

*To Organize the Slaves  
of Capital to Vote Their  
Own Emancipation*

A political cartoon by J. J. Moore. It depicts a man in a top hat and suit, labeled 'LABOR', being crushed by a large, muscular arm labeled 'CAPITAL'. The man is screaming 'PANIC' and 'STARYATION' (sic). A speech bubble from the arm says 'SYMPATHY BOTH'.

Being ordered to drive the army of men away and disperse them, the soldiers opened fire while they were massed and literally mowed down the men. The latter had little opportunity to take cover, even though they had been armed, the attack upon them was so sudden.

This took place December 28 and was followed by two or three days of an oppressive gloom in the community, the striking miners and the generals of the killed were taking place.

A week later, as though by common agreement, the strikers went back to work without the expected advancement in wages. It was reported that the mine owners will voluntarily increase

## Roosevelt on Anarchy

WASHINGTON, Thursday, April 9.—In one of the shortest messages which he has yet transmitted to Congress, President Roosevelt today called the attention of that body to the necessity for further legislation on

"To the Senate and House of Representatives:

hand, the "Chicago Daily Socialist," the only Socialist daily in English in the country, in the second largest city on the continent, with immense opportunities for exposing vile conditions and presenting the ability and worth of the Socialist candidates, containing only the most meagre "news" stories of the election. Although a daily, it took up no local issues and was as dead appearing as it could well be. If there was ever an example of how a daily paper could be publish-

ed and not help the Socialist party in a campaign, that example was the Chicago daily during the last campaign.

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**THE CLASS-CONSCIOUS CAPITAL-**

plains itself. Under this opinion I hold that existing statutes give the President power to prohibit the postmaster-general from being used as an instrument in the commission of a crime, that is to prohibit the use of the mails for the advocacy of murder, arson and treason; and I shall set upon

son and treason, and I shall act upon such construction. Unquestionably, however, there should be further legislation by Congress in this matter. When compared with the suppression of anarchy, every other question sinks into insignificance. The anarchist is the enemy of humanity, the enemy of all mankind, and his is a deeper degree of criminality than any other.

An order was issued by the Pennsylvania railroad to discharge all foreigners and employ none but American citizens. It is suspected that the Pennsylvania railroad is going to take a hand in the coming Presidential election, and is preparing to give employment to men who can use their

ed Throughout Northwest

our shores if he is an anarchist; and no paper published here or abroad should be permitted circulation in this country if it propagates anarchistic opinions.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"The White House, April 9, 1908."

The most significant facts in this message are those which are emphasized in black letter.

The President says he will act and prohibit the use of the mails to such papers as "advocate the use of force," "treason" and "uncharitable opinions." He says he will act "as he may see fit."

Will the President and the Postmaster-General interpret the word "treason" as the Communist Party would, so, then a era of strenuous repression against the Communist Party and Nationally Roosevelt is in earnest and will "act" as he will in the future?

Will the President and the Postmaster-General interpret the word "treason" in the judgment of the President to include the Communist Party and Government like every other civilized state, is a Civil Government, an institution of the people, a Government of the people, a class, and that it should be captured and destroyed, and that it should be a class?

If Roosevelt would interpret the word "treason" in this suppressing scientific truth, things will certainly be done to suppress the Communist Party and the knowledge of facts.

That this is no idle fear is shown by the fact that the Communist Party Attorney-General Boudreau's opinion is that the President has the right to

# REFLECTION

clared at Treadwell  
Stay Away from  
DOWELL  
of  
MINERS' UNION, No. 109  
ation of Miners  
Secretary  
UGLAS, ALASKA, April 1st, 1908.  
y of our demands.  
tion is quiet.  
made a Bull Pen out of Tread-  
ome Italians come out of there.  
t might as a claim, not enough steam to  
will be running in a day or so.  
strike.  
come coming up.  
for Industrial Freedom.

"knowingly transmit matter which becomes and which they must know might be reasonably expected to be a cause of crime"

This puts it in the discretion of the postoffice authorities to decide what "matter" might be reasonably expected to become a cause of crime." If the Socialist Party is to be a workman, that he is robbed in the payment of wages, the postoffice officials may decide that such proof is likely to make that workman dissatisfied to such an extent that he will resort to a bomb at his employer or his employer's Pinkertons. Hence "the Socialist" will be denied the mails.

But we will wait and see what they really do mean.

\_\_\_\_\_

Congressmen raise their salaries from \$16 to \$24 per day, and that is called statesmanship. Workmen ask for a raise from \$2.50 to \$2.75 a day, and have to strike to get the demand; that is called anarchy.—Exchange.

