

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

THE SOCIALIST

Tenth Year—No. 445

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, October 30, 1909

Price Five Cents

NEW PARTY CALLED FOR

FERRER MURDER

Resolutions of Local Seattle, S. P. of Wash.

To the Members of the Socialist Party of Washington:

Whereas, We have learned through years of bitter experience in the Socialist Party, that but little effective work can be done as long as the membership is composed of members of classes other than the working class, and

Whereas, The Socialist Party is dominated and controlled by the Middle Class, as was proved by the National referendum C; and has proved itself totally inadequate to perform the mission of a Working Class Party, and

Whereas, The word Socialist is being used by all manner of freaks and reformers, and

Whereas, For all practical purposes the Socialist Party of Washington has ceased to exist; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Local Seattle in regular meeting assembled declares itself as standing for the revolutionary principles of Scientific Socialism; and be it further

Resolved, That Local Seattle take the initiative steps and hereby form itself into a party composed exclusively of Proletarians as defined in the Communist Manifesto, to be known as the United Wage Workers of Washington; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge all locals and members that stand for a Wage Workers' Party to join us in this movement; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to the different locals in the State of Washington. Dated Oct. 15, 1909.

LOCAL SEATTLE.
JOS. S. BISCAI, Sec.

MANIFESTO

Of The United Wage Workers of Washington

To the Proletarians of Washington:

For more than nine years there has been a struggle in the Socialist Party of Washington between Proletarian Tactics and Middle-Class tactics—between Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism.

At first, at the time Joseph Gilbert, then State Organizer, went through the state in 1900 calling upon the farmers to come into the party and take its control away from the wage workers, the Proletarian opposition, while aggressive and effective, was not far-reaching, and the seeds sown by Gilbert bore fruit in numerous farmers' locals which thenceforward consistently stood in the pathway of the progress of Revolutionary Principles.

All through this struggle members of both classes have been on both sides. Many Wage Workers have supported Middle-Class Tactics because of their lack of knowledge of economics, or of the Class Struggle, or because of their habit of dependence on those "above" them to do their thinking.

On the other hand, some members of the Middle-Class have seen with a clear vision the Class Struggle in society and the mission of the Wage Worker in securing his own emancipation.

With the help of those members of the Middle-Class who stood with them, and in the face of the opposition of both Wage Workers and Middle-Class who strove for Reform Tactics, the Wage Workers succeeded in building up the strongest state party of any in the country. At the height of its strength this party had about 1,500 dues paying members, and in the neighborhood of 100 locals.

Though there has been strife and dissension for nine years, it was not strong enough to affect the growth of the organization until a little over a year ago, when tools of the Middle Class influence secured control of the State Executive Committee. From the time of the seating of this Executive Committee, controlled by Smith, Barth and Hale, a persistent and systematic effort has continued to tear down the work of eight years of organization in the interests of the Wage Class and to "broaden" the work of the party till it should compass "all classes."

After nearly a year of inactivity, holding sessions twice each month which were taken up with the presentation and hearing of senseless "charges" against faithful members of the party made by non-members, a meeting of the entire State Committee was called on April 18, 1909, to try D. Burgess for misappropriating funds of the party. At this meeting, taking advantage of the absence of two members of the committee who stood for the Wage Class, State Secretary Krueger was unconstitutionally removed from office without a trial, by a vote of 7 to 6, and his place filled by W. H. Waynick, a landlord.

Following this, a state convention was held at Everett, July 4-5, 1909. Many Wage Workers, delegates to this convention, stayed away because of the necessity of holding their jobs, and in cases where Middle-Class alternates were elected, these were present. A preponderance of this element at the organization of the convention made easy, in absolute violation of the constitution, the admission of other delegates representing locals that had been dead for months, thus making their control of the convention certain. A further violation in the adoption of a rule suppressing free debate compelled the Proletarian delegates to leave the convention hall.

On July 12, 1909, the State Committee met and removed Waynick as Secretary by a vote of 8 to 0, at the same time reinstating Krueger by the same vote. Waynick refused to recognize this action and absconded with the records of the office and remained in hiding for some weeks. An appeal to the courts to prevent him using the name after he had been removed from the office was successful.

A resolution declaring all the acts of the Everett convention illegal was presented for referendum by six locals and submitted in due form for a vote of the party. At this point the National Organization, absolutely controlled by the Middle-Class element, stepped in. Ignoring our State Constitution and the National Constitution, the National Executive Committee continued to recognize Waynick as the State Secretary and even went so far, when Waynick was enjoined from acting by the court, as to carry on a referendum in the state over the heads of the State Committee and the regular State Secretary, Krueger.

About this same time, September 7, 1909, the Party in the Nation, by a vote of two to one, decided to withdraw that part of the Platform declaring for the Collective Ownership of Land, as well as

all other means of production and distribution for the express purpose of appealing to the farmers and the small land owners in the cities.

Though put aside by the National Officers the Socialist Party of Washington, through its legal officials, continued to function as the Wage Workers political expression until the adoption of this "land amendment" by the National Party. When that occurred work stopped. The name Socialist Party had become a stench in the nostrils of the Working Class. Many who have worked in the Proletarian ranks in this state for years have dropped out, and let the work go.

Only in Seattle, and one or two other places, is there anything being done. So far as the party organization is concerned, it has gone by the board. There is no Socialist Party in this state now.

But the adoption of the amendment to the platform discarding the demand for the collective ownership of land is only one of the evidences of the departure from the revolutionary standpoint and the adoption of a reformist program. The raising of the salaries of national organizers from \$3.00 and expenses to \$4.00 and expenses a day; the concentration of effort in the farming communities; the decision against the party in this state MERELY BECAUSE IT WAS PROLETARIAN, and a hundred other instances go to show that the National Party has ceased to stand for Socialism and has become the exponent of a diluted form of Populism.

These conditions require a remedy. We, whose names are undersigned, are locals and members who have upheld the Proletarian position in the Socialist Party for years. We are Wage Workers, every one of us. We are convinced that much of the strife and contention of the past years, while it has served a purpose in educating us, has, without disparaging those Middle-Class comrades who have stood by us through thick and thin in so many battles, been due to the presence in our ranks of those whose economic interests were different from ours. The National Socialist Party has become hopelessly Middle-Class and is shamelessly sacrificing principle for the purpose of securing the votes of the land owning class. We have come to the conclusion that the only remedy is a party composed only of Wage Workers, whose interests, being identical, will cause them to act as a unit against capital in every fight, both political and industrial.

Conscious of the power that we, the Wage Class, possess; and secure in the knowledge that it is our historic mission to abolish capital and emancipate ourselves from the galling chains of Wage Slavery, we call upon you, Proletarians of the State of Washington; you who realize that your interests are the same as the interests of all other Wage Workers; you who realize that an injury to one Wage Worker is the concern of all Wage Workers; you who have "nothing to lose but your chains," to unite with us under the banner of the UNITED WAGE WORKERS OF WASHINGTON, subscribing to the following Statement of Principles and pledging unwavering support to every effort of the Wage Class to better its condition:

Statement of Principles

The written history of the civilized world is a history of the exploitation of the many by the few, of the robbery of a producing class by an appropriating class.

Either as slaves owned by a master; as serfs bound to the soil, or as wage-earners beggared by competition with others of their kind, the producing masses of civilization have always been able to obtain for their toil little more than a bare existence.

