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# The Socialist

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Eighth Year—No. 376

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## BLACKGUARD VS. BLACKSMITH— "OREGONIAN" ATTACKS AGITATORS

## CONVENTION NOTES

### Tom Sladden Answers "Oregonian"— Mix-Up of Editors, Agitators, Single- Taxers and Socialists—Peppery Piece of Prose and Poetry

Last Saturday, May 16th, Tom Sladden had an innocent looking letter printed in "The Oregonian," the ablest daily on the Pacific Coast, if it is printed in Portland. Harvey Scott, the veteran editor, has old fashioned notions about fair play and free discussion and he gives a man like Sladden, who always has something to say, a chance to say it, even if he is a Socialist and a blacksmith.

So Sladden had his letter printed on Saturday. But Editor Scott must have been absent for on Sunday morning, May 17, the leading editorial in "The Oregonian," entitled "Property and Rights," was such an indecent assault on Sladden in particular and Socialists and agitators in general, as to merit the epithet, Blackguard.

But Tom Sladden was not silenced, as his answer on this page will show.

The entire controversy is so illuminating and readable that we give a whole page to it.

Let the reader judge who comes out first best, the Blackguard Editor or the Blacksmith Socialist.

### SLADDEN'S LETTER

(Printed in "The Oregonian," Saturday, May 16.)

PORTLAND, May 14.—(To the Editor.)—I start with the assumption that all will possibly admit that a tax was certain sum assessed against tangible wealth for purposes of government and that government was the administration of public affairs.

From these two definitions I arrive at the conclusion that there must be something to base that tax upon, and something to benefit by the administration of public affairs. Without the institution of private property, taxes would be an absurdity and government inconceivable.

Who needs a government must necessarily pay the expense of that government. Governments are instituted in the interest of property and property alone.

Starting at the top of the list with one who has accumulated the greatest amount of material wealth, and coming straight down, I find that the person who had the greatest amount of material wealth needed the most protection from a government, while the person who had absolutely none would see in government simply a restrictive agency. Consequently, any system of taxation which could be regarded as a just system—and it is only a person who has private property who is at all interested in a tax question, except of course as to amount and how it shall be spent—must necessarily be based on market values of different forms of property, on tangible evidences of wealth. The person who has nothing, needs no law to protect that nothing.

But as individuals accumulate wealth, each one seeks to avoid paying his pro rata for the protection of that wealth, and schemes to place the burden on other people's shoulders. Thus is single tax born.

#### "SINGLE TAX" AND THE FARMER.

The single tax advocate would place all taxes on unimproved and non-productive property, but he fails to tell you where he would place the tax after they had confiscated all land not in actual use, for it necessarily implies that if all taxes are placed upon unimproved property this practically amounts to confiscation if carried to the fullest extent.

Let me see what would result to the farmer. The farmer is primarily a man who owns and tills his own soil. At least the ideal farmer of the story-book and the political platform is he who is independent and has his own piece of land, of whatever size, un-mortgaged and clear. That farm is worth a certain amount stated in dollars and cents, and that farm, all other things being equal, is worth just exactly as much as an unimproved piece of land next door to it, plus the value of the improvements that have been placed upon it.

Thus, if I had a farm which would bring in the market under ordinary circumstances, \$5,000, and an unimproved piece of land adjoining would bring in the same market \$3,000, it would necessarily imply that the value of my improvements was \$2,000. Now, it does not make a particle of difference what law is passed, if it lowers the value of that unimproved land from \$3,000 to \$2,000, it lowers the value of mine from \$5,000 to \$4,000. And yet the single tax dodger goes directly to those property-owners and asks them to vote the value off their

own property, and quite likely many will swallow the bait.

The same thing holds good with city real estate. Nominal values are only relative and can be determined only by comparison with something else.

#### BACK TO THE LAND.

It is held by the single tax advocates that vast holdings of unimproved land prevent the people from going back to the soil. Back to the land is their cry. Nothing could be more absurd. The migration from the land was not caused by fences. The number of people who can and will be supported by the tillage of the soil is determined not by cost or prices of land, but by the amount of labor actually required upon the land to satisfy the purchasing ability of a nation. When more people are engaged in agricultural enterprises than are necessary to supply the market with its food supply, then as a necessity the market prices of agricultural products must fall until the surplus population is driven off the land, even though that land were as free as air.

It was not the desire to live in cities or the change in ideals or theories that drove the people from the land to the industrial centers, but it was the improvements in farm machinery which increased the productive ability of farm labor and rendered a certain amount of it superfluous. The same thing holds good with lawyers, as a big corporation can't use as many lawyers as can 1000 small firms, but there is no room for the lawyers at present to go back to the land.

#### PEANUT MANUFACTURER.

Behind every law on every statute book of every land, lurks some individual or class interest. The peanut merchants in the stores of this city seek and obtain a law to drive the itinerant peanut merchants off the streets of the city, back to the land. He gleefully claps his hands on the successful termination of his efforts, but with rueful countenance will behold his next year's lease with the amount of that itinerant street peanut merchant's profit tacked on to his rent for the occupancy of that space in the great ten-story brick and stone "improvement."

Behind the single tax law, is the peanut manufacturer seeking a subsidy in the form of an exemption from his share of taxation.

#### "I WORK FOR WAGES."

I am a Socialist. I do not care anything about taxes or who pays them. I won't. I know that somebody who owns something that can be taxed, will. I know that government is necessary. I know that in order to have a government, there must be a means to conduct that government. I know that if all taxes are taken from one thing, they will be placed on others. And I know that no matter what it is put on, it will be added to the market value of the article. If the tax is placed on farms, I will pay more for food and less for clothes and shoes, and if it is placed on factories and taken off the farms, I will pay more for shoes and clothes and less for food.

I will be a disinterested spectator. I do not own houses or land, farm or factory. I work for wages and from some source or another the tax will be paid out of what the wage-earner earned but did not get. They can tax the moon if they want, and let those who want to scramble for it, bid on the title. The farmer who would support the single tax proposition to make the unproductive land productive, by

forcing it on the market, would seem to me like an unemployed meeting of working men in a big city taking up a collection to advertise for more men.  
THOMAS SLADDEN.