ALASKA, MARCH 21, '08

to draw up resolutions, beg to submit  
WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.  
CONSTITUTE A DAY'S WORK IN AND  
ROUND TO BE \$3.50.  
AND HOSPITAL FEES TO THE COM-  
CONTROLLED FOR AND BY THE F  
OF MINERS.  
CLEARANCE SYSTEM BETWEEN  
NENT DEPARTMENTS.  
Respectfully Submitted,  
CHRIS PICKETT  
SAM KILBURN  
NEIL McDONALD  
Committee



# The Indestructibility of "The Socialist"

It is almost eight full years since this paper started. It has always been "The Workingman's Paper." Workingmen have owned it and run it; run it in their own interests and with no pretense of running it in anybody else's interest.

We believe that is the reason it has never been possible to kill "The Socialist," because it has stood for an indestructible cause. A hundred times it has seemed as if there was no way to escape destruction, but every time the comrades have come to the rescue. The very fact that "The Socialist" has never flinched from advocating a Proletarian Party has lost many subscribers. Many subscribers have ordered their "paper stopped," and many comrades with "money to burn" have indignantly or sadly declined to burn any of it for "The Socialist." We have cherished no ill feeling toward such disagreeing comrades, but we have never accommodated the policy of the paper to get a single dollar from anyone.

We have always depended and still depend upon those Proletarian comrades who are thoroughly proletarianized or deproletarianized, who have learned to think and live in the new Class-consciousness and who regard bourgeois ideals as outworn and unworthy.

To such comrades we make our present report. "The Socialist" is in better shape financially than it ever was in all its history of eight years. Under Comrade Ault's business management, the income of the paper and the income of the Job Printing office have steadily increased. Over a year ago the Trustee Printing Co. was organized to conduct "The Socialist." A small plant was secured at once, including a new and highest class job press. This first plant has now been practically all paid for.

The Toledo plant was added in the middle of the year; all first class material. Now at the beginning of 1908, a large Hoe Cylinder press has been put into our shop, capable of handling the largest paper periodicals, making it possible to get larger jobs of printing and saving the expense of paying some \$15 every week for press work.

We have in Comrade Al. Ball a most efficient pressman whose services made it possible for Comrade Ault to devote himself more exclusively to his specialty—artistic printing, and to the practical management of "The Socialist." Several other comrades co-operate in the office without pay and lighten the heavy work which rests upon the shoulders of the Managing Editor. The corps of devoted young men who now make "The Socialist" a success deserve every appreciation and encouragement.

The two things which operate as drawbacks to lighthearted work in this office are (1) some old obligations incurred last year before our advertisements were secured to make ends meet each week, and (2) the lack of two or three needed pieces of machinery, particularly a paper cutter and a stitcher. We have a large job now in the office from a prominent Labor Union which must be taken out to some other establishment for cutting, stitching and binding. If our comrades everywhere who believe in our Proletarian Policy will each do their part, we can supply these deficiencies right away.

Comrade Ault wishes us to apologize on his behalf that he has not been able to find time this week to make out the promised list of subscribers to the New Press Fund, but he assures you all it will be forthcoming next issue.

What we wish you could do for us is to take enough stock in the Trustee Printing Company to put us on Easy Street. That does not mean high salaries by any means. Not one of us gets or expects to get any more than the barest living. But we do want the office to meet weekly bills without the eternal embarrassment of dunning collectors.

Comrades who have never tried to conduct a Socialist newspaper can have no idea of the thousand patience-killing devices the Business Management must resort to. It's a wonder Ault does not swear like a pirate. Any less optimistic man would. What this appeal is written for is to solicit the supporting comrades to get a hustle on themselves and subscribe to \$500 worth of stock, so that every bill can be met promptly and machinery enough added to make life living for the office force and to render the shop really a paying business enterprise.

For years comrades feared "The Socialist" would go under. Every time any extra appeal was made, they hesitated for fear the paper would have to cease publication. But now no one has any such fears. On the contrary it is the common remark, "Nothing can kill 'The Socialist.' It has been through too many trials and always comes out stronger than ever."

Now, for the first time in our long years of struggle, we have a Plant of our Own and are actually more than paying expenses. All we want is to clear off a few small debts which hang about our necks and get a couple of necessary machines, and we shall finally stand on firm ground.

The best way to help us is to take stock in the Trustee Printing Company. This stock is now distributed among hundreds of comrades. "The Socialist" is really a "party-owned paper," in which a large number of party members have voice and vote than in those pretended party-owned papers which are really conducted by a very few comrades who are beyond the reach of the general party membership. The more widely this stock is distributed, the more will the comrades at large watch and control the policy of "The Socialist." If you cannot subscribe in cash down, you can pay in 10 or 12 monthly installments. Sit down at once and write a letter of encouragement to Erwin B. Ault, Box 1673, Seattle, Wash. We all call him "Harry" or "The Kid" here at home but you can call him anything you like if you only enclose enough to help him escape the collectors for good and all.

If you cannot subscribe for stock, you can certainly get and find a few subscribers for "The Socialist." A thousand new subscribers the next week would do just as well as \$500 worth of stock subscriptions. You see what kind of a paper we are giving you now—a-days. This is our second six-page number in a month. If you stay with us, we can soon handle a six- or even eight-page paper every week. The better our support, the better and larger paper we can give our subscribers.