At different times and at different places conditions for the workers have been better than at others, and the history of modern civilization proves that every advantage gained, either in the shortening of the hours of toil for a day's labor, the increasing of wages or the bettering of conditions under which the laborer worked, has been brought about by the organization of the wage-earners and their open rebellion and active resistance against the oppression of their employers.

Therefore do we, the United Wage-Workers of Washington, in order to better our condition and the conditions of our class, make this Declaration of Principles:

We are organized as an industrial body to back up by every means at hand, any and all organized or unorganized struggles of the wage earners, in their resistance against the encroachments of the capitalist class.

We maintain that an injury to one wage-earner is the concern of all wage-earners, and that our final aim and object is the destruction in any way possible of the present capitalistic method used in the production and distribution of wealth and the institution in its place of an industrial administration of society by the wage-working class.

We are organized as a political organization to nominate for office at every election, wage-earners, members of this organization, whose aim shall be, if elected, to weaken the powers of resistance of the capitalist state, and to assist in every way possible every rebellion of the wage-earners against their exploiters.

We expect no assistance from any other class in society, and have full confidence in ourselves and utterly repudiate any compromise or any coalition with others than wage-earners who are gaining their livelihood by working for wages and who are members of this organization.

United upon the political and upon the industrial field, we shall be ready to give successful battle to the organizations of capitalism, overthrowing their institutions and ushering in an industrial republic in which we can truthfully proclaim ourselves free citizens of the world.

The Working Class of the World and "all progressive thinkers" have become aroused by the murder of Professor Francisco Ferrer, committed by the Spanish government.

And rightly so. A couple of months ago hundreds, or perhaps thousands, of common, ordinary Wage Workers were slaughtered by this same government on the streets of Barcelona and other cities while many others were shot down as "traitors to the country," just as Professor Ferrer was.

Here and there one would hear it mentioned, but the Proletariat of the world did not seem to take near as much notice of the fact that its own members were killed like rats, as of the murder of one of another class, who attempted to voice some of the demands of the Proletariat.

This indicates that the Class Consciousness of the Working Class is not yet a thoroughly established fact. A. J.

Next Tuesday, November 2, you have a chance to vote for the Lumber Jack, Emil M. Herman, for Congress. Do your duty, every Workingman, from Port Angeles to Aberdeen and South Bend and from Tacoma to Vancouver.

KEEP IT UP

The Swedish strike has aroused the world's Proletariat more than any other strike in the history of the Labor Movement.

Contributions have come in from practically every civilized (Capitalist) country in the world.

Germany's Working Class had sent 1,000,000 mark (\$25,000) until September 25. Denmark had contributed until October 4, 525,000 crowns (\$141,000). Norway had sent to its starving Swedish brothers until the same date nearly 500,000 crowns (\$135,000). Finland has sent large contributions. Even Bulgaria, Herzegovina, Bosnia and the other so-called "backward" nations have given their share.

America and England are finally coming up with the rest.

Get subscriptions from your Swedish friends!

THE MEXICAN HORROR

DE LARA DEFENSE LEAGUE.

Los Angeles, California, October 23, 1909.

Dear Comrade:

We are sadly in need of funds for the prosecution of the work of the De Lara Defense League. Heavy expenses must be met immediately if our imprisoned comrade is to be saved from the terrible fate awaiting him across the Mexican border.

Will you kindly announce in the columns of your paper that Mrs. Mary A. Garbutt, 2110 Ocean View Avenue, Los Angeles, California, has consented to act as treasurer of the League and will receive and acknowledge all contributions which may be sent to her for the furtherance of this work? Also urge all Socialists and all American citizens who are interested in preserving the traditional reputation of this country as a refuge for the oppressed of all nations to contribute promptly to this cause.

Fraternally yours,
DE LARA DEFENSE LEAGUE,
By Clarence Melly,
Attorney.

prostitutes created by Capital out of the innocent girls born to Labor in the United States are a more terrible thing even than the deportation and miseries of the Yaquis pictured in the following vivid quotations from Turner's articles in the October and November issues of "The American Magazine."

Mr. Turner says, concerning the start:

Such dangers as the journey held in store for me were clearly overshadowed by the dangers for the man whom I selected for a traveling companion, L. Gutierrez De Lara, himself a Mexican, not one of the revolutionists, but a man who, for voicing sympathy for the revolutionists, had incurred the enmity of his government.

"If they know me they hang me," De Lara told me in his slightly imperfect English, "but I will go with you all the same."

And De Lara went. A highly educated man of famous family, yet he had studied the common people of Mexico as few have studied them. Merican character and Mexican history were his long suits, and to me he was at once companion, guide, friend, and an easy bridge across the chasm of reserve which naturally separates the people of one race from those of another.

Though we left Los Angeles disguised as tramps, the agents of Diaz learned of the departure of De Lara, and though he crossed the line in disguise and continued to mask his identity under old clothes and unbarbered face, before we had been in Mexico ten days secret police surrounded the house in which we were stopping. De Lara escaped by jumping through a back window, scrambling over rooftops and descending into another street, and when we left Mexico City for Yucatan soon afterward, both of us got out of town singly and by means of the cab and suburban car. Sure enough they were after De Lara. Weeks later we learned that an important Mexican government official had offered money to both American and Mexican friends of my companion in an effort to learn where he had gone.

In the November issue Mr. Turner describes how the Yaquis, a primitive tribe of Sonora, after fighting against Diaz and Ramon for many years, are now being deported and sold into slavery in Yucatan, traveling from Guaymas, on the Gulf of California, to the port of San Blas, thence over the mountains to San Marcos, Guadalupe, Mexico City, Vera Cruz, and finally to Progreso in Yucatan. His narrative continues:

On the road to Yucatan the companion of my journeys, L. Gutierrez De Lara and I saw gangs of Yaqui exiles, saw them in the "bull pen" in the midst of the army barracks in Mexico City; finally we joined a party of them at Vera Cruz and traveled with them on ship from Vera Cruz to Progreso.