### "OREGONIAN'S" EDITORIAL

(Leader in Sunday Edition, May 17)

#### PROPERTY AND RIGHTS.

Your Socialist and your single-taxer are really the same citizen—though they (or he) may not be aware of it. Both live on theory, and bad theory, which produces an acrid flatulence of erudition; like Job's adviser, who was lashed by the old sage so the man who had filled his belly with the east wind.

Mr. Thomas Sladden, in a letter printed in the Oregonian yesterday, took the pains to say that, as a Socialist, he was indifferent to single tax and to all forms of taxation, because everything, under the present system, is taken out of labor anyhow, and the method doesn't matter. Perhaps it is the profound conviction of the Socialists that labor—by which they mean wage labor—has to pay everything, that causes them to spend their time mostly in idle chatter, rather than in labor. But the single-taxer and the Socialist are virtually on the same ground. They both want to strip owners of property of their possessions.

#### "POSITIVELY IMMORAL."

Mr. Sladden in his letter of yesterday said: "Without the institution of private property, taxes would be an absurdity and government inconceivable. Who needs a government must necessarily pay the expenses of that government. Governments are instituted in the interest of property and property alone." Here is the extreme of error; and it is error of the kind that is positively immoral. It is immoral because it proclaims an utterly false view of the chief ends and aims of government and reduces all thought about the proper functions of the state to mean, sordid and mercenary motives, and to merely material ends.

#### PERSONAL RIGHTS.

For it is not true that "governments are instituted in the interest of property and property alone." They are instituted as much in the interest of the rights of person as of property, and even more; for personal rights are dearer always than property rights—esteemed so both by the citizen and by his government. All the machinery of law is supported by property, yet most of it is employed in protection of personal rights. It is government that protects the citizen from insult, assault and murder; it protects him in his reputation and in the inviolability of his family life; it educates the whole mass of the young of successive generations; it maintains regulations for protection of the public and of private health, and watches while you sleep, as well to protect your person as your property; it enforces regulation for support of public and private morals, and keeps poor-houses as retreats for Socialists and Single-taxers, who have wasted their lives on agitation of silly theories and have nothing to support them in old age. It does all these things because it recognizes a moral obligation to do them, and it levies taxes on property—not on the persons of Socialists and Single-taxers, or of others—to get means to do them. Of course, it must support the rights of property, too, or it would have nothing to draw on for its benevolent, moral and educational purposes, or for support of justice between man and man. It holds rights of person always superior to those of property, where the two come in conflict; and it will not permit men to defend their own property, except under closest restrictions and limitations, lest they abuse the persons of others; and of such cases the jury must judge. Government, then, is not instituted and maintained in the interest of property alone. Protection of property is but one of the incidents of its duty, and it spends far more money and effort to protect, to help and to educate the people; to make roads, streets and bridges, to protect individuals from wanton outrage, to conserve the general health and morals, and a thousand other things for convenience and comfort and safety of persons, whether owners of property or not, than it spends merely to protect property itself. But your hobbyist or utopian never sees all parts of any subject. His thought is fixed on his own particular hobby-horsical notion. He cannot see human life steadily, nor see it whole.

Everyone knows that large part of the expenses of our courts are caused by people contesting against each other, in petty quarrels, for their personal rights. Few of these people are taxpayers. Yet they are allowed their day in court, at the expense of others. They are a tedious people. Is government, compelled to bear the expense of their petty squabbles, "instituted for property alone?"

#### AGITATORS! WOLVES!

But the rights of person and the rights of property touch at innumerable points—except in case of our agitators, who "haven't a bean," because they prefer agitation and spouting and noise and sedition to the labor necessary for accumulation of property. They are the Catalinarians described by Sallust, who were "eager for the property of others, having squandered their own." They are the wolves of the forest or plain, howling in pursuit of the travelers, and as implacable. It would be a pity if human society had no means of defense against them; but it has. Not only so, but it will defend and protect them in all their personal rights, and in their rights of property, too, if they should ever have property needing defense. But then they would cease to be human wolves. It is only the paucity of the numbers of these people that induces or permits society to give them quarter.

#### TOO MUCH DEMOCRACY.

Our new system, our new legislation, or so-called new system, gives them encouragement and opportunity; and for this reason, among others, it is a great mistake. All radical departure from the landmarks of old experience is therefore to be dreaded. We fully believe, therefore, that the time will come when the good sense of the people of Oregon, in city and country, will see the necessity of re-establishing the old constitutional barriers, which now are wholly down. An initiative statute may now do anything. There is need of surer defense, as our fathers thought, when they were making constitutions.

### SLADDEN'S ANSWER

(Not printed in "The Oregonian" yet.) Why is it necessary at all times for the moral defenders of capitalism to resort to untruths in defending their just and sacred system against the

## THE FLEET

Today the Battleships enter the harbor of Seattle. Ten thousand flags are flying. The soldiers and sailors and citizens make up a great parade. A hundred thousand strangers are here to see the wonderful sight. Patriotism is on tap. Even the Japs will explode bombs and fly strange balloons. The merchants are all happy and the hotel-keepers. Every good lookout spot is equipped with seats for sale. We are proud of OUR Navy.

The most wonderful thing about it all no one seems to notice. It is this: The wage-workers of Seattle have no part in all this glorying. Not a Labor Union will parade. Not a workingman on any committee. That fact is remarkable, but natural. For the Fleet is a Tool of Business. As Bob Evans said, the purpose of the Navy is to further trade, and that is none of the Workingman's business. It is perfectly proper that the Working Class should be only onlookers at this splendid pageant.

When the Working Class rules the World, armored navies will have no function and will disappear. For a Workingman's Government will not have to fight the world for a chance to sell its goods.

The Workingman's Government will only assist in producing goods for use. Why should the American workers seek to force the Chinese workers to wear cotton cloth, eat white flour or ride on railroads?

But American Capitalists must have markets for the cottons and grains and ralls they cannot sell at home. Americans could use all these goods made in America, but they cannot buy them. Their wages do not give them the price. Therefore the Capitalist Class in America must find foreign markets for their surplus products.

But Japanese capitalists are in the same fix. Japanese workingmen cannot buy the silks and teas and lacquers they themselves produce. Therefore the Japanese Capitalist Class must make the Chinese billion buy

assaults of the wicked and immoral agitator?