## Crowd Scowled at Him

Land, Wash., March 26, 1908.  
Editor "The Socialist":  
It is most cheering to see how much most Americans hate anarchism. In the hotel at this place, some of the men were discussing Teddy's latest act of hostility towards anarchism, when one of the participants became excessively patriotic, asserting that he had at one time helped to hang an anarchist.

I suggested that he did not have the looks of a professional hangman, when he stared up at me, saying that he was not a professional, but that when a man would openly violate the law, and the law had been ready to vindicate the law, and that it was in vindication of the law that he had helped to hang a man in Minnesota.

I remarked that the man must have been found guilty by the proper court, but this defender of law scowled the idea, saying that the offense of which this man was guilty had been committed openly and that there could be no question of his guilt, and that it was not necessary to be at the expense of holding a court; that he and others had taken the law into their own hands and hung him until he was dead.

The crowd scowled at me, as much as if they said, "You talk like a socialist in this country, and I am sick of driving all of them into the sea."

To call such men anarchists with one and the same sense in which you use the term, would be to do great injustice to all who are called anarchists and so far superior to such beings as to be entitled to another designation which to be mentioned.

I observe that one of Teddy's worshippers says that he is always with the crowd, and it is not so much that this statement furnishes the only rational explanation of his hasty denials of anarchism in his treatment of the anarchist.

The President has clearly invaded the field of the judiciary and it remains to be seen whether this department of the government will be his invasion. In his haste to win, the President has set at naught law and precedent. In the sense in which the term anarchist is generally used, he has become an anarchist in his attitude towards the law.

When did lawlessness become a reasonable policy? But it is not a reasonable policy so that our strenuous president objects to, but only lawlessness on the part of a certain class of protesters.

His hasty action and the support it is getting from the press illustrates the existence of a hatred of liberty on the part of our officials and the so-called guardians. If their indignation is excited by lawlessness, there surely is no violation of law in Colorado to give vent to great volumes of indignation, but such a violation of law does not come from our rulers any protest; it is only when the official class is suspected of wanting to protect against protest that the official class sees danger of protest.

It is no such law exists then they will proceed without law, and such lawlessness is their part is hailed as the highest of a patriot, and we are asked to respect any such hypocrisy. It is just such acts that generate a distrust for law that promotes an essential injustice is not law in any sense of that term.

The President of the United States and his coadjutors are the real anarchists of today. If that term is to be used in its popular sense, it is used in the sense in which the Philosophical Anarchist uses it, the present of offenders would bring the blush of shame to the faces of honest Anarchists.

D. BURGESS.

Editor's Note.—We have no sympathy with any insane persecution of anarchists or any other. But Socialist papers cannot too often point out that bomb throwing is the natural outcome of the unscientific, telegraphic way of viewing human life practiced by the Anarchist, philosophic or revolutionary. And it is the Socialist's part now to let every one know how radically different is his scientific, social way of interpreting events which leads to social rather than individual remedies. In a word, class struggle is advocated and promoted by the Socialist as against solitary personal action, even artificial group action, which alone are left for the Anarchists.

Our sympathy for the Anarchist whose persecutions should never lead us to seem to assent to his anti-social principles.

Speaker:

G. Bertelli ..... \$ 30.00  
S. J. Clark ..... 115.00  
S. J. Clark ..... 5.00  
M. Glumac ..... 60.00  
M. A. Williams ..... 50.00  
J. M. Work ..... 100.00

By Thos. H. Lucas, Minneapolis.  
(All—America.)

Landless, it is of thee.  
Born to base slavery,  
Born to base slavery,  
Land where our brothers died,  
Press'd by the rich man's pride,  
Who while the world is wide,  
Barth's bounteous store.

My native country thee,  
Land where no poor are free,  
That name is thine,  
All thy deeds rock and rills,  
Thy woods and temples hilly,  
By unjust laws but fill,  
The rich man's purse.

Labor must make all laws,  
Rich men must rule no more,  
Oppressing man,  
Then shall the world be free,  
Then live true liberty,  
And man shall happy be,  
Forever more.

On labor, 'tis to thee,  
That man must look to be,  
Safe in his rights,  
Break an anarchy's spell,  
Join ye with heart and hand,  
Banish from the land,  
Foul jealousy.

## From National Office

J. G. Maatla, of Virginia, Minn., has been elected a member of the National Committee, and will leave 555 Cedar Ave., St. Paul, has been re-elected to the same position of the law that he had helped to hang a man in Minnesota.

The name of "The New York Worker" beginning Vol. XVIII, No. 1, is changed to "The New York Socialist," business office 239 E. 54th St., New York City.

The National Party Referendum proposed by Local Redlands, and first published in the Weekly Bulletin of December 28th, 1907, has been endorsed by Local Kearney, Grand Island, and Schuyler, Neb.

