at the stupid conclusion that I secretly tried to help Hutchison, and as quickly and unthinkingly he spreads his shallow and false conclusion through the public press.

I came into the Credential committee without the least bias on either side. I tried honestly to bring out by my questions all the information from both sides, which should enable me to-understand the situation fhoffoughly. I was not satisfied merely to base my conclusions upon a constitution

my conclusions upon a constitution made by one side and often amended less not the only basis of party organ-If in need of anything ization, but also tried to find out what

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H. C. Bohlke

I am not in the habit of doing any secret or underhand work, or palming off my individual assumptions and animosities on the comrades as though they were actual facts outside of my own imagination. I am willing to leave that sort of procedure to Wagnets of the Hutchison wing, I should have done so openly. If I had thought that they were right, I should certainly have done so. How-H. C. Bohlke If I had thought that they were right, I should certainly have done so. Howfully into the merits of all claims made by either side as should have been done to decide the thing right.

played such an obvious part in this contest, shall have been modified by time and riper thought, a better settlement will inevitably be reached. Contrary to Comrade Wagenknecht's unwarranted assertion of my affiliations, I will content myself to state that I told both Hutchison and Tambiln, immediately after the convention had voted on the Washington contest, that I could not under any circumstances work with their wing, but should stand by the regularly accredited party in Washington.

About my training in organization work, Comrade Wagenknecht knows absolutely nothing. He merely attempts to discredit me personally, because I have done my work in a way that probed deeply into the claims of both sides, instead of taking his own self-interested point of view for the truth. I leave it to the judgment of the readers of "The Socialist," whether Wagenknecht does not need some

"drilling in the art of telling the truth." for it is evident that he has not received as much of that as "the average member should."

Comrade Osborne thinks that I am "the best scientific and revolutionary writer in the movement," but that I am "extremely utopian on all points of tactics." If I really were the scientific writer that his flattering allusion would imply then I could not be a utopian in tactics. And if I am actually a utopian in tactics, then I cannot be the best scientific writer in the American Socialist movement. There is a screw loose in this reas-There is a screw loose in this reas-oning of Comrade Osborne. Socialist science is not purely theoretical, but is a theory for the purpose of prac-tice. It includes tactics as well as

tice. It includes tactics as well as principles.

It might have been well for Comrade Osborne, if he had indicated just why and in what manner I am a utopian in practice, in spite of my admitian in practice, in spite of my admitted excellence as a scientific writer. I hope he will still do so. The discussion may bring out some points which will be useful to all of us, and I am willing to risk losing the good opinion willing to risk losing to reason why activities should not begin at once in every locality where there are three or more women to start on.

Committee on Woman's Work in State of Washington:

Mrs. Grace Lewis, 1311 No. 11th St., Tacoma.

Mrs. Fred Moore, care W. E. Bar-

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

EDITOR'S NOTE .- Comrade Unter mann only needs to investigate more thoroughly to learn that no one in the Socialist Party of Washington de-sires to keep out a single "convinced and sincere Socialist," But he knows that mere verbal acceptance of the tenets of Scientific Socialism does not ensure tactical correctness. Rather, ensure tactical correctness. Rather, correct tactics is better proof of correct theory. Anyhow, the Factics of Compromise and Fusion have never been tolerated in the Socialist Party of Washington and no one who has supported such tactics is counted a "sincere and convinced Socialist."

The dignity and authority of the or ganization are essential to its integ-rity as a Proletarian Party. Those who have repeatedly flouted its revo-lutionary tactics and thus disowned its revolutionary principles are a thou-sand times less harmful outside than

inside the party in Washington was never more solidly united than at present. Members of the so-called "Social Dem-

facts.

The Washington party has followed the common sense principle that a man is known by his deeds, whatever his professions; and that the place for professional kickers is on the outside, where they can do us no harm.

An organization is entitled to protect itself and must not be guided by any sentimental theories of what it

any sentimental theories of what it "ought" to do. It does what it must "ought" to do. It does what it must do in order to maintain its very ex-istence.

THE PICNIC

The First Annual Picnic of the So cialist Party of the State of Washington has passed into history. There were, as the advertisements

said, three Socialist Song Clubs on the ground, but as for the five theuwithout the help of the other side, a document, which, however important as a basis of party work, is neverthebeen one two many ciphers. Still, been one two many ciphers. Still, in every other way, the first social "function" of Washington Socialists, was really a very great success There were perhaps, too many things going on at once, the delegates were inclined to take the convention alto gether too seriously, and therefore left too early. Some of the Seattle comrades have not cultivated the bourgeois habit of shaking hands very much, for all these the picnic gave general satisfaction.

In the afternoon Emil Herman John McSlarrow, James Osborne and Dr. Titus each spoke for a few min-"The Glass Block,"

"The Glass Block,"

"The Glass Block,"

Cor 22d and MARKET.