Why slander and abuse in place of reason and logic?

Why threats and insinuations which facts will shatter theories and proofs make ridiculous unbased assertions of any agitator, theorist or dogmatic doctrinarian?

The reason is simple: because the Socialist agitator stands upon the rock of modern science and deals with and classifies facts as they are, not as he wishes they were or wants them to be.

I made the statement that all laws were made in the interests of property and property alone. But I distinctly pointed out the fact that governments were necessary, consequently by no honest interpretation could I be made to imply that the ownership of private property was wrong. But I will state that the private ownership of what should be public property is wrong and must be abolished. To find the beginning of law and government requires that we go back, back to primitive man first emerging from savagery.

#### BEGINNING OF LAW.

"As soon as animals crept forth on the first lands, a speechless and degraded crowd, they battled for the acorn and for their lairs with claws and fists, then with clubs and at length with arms, which afterwards practice had made: until they learned words by which to indicate vocal sounds and thoughts and to use names. After that they began to refrain from war, and fortify walled towns, and to lay down laws that no one should be a thief, nor a robber nor an adulterer."—Horace.

"The idea of property has undergone a similar growth and development. Commencing at zero in savagery, the passion for the possession of property, as the representative of accumulated subsistence, has now become dominant over the human mind in civilized races."—Morgan's Ancient Society.

#### THE FIRST AGITATOR.

Under savagery, way back in the dim and shadowy past, the human organism, part man, mostly beast, undoubtedly was a cannibal. He tilled no fields or kept no herds and the only way he could possibly profit from his fellow men or beasts was by using them directly for subsistence.

Gradually but slowly he changed. He became a barbarian. He tilled the soil with a crooked stick, with a stone

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## THE FLEET

Jap goods. To that end they build a fleet, too.

It may well be that Uncle Sam's Fleet and the Mikado's Fleet will fight together for possession of Asiatic markets.

But what do the Workers care? It is none of their funeral. They neither pay for the Fleet nor profit by the Fleet. They only get wages, just a living and barely that, feet or no feet. Even the workmen on the fleet itself, all they get is Wages, just a bare living. They march and shoot because they are ordered to. But it is none of their fight. The sailor gets no more because the Capitalist gets new markets in Asia, nor does the machinist or carpenter or printer or engraver or any other wage-worker in America. They don't own the fleet. They don't own the government which owns the fleet. All this glory, power and patriotism belong to Capital. Labor has no part in it. And it is quite right and appropriate that no workingman is found on any committee and that no workingmen enter the parade.

And that is the most remarkable, significant and real thing about this whole Fleet episode.

### To a Nine-Inch Gun

(This powerful poem came to the New York World office on a crumpled piece of scolded paper. It was signed "P. F. McCarthy," and the author's address was given as "Fourth Bench, City Hall Park.")

Whether your shell hits the target or not.

Your cost is five hundred dollars a shot. You thing of noise and flame and power.

We feed you a hundred barrels of flour Each time you roar. Your flame is fed With twenty thousand loaves of bread. Silence! A million hungry men Seek bread to fill their mouths again.

Dispatches appeared in some Sunday dailies for May 17 announcing that the Socialist National Convention had voted a complete reversal of the previous policy of the Party, adopting opportunist tactics "even to the point of fusion."

This seemed incredible to those of us who had carefully observed the progress of the Convention's work from day to day as strictly proletarian and uncompromising. So we waited.

It is now evident that some opportunist, whose wish was father to the thought, got the ear of that reporter who framed the dispatch in question.

What actually happened was a vigorous debate on the subject of "Immediate Demands," followed by a vote incorporating such demands into the "Program," a sort of Tail to the Platform.

This vote was loudly hailed by the opportunists as a victory and as a defeat for the Revolutionaries. It was nothing of the sort. The identical debate occurred four years ago, with the identical result, only by a larger majority, not even requiring a roll call.

The debate was on the substitute for all the "Demands" or "Program," introduced by Osborne of California, as follows:

#### OSBORNE'S SUBSTITUTE, 1908.

"The Socialist Party, when in office, shall always and everywhere, until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct, viz.: Will this legislature advance the interest of the working class, and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it is in the interests of the working class, the Socialist Party is in favor of it; if it is against the interests of the working class, the Socialist Party is opposed to it."

In the Convention of 1904, Walsh of Montana moved as substitute for the whole report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program the following:

#### WALSH'S SUBSTITUTE, 1904.

"The National Convention recommends that in the event of any Socialists being elected in any localities on State or municipal tickets, that they be guided thereafter in all their legislative acts by considering, 'Is the legislation in the interest of the laboring class? If so, I am for it; if not, I am opposed to it.'"

Both in 1904 and in 1908 the substitutes were overwhelmingly defeated. The Party stands in exactly the same position in this respect now as it did four years ago.

The only difference lies in the form and place of stating the Program. In 1904, there was a fuller and more scientific list of suggestions for our elected legislators. In 1908, the list is made longer and more specific than in Section V of the present platform, but far less specific and complete than in the Program of 1904.

If Osborne had made an amendment to strike off this ill-digested Tail-end Program of 1908 and to substitute that of 1904, there is little doubt it would have carried. For our elected representatives certainly need some guide whereby to decide what is "to the interests of the Working Class" in the various conditions arising in different localities. By making an impracticable motion, Osborne gave the opportunists a chance to claim a victory.

Herman, of Washington, made a most pertinent speech in the course of the debate and it is a pity he did not embody his contention in a motion.

#### HERMAN'S REMARKS.

"We revolutionary Socialists of the Pacific coast are also for immediate demands but we are for immediate demands that will improve the conditions of the working class and not for immediate demands that will perpetuate the interests of the weaker portion of the capitalist class as against the stronger portion of the capitalist class.

"We are not in favor of the nationalization of railroads or telegraphs. They have nationalized railroads in Russia, and nationalized telegraphs in Russia, but who is the government? The czar, and the feudal aristocracy, the rising capitalist class. Those railroads and telegraphs are run in the interests of the class who own the government.

"We have government ownership of the post offices in this country, and you tell me, fellow workers, that you have a voice in the admin-

istration of the post office? Why, the men and women in the service of that institution are denied even the right to organize."