By a decision rendered by Judge King of the Civil District Court of Louisiana the obnoxious primary law previously reported has been declared unconstitutional. The initiative in the lawsuit upon the law was taken by the Republican Party, the case being listed as The Republican Party vs. The Secretary of State.

## NATIONAL SECRETARY'S FINANCIAL REPORT FOR THE MONTH OF MARCH, 1908.

Receipts.	
National dues from State Committees:	
Alabama	10.50
Arkansas	40.00
California	110.00
Colorado	10.00
Connecticut	5.00
Florida	9.00
Illinois	115.00
Indiana	61.50
Iowa	10.00
Kansas	80.00
Kentucky	10.00
Louisiana	10.00
Maine	11.00
Maryland	94.35
Massachusetts	46.20
Michigan	100.00
Minnesota	20.75
Missouri	20.75
Montana	20.75
New Hampshire	100.00
New Jersey	100.00
New York	150.00
North Dakota	100.00
Ohio	100.00
Oklahoma	81.50
Oregon	159.50
Pennsylvania	19.50
Rhode Island	6.00
South Dakota	20.00
Tennessee	20.00
Utah	20.00
Washington	61.85
West Virginia	118.10
Wisconsin	25.70
Wyoming	10.00
Unorganized States:	
Alaska	3.40
Delaware	2.00
Georgia	2.00
Hawaii	1.00
Nebraska	31.50
Nevada	15.30
New Mexico	41.50
North Carolina	18.10
Virginia	15.50
Members at large:	
Total for dues	\$2,175.50
Supplies	70.15
Literature	20.15
Buttons	20.00
Campaign Fund	1.04
Convention assessment	1.04
Subs. Daily Socialist	16.55
Miscellaneous	16.55
Total receipts	\$2,350.25
Expenditures.	
Exchange	2.55
General expenses	3.00
Express and freight	35.60
Postage	190.10
Telephone	14.88
Wages:	
W. W. R. Hill	120.00
F. H. Slick	72.00
E. E. Allen	72.00
C. J. Wright	72.00
A. L. Benedict	60.00
M. Fiskery	48.00
J. A. Gavin	48.00
M. H. Hudson	48.00
J. Cravatin	48.00
Printing Bulletin	\$244.00
Printing literature and supplies	413.20
Literature	18.56
Office equipment	69.60
Speakers:	
G. Bertelli	\$ 30.00
S. J. Clark	115.00
S. J. Clark	5.00
M. Glumac	60.00
M. A. Williams	50.00
J. M. Work	100.00

Seeds-Woolley, March 20, 31—	
Talked to some of the Woolley local members. Ault is affiliated with Provisional organization. All I talked with wanted to join regular organization. Billed Herman, Opera House, April 3. Organization fund, \$1.00. To return April 6th to talk to local to join regular organization.	
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The Young People's Socialist League of Chicago has received a communication from the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels, Belgium, commending the aims and objects of the League, and directing attention to the following resolution adopted by the International Congress held in Paris, 1900, and Stuttgart, 1907: "The Congress considers it to be the duty of the Socialist Party to draw the young people of the working class to the Socialist Party."

## Organizer's Report

Bothell, March 12, 14. Walked the rural routes, notifying Socialists of new meetings in Bothell. One baker's bakery. Secured eight members at large, the meeting in Bothell. One baker's bakery. Secured eight members at large, the meeting in Bothell.

Bothell, March 15. Got two members at large. Organization fund, \$30.00. Bothell, March 16. Got two members at large. Organization fund, \$30.00.

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## Idaho On the Job

Local Boise gets in \$10.50 for special stamps, and reports five new members.

Comrade Florence A. Riggs sends \$5.00 donation.

Local Mulligan sends \$10.50 for special stamps, and reports five new members.

C. C. Harvey of Harrisonburg sends reports and dues for Local Woodland.

Local Idaho Falls sends \$12.25 and reinstates. Good for them.

M. T. Hartnett, et al. sends \$10.50 donation from Lewiston.

Comrade H. H. Haire of Idaho Falls sends \$3.00 donation.

J. E. Murphy of Middleton writes: "I am in some new members every meeting."

Comrade Farrell orders some "Why Socialists Pay Dues," and reports: "I find a lot of 'would-be Socialists,' who are not paying dues. Now I expect to wake those 'dead-heads' up."

Comrade John M. Work has reported for seven meetings and sent in three reinstatements of locals, two new local applications for charters, one application for membership at large, and several applications for membership in locals. Let the good work go on.

B. B. Barnes of Challis writes: "Enclosed you will please find the names of nine 'Undesirable Citizens' with money order. We would like charter. I feel confident we will have 25 or 40 members as soon as we get 'kicked up right.'"

I suggest that you send in for the Special Stamp, \$35 each, and I can get them from national office for you too late for me to send them now. "Better late than never." Am sure all will want one. I would fast a Red Book.