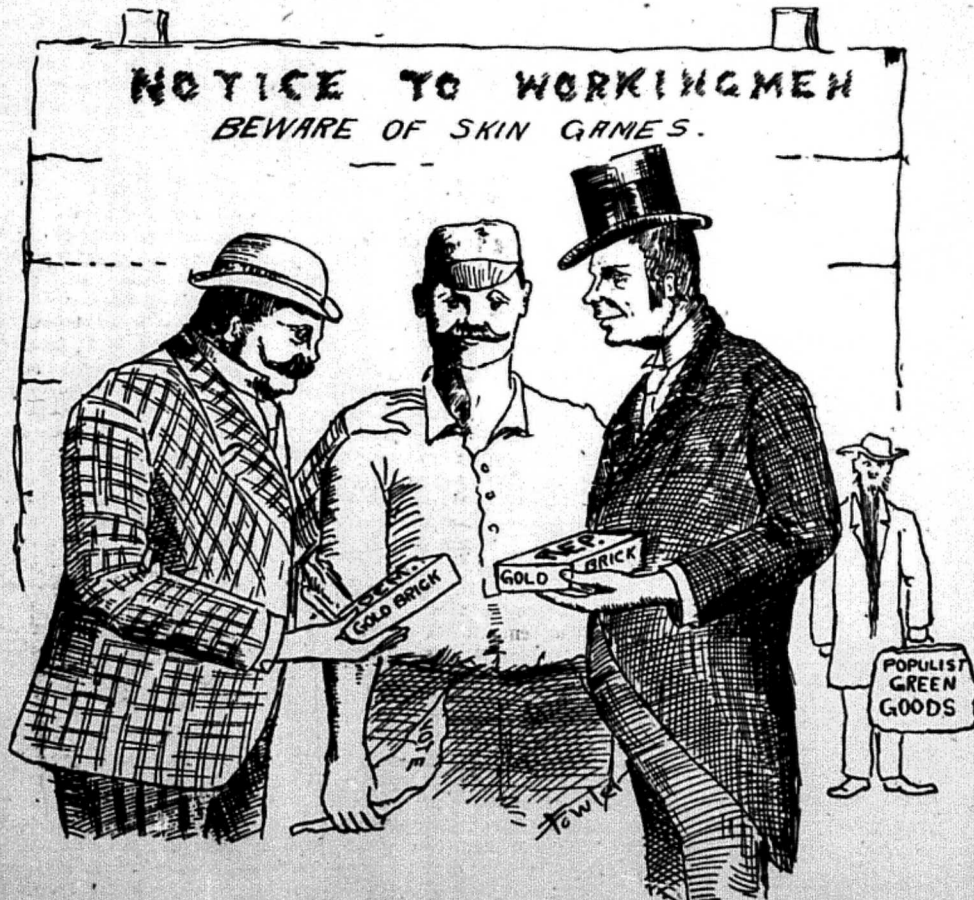
A group of exiles gathered about us, some of them, tobacco famished, pulling furiously at the cigarettes which we had passed among them, others silently munching the bananas, apples and oranges which we had brought.

There were two old men of past fifty, one of them small, active, sharp-featured, talkative, dressed in American overalls, jumper, shoes and slouch hat, with the face and manner of a man bred to civilization; the other tall, silent, impassive, wrapped in the chin in a gay colored blanket, the one comfort he had snatched from his few belongings as the soldiers were leading him away. There was a magnificent specimen of an athlete under thirty, with a wizened baby girl of two held in the crook of one arm, an aggressive-faced woman of forty against whom was closely pressed a girl of ten, shivering and shaking in the grasp of a malarial attack, two overgrown boys who squatted together in the background and grinned half foolishly at our questions, bedraggled women, nearly half of them with babies, and an astonishingly large number of little chubby-faced, bare-legged boys and girls who played uncomprehendingly about the floor or stared at us

Continued on Page 3

For Congress, 2d Wash. Dist., Emil M. Herman, the Lumberjack.

ELECTION DAY Tuesday, November 2, 1909



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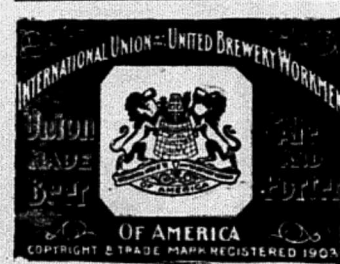
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THE WOMAN

By Bessy Fiset

Comrade Beulah Hyde and I have been and are fighting and working for the same thing—the Complete Emancipation of the Workers. Through the gaining of that freedom we bring about the complete emancipation of woman! On the main point—the great fundamental point—we are agreed and I am sure Comrade Hyde will acknowledge it. However, on the question of woman in future society which the comrade is trying to discuss she either is incapable of reading correctly or else is making an effort to force me into saying something which she wants me to say when she says I give woman no place "in the world's production only to produce children." Comrade Hyde knows that I never said or hinted at anything of the kind. What I did say was that "in the bearing of children woman places herself in the front rank of the producers of the world," and that "the bearing of the perfect child will be the greatest factor in future economic production and the mother (misprinted "worker" in the paper) in the proposed scheme will be correspondingly accredited with it. Thus, instead of holding the inferior position of the Greek woman, she changes to the most exalted position in future society."

Certainly that doesn't preclude woman being in industry to her heart's content, and it certainly doesn't mean that she withdraws from industry when she changes her kind of "production." Anyone who says that I give woman no place in industry and that I make her "economically independent first through child producing" is saying what is not true, and if Comrade Hyde is as intelligent as I believe she is she must know it. Everyone who has read "The Socialist" for the last year knows pretty well what my position is, and I see no need for keeping up a "discussion" which fails to "discuss."

In a popular magazine for November is an article by the secretary of "The National Consumers' League" on "Why Working Girls Fall Into Temptation." The writer says she thinks the statements she makes concerning the earnings and expenses of entirely self-supporting women and girls are the first attempt to show in print just what they get in "food, shelter, savings and recreation in return for their work."

Then follow some very graphic accounts of the factory girl at \$6 a week when working full time; the department store girl at \$8; living on \$10 a week; after working for sixteen years, etc. At the end the writer asks, "What can we do about it?" Surely a very pertinent question! Then she says that the "immediate and practical method that is in use in New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland and a few other cities" is the one adopted by the Consumers' League.

"The Consumers' League primarily looks after the interests of the Consumers. Incidentally the interests of the Consumers are enhanced by giving shorter hours, "fair wages" and cleaner workrooms to the workers.

"The Consumers' League seeks publicity for the Facts. It believes that wide spread knowledge of existing conditions is all that is needed for the American public to see to it that sympathy, justice and mercy to the American working girl shall prevail."

The American working girl meets no "sympathy" for the women of another class and as for "justice and mercy" she knows it is not to be found. In those stores where higher wage and shorter hours are found there also is found the girl who must dress better than the girl in the stores where smaller wage and longer hours prevail. Also those are the higher priced stores with a more or less "exclusive" trade and the number of saleswomen is reduced to the minimum.

In New York, Philadelphia and Cleveland there are just as many girls going into prostitution as in any other cities, in spite of the Consumers' League.

Sadie X., of Chicago, has a voice—a beautiful voice, and a pretty stage presence. Sadie thinks she will go on the stage. Consequently she sings for every manager—among them Henry W. Savage. This last summer word comes from the Savage office in New York for Sadie to come on to New York at once and start rehearsals for one of the Savage productions.

Happy Sadie! She gathers together all the money she can pay her fare East and to keep her during the seven weeks of rehearsals—for which, of course, she was to receive no pay—and starts off. Rehearsals begin—keep on, day in, day out, and the little pile of money grows smaller and smaller, but with each day comes the realization that the real performance is that much nearer!

At last it arrives. The manager sends word to Sadie that they "can't use her; she isn't suited to the part!" That is all. Kick? Cry? Make a fuss? Why, the management isn't responsible! There was no contract for those seven weeks, and if there had been it would be of no benefit to the girl.

the buoyant hopes, the confidence in self, the ambition—that is more than money. One woman in the business says "Managers finally get the heart out of your body and then kick because you don't throw in the lights and liver."

To tell the truth, Sadie was probably an "honest" girl and under this system there is no place for "virtue" (?)

My grandmother used to quote the adage: "Be good and you'll be lonely," and it bothered me a good deal. I had no desire to be bad and I had no desire to be "lonely," so trying to arrive at a medium was cause for serious consideration on my part.

In these latter days, however, I have no difficulty in trying to see the truth of the axiom.

The working girl faces two futures—Death in a charitable institution, or Death in a house of prostitution.

It is difficult to ascertain which is the lesser evil. B. F.

Next Tuesday, November 2, you have a chance to vote for the Lumber Jack, Emil M. Herman, for Congress. Do your duty, every Workingman, from Port Angeles to Aberdeen and South Bend and from Tacoma to Vancouver.