A motion to strike out national ownership of Railroads, etc., would have forced the issue and precipitated a discussion in which the advocates of the "Demand" would have been obliged to show how such ownership would benefit the proletariat or be in the line of evolution.

Osborne supported his substitute with a very suggestive speech, urging that the capitalist class must fulfill its own mission unaided by the wage class. But his weakness was in failing to recognize that the working class can force the capitalists' hand, which is all these "Demands" of ours are calculated to do.

Osborne's speech is so good that we reproduce it in part:

#### OSBORNE'S ARGUMENT.

"We are all opportunists when it comes to that. The only difference is this, that some of us are working class opportunists, and some of us are middle class opportunists, or capitalist class opportunists. I consider that this entire program is an ultra-middle class or capitalist class opportunist program.

"I realize that there are two elements in this convention, as there naturally will be in all conventions. We do not expect to see all propositions from the same standpoint, and the question to my mind is this—and I would like to have brought this up yesterday and decided it at once and found out on which side the convention stood and thus saved time—I want to try to draw in my own mind at least the distinction between what is working class opportunism and what is the business man or capitalist class opportunism—the distinction between what is the work of the business man and capitalist class in social evolution, and what is the work of the working man, of the working class in social evolution.

"I don't want to do any of the work that belongs to the capitalist class; they are doing that well enough. Marx tells us that no social order can disappear until it has developed all the productive forces for which there is room within that social order, and that no society can appear until the material conditions requisite for its existence have been created from the old society.

"I maintain that it is the business of the capitalist class to develop the productive forces or powers for which there is room in that society; it is the business of the capitalist class to prepare the material condition for the disappearance of capitalism and the appearance of the new Socialistic order. It is the business of the capitalist class to eliminate the small business man and the small farmer. We do not have to have any program for the small farmer. The big farmer will attend to him.

"It is the business of the capitalist class if they want state ownership, municipal ownership, government ownership of anything that exists under capitalist governments, to bring it about. The working class has nothing to do with it. There are only two factors in economic determinism. There are only two factors that have made great changes in civilization. One is the economic, which always belongs to the ruling class, and the other is the psychological, which always belongs to the subject class, and that is the working class in modern capitalist society.

"People who occupy our position in the Socialist movement and philosophy have been called impossibilists. You may call us so if you want to, but we will call you Populists, not only Populists, but third class Populists."

There can be little doubt that national ownership of Railroads will be a capitalist party demand at an early date. Bryan may get it in the Democratic platform this fall. It will be for the purpose of checking the normal development of the Trusts in the interest of the small capitalist. Why the Socialists should wish to check the normal development of the capitalist system passes our understanding. A debate on that point in the convention would have cleared the air.

Osborne's speech called out a savage and hysterical reply from "Tommy" Morgan, of Chicago, a typical opportunist, in which he claimed to

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## CONVENTION NOTES

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have been a Socialist 34 years and charged Osborne and all who agreed with him with being "Anarchists" and intimated they were "paid agents" of the capitalist class.

On the heels of this furious and unparliamentary tirade of Morgan's the motion was made to table Osborne's motion, and the roll called demanded. The opportunists had been defeated at every turn up to this point and they saw their opportunity to score an apparent victory. The roll call showed that the majority of the Revolutionaries voted to table and defeat Osborne's proposition. Brown and Wagenknecht were the only Washington delegates who did not resent Morgan's personalities enough to vote against him. All the rest voted with Osborne as well as the majority of the California delegation and Barzee and Farmer of Oregon.

The motion was properly lost and it was in no sense an Opportunist victory, though it gave them their one solitary chance to crow.

### BARZEE'S PLUCKY FIGHT.

Barzee, of Oregon, who was on the Farmer Committee, brought in a minority report and the convention adopted it, rejecting the majority report as signed by all the rest of the committee, including Carl D. Thompson, of Wisconsin, E. L. Riggs, of Idaho, Steadman of Illinois, and Rohrer, of Iowa, all well known Opportunists.

### BARZEE'S REMARKS.

"Comrades, you have got me in a very precarious position. I am more used to running around among the cows and horses than to such a sea of faces as I see before me. I was appointed upon this committee and I took my place with them and when I present my report it will not be so very different from the one they have, but I want to tell you my reasons for bringing in a minority report.

"We were called to convene immediately, which we did, in the back room here behind the stage, and some instructions came to us very forcibly what we should do. We agreed then, during that meeting, that it was not probable that we could agree and that we would disagree upon a certain particular point, which I will mention later.

"There was another meeting called peremptorily, I believe, behind the curtain again, which I attended. We were very near to an agreement on this proposition when we were again informed by one member of the committee that it was presumptuous for us to try to agree, and I was started off down the road. I was told that there was no compromise on that point, and I left the committee to draft my report. After that meeting I was notified to participate in another one. Expecting the same thing and not being able to compete with Chicago—I have always heard it was the windy city—I did not go. So if my report differs but little from theirs you will understand why I bring in a minority report."

Brown, of Washington, succeeded in introducing an "Immediate Demand" into the Program, providing for a maximum 90 day residence in order to vote in any state.

Wagenknecht secured the adoption of an important clause in the constitution, legalizing the present Admission Pledge used for years in the application blanks but not heretofore embodied in our constitution.

The constitution is not much changed, except to return to the old method of electing Executive Committee and National Secretary by the National Committee instead of the present cumbersome and ineffective way of party referendum. The constitution was discussed in the closing days when the delegates were tired and did not receive the attention it deserved.

A convention report which "The Socialist" expected, written by Comrade Boomer, has not arrived. These notes have been prepared by comparing various sources of information, including the "Chicago Daily Socialist" and several other papers. One thing is clear, the convention was unmistakably proletarian both in candidates and platform. Minor mistakes are of little account compared with this large result.

The Platform "Preamble," which is the real Platform, rings true. We print it in this issue as well as the Labor Union Resolution and address. The true name adopted by the Convention is "Principles" not "Preamble."

Porter, Wash., May 3.  
Comrade: At a meeting of Local Porter held last evening we admitted nine new members, which brings our total up to twenty-six, five of whom are women. How is that for a little two by four town like Porter?