Cor 22d and Market was done under great difficulties, since there was no time given us to discuss the question as it should have been discussed, and to probe as fully into the merits of all claims to make the provided much enthusiasm, revolutionary songs by the Finns and the fully into the merits of all claims to make the provided much enthusiasm, revolutionary songs by the Finns and the fully into the merits of all claims to make the provided much enthusiasm, revolutionary songs by the Finns and the fully into the merits of all claims to make the provided much enthusiasm, revolutionary songs by the Finns and the provided much enthusiasm. But he should have gone and made utes. Comrade Draper's Band Played Americans and the youngest revolutionists, a solo by Clarence Parks, a

thinky into the merits of all charges and the compact revolution the merits of all charges and the compact revolution to the merits of all charges and the compact revolution to the merits of the compact of the compac

If you're a workingman, get "The at

NEWS NOTES

The way in which the Washington State convention received and acted upon the resolution sent in by the women of Local Seattle was more than gratifying!

Owing to the luke-warm attifude the ward now woman's auxiliary on the

Owing to the luke-warm attitude toward one woman's auxiliary on the part of some of the men comrades with whom we had come in contact, we had reason to suppose that, upon presenting our claims to the convention, and asking for their co-operation, many of the delegates present would view it with disfavor. Instead of that the sentiment of the great majority was enthusiastically for the forwarding of women's propaganda throughout the State and, acting upon our suggestion, gave us a committee of five woman to work under the supersuggestion, gave us a committee of five women to work under the super vision of the State Executive Commit

tee.
The names and addresses of that committee are given below, and, we earnestly ask all comrades, either men or women, who are interested in starting a local agitation among women, to communicate with the member nearest them. It will probably be some little time before the committee in the context of the context workers with the reduction of the context of the context workers.

Facoma. Mrs. Fred Moore, care W. E. Barper, 1906 E. Sprague St., Spokane. Mrs. Roeder, care W. E. Tibbitts general delivery, Everett.

Mrs. Emil Herman, Centralia. Mrs. Bessy Fiset, 1918 42nd Ave. S. W., Seattle

The active workers in the Women's Socialist Educational Club were in-vited to attend a meeting of the committee having in charge

mittee haying in charge the active suffrage campaign of the Equal Suffrage Association.

This campaign started this week, and for the next three weeks a house to-house canvass will be made, in which they hope to reach every house in Seattle. Owing to party work, the Socialist women were unable to attend that meeting, so just what all their plans of campaign are I don't like place AND PIKE STREET. their plans of campaign are I don't their plans of campaign are 1 don't know. However, this much is true: there will be put forth every effort on the part of the suffragists to se-cure equal suffrage in the State of Washington, and it certainly behooves us Socialists—both men and women to acquaint as many women as we possibly can, with the principles of revolutionary Socialism.

The majority of women know nothing of Scientific Socialism, taking it for granted—as I did once—that So-cialism means reform, and it doesn't really make much difference how you -as long as you vote for the men that stand for the greatest amount of

But, however that may be, the fact is that great strides will be made for equal suffrage in this State during the next year, and when we think o how few active women workers we have and how lamentably lacking our movement has been, and even is, in regard to organized propaganda for

regard to organized propaganda for women, we are keenly aware that there is an immense amount of hard work ahead.

Apropos of the suffrage movement, the National Equal Shffrage Association is to have its convention in Seattle during the summer or 1909, and our old friend (?) Senator Borah is to be one of the "features."

The Young People's Socialis League put on its best bib and tucker and went on parade for the benefit of its friends at the Fourth of July picnic, and I can tell you we were all proud of them! Just wait until the

next State convention! Red flags, did you say? Well, I guess yes, and by that time they will sing all around any one who tries to compete with them, and will fairly take the roof any hall going.
Every time I think about that
League, I feel like shouting: "Three
cheers for the Young Socialists."

"EXPLOITATION."

Bliss, Ida., July 10, 1908.

The Rocialist, Seattle, Wash.
Dear Comrades:
Enchased find P. O. order for one dollar to renew, from No. 372. It is too blankety bad that Com I was desirous especially in having the Doctor in the convention

But he should have gone and made these facts known later or any time, and there is no question but that plenty of us would have chipped in to more than cover all expenses.

The Republican mayor of your city seems to appreciate the work the Socialists did in the municipal election.
Of course the Socialists will "play

Yours for the elimination of exploit

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ANARCHISM By GUSTAV BANG Translated from the Danish in "Social Demokraten"

by Arthur Jensen

4. THE PROPAGANDA BY THE DEED.

Conclusion.