Get subscriptions from your Swedish friends!

Herman

Arrested Hoquiam

Herman writes from Aberdeen:

Only one more week till the close of the campaign. Election day is Tuesday, November 2nd. Let every body get busy and get the wage-workers out to vote. If voters will line up according to their class interest the Socialist Party of Washington will come out victorious and the wage-workers of the United States will have one representative in congress.

Herman also reports his arrest by order of the mayor in Hoquiam, September 24, Sunday afternoon. He was asked to promise not to speak again that day, but refused. Then he was released anyway. No charge against him. The "Business Interests" were disturbed by his "noise."

Next Tuesday, November 2, you have a chance to vote for the Lumber Jack, Emil M. Herman, for Congress. Do your duty, every Workingman, from Port Angeles to Aberdeen and South Bend and from Tacoma to Vancouver.

Every one says "The Socialist" is now proving itself "the best ever." Yet it costs money. Are you doing your best to sustain it?

Platform of the Socialist Party of Washington

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

1. The Socialist Party is primarily the party of the Proletariat.
2. We recognize the Class Struggle between the Proletarian Class and the Capitalist Class as the supreme fact of modern civilization.
3. We recognize this struggle as a struggle for the possession of the world's wealth and for all the benefits of human progress.
4. We recognize the historic mission of the Proletariat to be its own economic emancipation through its political victory over the Capitalist Class.

The growing solidarity of the Proletariat industrially in Labor Unions and politically in the Socialist Party is a sign of this ultimate victory.

5. We recognize the increasing incapacity of the Capitalist Class to control Society.

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

6. We assert the victory of the Proletariat Class over the Capitalist Class will not only emancipate the victorious class but abolish all other classes as well.

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

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

The ownership of the instruments of wealth production, such as factories, mines, railroads, machinery and land gives the Capitalist Class its power to amass all wealth in its own hands. The Socialist Party proposes to transfer that ownership from the Capitalist Class to the Proletariat Class and to use political power to that end.

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

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

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

10. As such measures calculated to improve Proletarian conditions under Capitalist rule and to assist the Proletariat in achieving its complete triumph, we advocate and demand:

- (a) Immediate public employment of the unemployed at the State's expense at full union wages on such works as irrigation, reforestation and road building.
- (b) Preservation from capitalist destruction, of natural resources such as mines and forests, in order that abundance may be preserved for social use after the Revolution.
- (c) Abolition of Court injunctions in Labor disputes.
- (d) Abolition of all Oriental Immigration which is subsidized or stimulated by the Capitalist Class and all contract labor immigration.
- (e) An eight hour day and a five and a half day week for all classes of labor and further reduction when that concession has been secured.
- (f) Abolition of employment of children of school age.
- (g) Reduction of residence qualifications necessary for the franchise in a state to two months.
- (h) Absolute freedom of press and speech.
- (i) Equal suffrage for men and women.
- (j) Initiative and referendum in order to protect against continued Capitalist corruption of representative government.

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

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

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

In a word, the small farmer can only secure his own emancipation by joining the Socialist Party and thus assisting in hastening the Proletarian Revolution.

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

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

Socialist Party and Trades Unions

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 under taken 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 rendered all previous records in persecuting 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 workmen 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 trying up or sequestrating 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 employes killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workmen to belong to unions.

"While affirming the right of employers to bar organized workmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workmen 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 haters' 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 treasuries, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

BALLOT IS A WEAPON.

"At this critical moment the Socialist Party calls upon all organized workmen 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 workmen on election day.

"Workmen 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 slavery."

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CORRESPONDENCE

A Reform Party

Editor "The Socialist":

Find enclosed money order for \$2, one dollar to renew my subscription, and the other my contribution to the "Plant Fund."

You will take notice also that I have changed my abode as above, and send the paper here in future.

Recent developments serve to confirm my belief that our Party has become a fully confirmed "reform" party. It is clearly in the hands of middle-class reformers and has about lost sight of its supposed revolutionary character. When we get to offering soap to farmers or any other class to induce them to vote our ticket, we have about gone the whole length of capitalist methods.

Compromise and trickery seems to be ineradicable in the minds of most middle-class people. As Dr. O. W. Holmes once wrote: "We are all tattooed in our cradles with the beliefs of our clan. The record may seem to be superficial, but it is indelible." So, your middle-class Socialist finds it almost impossible in a majority of cases to shed his capitalistic skin and be born over again into Socialist principles, but falls naturally into reforms and makeshifts as he has been brought up to under capitalism.

What better could the capitalists hope for than that the Socialist party should confuse its membership with wrangles over reforms until it lost sight of its one simple principle that the laborer is entitled to his whole product?

Of course, most of the middle-class "Socialists" are honest and sincere, but as long as they have control of the party it will not be a true Socialist party, but rather a perfect pattern of capitalist parties, with their subtleties and compromises. To my mind, the offer to the farmers contained in the amendments just adopted is thoroughly dishonest. No man nor any party can say in advance what the people will do in such matters hereafter, nor can pledge them to any definite line of action in such details. And what difference is there in principle between such bidding for the support of various classes, and fusion with other political parties?

Another thing that is extremely significant as to the direction things are tending in the party is the recent raise of the salaries of the National Organizers to \$4 per day. This I consider an outrage. It smacks louder of our capitalistic tendencies than any one thing that I have noticed. To take the painfully gathered funds of the party and hand them out to favored individuals in that fashion is "going some" and no mistake. Perhaps it is justified by the clear domination which they seem to have of the party, but it looks to me that it won't be long before there are two hostile parties calling themselves "Socialist" parties, unless there is a complete change in the present party methods.

It has been, and is, my belief that a large number of the quarrels within the party are due to capitalist intrigue. This is not saying that the party is wholly rotten, but the tendencies, I

Beginning With Oct. 10 There Is Being Issued a Sunday Edition of

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This Sunday paper, for which there has been a strong demand, will contain a complete condensation of the week. Being, therefore, partly of the nature of a weekly periodical it will be able to circulate to every part of the Union.

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For one month—Sunday issue only, 20¢; week-day issue only, 40¢; Sunday and week-day issue, 50¢.

In addition to the above rates subscribers in New York City and the Bronx must pay a cent a day to cover postage.

A Socialist Press is an absolute necessity if economic freedom is to be obtained and wage slavery abolished. It is both your privilege and your duty to help in its building and support.

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Will you not do your share by subscribing for as long a period as you can to the Sunday Call?

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NOTICE TO CREDITORS.

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON, FOR KING COUNTY.—The Matter of the Estate of Charles B. Teeple, Deceased. No. 10645.

Notice is hereby given to the creditors of, and all persons having claims against said deceased or against said estate, to present them with the necessary vouchers to the undersigned administratrix of said estate, at 427 Colman Building, the place of business of said estate, in Seattle, in said county and state, within one year from and after the date of first publication of this notice or same will be barred.

Date of first publication, October 9, 1909. ANNA E. TEEPLE, Administratrix of said Estate. GILL, HOYT & FRYE, Attorneys for Estate, 427 Colman Building, Seattle, Wash.

think are towards the destruction of our organization.

W. M. GREEN, San Jose, Calif., Oct. 10, 1909.

Green was formerly state secretary of the S. P. in Florida.—Ed.

A One-Class Party

Some Reasons.

By C. W. GARRETT.