Here is Comrades Harder and Chenoweth of Kootenai, with application for charter for local Clear Lake. "We drove out with the object in view of organizing local members. We hope and rely of Florence being present, and say, as Washburn was loaded with the music and ready to hear, car and working men with capitalist minds, we had what you can justly term one hell—seven I mean, of a time. It was worth more than ten years of capitalist rule. I think it was the best appearance I think it was the best appearance."

For property alone Law was made. —Macaulay.

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## Various Odds and Ends

Comrade W. E. Best, Bay City, Michigan, is with us this week, and very much impressed with the good work the Socialists of Seattle are doing. He is going to be a time candidate for the office of Auditor General on the Socialist Party ticket, as well as State Commissioner.

Read not to contradict and compare, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find fault and discourse, but to weigh and consider.—Bacon.

The monthly "Socialist Party Official Bulletin" has an advertisement of Carl D. Thompson's book, just out, called "The Constructive Program of Socialism." This book is supposed to deal with the practical measures advocated by the Socialists in office in various countries but is in reality a specious plea for the adoption of opportunist tactics by the National Socialist Party. The advertisement in the official bulletin of the party is a matter of small moment and should be looked into. There should be some method of securing the character of the literature handled by the National office, and of the character of the literature, clear, clean, and revolutionary.

Better job printing than you can get elsewhere at the Trustee Printing Company office. Patronize your own class press and see the results in the improvement of "The Socialist."

Men of Labor, heirs of glory, Heroes of unwritten story, Rise like lions after slumber! In unvanquishable number! Make your chains to earth like dew Which in sleep had fall'n on you: Ye are many—they are few! —Shelley.

SLAVES WANT WORK. Three hundred men in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, driven to desperation by hunger, fought for jobs at the Cuyahoga plant of the American Steel and Wire Company, which had advertised for laborers. One man was fatally shot. And still it is called the "late" panic.

CAPITALIST MORALITY. "Now," said the manager of the gas company, who was questioning an applicant for the job of gas meter reader, "I want it understood that we don't tolerate drinking in our employees. 'No, sir, I can't drink, sir, one drink always makes me see double.' 'Well, one drink might make you take one drink each day before you start to inspect the meters.'—The Leatherworkers' Journal.

BREWERY WORKERS VICTORIOUS. The lockout and strike of the brewery workers of St. Louis is settled, the brewery workers coming out of the struggle victorious. Thirty-five hundred brewers were benefited by the victory.

## Pike Street

OUR NUMBER IS 723 Near Eighth Ave.

Crush Roses The finest quality of muslin; all colors 25c

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to 47. It condemned the senate its cringing attitude towards Russia especially for the extradition to Russian government of terrorists political fugitives, and its lack of interest in withstanding Russia's encroachment on the rights of Finland. A senate was demanded discharged before its members in defence of

an Cafe  
SEATTLE

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# THE WORKING CLASS

By TOM SLADDEN  
A Reply to John M. Work

In the "Communist Manifesto" we get this definition of the Working Class:

"In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the Modern Working Class developed, a class of laborers, who live only so long as they find work and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital. These laborers who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are constantly exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market."

This is Marx's definition of the Working Class.

Next let us take another paragraph or two from the "Manifesto."

"The lower strata of the middle-class—the small tradesmen, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population."

Again he says: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the race of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so, only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interest; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat."

## "The Capitalist Farmer"

On page 518 of the "Kerr" edition of "Capital," Vol. I, Chapter XXXIX, "Genesis of the Capitalist Farmer," we find Marx's analysis of the tenant farmer.

He says in part: "In England the first form of the farmer is the bailiff, himself a serf. His position is similar to the old Roman villanus, only in a more limited sphere of action. During the second half of the fourteenth century he is replaced by a farmer, whom the landlord provides with seed and implements. His condition is not very different from that of the peasant. Only he exploits more wage labor. Soon he becomes a metayer, a half farmer. He advances one part of the agricultural stock, the landlord the other. The two divide the total product in proportions determined by contract. This form quickly disappears in England, to give place to the farmer proper, who makes his own capital by breeding by employing wage laborers, and pays a part of the surplus product in money, or in kind, to the landlord as rent."

## Some Conclusions

Now let us see where we have arrived in our conclusions if Marxian economics amount to anything.

1. The Working Class is composed of wage workers and wage workers only.
2. That only the unskilled mechanic (in general) is really revolutionary. He alone is defined as the "proletariat."

Marx plainly states this when he places the artisan, the handicraftsmen, the peasant in the "Lower Middle Class." This would explain the conservative tendencies of many of the skilled tradesmen. The real revolutionist is he who has nothing to lose, no interest to conserve.

3. That even the tenant farmer was never considered by Marx as in the Working Class but in the Capitalist Class.

But some might ask: Why dwell upon these things? I would answer: simply to show the tendency, that appears to be gaining ground in the Socialist Party, to hide these truths and to teach in their place pretended Marxian economics which are in reality a bastard populism.