And the beauty of it is all of them seem imbued with the spirit of Revolution and filled with enthusiasm. Expect to get five or six more by middle of July.

We are making things hum down in this neck-o'-the-woods.

**JOHN McSLARROW,**

## PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY SOCIALIST PARTY 1908 NATIONAL CONVENTION

### CONTROL OF HUMAN LIFE.

"Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only when these are assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing and shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land by itself does not satisfy human needs. Human labor gets raw materials and food out of the soil by creating machinery and using it upon the land. Whoever has control of land and machinery has control of human labor, and with it of human life and liberty.

### THE DOMINANT CLASS.

"Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, it does not make its owners so powerful that they can dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more and more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wider and wider circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

### HELPLESS WAGE SLAVES.

"In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

### USELESS AND PARASITIC.

"The more the economic power of the ruling class grows, the less useful does it become in the life of the nation. The overwhelming bulk of the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the classes that either have no other productive property but their manual and mental labor power—the wage workers—or that have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

### STRUGGLE FOR PRODUCTS.

"A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order or from the dominant class of society.

"The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They are also the class which suffers most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a small number of capitalists is permitted to use all the country's resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of our lives the object of their competitive private enterprises and speculations, is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

### PLANLESS INDUSTRIES.

"In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly undermined, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

"The climax of this chaotic system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

### TERRIBLE RESULTS.

"In its mad and reckless race for profits the capitalist class is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It wantonly disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

### ALL ORGANS PAID.

"To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominating parties and, through them, the elected

public officials. They select our executives, bribe our legislatures and corrupt our courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They sway our educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

### ONLY REAL ISSUE.

"The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most vital and direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society: The small farmer, who is today exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

### CONQUER POLITICAL POWER.

"The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built. Political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective ownership for private ownership of the land and the means of production used for exploitation.

### PREPARATIONS.

"The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within the very bosom of present capitalist society. The factory system, with its immense machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process, while the great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have had the effect of organizing the work and management of some of our main industries on a national scale, and fitting them for national use and operation.

### ALL NATIONS INCLUDED.

"In the struggle for freedom the interests of the workers of all nations are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

### TO FREE ALL.

"To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist rule, but to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man."

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# ADDRESS TO ORGANIZED LABOR

The following is the address to organized labor drafted by the committee and adopted by the Socialist National Convention:  
"The movement of organized labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and wage-earners under the capitalist system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages, hours, and other conditions of labor is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working people and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

It Does Not Dictate.  
"The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization and methods of action.

"In the history of the recent Moyer-Haywood protest, participated in by unions of all sorts and by the Socialist party, it finds reason to hope for closer solidarity on the economic field and for more effective co-operation between organized labor and the Socialist party, the two wings of the movement for working-class emancipation.

"The Socialist party stands with organized labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression or to wrest from the capitalists any improvement in the conditions of labor. It declares that it is the duty of every wage-worker to be an active and loyal member of the organized labor movement, striving to win its battles and to strengthen and perfect it for the greater struggles to come.

Confronted by Great Crisis.  
"Organized labor is today confronted by a great crisis. The capitalists, intoxicated with wealth and power and alarmed by the increasing political and economic activity of the working class, have as a class undertaken a crusade for the destruction of the labor organizations.

"In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska and elsewhere law and constitution have been trampled under foot, military despotism set up, and judicial murder attempted with this aim in view. Where such violent methods have not seemed advisable, other means have been used to the same end.

"The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workingmen; it is backed by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

Courts Always Hostile.  
"The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in perverting the law to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, payment of union benefits, or even any attempt to organize unorganized, workingmen in certain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary decrees dissolving unions under a pretense of their being labor trusts.

"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestering their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in case of employees killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workingmen to belong to unions.

"While affirming the right of employers to bar organized workingmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workingmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor question is the rule that capitalists have a sacred right to profits and that the working class has no rights in opposition to business interests.

Danbury Hatters Case.  
"In the Danbury hatters' case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with its infamous 'Dred Scott' decision of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the Anti-Trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasury, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

"By this decision the Supreme Court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice, not of social justice. If this and other hostile decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its efforts toward a peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the capitalists and their courts in this assault upon the labor movement would be

a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

Ballot is a Weapon.  
"At this critical moment the Socialist party calls upon all organized workingmen to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands, and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme Court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the military can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workingmen on election day.

"Workingmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support of the party of your class. Vote as you strike, against the capitalists. Down with military and judicial usurpation! Forward, in one solid phalanx, under the banners of Organized Labor and of the Socialist party, to defeat capitalist aggressions, to win immediate relief for yourselves and your wives and children, and to hasten the day of complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation and misrule."

# THE WOMAN

The Women's Socialist Educational club is holding very interesting meetings every week. The work of organization and getting the club into definite running order has taken up a good deal of time but we have finally gotten to the place where more time can be given to actual discussion. An outside element has been brought in by the attendance upon Socialism as being—perhaps—a very fine idea but utterly unpractical and impossible of achievement! Such members and visitors are just what we want. They bring a new life into the club and also bring out all discussion that is of such importance in an organization of that kind.

The Secretary received a message from the convention in the form of a delightful letter from May Waldon. She said in part:  
"I want to tell you what a glorious time we had at the opening of the convention yesterday. We assembled at 'The Garrick,' one of the largest theatres in Chicago (where Lewis speaks every Sunday), and every seat was taken.

"The stage was packed with speakers, singing societies and those delegates who were crowded out of their seats in the front rows.  
"The enthusiasm and good feeling were immense and the applause was enough to inspire a block of marble. After the speaking we went to the convention hall getting acquainted on the way. Such chattering, and laughing, and hand shaking! Everybody went up to every other body and said, 'I am Brown of Iowa' and everybody answered, 'I am Anderson of Louisiana' or whatever the name and place was—and the hand grasp and honest looks exchanged made you feel that fellowship in the Socialist movement is the real thing. I wish you could have been there but I am glad you can go to the International in 1910.

To think that some one gave a few minutes of her time to us in the first enthusiasm of the convention cheered us immensely.  
I see by the Chicago Daily Socialist that the women delegates at the convention have been having a good many sessions of their own and certainly those who are particularly interested in Sunday school and juvenile work and in propaganda among women must have found these meetings most helpful.