Much has been said of late about "one-class party," "two-class party," "rough-neck science" and "wage-worker" organization. The last named has been proposed in contradistinction to an organization wherein a coalition of diverse economic interests is expected by some to be the most effective method by which to emancipate the wage workers, whose present economic interests are such that the need for Socialism to secure the full product of their labor is above all else, from the wage-workers' viewpoint.

If we are to get Socialism we must certainly find the best method to apply. If through a political organization, then what kind of a political organization?

I agree with the opinion that it will take both to win out in the end. Therefore it is now my purpose to make some observations on the kind of political organization that can be expected to retain its backbone to the end.

Since the industrial organizations are of necessity composed of wage-workers, we are going to try and see what kind of political organization will best harmonize with the industrial organizations in their dual capacity of emancipating from wage-slavery. To emancipate means that the right conditions must be brought about. Socialism is that condition which will emancipate the wage-worker and put him in possession of his own.

Then how are we really going to succeed in obtaining Socialism without the worn-out reform method or a long line of palliative measures—with the capitalist class remaining in power?

Marx tells us that the prevailing mode of production, by a nation of people, reflects itself—or determines the ideals, morals, religions and customs among those people. In other words, find out how a body of people get their living and you have the index to their actions as a body.

The ruling class or owning class have their hands on the machinery of production and of government. Herein lies their economic interests—the way they get their living—and as they are the ruling class, they furnish us religion, ideals and a code of morals and customs that bolster up their interests as owners, exploiters of labor and bosses of production.

We find that the actions of a body of people are merely a reflection of how they get their living—I am not speaking of an individual, but of people in a body.

What kind of a body of people are going to bring Socialism? I think the key to this is: Find what body of people get their living in a way that harmonizes with the ideal of Socialism, or what body of people would be most interested in the mode of obtaining a living under Socialism, where they would receive the full product of their labor. Here you will find your revolutionist, be he "rough-neck" or "bum intellectual."

If I wanted to start and maintain a movement to reduce taxes I would want to organize all heavy tax-payers—all those who owned enough that they need not work for wages to live—and in consequence thereof would be interested in such an increase of their "income."

If I wanted to start and maintain a movement to prohibit liquor selling I would want to organize all people who had other goods to sell—those who would expect to take the money that now goes for liquors, in exchange for the kind of goods they had to sell—and in consequence thereof would be interested in such an increase of their "income."

If I wanted to realize a reliable movement to secure the full product of labor to each individual producer of wealth, I would organize those who do not now receive anything like the full product of their toil—that is the wage-worker who is now exploited out of four-fifths of the products of his labor—and in consequence thereof would be interested in such an increase of income as would be due them under Socialism.

When we realize that our aims must be attained through the action of a body of people, we are at once inquisitive about the composition of that body of people.

Will the prevailing mode of getting a living by this body of people, harmonize with the aims of Socialism to secure to the producer the full product of his labor? If it does, then the backbone and overwhelming majority of this body of people must certainly be modern wage-workers.

If that is true, then is it not the safest plan to organize wage-workers alone, and not run any risk of the organization being captured by people whose interests are different from or in opposition to those of the wage-worker?

I cannot conceive of any other object for the existence of the Socialist Party except to emancipate the wage-slaves. When this is done all others will of necessity receive their just dues. "To supplant capitalism," says the National Secretary Barnes, says the Socialist Party is for, is a little too vague for me, because I am a wage-worker and have been one about all of my life.

I cannot conceive of any organization, but of wage-workers alone, which will come nearest to keeping the backbone of the movement intact and forestall disintegration as a result of people of other classes than wage-workers dominating if allowed to participate in the organization and thus use the movement for other purposes than its aim. Perhaps sidetrack to simple government ownership or state capitalism.

The result of National Referendum B of 1909 indicates a tendency in the wrong direction—a step backward—to catch farmer votes, not to educate the working class, certainly not. Such things as are mentioned above might not happen so much in the early stages of the movement, but later when the party has some promise of success—then see who would flock into it if the way was open. There would be a veritable avalanche of middle-class malcontents, professional

place-seekers and demagogues. And they would soon make their presence felt because principle would not be their guiding star—certainly the principles of wage-workers would not impel them as much as political success—any way to get it.

I would far rather see the real revolution accomplished in twenty years, than to see any clap-trap, half-way success subject to the dangers of reaction, in ten years.

We must certainly build right if it does take more time and patient education of the working class.

A wage-workers' political organization would certainly harmonize with the industrial organizations in a joint movement to abolish wage-slavery.

A wage-workers' organization would appeal to wage-workers as a mixture of middle-class with wage-workers and freaks, would not. Bourgeois appeals to bourgeois, and wage-workers to wage-workers.

To keep the backbone in the movement the economic condition of the body must be the impelling force. If the working class does not come to realize its historic mission it will be because we are not progressing or have not progressed in the past.

C. W. GARRETT.

Next Tuesday, November 2, you have a chance to vote for the Lumber Jack, Emil M. Herman, for Congress. Do your duty, every Workingman, from Port Angeles to Aberdeen and South Bend and from Tacoma to Vancouver.

THE MEXICAN HORROR

Concluded from Page 1

from a distance out of their big, solemn black eyes.

"Revolutionists?" I asked of the man in overalls and jumper.

"No; workmen."

"Yaquis?"

"Yes, one Yaqui," pointing to his friend in the blanket. "The rest are Pimas and Opataos."

"Then why are you here?"

"Ah, we are all Yaquis to General Torres. It makes no difference to him. You are dark. You dress in my clothes and you will be a Yaqui—to him. He makes no investigation, asks no questions—only takes you."

"Where are you from?" I asked of the old man.

"Most of us are from Ures. They took us in the night and carried us away without allowing us to make up bundles of our belongings."

"I am from Horcasitas," spoke up the young athlete with the babe on his arm. "I was plowing in the field when they came, and they did not give me time to unhitch my oxen."

"Where is the mother of your baby?" I inquired curiously of the young father.

"Dead in San Marcos," he replied, closing his teeth tight. "That three weeks' tramp over the mountains from the ocean killed her. They have allowed me to keep the little one—so far."

"Did any of you make resistance when the soldiers came to take you?" I asked.

"No," answered the old man from Ures. "We went quietly; we did not try to run away." Then, with a smile:

"The officers found more trouble in looking after their men, their privates, than in deserting them from running away, from deserting than they did with us."

"We were one hundred and fifty-three at the start, we of Ures," went on the old man. "Farm laborers, all of us. We worked for small farmers, poor men, men with not more than half a dozen families each in their employ. One day a government agent visited the neighborhood and ordered the bosses to give an account of all their laborers. The bosses obeyed, but they did not know what it meant until a few days later, when the soldiers came. When they knew, and they saw ruin coming to them as well as to us. They begged the officers, saying: 'This is my peon. He is a good man. He has been with me for twenty years. I need him for the harvest.'"

"It is true," broke in the woman with the ague-stricken child. "We were with Carlos Romo for twenty-two years. The night we were taken we were seven; now we are two."

"And we were with Eugenio Morales for sixteen years," spoke another woman.

"Yes," went on the spokesman, "our bosses followed, begging, but it was no use. Some of them followed us all the way to Hermosillo. There was Manuel Gandara, and Jose Juan Lopez, and Franco Talles, and Eugenio Morales and the Romo brothers, Jose and Carlos. You will find them there now and they will tell you that what we say is true. They followed us, but it was no use. They had to go back and call vainly at our empty houses for laborers. We were stolen—and they were robbed!"