## Work's Letter to Hillquit

I have in mind the letter of Communist Work in his answer to Comrade Hillquit. I believe that the Socialist paper which holds aloft as such a time as this is false to its trust as an exponent of the politics of the proletariat wage slave. I believe that the Socialist who holds an honorary position in the party and who refuses to come out and let every one know where he stands when such reactionary "teachings" are being spread broadcast through the country in the name of Socialism, dishonors the position he holds and betrays the trust of his fellow workers.

Mr. Work in his answer to Comrade Hillquit states: "I believe that Comrade Hillquit has never been a field worker. If he had he would realize the need of a platform that could be understood. Time after time it has been asked for a copy of our National Platform and have been forced to apologize for its abstruseness and incomprehensibility, knowing it would not convey any definite impression to the reader's mind."

And yet in that platform for which Mr. Work was forced to apologize was this statement: "Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be the property of common owned and administered."

And do not think that Mr. Work would have the hardihood to maintain that the people in common do not depend upon getting enough to eat.

I think the following statements of Joseph Dietzgen will answer Mr. Work and all who are seeking a definite answer.

## Sladden Quotes Dietzgen

"Where do we come, whence the world, and where are both going to? What is the meaning of existence, of our sentiments and of the natural phenomena? This asks man, and man is a great questioner—that is, a great fool. As the proverb has it, one tool can ask more questions than ten wise men can answer. Yet that question is the cardinal question which has been and will be put by all men at all times. Foolish is the only form in which the question was put, first by religion and then by the progressists, also called philosophers. They questioned in a hazy, general way and—only the fool waits for reply."

A reply, a clear, rational and positive reply, can only be expected when we specialists after the manner of the "scientific" sciences. We can only get at the whole by means of its parts; the universe can only be understood by climbing up, as it were, its particular forms; we can only reach the general through the special. One must first ask, where do I personally come from? Whence my father and grandfather? What is the eye? What is the ear? What function have the liver and kidneys to perform?

To such questions science replies in a definite and exhaustive manner. Botany deals with trees and shrubs and herbs. Astronomy with stars. The "great question" thus split up, specialized and reasonably formulated, can be reasonably and scientifically answered. If, however, such a question does not satisfy the inquisitive student, if there still remains something obscure and unexplained, we have none the less the advantage over religion and philosophy, that we know the method by which we may proceed with our questioning and searching for a reply, and we need not foolishly wait, believe, hope and speculate.

## No "Hazy Generalities"

Thus, the "method" is pointed out to us to be the distinguishing mark between philosophy and the special branches of science. Now, the speculative method of philosophy is nothing but a stupid questioning and philosophizing, having no material to work upon, tries to evolve his speculative wisdom from his head like the spider its web by its threads. Nay, the philosopher even goes further than that, he refuses all material and given premises. His philosophic fabric has thus less of a real connection than the cobwebs of the spider.

We greatly underestimate the bad effects of this abuse of method if we assume that it does no harm to practical life because it is looked up in those learned works which only few people care for. Those learned books but the most palpable collection of a wide-spread poison which humanity has been infected from the beginning, and from which it is still suffering. An instructive example was given lately by the learned Professor Biedermann in Leipzig in his controversy with the workmen. He wanted the Socialists "to give him instead of vague and indefinite suggestions, a clear picture of how the future society must be organized and according to their demands shall be built up; especially as to its practical consequences."

## Socialists Not Idealists

Before giving Biedermann a rational answer to teach him how to put a question rationally. He is not acquainted with the theory or science of cognition. Therefore he falls completely to recognize our ways. We are not idealists who dream about the conditions of a future society "as they must be and ought to be." When we are trying to think about the future society "as they must be and ought to be," when we are trying to think about the future society, first proceed from the materials at hand. We think as materialists. "God Almighty" had the Universe in his head before he made it; his ideas were sovereign and had no need to take notice of realities. This superstition of the sovereignty of the idea is still rooted in the heads of the philosophers; from it proceeds that demand that we should first project an elaborate picture in all its details of the future society, before attacking and "destroying" the present. The old Socialists, Fourier, Cabet, etc., and all that mistake and we are therefore told to take an example from them.

Herr Biedermann fails to understand us and our ways and our cause. We don't deal with the future not in the way the speculative philosophers do; we deal with it as practical men. We don't build castles in the air and don't have the children say that they are hatched. It is surely foolish to go into business without any forethought and plan, but it is still more foolish and quite after the manner of the idealistic philosopher to reserve to oneself liberty of action with regard to the special conditions as soon as they are at hand—it is like a person who intends to deal in cotton prints and is quite in a hurry to project its stellar and flowery figures which might please the customers while he knows neither the customers nor their tastes.

We have seen surely a general conception of the constitution of the future society, but we leave its details to the times and circumstances when that conception will have to be realized.