The possibilities of the work among women are as far reaching and important as the work among men and it is almost impossible to accomplish it along the lines used in the propaganda among men. The political backwardness of women, their mental peculiarities, their position as house wives, as well as wage earners, all point to the fact that the women's organizations need a certain freedom and independence of movement. But it should be ever kept in mind that we are co-workers with the men comrades and our aim should be the education of women and children so that they can grow into their places in this wonderful and undying movement along side of the men and to realize that what is freedom for one means freedom for all and fight for the common cause!

We are in receipt of the first copy of the Little Socialist Magazine—which gives promise of becoming quite a paper for the young people. The Young People's Socialist League is growing and we hope that by next fall we may have a place of our really lovely own in which to hold our meetings.

Those never having attended our meetings may be interested in knowing how they are conducted.  
First we open with a revolutionary song which is sung over and over again in order that the children may learn it by heart. Then there is talk by one of the instructors followed by a discussion in which all the children take part.  
After that they go out into the fresh air and have fifteen minutes of physical exercise and deep breathing—after which they come in and to the inspiring Marseillaise they go through some drill—at present one with red flags.

If you're a workingman, get "The Socialist."

# LOCAL SEATTLE

## Organization

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PETE PEEL.  
H. F. TITUS.

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MRS. FLOYD HYDE.  
MRS. E. M. LAMPE, Tel. Ind. A 7894  
MRS. SOPHIE ENGOLF.

**OFFICERS.**  
A. B. CALLAHAN ..... Secretary  
B. KUBASKI ..... Treasurer  
J. H. STEELE ..... Literature Agent

Headquarters of Local Seattle No. 1 between Pine and Stewart, off Westlake Boulevard, Carpenter's Hall building. P. O. Box 1673. Telephone Independent L 4474.

Local Business Meetings held in Party Headquarters on Thursday at 8 p. m.

Membership Committee meets in Party Headquarters on Thursday at 8 p. m.

Propaganda meetings every Sunday at Egan Hall, 8 p. m.

Executive committee meets at headquarters Tuesday, 8 p. m.

Women's Educational Club meets every Wednesday evening at room 49 Holyoke Building, Entrance at Rear of Frederick & Nelson's, on Spring St.

Polish Propaganda Club meets the first and third Sunday afternoons in each month at Socialist Headquarters.

Scandinavian Propaganda Club meets every Tuesday evening at Local Headquarters.

**SOCIALISM AGAINST ANARCHY.**  
Egan Hall was crowded to the five limits last Sunday night when Dr. Herman F. Titus debated with Miss Goldman on "Socialism Against Anarchy." An unbroken throng, denied admission when the limit was reached, discovered that the ancient adage, "He gets left who comes too late," was neither obsolete nor asleep at the switch. Many of them attempted to bribe doorknockers and to "crawl under the flap of the tent."

It was not because the Socialist Party of Seattle hoped to secure votes among the followers of Emma Goldman that the Seattle Socialists accepted her challenge. For six months Local Seattle has been attempting things out of all proportion to its numerical and financial strength. It was organized last November, with less than fifty members, and was compelled to borrow money in order to begin operations suitable to a city the size of Seattle. The challenge from Emma Goldman was accepted for the purpose of having some of its indebtedness, without hope that the meeting would result in any valuable propaganda.

But for the reputation Local Seattle has established for having its own way in the matter of free speech, it is more than probable that that memorable "clash of mind against mind" would never have taken place. James A. Moore, president of the Moore Investment Company, owners of the building, sent imperative demands from Portland to his agents in Seattle to stop Miss Goldman speaking at all hazards. Frank C. Egan, who has charge of the hall, issued a mandate to the Socialists against it, and threatened to the last moment to stop the proceedings in a summary fashion. The Socialists, relying on the prestige of the fighting they have already done and the victories they have won for free speech, and their lease on the hall, revived the falling courage of the Anarchists and the debate proceeded.

Contrary to the expectations of the Socialists, the meeting furnished some of the best propaganda we have ever had. Doctor Titus was in his best fighting form, and even the Anarchist leaders, including Ben Rietman, who believed in the invincibility of the little Russian Giantess, and really think that a Socialist who meets an Anarchist in debate is gravely handicapped by the weakness of his cause, conceded that the contest was by no means one-sided, an extraordinary concession for an Anarchist. Even most of those who opposed the debate because they believe that "the sinews of war" amount to little, and that we should never do anything for mere money, agree that we secured an opportunity to present to many members of the Working Class not easily reached, not only the difference between Socialism and Anarchy, but the cause and the spirit of Socialism,—and that the opportunity was splendidly taken advantage of.

Besides the \$105.75 which the debate put into the treasury of the organization, and the effect on those present, it has gone far to convince the community of the fact that basic differences exist between Socialism and Anarchism, that Anarchism leads to individual action and assassination, and that Socialism relies for its success on the suffrage and social organization.  
Dr. Titus took the aggressive from the outset and kept Miss Goldman on the defensive.  
He made three points in his indictment of Anarchism, that it was, first, idealistic; second, individualistic; third, impracticable; and that it had three methods of procedure; namely, Altruism, as Tolstoy; Assassinations, as Hertzka, and Assassination, as Czolgoz, all of which were equally idealistic, individualistic and impracticable.

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HERMON F. TITUS, Editor; ERWIN B. AULT, Managing Editor; HATTIE W. TITUS, Advertising Manager; JOHN F. HART, Cartoonist; RICHARD KRUEGER, Washington State Editor; THOS. J. COONROD, Idaho State Editor; THOS. A. SLADDEN, Oregon State Editor.

Special Contributors.

D. BURGESS, Slave Market Reports; JAS. D. CURTIS, Socialism and the Schools; EDWIN J. BROWN, Socialism and the Law; E. C. JOHNSON, Socialism and the Church; EMIL HERMAN, Socialism and the Farmer; E. L. RIGG, Socialism and the Farmer; C. W. BARZER, Socialism and the Middle Class; A. B. CALLAHAN, Socialism and the Middle Class; MRS. FLOYD HYDE, Socialism and the Home.