In the preceding articles we have endeavored to gain a general knowledge of the Anarchist doctrines and their historical development. "The propaganda by the deed," however, has contributed far more than any doctrine towards the great and sad renown of Anarchism.

Although this method of propaganda is employed by but very few Anarchists, and although a great many within the Anarchist movement strongly disapprove of it it is nevertheless a natural outcome of all Anarchist

For when the state, with all other existing social institutions, is the absolute Evil, the devil in the paradise of humanity, so to speak, is it not just to attack it in every way and by every means, thus causing it all the trouble within one's power? And when the highest and only law is the unlimited liberty of the individual to act as he pleases, is the individual not justified in displaying his hatred and wrath against the injustice of society in any way he sees fit? And when he acts with the avowed purpose of combating the existing social order, in order to assist in its destruction and thereby in the providing of the new society with its absolute happiness and justice, is not every such act a beautiful and praiseworthy deed, regardless of how many innocent human lives it may cost and of how much unhappiness and suffering it may cause? If death on the gallows or in prison is awaiting the perpetrator, is this not the death of a martyr for a good cause?

ARGUMENT FOR THE "DEED."

The doctrine of the isolated individual's act of revolt against society was first formulated in 1869 by Netsjajef, a Russian, and one of Bakunin's agents, who was traversing Russia to secure followers for the Anarchist wing of the "International."

He rejected the thought of mass insurrection, in which the Anarchists hitherto had seen the universal means of overthrowing existing social conditions; the state, controlling the army, the police and the courts, would as a rule be in a position to suppress a rebellion without any difficulty and quell it in torrents of blood, and a doubly fearful tyranny would be the result. The rulers on the other hand would not be able to defend themselves against the scattered attempts of the single individuals. True, every man might get caught and made harmless after having performed his task, but his example would bring new fighters to the battlefield; unsuspected and unanticipated they would come forth in ever increasing numbers, armed with poison, dagger and fire, emerging from the darkness, spreading terror about them-fright and despair would seize the ranks of the rulers, they would vacillate, become irresolute and despondent and ultimately, in the general panic, society's walls would crum-

All thoughts of the Anarchist must be directed towards this goal, his whole life must be consecrated to the guerilla warfare against society, he must sacrifice his own self, renunciate all personal joy, all enjoyment, all family life and only think about the revolution. The revolution was his religion and he worshiped it with as blind a fanaticism as the one animating the oriental self-

GROWTH OF TERRORISM.

In the beginning this horrible doctrine gained but a small following amongst the Anarchists in Europe. It did not found a school until 1880, and it was in the beginning of the ninetles, that the great period characterized by individual acts of revolt began. It was a natural outgrowth of the development taking place in the dif-ferent Capitalist countries. About that time the Anarch-

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creasing numbers turned away from Anarchism and went over to Socialism. A general uprising was unthinkable with the small mutilated groups that were left; the general strike, the old, ever-present thought of the Anarchists, changed in the hands of the Social-Democracy onstration for the acquisition of certain political and civil rights, which to the mind of the Anarchist was mere trumpery. The isolated assassinations thus became the only means whereby Anarchism could manifest itself

"The propaganda by the deed" reached the height of its flowering during the earlier half of the nineties in Paris-after some Anarchist journals, supported by the treasury of the police department, had excited the minds of their followers; for here as everywhere was a close connection between the police and extreme reaction on one side, and the Anarchist camp on the other. In 1892 Ravachol's bomb exploded in a private house, the following year Vaillant threw his bomb in the chamber of deputies, the year after Henry committed the same deed in a very popular and much frequented cafe and at about the same time a great number of either wholly or partly unsuccessful attempts were made. In 1894, the propaganda by the deed commenced to take another direction. Instead of throwing bombs at random, planlessly, the weapons were being directed against royal personalities and prominent statesmen. In 1894 President Carnot of France was killed, in 1897 the Spanish statesman Canovas del Castillo, in 1898 the Austrian empress Elizabeth, in 1900 the Italian king Umberto and in 1901 the American president McKinley.

DECLINE OF TERRORISM.

Since then the individual acts of revolt have become less frequent—the complete fruitlessness of their efforts has gradually cooled the blood of most of the Anarchists and besides their ranks are in a state of fast advancing decay. Anarchist clubs are still found here and there, advocating the propaganda by the deed as the only means of regenerating humanity, and glorifying in every attack on existing legal conditions, as the just course by the individual against society; theft, fraud, and forgery are nothing but the isolated expropriations of a part of the riches which in fact belong to society, a forerunner of the great social expropriation. The professional criminal and the Anarchist thus coalesce in a remarkable manner through this insane logic.

CAUSE OF DECLINE.

The cause of the fast waning power of Anarchism lies in social evolution.