## No Particulars Beforehand

Our opponents are undoubtedly entitled to demand from us a clear statement of principle, but they can not reasonably demand the particular beforehand. They must be ready for the Socialist legislators who in their time will have to frame bills for the legislative bodies. And history bears out this statement: What leader of the bourgeoisie when fighting against feudalism would have been able to describe all those different and multifarious institutions of bourgeois society, as lawyers, notaries, mortgages, bills of exchange, shares, police and a hundred other things which capitalism has brought in its train? The leaders of the bourgeois

movement of freedom of trade and commerce didn't trouble themselves with particular projects, they simply demanded from their aristocratic oppressors "the Rights of Man," and they left meanwhile the question of particulars unanswered. They reserved for themselves liberty of action to meet events as circumstances required.

Take care of the principles and the details will take care of themselves, and circumstances will bring them out with unfailing certainty. Thus acted the leaders of the bourgeoisie. They refused to weave without material thread. And what all practical men of the past have done instinctively, we Social Democrats are doing with a clear consciousness given to us by the scientific method of cognition.

## "Capitalist Silk Worms"

We, too, demand the restoration of our human rights and demand our socially due proportion of the products of labor. This wish and will of ours is no idle speculation, but the natural outcome of our present material wants. And so is the communist economy quite in harmony with the nature of the present social system; it must come; its materials are being produced and multiplied daily. The capitalists are the real silk worms. As soon as their silk in the shape of accumulated productive means is spun by the wage workers, we shall know to take it in hand and weave it. The premonitory question about the future "When, Where and How," need not trouble us, it is indeed an idle "philosophic" speculation.

## Not "Idle Speculators"

Our platform demands from society by means of the general duty to work the satisfaction of all human needs. Our opponents want us to elaborate clearly the "practical consequences" of that idea. They don't like our negative and critical attitude. We should build up and show "how it could be done"—of course, not in a serious, not in a palpable and practical way, but on paper, by means of harmless theories and ideal descriptions. They fail to recognize that our method is not purely idealistic. In our real work we use our brains after the manner of science and not of idle speculators. As to the roots of the existing state, and before all, bring down the tallest and mightiest. But this radical cutting work we must not do. We should construct the future society in spirit only, in theory. And yet they want us to do this theoretical work in an exact and scientific way. Well, let us first critically assort the material on hand. However, the "negation" of the unit is inseparably connected with the construction of the better. Criticism of the present is the indispensable condition of "improvement."

## "Equitable and Democratic Way"

That work on a small scale is not profitable and that private property on a large scale exploits the workmen, is an empirical fact; it is won experimentally by induction and did not fall into our heads from the nebulous region of hazy generalities. From this we deduce, as a "practical conclusion," the demand for co-operative work on a rational and communal scale.

Since Adam Smith and even earlier, it is acknowledged that labor, when applied to nature which is obviously nobody's property, is the creator of all capital and rent and profit. That labor is not carried out in a private way, but that it is divided among the members of society, is as much a truism as the phrase "division of labor." That the division of labor as practiced today, is not carried out in a systematic manner, but that it is more a matter of chance which produces a glut in some articles and scarcity in other articles of the market; moreover, that the division of the products defies all justice and humanity, are bare facts which do not admit of any doubt. From all that we draw the "practical conclusion" that it is in the interest of the community to abolish private property of the soil and to transfer all the means of production, created by labor, into the possession of the community, which

will share out the duty and the rights, the labor and the produce of labor, in an equitable and democratic way, among all its members, according to social needs and irrespective of individual whims.

## Special Questions Untimely

The special questions as to the time, means and method of the transformation, whether it should be done by means of a secret treaty with Bismarck, or by a petition to Parliament, or by a barricade fight in Paris, or by female sabotage in England—all such considerations are extravagant, untimely and foolish. We hold our time and the material which must be submitted to our understanding before we can rationally think the matter out. Our cause is getting clearer every day, and the people are daily becoming more enlightened.

Constant propaganda, the removal of the prejudices of the public, untiring criticism, will effect much more than all speculation about the future of society. My general outline is given in an unmistakable manner by the present actual nature of things. The determination of its special forms and details must be left to the enquiry of future times.

The earth is wide, the sun warm, the soil fertile and the arms of the people are now strong enough to satisfy all reasonable needs of the masses, be they three times as numerous as at present. But men like Biedermann are in doubt if we have enough brains to be able to divide fairly the plentiful products of labor. He is so miserably anxious to know "whether all members will have the same claim to a share of the produce;" that is, whether all working men will have only five bread for breakfast, or whether professional work will be rewarded with an extra roll of white flour. I am not used to think much of personal dignity, but such questions I think unworthy of a Social Democratic philosopher, because its solution rests with the social needs of the future community.

## "One Partner, One Product"

Biedermann speaks of "all partners of a labor product." But rightly conceived there is only one partner, the working people; and only one product, the working people's product. Only from this social point of view is it possible to conceive of a just distribution, while the conception of different rights and privileges to their different products, leads only to confusion and serves only those who wish to fish in troubled waters. It is not good for man to be alone, says the Bible. It is likewise not good that he should work alone. The individual as well as the small societies should join the whole. Looked at from the standpoint of the whole the solution of the problem of the future society is a clear emergence from general principles the "practical consequences" will follow in the right time and with the help of inductive enquiry quite rationally.