Blackguard vs. Blacksmith

Concluded from Page One

ax, with a fibre rope; he began to plow, build a habitation, tether the beasts of the field. He discovered the use of fire; cooked fish, made earthen vessels, smelted metal, bronze, iron, steel. He was on his way onward and upward. He needed help. The capitalist was in the embryo. The moral savage became an agitator. Why kill your brother and eat him when he is worth more to you alive than dead? He him up, put guards to watch him, make him work, make your earthen vessels, smelt your iron, tend your herds. Slavery was born and the creations of the slave belonged to his owner. The laws changed, ideals changed, morals changed, religion changed. For one man to own another was moral, right and sacred and who preached against it was a wicked agitator who was trying to tear down the old "constitutional barriers" and violating all the laws of God and Man. He was only tolerated on account of the "paucity of his numbers."

But the agitator persisted and the sacred right of one man to own another perished from the face of the earth except in some out of the way localities where the constitution had not quite caught up with the flag.

Thus has man developed and with man has developed all laws and governments. Beginning with primitive man with no property, we would have no law or government; with accumulation of property we would have an accumulation of laws regulating that property and its usage.

BARE FACED LIE.

The poor victim of circumstances, sleeping tonight beneath the blue canopy of heaven; penniless, friendless and alone, has no fear of robbers, of assault or violence from anyone.

This does not signify that I wish anyone to be in that condition or that I think it is right or wrong, it is a fact, that is all.

And tonight in this land of plenty, with mills and factories silent, want, destitution and grim despair stalk from ocean to ocean, and it is a lie, a bare faced lie to state that it is because of the lack of industry or providence of the wage workers.

A couple of quotations will throw a little light on this subject. These people were not agitators, they don't get time to agitate.

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and got a job of work at the Fair grounds. John Baker was a good carpenter, and his friend wrote that every body could get work at good pay, and that he had better come down. So John went and took May and the two babies. He got work and steady pay. When the Fair was finished, there followed a terrible industrial depression. John Baker lost his job and could not get another. He went up and down and looked at the unfinished buildings; but the whole town was over built, and there was nothing for him to do. His saving gradually wasted away, and after awhile he had to give up his flat, for which he was paying \$15, in a good neighborhood, and move into another place where he could rent rooms for \$10 in a neighborhood not so good. He went on, struggling on, doing what he could in the way of odd jobs, and Mary took in a couple of boarders for awhile. They managed to get along for a year or two that way.

Times continued hard. John could not make both ends meet, and his savings were all gone. They moved to a place where the rent was \$6 a month in a dreadful locality. They had to move, as they were to be put out of their rooms for non-payment of rent. The third flat into which they moved had no drainage. The rooms were dark, the surroundings vile, and the neighborhood terrible. There was no grass plot or trees, nothing but grim and sordid life on a very low plane. Their life began to grow bad in the wretched place, and who is there to say a word of condemnation? "Mary became cross and irritable and nervous. John's discouragement grew on him, and he got shabby and run down at the heel, and began to drink. After a while it came about that, when he went into a business house to apply for a job, he went in with a hang-dog, sullen air which showed that he did not expect to get a job, and the employer was satisfied at a glance that he did not want a man like that around.

"When this state of affairs had been reached, the eldest girl, Annie, who was not twelve years old, was taken out of school and put to work in a box factory. She began to run around at night, and the mother was too feeble to look after her. The boy, Harry, ran the streets, and fell into bad company, of course. He broke in to a vacant house one day with some boys and stole lead pipe, and was arrested and sent to the House of Correction. Mary came down with Typhoid fever just about the time the landlord served a notice of eviction. Then a neighbor came around to the Associated Charities and said, "Here is a sad case. The woman is good, but the family is a bad lot. The man is worthless, the boy a criminal."

Now that is what the Bureau of Charities found when its attention was first called to the case of John and Mary Baker. The Associated Charities of any great city knows not merely one family, but thousands like that of John and Mary Baker. In the Potters Field in Paris was recently buried the man that invented the chain method for the transmission of power, which method rendered possible the combined harvester, the automobile and many of the great mechanisms of the day.

In the poor houses are immured, not Socialist agitators, but old and grey haired men and women whose lives have been given to the development of the nation. A little more unfortunate than their brothers and sisters, with tottering footsteps and bowed heads they leave behind their Christian brothers whose only God is Gold, and honest manhood will let them rest in peace nor point them as a warning to us unless we dim our eyes to misery and seek to store up plunder."

WHAT I HAVE SEEN.

You tell me that government was instituted to protect, to help and educate the people. I tell you that your government was instituted and is being used to protect and help the Capitalist Class and not the people.

I have walked along Front street in the city of Portland and seen dozens of ragged children picking decaying fruit and vegetables from the swill barrels. Don't tell me what their parents have done; what have you done? Your government has just passed a law stopping some ragged children's fathers from blowing a whistle that can not be heard twenty feet to aid them in selling peanuts and popcorn to gain the wherewith to feed those children.

I have seen babies toddling along the streets selling papers in the rain. I see blind and maimed men, selling shoe strings and lead pencils to keep them out of the inferno you call a poor house. I see your street lined with deadfalls and brothels. I see womanhood at the auction block of lust and manhood peddled for an empty honor. You talk about laws in the interest of humanity. I can look through the thin veil of your writing and discern the dim outlines of your real estate.

ORIGIN OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The history of the public school system does not reach back to savagery. Hence we need not have this at least on supposition. The industrial capitalist needed technically trained men. He needed educated working men, accountants, clerks, mathematicians, lawyers, chemists, teachers, and out of this need and not out of any change of heart, or morality or idealism of the rising industrial class, sprang the public school system. It was a crime to teach the Southern slave to read or write and these laws are still on

record. We can follow the history page by page, in the United States, in England, wherever the public school system exists and find how those who had property but no need of educated working men, fought tooth and nail against being taxed to educate other people's children.

"ROSE CITY LOTS."

You say that governments build roads and streets and bridges. Yes, but it never built a road or a street or a bridge until the property interests demanded it. Go into your cities where the wage workers live and you will find sidewalks gone to pieces, the streets full of holes, little police or fire protection and disease breeding pest holes innumerable.

THE RAT CRUSADE.

