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BACKGUARD VS. BLACKSMITH WITH--- "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 abest 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 an 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.)

FORTLAND, May 14.—(To the Editor)—I start with the assumption that all will possibly admit that a tax was a certain sum assessed against tangible wealth for purposes of government and that the wealth 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 absurdly 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 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, and not on the evidence 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. This 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, practically all 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 of the market value of land, of whatever size, un-mortgaged and clear. That farm is worth a certain amount stated in dollars and cents, and that farm, if 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.

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 had theory which produces an acid flatulence of erudition: like Job's adviser, who was weakened 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 ignorant of single tax and of 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 like chatter, rather than in labor. But the single-taxer and the Socialist are virtually on the same ground. They both want to divide the means of property of their possessions.

"POSITIVELY IMMORAL."
Mr. Sladden in his letter of yesterday said: "Without the institution of private property, taxes would be absurdly 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." Here is the extreme of error; and it is error of the kind that is positively 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 mere selfish and material ends, 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—estimated so both by the citizen and by his government. All the machinery of law is supported by property, yet most of its employment is for the 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 enjoyability 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 those which you step, as well to protect your person as your property; it enforces regulation for support of public and private morals; it protects the citizen as retreats for Socialists and Single-taxers, who have wasted their lives in 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, and it leaves taxes on property not on the persons of Socialists and Single-taxers, or on those who get in the way of doing 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 the support of justice between man and man. It holds rights of person always superior to those of property, where the two coincide; 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 course, it will not permit men to defend their own property, unless it 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, protect individuals from water outrages, take care of 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 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-horse, and 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 contending 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. In 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 bone," because they prefer agitation and spouting and noise and edification to the labor necessary for accumulation of property. They are the Catalinarians described by Ballant, who were "zeal for the property of others, having squandered their own." They are the wolves of the forest and plain, howling in pursuit of the travelers, and as impostors, will see the success of 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. It should ever have property needing defense. But then they would cease to be human wolves. It is only the paucity of the number 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 departures 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 establishing the old constitutional barriers, which now are wholly down. An initiative statute may now do anything. The need of such defense, as our fathers thought, when they were making constitutions.

assaults of the wicked and immoral agitator?
Why slander and abuse in place of reason and logic?
Why threats and insinuations when facts will shatter theories and prove make ridiculous unbased assertions of any agitator, theorist or dogmatic doctrinaire?

The cause is simple: because the Socialist agitator stands upon the rock of modern science and deals with well classified 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 it 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 ungraded crowd, they battled for their lives and for their fairs with claws and fangs, then with clubs and stones, and finally with spears and bows. Practice had made; until they learned words by which to indicate vocal sounds and thoughts and to use them directly for work on one another. 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."—Herce.

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

THE FIRST AGITATOR.

Under savagery, way back in the dim and shadowy past, the human organism, part man, mostly beast, unadorned by the vestments of civilization, held no herds and the only way he could possibly profit from his fellow men or beasts was by using them directly for work on one another. Gradually but slowly he changed. He became a barbarian. He tilled the soil with a crooked stick, with a stone.

Continued on Page Four

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 and defame the just and sacred system against the

THE FLEET

Today the Battleships enter the harbor of Seattle. "Ten thousand flags are flying from the masts of the fleet and citizens make up a grand parade. A hundred thousand strangers are here to see the wonderful sight. "Patriotism is on tap. Even the Japs will exhibit their strange and strange balloons. The merchants are all happy and the hotel-keepers. Every good lookout spot is equipped with flags and banners. We are proud of OUR Navy."

The most wonderful thing about it all is 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 working man on any committee. That fact is remarkable, but natural. For the Fleet is a Tool of Business. As Dr. 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 have only onlookers at this splendid pageant.

When the Working Class rules the World, armored navies will have no function but to be on hand for use. 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, and live on rice?
But American Capitalists must have markets for the cottons and grains and rails they cannot sell at home. American cottons and grains and rails 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 production. But Japanese capitalists are in the same fix. Japanese workmen cannot buy the silks and teas and lacquers they themselves produce. They therefore the Japanese Capitalist Class must make the Chinese billion buy

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

This seemed incredibly 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 Socialists 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 legislative advance the interest of the working class, and of the workers of 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 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 they are specific and complete than in the Program of 1904.

If Osborne had made an amendment to strike off this ill-considered Tail-end Program of 1908 and to substitute the Program of 1904, 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 opportunity 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.
"The revolutionary Socialists of the Pacific coast are also 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 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 ruling 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 vote in the administration 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 'Demands' 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 in 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 upper-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 we do not expect to see all proposals 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 trap in my own mind at least the distinction between what is working class opportunism and what is the business man or capitalist class opportunism."
"I don't want to do any of the work that belongs to the capitalist class; they are doing that well enough. But I want to do 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. But I want to do 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. But I want to do 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. But I want to do 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."