## Slavery Under Socialism

But what about forced labor—"the limitation of one's liberty does not agree with the ideal state."

Well, should we evolve the conceptions of liberty and ideal in a phantasmagoric way out of the pure nothingness as the German professors do, then, of course, they would not agree with one another. We, however, do not seek in metaphysics for freedom, neither do we look for it in the salvation of the soul from the prison of the body, but in the adequate satisfaction of our material and intellectual needs which are all of them personal and bodily felt. Compulsion to labor is, properly speaking, a law of Nature and is only experienced as a limitation of our personal freedom so long as it is not in accordance with our desire to work, or when we deprive us of the produce of our labor. Does the well-paid official consider his prescribed service as a "limitation of his personal freedom?"

## First Organize

No doubt the adequate satisfaction of all national needs through society, that is, the social-democratic organization of economics, is a big problem. Such problems are not solved by any individual personality, but by history, by social evolution. And it is perilous to try to force them before any person, no matter how ingenious, for so-

lution. We go to work in a practical manner, and the first thing is to organize the workmen, teach them how to defend their own interests and to overcome their powerful and numerous opponents; at first symbolically, by logical arguments, and if they prove themselves impervious to all logic and persist in their actions against all morality that is born of and bound by the facts of social necessity, and the analogous or different things, then with the mailed fist.

Yet we need not fear that it will come to that. (We gain daily in numbers, we gain in power and prestige. As soon as the demoralized rulers will see the signs of the times and come to know our power they will court us and make friends. These people are not "barbarians" they would like to appear."

## Work's Fallacies Exposed

Now some readers may ask, why take this long dissertation of Joseph Dietzgen. Well, simply for this reason: the name of Biedermann is given in an unmistakable manner by the present actual nature of things. The determination of its special forms and details must be left to the enquiry of future times.

Why can not Mr. Work understand our platform? What he means is, he does not want to understand it. He wants a platform which will say: "You can keep your land, you can keep your one-horse stores, you can hire laborers and we will see that you and not 'the trusts, the railroads and other great industries' get away with the spoils."

He says: "the farmers are justly suspicious of us." Yes, any farmer who is not a Socialist has good reasons to be suspicious of our platform which specifically declares for co-operative in place of individual industry.

"We have allowed them to infer that we are going to confiscate the results of their exorbitant toll."

"When did the exorbitant toll of any man ever create one inch of land or a drop of water? Land is a natural resource. A co-operative commonwealth in which every individual was an equal shareholder would be a far better investment than a paper title to 160 acres of land under capitalism. If the farmer will not accept those terms then he is no Socialist."

The only Socialist that I ever heard of intends to abolish the individual right of capitalist private property, and farm lands would fall under that category. I should think that an assumption of the kind would play any suspicion any farmer might have and would be "specific" enough to suit the tastes of the most inquisitive.

## Working Class Farmers

Again Mr. Work says: "When I cater to the farmers I am not catering to the middle class. The farmers belong to the Working Class." Well, if that is true, Karl Marx had or Mr. Work has a screw loose; and along

with Marx, Engels, Lassalle, LaFargue, Dietzgen, Rebel and every class of the workingmen, teach them that I have ever read. If a farmer is in the Working Class, as John D. Rockefeller—both work.

## Work Repudiates Pledge

Again Mr. Work says: "It is the parties of the Capitalist Class rather than of the proletariat class we must oppose." There is a clarity, a distinctness with a difference. Mr. Work is preaching that, then he is untrue to the obligations he took to the party. In joining the Socialist Party he subscribed to the following principle: "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 proletariat classes, hereby declare that I have severed my relations with all parties; that I endorse the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party, and hereby apply for admission to membership in said party."

## Populist Reaction

In one short sentence he repudiates the whole thing.

Whatever anyone else might think, for one would as soon be a member of the Holy-Rollers as of such a party as Mr. Work proposes. This is not a question of Mr. Work alone. This is a question of which attacks the Socialist movement in the United States to its very foundation. John M. Work is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and a National Organizer for the Party. He is a personification of Opportunism, demoralization on a large scale. Opportunism is a much misunderstood word. He is not an Opportunist who seeks votes for his party or recruits for the movement, but he uses the words to make the principles of his party fit the interests of others than the Wage Working Class.

If the Socialist Party can not check this tendency toward populist reaction, then the Socialist Party as a party of the Working Class is doomed to a sudden and spectacular finish. Socialism is not a party of the middle class, it is the embodiment of the Wage Working Class principle and interest.

Work says: "We must ally the suspicion of the farmers; it is the Movement of the capitalist class rather than of the proletariat class we must oppose; Socialism will free religion."

I would repeat with Marx in the "Manifesto":

"Christian Socialism is but the Holy Water with which the priest consecrates the heart burnings of the ascetic."

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist Revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. WORKMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

THOS. SLADDEN.

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