"They died on the way like starving cattle," went on the old man from Ures. "When one fell ill he never got well again. One woman was deathly sick at the start. She begged to be left behind, but they wouldn't leave her. She was the first to fall—it happened on the train between Hermosillo and Guadalupe."

"But the cruellest part of the trail was between San Blas and San Marcos. Those women with babies! It was awful! They dropped down in the dust again and again. They never got up again, and we buried them ourselves there beside the road."

"There were burros in San Blas," interrupted a woman, "and mules, and horses. Oh, why didn't they let us ride? But our men were good. When the little legs of the ninos were weary our men carried them on their backs. And when three women were far gone in pregnancy could walk no more our men made stretchers of twigs and carried them, taking turns. Yes, our men were good, but now they are gone. We do not see them any more!"

"The soldiers had to tear me away from my husband," and when I cried out they only laughed. The next night a soldier came and tried to take hold of me, but I pulled off my shoes and beat him with them. Yes, the soldiers bothered the women often, especially the week we starved in Mexico City, but always the women fought them back."

"I have a sister in Yucatan," said a young woman under twenty. "Two years ago they carried her away. As soon as we arrive I shall try to find her. We will keep each other company, now that they have taken my husband from me. Tell me, is it so terribly hot in Yucatan as they say it is? I do not like hot weather, yet if they will only let me live with my sister I will not mind."

"To whom do all these bright little

THE WORKERS

The letters from our Workers are coming in from all over the country to stimulate us with their words of encouragement, and with what is of more importance, their dollars.

After all, Comrades, we somehow measure our belief in anything by the amount of hard-earned cash we are willing to dig up when the cause we stand for needs the cash.

We fully realize that many who would "dig up" can't, and these comrades are sometimes more in earnest than others who have the money.

But because some Comrades have their hands more than full in trying to "make both ends meet" it does not necessarily follow that these Comrades cannot do work that is even more valuable than just giving dollars. In other words—work without dollars is as valuable, even more valuable, than dollars without work. When we get the combination of both work and dollars then we have the necessary force to educate and organize for emancipation.

Don't think, Comrades, that you are going to get your emancipation by just sitting in a chair and wishing for it.

Don't think you are going to get your emancipation by reading a lot of Scientific Socialist books all by yourself. Don't think Socialism will come without your work and mine. No, Socialism will come, but it will come because you and I and the rest of our class are going to work for it.

Some will work for it when it means personal sacrifice like the Comrade who sends us \$10 this week, who really cannot "afford it" in the ordinary sense, but who is impelled to do it because he realizes the great need.

If it were not for such Comrades the Revolution would be much farther away.

WILL NOT DIE

Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Comrades: I received your letter in reference to "The Socialist" and its needs. I have so many calls upon me for help, and they are all worthy ones, the Swedish strikers, the Local here, and many others that I hardly know what to do sometimes, as my wages are only \$2 per day.

But I cannot bear to see "The Socialist" die for the want of a few subscribers' money. If they are indif-

ferred, I must fill in the breach, even if I have to make personal sacrifice to do it.

I send you \$10, and if agreeable to you, would like to have 50 copies a week to use in the Local. Will the \$10 help you that way.

(I should say yes!) I am going to make the Comrades and the audience at our meetings appreciate "The Socialist" if possible. I keenly see the absolute necessity of such a fearless paper to safeguard our movement. I wish others might see it, too.

Yours for the Revolution, WM. H. BROWN.

Comrades, the value of that \$10 and the spirit behind it with all it signifies in the Socialist Movement is impossible to estimate.

Comrade Brown sent us \$2 only two weeks before. He was severely injured recently by the kick of a horse and had to pay doctor's bills; he has to assist an aged mother from time to time; he has more ways for his dollars to go than he has dollars.

Under such conditions how he could dig up \$10 for "The Socialist" is a mystery!

START RIGHT.

Charleston, Wash., Oct. 18, 1909. Circulation Manager "The Socialist," Seattle:

Dear Comrade: Enclosed find 50 cents for a subscription for six months for address enclosed. My husband got him to subscribe, as he is just a young fellow starting in to study the question. I thought he may as well start right as wrong. Fraternally,

MRS. G. W. ARMSTRONG.

HAVE TO HAVE IT.

Jacksonville, Ore., Oct. 20, 1909.

Dear Comrades: Hereby find enclosed money order for \$1 (American) for another year's subscription to "The Socialist." Have to have it, you know. Yours for the revolution.

C. F. BOWMAN.

Next Tuesday, November 2, you have a chance to vote for the Lumber Jack, Emil M. Herman, for Congress. Do your duty, every Workingman, from Port Angeles to Aberdeen and South Bend and from Tacoma to Vancouver.

answered in chorus. In words and wry faces they expressed their abhorrence of the Chinamen, and with tremendous earnestness assured us that they had not yet forgotten their own husbands.

"I begged them," said the old woman, "to let me off. I told them I was too old, that I was a woman no longer, but they said I must choose, too. They will not let me off; they say I will have to choose with the rest."

"Twice they have lined us up," reiterated the home-like one, "and said we must choose. But we wouldn't choose. One woman chose, but when she saw the rest hang back she pushed the man away from her. They threatened us with the rope, but we still hung back. They will give us but one more chance, they say. Then if we do not choose they will choose for us. And if we do not consent we will be put in the field and worked and whipped like the men."

"And get twelve centavos (six cents American) to live on," said the old woman. "Twelve centavos a day with food at the store twice as dear as in Sonora."

"Next Sunday morning they will make us choose," repeated the home-like woman. "And if we don't choose—"

"Last Sunday they beat that sister there," said the old woman. "She swore she'd never choose and they beat her just like they beat the men. Come, Refugio, show them your back."

But the woman at the fire shrank away and hung her head in mortification.

"No, no," she protested, then after a moment she muttered: "When the Yaqui men are beaten they die of shame, but the women can stand to be beaten; they cannot die."

"It's true," nodded the old woman, "the men die of shame sometimes—and sometimes they die of their own will."

When we turned the talk to Sonora and to the long journey the voices of the women began to falter. They were from Pílares de Teras, where are situated the mines of Col. Garcia. The soldiers had come in the daytime while the people were in the field picking the ripe corn from the stalks. They had been taken from their harvest labor and compelled to walk all the way to Hermosillo, a three weeks' tramp.

The Yaqui love for the one who suckled them is strong, and several of the younger women recounted the details of the parting from the mother. Then we spoke of their husbands again, but they held their tears back until I asked the question: "How would you like to go back with me to your homes in Sonora?"

That opened the flood-gates. The tears started first down the plump cheeks of the cheery, home-like woman, then the others broke in, one at a time, and at last the listening children on the floor were blubbering delightedly with their elders. Weeping, the unhappy exiles lost their last modicum of reserve. They begged us please to take them back to Sonora or to find their husbands for them. The old woman implored us to get word to her boss, Leonardo Aguirre, and would not be content until I had penned his name in my note-book. The bashful woman at the fire, aching for some comforting, hopeful words, parted her dress at the top and gave us a glimpse of the red marks of the lash upon her back.

I looked into the face of my companion; the tears were trickling down his cheeks. As for me, I did not cry. I am ashamed now that I did not cry!

Next Tuesday, November 2, you have a chance to vote for the Lumber Jack, Emil M. Herman, for Congress. Do your duty, every Workingman, from Port Angeles to Aberdeen and South Bend and from Tacoma to Vancouver.