The Anarchist teachings germinate only where large remnants of pre-capitalist conditions still prevail, where a numerous and impoverished petty bourgeoisie forms the predominating stratum of the population and where the working class, about to be developed, has not yet evolved into the modern proletariat, but is still living in the traditions of the stage of handicraft.

That is the reason for the considerable growth of Anarchism in such countries as France, Spain, Italy, Austria and Russia—these are countries, which only recently have entered on the stage of Capitalism. That is also the reason that Anarchism has exercised so great an influence in a city like Paris; it is a city of the petty bourgeoisle, as but few other large cities, and it contains besides an extensive "Bohemia" of writers and artists, people who by birth and education belong to the bourgeoisie, and to whom the moral views of the proletariat are strange and unintelligible, but who in their blase existence need strong stimulants to keep up their spirits-Salon-Anarchism is as much a natural outgrowth of the degeneracy of the bourgeoisie as spiritualism, as satanism, as mysticism, as all the other spiritual distortions which in our days thrive so well within Capital-

SOCIALISM DISPLACES ANARCHISM.

But gradually, as the development of Capitalism advances, as organized industry and modern machinery of production gain territory, Anarchism more and more loses its significance. The workers become conscious of their position in society and turn their backs on all middle class propositions, in short, become Socialists. Anarchist doctrines no longer thrive in the working class.

Countries like Italy and Austria are typical of this transformation. About ten years ago the Social-Democracy was weak in both of these countries while the Anarchist philosophy dominated the great majority of the workers who at all occupied their minds with the social problem. Also in France, Holland and Russia is Anerchism strongly on the wane; only in the most backward countries, such as in Spain, can it still exercise any considerable influence.

ANARCHISM AS A FAD.

Only within circles belonging to the bourgeoisie is Anarchism enjoying an increasing growth, especially as a fad among persons of literary and artistic pursuits.

The very utopian character of Anarchism, which in the long run deprives it of all foothold within the proletariat, is instrumental in giving it access into the bourgeoisie. For this as well as any other class which sees its own dissolution before it, is apt to be inclined towards utopian dreaming. To clearly acknowledge the social evolution in which it is itself a factor, would be to acknowledge its coming ruin and it has not the courage to do this. Instead it creates ideas that to a certain extent will soothe its diseased mind and pacify its excited nerves.

While the proletariat is building its conception of the future society on the iron laws of historical evolution, the bourgeoisle and its retainers fumble with "human nature" as a basis on which to construct the ideal form

Just as the active industrial Capitalist uses the frailty of human nature in defending the existing social form, which permits him to live on the exploitation of the labor power of others-"man is of nature lazy and extravagant, and were it not for the lash of hunger, were it not for the deep chasm between rich and poor, and did not the Capitalist ownership of the means of production stand before the worker as an awe-inspiring power, the entire society would perish in penury and barbarism"-in the same manner the idealists who through environment either wholly or partly belong to the Capitalist and middle classes, but who nevertheless have seen the deformities of the present social order, in the same manner they utilize the absoltue perfection of human nature as a weapon against society, and as the basis on which future social life will adjust itself, and explain their action in about this manner: "Man is of nature equipped with none but good characteristics; it is oppression and tyranny alone which breeds base instincts and vulgar conduct; the entire present social life is pure Idiocy; just give human nature complete freedom of action and all injustice, all misery and all vice will disappear as by magic and the fullest possible measure of happiness and cul-

REAL HUMAN NATURE.

Both of these conceptions of the absolute human nature and both of the diametrically opposed consequences drawn from them; are equally false. Man is of nature neither a wretch nor an angel, he is, on the average, what social surroundings make him. Capitalist society has developed certain characteristics, Socialist society will develop other characteristics, nobler and higher characteristics, as truly as the Socialist form of society marks a higher stage in social evolution.

Ideal characteristics of human nature will not create an Anarchist society but a Socialist society will create a higher and more ideal human nature.

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"Notes" in this paper. Many comrades have ordered special bundles of the convention report. This delay of one week will enable others to get in their orders in time.

edings with care.

We give the new Platform and

was attended by Managing Editor
Ault and his report will also appear
next week. Ault is almost as much
identified with the Idaho party as
the Washington and his observations

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The Washington Convention took tended conventions and the poorest

n. But it went through

another memorable step in advance, can attend as well as the best off It put the party's finances on a per- So in this new proposition, 10 cents manent basis and a democratic basis monthly dues is added for purposes as well. It was like the decision of of organization. By this means the the Washington Party several years party will ensure a fund sufficient ago, when it set apart a "Delegate to do the business of organizing in Expense Fund" to bear the expenses an effective manner. All it adds to of the delegates to the Party Conven- our dues is one-third of a cent per tion. It was a bold move and met day and any member of the party with considerable conservative op who is unwilling to meet that cannot Then the National Party adopted to fight for.

Che Socialist

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