Osborne's speech called for an average and hysterical yell from "Tommy" Morgan, of Chicago, a typical opportunist, in which he claimed to represent the working class.
Continued on Page Two

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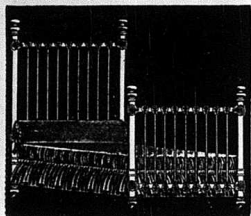
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CONVENTION PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY SOCIALIST PARTY 1908 NATIONAL CONVENTION

Continued from Page One

have been a Socialist 24 years and charged Osborne and all who agreed with him with being "Anarchist," and intimidated 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 call defeated at every turn up to this point and they saw their opportunity to score an apparent victory. The roll call showed the majority of the Revolutionaries voted to table and defeat Osborne's proposition. Brown and Wagenknecht were the only Washington delegates who did not reason Morgan's personality 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 only 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. Rice, of Idaho, Steadman of Illinois, and Roberts 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 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 held surreptitiously, 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 the meeting I was notified to participate in another one. Expecting the same thing and not being able to compete with Chicago—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 Administration to be used by any party. His application blanks but not heretofore embodied in our constitution.

The constitution is not much changed except to refer to the old method of electing Executive Committee and National Secretary by the National Committee instead of the present cumbersome and inefficient 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. There 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 manifestly prejudiced 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."

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. The rest of the people, the masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive powers, are thus forever self-enslaving 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 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 proprietary 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 form 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 competition, 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 strength and health. Their physical, moral and mental welfare is to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workers 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 bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It wantonly disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workmen 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 legislators, 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 both most vital and direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society: The small classes of modern society: the farmer, who is today exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage worker; 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, the root cause of the capitalist class rule is built political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from the political power and subjugation of the capitalist class by 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 divisions 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 into a single unit.

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 all nations.

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 competitive and class rule, the international brotherhood of man.

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Blackguard vs. Blacksmith

Continued from Page One

ax, with a three rope; he began to pull, build a habitation, tether the beasts of the field. He discovered the use of fire, cooked fish, made earthen vessels, smelt iron from iron, steel. He was on his way on 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? The 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 scoundrel who was trying to tear down the old 'constituted 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 corners where the constitution did not quite caught up with the flag. This has man developed and with man has developed all laws and governments, beginning with primitive man with no property, with no law or government; with accumulation of property we have an accumulation of laws regulating that property and its usage.

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and got a job of work at the Fair grounds. John Baker was a good carpenter and his good work at every body could get work at good pay and that he had better come down. So John went and took Mary and the good work and steady pay and to give up his flat, for his having been paying \$15. In another neighborhood, and move into a good place where he could rent room 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 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 \$5 a month in a dreadful locality. They had to move, as they were to be put out of the room for not paying the 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 lead in the wretched place, and who is humanly starved for \$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. That was what made rat catching a lucrative business, and not because a couple of people died.

ROSE CITY TOLDS

You say that governments build roads and streets and bridges. Yes, but it never built a road or a street or bridge away, after a while they demanded it. Go into our cities where the wage workers live and you will find sidewalks gone to pieces, the streets full of holes, little police or fire protection, lack of bread and butter necessities.

THE RAT CRUSADE

You say you spend money for the good health of the city. I was in Seattle last fall when several people died of the Babonic plague, and a general outbreak threatened. Did you see any rat crusade? No! The commercial interests of the city of Seattle were threatened and a quarantine might be established causing an enormous loss. That was what made rat catching a lucrative business, and not because a couple of people died.

And yet in the City of New York at the coming election Tammany Hall will spend more to steal the election than the state government would like to prevent the spread of tuberculosis and to save its thousands and thousands of victims. Let the white plague of our cities be the rat plague of the City of New York and see whether humanity or property is the dynamic power to set government in motion.

ALMOST THE TRUTH

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

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.'

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 bordered by immemorial elms, barley plagues run into the man and fifty lanes of a medieval town. Thousands of boys, huddled together in barns lodging houses, clustering around taverns as poor devils, sit to themselves in church porch and house porch, drinking, quarrelling, dicing.

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

THE RED FLAG

You bristle at the sight of the red flag today and cry anarchist to all who wave it. How many times sacred memory. The spirit of '76 is always pictured with a flag and a drum and an American flag. You know that it is an interpretation of history. Young school boys 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 Mount 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 man who carried the banner of the progress.

WHAT PATRICK HENRY SAID

You prate about the constitution, but you are always thoughtless about what Patrick Henry said about it. You are fond of repeating Patrick Henry's phrase, 'Give me liberty or give me death.' All of us who are 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 by 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 schoolboy 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 enormous wealth the more extensive our fears, all our possessions are piled up with new edicts every day and we are made ready with gifts 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 property for a few, as long as the city of New York but 7 per cent of the residents of that city own their homes, as long as prostitution rears its detested 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 bunch of big game 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 charnel house will be 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 you and yours will know whether the few poor bones were covered with falsehood or a ragged jacket.'

THE BELL

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? 'Til fares the lad, to hastening lies 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, you may succeed and you may be lost and forgotten, but the agitator goes on forever.

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