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FERRER AND DE LARA

Spain and Mexico are in the last stages of the bourgeois revolution. That is, constitutionalism, the typical government of Capital, is overthrowing monarchy in both countries. For Diaz is as much a monarch, though under the mask of a "Republic," as Alfonso.

Spain is a nation of peasants, like Italy, and France, too, though to a less extent. The Modern Industry, "industry on a large scale, has scarcely been born in Italy," as De Amicis says in his address to the students of the University of Turin. This is still more applicable to Spain.

In Mexico great industry is represented by Diaz, for the reason that American Capital has been introduced under his administration and now controls railways and mines. But Small Native Capital competes with this Great Foreign Capital and seeks the overthrow of Diaz. This is a sort of Bourgeois Revolution, which revolts against slavery and demands Free Speech, Free Press, Free Elections and a Parliament which has power, which represents "The People." This is a growth of "Liberalism," similar to the European Revolutions of 1848.

In Spain Great Capital favors the war of aggression in Africa. It desires colonies, more markets, payments on Government bonds. The "Republicans," the small bourgeoisie, oppose the war. The Socialists and workingmen, fired with the spirit of rebellion, really did the work of this Small Capital and fought behind barricades rather than allow their brothers to go as soldiers to Morocco.

Ferrer was a courageous victim, representing Liberalism at its best. In killing him the Monarchy struck at a real foe, a direct representative of the Bourgeoisie, instead of the Proletariat.

In Mexico it is De Lara, a "Socialist." In Spain it is Ferrer, a Radical. In both countries the moving economic force behind these men is the rising capitalist class, which has everywhere before its final stages opposed Dictatorship and demanded "Democratic Institutions."

In neither instance is the Proletariat directly involved. Brave as the Catalonian textile workers showed themselves in the July revolt against military service, the net result of their bravery, aside from the increasing solidarity and spread of intelligence due to such stirring action, is the retirement of the Maura Cabinet and the introduction of a more "Liberal" ministry, which proposes to put Butcher Weyler at the head of its military forces.

That the Spanish and Mexican crises are really in line with Capitalist aspirations, witness the space assigned to these events in the Daily Press which faithfully reflects Bourgeois sentiments.

Where a real Proletarian fight is in progress, as in Sweden, notice the dead silence of the Dailies. Workingmen should not take their cue from the Capitalist Press, except to be sure whatever the Dailies belittle or ignore, like the great Swedish strike, that is the real thing that concerns the Working Class.

Because Ferrer and De Lara, though they represent a Middle Class revolution and because they represent a Middle Class movement, must work for individual liberties and against all slaveries but wage slavery, the Proletariat can consistently assist and defend them, in order to secure for themselves these instruments of public discussion and enlightenment.

But we must not be deceived into blind and heedless enthusiasms over Bourgeois Revolutions which will still leave the Proletariat in its own slavery and exploitation.

RAT LOGIC

By Ernest Untermann

The issue of "The Socialist" in which Comrade Titus makes his rat-and-cat dog on my article about "Heretics, Dogmatists, Middleheads and the Revolution" is quite a funny paper.

Comrade Sladden contributes to the general amusement by another fervent tirade about the so-called class struggle in the Socialist Party, said class struggle being due, in his opinion, to the nefarious "middle class," especially to the farmers, whom "the Unterermanns" are charged with wanting to place in control of said party, whereas Marx and Engels, according to the assertion of the alleged Marxian authority Sladden, "despised" the farmer.

Rats! Marx and Engels had too much sense to make any individual feeling against any class a basis for a scientific argument. This startling Sladdenian contribution to a character sketch of Marx and Engels is simply another one of those reckless assertions, upon which the doughty Tom builds up his roughneck science.

Comrade Titus, contrary to his usual careful manner, likewise becomes reckless by asserting that his cat-and-rat logic is a genuine interpretation of my argument. It belongs wholly to Titus and I decline to accept it.

The middle class that Titus and Sladden talk about, and the class of small farmers and small business men that I talk about, and that I regard

place the idea that this class could, as a class, join our party would be utopian and a complete denial of the truth of historical materialism.

It never occurred to me in all my life to advocate such an absurd idea. It is wholly the child of the imaginations of Titus and Sladden. And I deny that they, in advancing such an idea and playing the role of saviours from an alleged middle class invasion of the Socialist Party, are standing upon actual facts.

Show me where there is any alarming number of that capitalist portion of the middle class, or that middle class portion of the capitalist class, among the membership of the Socialist Party! Show me where this class, as a class, is in control of the national or state organizations of the Socialist Party, or threatening to control them!

It is not a scientific logic, but a rat logic, to advance such a startling idea as a fruit of the Marxian method of research and to go into hysterics about it as though it were the very cream of proletarian science.

Especially Sladden's lucubrations are funny, because he calls the modern proletarianized farmers and small business men "middle class," imagining that these are the people that Marx and Engels referred to in the "Communist Manifesto," and because he is not satisfied with reading these proletarianized small producers out of the Socialist Party, but also declares that only the common unskilled worker is the true revolutionist and that all other wage workers with any kind of skill are either conservative or reactionary.

And in making these silly assertions he bases them upon imaginary statistics, which he cannot prove by any facts.

By the way, some of the figures quoted by me in my article on "Sladden's Roughneck Science" were garbled through an error of my little daughter who copied the article for me. She overlooked the figures given by me for all wage workers and inserted instead the figures for actual wage workers employed in manufacturing industries alone. So that part of that article will have to be corrected. I shall do so later. At any

rate, I challenge Sladden's assertion that 75 per cent. of the population of the United States or of the states of Washington and Oregon are wage workers.

To make his position still more amusing Sladden calls others fools for pointing out that he is himself not a common unskilled worker, and therefore, according to his own logic, not a reliable "revolutionist." In his case, he says, his statements are no less true, even if he is a horsehooper. But no one has been more rancorous and abusive in pointing out the so-called "middle class" affiliations of other comrades and questioning the truth of their statements on account of that alleged affiliation, than Tom Sladden. Now, when this argument is advanced against himself he says just what I have said all along, namely, that a man may be a skilled worker or a proletarian small producer, or even a member of a middle class and yet understand social economics. And this is now used by Sladden as an argument against me and as a basis for the silly fling: "A man may know six languages and still be a fool in all of them." Maybe, but not very likely. It is more likely that a man, who can handle only one language roughly, may be a fool even in that one.

Titus says that he and Sladden are rats and will never work with the middle class cats. And he adds that in Wisconsin the middle class cats have swallowed the proletarian rats. I challenge this statement and demand proof. I must have missed this event. According to my information the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin is dominated by a majority of industrial wage workers, and at that by a majority of union men. If Titus has any proofs for the other view, I want to see them.

It is up to Titus and Sladden to prove that the middle class portion of the capitalist class is dominating, or trying to dominate, the state and national organization of the Socialist Party. Unless they can prove their assertion, I shall continue to contend that all this hue and cry about a so-called class struggle in the Socialist Party is based upon fiction.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

A RAT REPLY

As a Rat, the editor of "The Socialist" thinks it mighty good logic to be aware of the Cat. Even as a Cat, doesn't Untermann think such "Rat Logic" is good logic—for the Rat?

Rat Logic for the Rat, every time, we say. And Cat Logic for the Cat.

And that is the question between Untermann and Titus. Is the middle class man a Rat or a Cat?