You say you spend money for the general health. You do if you have to, not otherwise. I was in Seattle last Fall when several people died of the Bubonic plague, and a general outbreak threatened. Did love of humanity start that farcical \$10,000 rat crusade? No! The commercial interests of the city of Seattle were threatened and a quarantine might be established causing an enormous loss.

In the United States today there is a plague—the great white plague, tuberculosis, in most cases, preventable, curable, and there is not a doctor in the land who values his reputation that dares deny it. In New York City in one tenement house district is what is known as the "Lung Block," and in those houses in that block people have died like rats in a trap, murdered, and the rent for those shambles has gone to purchase degenerate descendants of feudal nobility, as husbands for women whose morals are on a level with the brute.

ALMOST THE TRUTH.

You say the right of property and persons touch at "innumerable points." You almost told the truth there, they touch at every point. We will simply take up this part of the statement and leave out the remainder which was undoubtedly written in a moment of excitement and would not occur at a time you were sober—in mind.

The right of property and person touch at every point and there is no right which has not behind it the power to enforce.

If I have no money, I am an outlaw—I am outside the law, a vagrant and criminal. A working man, no matter how honest, no matter how industrious, out of a job, steps outside the protecting influence of the law at the point where his property (money is its convertible form) ceases. He has absolutely no right on the face of the earth. He can be picked up by the first minion of the law he encounters and that lack of property is a crime in itself.

PROUD TO BE AN AGITATOR.

Now I will accept the stigma which you would place upon me and tell you that I am proud to be branded as an agitator.

You say, "They are the wolves of the forest or plain, howling in pursuit of the traveler and as implacable. It would be a pity if human society had no means of defense against them; but it has."

Yes, it has; but not the defense you would imply. You will have to stop the condition that gives rise to the agitator and the agitator will disappear like the fog before the noonday sun. But you and all your cohorts can not stop the agitator by any law or show of teeth.

You crucified Christ because he was an agitator. When it was put up to the ruling class to choose between Christ the Agitator and Barrabas the thief, which they would crucify, they chose the agitator, but Roman misrule, profligacy, sensualism and brutality fell.

HOW CAME THE BALLOT.

Let us see how the ballot was established in modern society. In Green's History of England we will find the following little bit of useful information.

"In the stead of long fronts of venerable colleges, of stately walks beneath immemorial elms, history plunges us into the mean and filthy lanes of a mediaeval town. Thousands of boys, huddled together in bare lodging houses, clustering around teachers as poor as themselves in church porch and house porch, drinking, quarreling, dining,

begging at the corners of the streets, take the place of brightly colored doctors and of heads. Mayor and chancellor struggled in vain to enforce order or peace on this seething mass of turbulent life. \* \* \* "there was a moment when John found himself with but seven knights at his back and before him a nation in arms."

This was the history of the Magna Charta and why the good King John granted it. Thus was popular rule established in England, and not because some good-natured ruler wished it to be and it was, as so many foolishly believe. Thus has every privilege been established, to keep the dominant power in any given society from having to accept some alternative which appeared worse.

THE RED FLAG.

You bristle at the sight of the red flag today and cry anarchist to all who reverence its more than sacred memory. The spirit of '76 is always pictured with a rifle and a drum and an American flag. You know that is a misinterpretation of history. Your school books are silent, you hide it and teach a lie, but we know. If you go into the state house of Massachusetts, if you go to the cradle where American liberty was rocked, you will be forced to take off your hat to the Red Flag, the flag that waved over Bunker Hill and called the minute men of '76 to action. It was the flag of Count Pulaski, who gave his life to establish the freedom of the colonies. It is the flag that has always been raised by the vanguard that blazed the way of progress.

WHAT PATRICK HENRY SAID.

You prate about the constitution, but you are always thoughtfully silent about what Patrick Henry said about it. You are fond of repeating Patrick Henry's phrase, "Give me liberty or give me death," but this of Patrick Henry's in reference to the American Constitution, "If I was not such an old man and had not passed through so many scenes of violence and bloodshed, I would again rally around me the guard of old Virginia and make war against the acceptance of that infamous document," this is never repeated. That the framers of the American Constitution wanted to burn the minutes of the Constitutional Convention, and lacked but two votes of doing so, is not part of the schoolboys' history of the United States. Do you think we do not know why?

GOLDSMITH, TOO.

Oliver Goldsmith in the "Vicar of Wakefield" makes this statement: "It is always among the citizens of a refined community that penal laws, which are in the hands of the rich, are laid upon the poor. Government, while it grows older, seems to acquire the moroseness of age; and as if our property were become dearer in proportion as it increased; as if the more enormous our wealth the more extensive our fears, all our possessions are paled up with new edicts every day and hung round with gibbets to scare every invader." Goldsmith was getting unpleasantly near the truth.

YOU DO ME HONOR.

Yes, Mr. Editor, you do me honor when you brand me an agitator. Christ was an agitator, Martin Luther was an agitator, Patrick Henry was an agitator, Garrison and Phillips were agitators; every one who has ever been of the material that was worthy of being forged into a link for the chain to carry humanity upward and onward, has been an agitator.

As long as crime and misery and destitution exist, as long as women and children are butchered in mills and factories to create immense properties for a few, as long as in the city of New York but 7 per cent of the residents of that city own their homes, as long as prostitution rears its hideous head in every city and town in the nation, as long as human life is the cheapest article on the market, as long as editors are slaves to a brick building and preachers to a wealthy board of trustees, as long as every human aspiration must be buried while we pile up wealth, as long as truth telling is a vice and hypocrisy a virtue, as long as property must be guarded by instruments of murder, just so long will I be an agitator, and no fears of a poor-house or a Potter's Field will have the slightest influence to hinder me.

I will "follow my course and let the people talk," and when the end comes I will be ready to meet it no matter where, and in a few years after none will know whether the few poor bones were covered with broadcloth "or a ragged jacket."

"Alas! the joys that fortune brings, Are trifling and decay; And those who prize the paltry things, More trifling still are they. And what is friendship but a name, A charm that lulls to sleep; A shade that follows wealth or fame, And leaves the wretch to weep?"

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

No! Mr. Editor, governments may rise and governments may fall, classes appear and classes disappear, constitutions be made and constitutions torn up, laws sacred and eternal be lost and forgotten, but the agitator goes on forever.

THOMAS SLADDEN.

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