We both admit the Workingman, the Wage Worker, is a Rat. Untermann says his new Middle Class is also a Rat. Titus and Sladden say no, he is a Cat who lives on Rats and can't possibly be a good partner in a Party of Rats.

The only question is, then, is the Modern Middle Class a Rat or a Cat? If he is a Rat he belongs in the Proletarian Party. If he is a Cat, he does not.

In the first place, if the Middle Class really is Cats, Untermann's argument that Cats belong in a Rat organization is good Cat Logic, all right, all right. For it is certainly logical for Cats to be admitted freely where there are plenty of Rats. To take the bell off the Cat is logical—for the Cat. It will be dangerous and fatal for the Rats to make any mistake in this matter. If Untermann and Kautsky should happen to be wrong, if the new Middle Class should prove to be exactly as hostile and Capitalistic as the old one described by Marx, the Rats will find themselves in a pretty bad fix after they have voted this new species of Cats into their Party. So Sladden and his comrade Rats are justified in going slow and demanding the most thorough investigation of these furry candidates for Rat fellowship, these big striped animals that look so much like Cats, yet claim to be Rats. This is certainly no "squabble about trifles," as some of our flippant Eastern critics seem to imagine.

In the second place, we in Oregon and Washington are not arguing from book statistics mainly. Our conclusions are drawn from life, from many years' experience in the actual organization of the Socialist Party.

Speaking now for Washington alone, let Sladden speak for his state, let Untermann acknowledge, what he and others of his kind have so far refused to acknowledge in print, that the Washington Socialist Party has been the most successful, in point of numbers, dues paid, votes cast and Proletarian principles and tactics, of any state organization in America. Take the nine and a half years' record and find yourselves compelled by the figures to acknowledge that fact.

Our conclusion from this fact is: If anyone in America has a right to speak from experience in Socialist Party organization, it is those who for nearly ten years, or for 3,000 days, have been studying these problems of Working Class political organization, not theoretically, but in the very process of evolution itself.

To say we have succeeded thus is no boast. For we have succeeded only relatively to the rest of the states. But we have absolutely failed, we in Washington. We have not reached the Working Class. You say, Wisconsin has. No, Milwaukee has. Wisconsin, as a state, has not reached

the Wage Class so much as Washington has.

And Milwaukee? You ask us to prove that there the Cat has swallowed the Rat? What about the fact that the Reverend Carl D. Thompson and the Reverend Winfield R. Gaylord and the Insurance Agent Victor L. Berger are the chief representatives and managers of the Milwaukee Wisconsin Proletarians!

In Seattle, too, we could have had such a Proletarian movement. The Unions would have readily endorsed Municipal Reforms such as the Social Democrats of Milwaukee advocate. But Seattle Socialists deliberately antagonized any political organization of Proletarians which did not represent Proletarians, would not emancipate Proletarians, but would only remove the competitors of the Middle Class.

Well, anyhow, the Washington Socialist Party has had more experience with organization than any other state. We have tried every method known. Some provincial Easterners fancy we on the Pacific are out of touch with the International Movement, are "new," "uninstructed," "raw," etc., etc. Well, if there is any method of organization untried by us in Washington, just mention it. Comrades, we have had the experience, and we have studied the experience of everybody else from Berlin to Chicago that we could hear of.

And we have succeeded, as you count success. But we have failed, just as you all have failed, only most of you are worse off than we were. You know, we all know, the Socialist Party is a failure in the United States. Read A. M. Simons' article in the "Modern Magazine," a little monthly issued from the back door of the Chicago Daily Socialist, of which Simons is editor. He is also a conspicuous member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and in close touch with Mahlon Barnes, the National Secretary. His very title tells the story of failure: "THE STAGNATION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY."

In a private letter to a Washington comrade Simons says: "I believe the Socialist Party in the United States is in process of disintegration" and he intimates another party may arise to take its place.

Yes, the United States Socialist Party is a failure. It is disintegrating, as Simons says.

But why? Why, Comrade Untermann?

We in Washington believe we are qualified by experience to reply, better qualified by a larger, more constant, more strenuous, more diversified experience, to reply than any other American organization.

OUR EXPERIMENTAL CONCLUSION IS THAT THE FAILURE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS DUE TO MIDDLE CLASS ADMIXTURE AND OPPOSITION of that very Middle Class which Untermann calls the new, the Proletarian Middle Class, that class Titus says is Cats and Untermann says is Rats.

Let Titus here say, so that no one will misunderstand, that he is and will be no longer a member of any Proletarian organization, unless he shall sometime in the future become a genuine Wage Worker. His presence

IDOLS AND IDOL WORSHIP

By Tom Sladden

One of the principal causes of the enslavement of mankind through all ages has been the inherent disposition of man to create false gods, creatures of his own mind, and then humbly to fall upon his knees and reverently worship them.

Men have worshipped the sun, the moon, the stars, they have worshipped water, fire, thunder and everything imaginable until we arrive at the present day and date and find men, supposedly intelligent human beings, the creatures of 2,500 years of civilization, down upon their knees in the dirt and muck and mire, reverently bowing their heads to a name.

And so we find in the United States today that we have created several new religions, one of the most interesting of which is called Socialism, and is the religion of a decadent middle class. This fake Socialism or middle class religion can readily be distinguished from the real Socialist movement which is simply the wage working class in revolt on both the industrial and political field against present conditions.

A good definition of a Socialist of the "modern school" of bankrupt intellectual mountebank teachers would be a small business man flat on his end of his spinal column, or one in danger of a visit from the sheriff with a notice of eviction.

Take for instance "Socialism" as defined by the middle class member of the party, and "Methodism" as defined by a preacher of that denomination.

I want some one to show me the difference. I ask the middle class Socialist—whom should we allow to enter the party, and the unanimous answer of all of them is: Any one that believes in our doctrine.

Should I ask the Methodist pulpiteer who should be allowed to belong to the Methodist Church, his answer would be the same: Any one that will accept our doctrine. To be a Methodist, pay your pew rent and believe in an imaginary God; to be a Socialist, pay your dues and believe in an imaginary ary state of society. Both are based on belief, Methodism and middle class Socialism.

To be a Methodist demands that a person be morally clean according to the capitalist idea of morality; be a believer in the saving power of an Omnipotent Being, and a Methodist can be a member of any class in society.

To be a Socialist according to this modern middle class school, a man must be a morally clean man according to the capitalist standard of morality; he must be a believer in the saving grace of the doctrine of universal emancipation, and he can be a member of any class in society. Like the Methodist, the middle class Socialist can be a sewer digger, a lawyer, a small business man, a proprietor farmer or a millionaire. It makes no difference. Like the Methodist, the middle class Socialist dates his Socialism from the day of his conversion. All his life he was an unconverted sinner—I mean Socialist, and all at once he sees a great light. The spirit of G—I mean the vision of a Co-operative Commonwealth was revealed to his astonished eyes like the back of Jehovah was revealed to Moses.

Forthwith he goes up to the amen corner of the mourners' bench and proclaims aloud for the brotherhood of man and the Co-operative Commonwealth. Come to Je—I mean, come to the Socialist movement and be saved. Outside of our middle class movement are the goats, inside are the sheep—and that's no lie. Yesterday I was a bad capitalist—today I am a good Socialist.

these ten years in the Socialist Party of Washington may have been in injury to it. Anyhow, he is now out of it forever.

But he is dead sure the internal conflicts of this Party have been due chiefly to the admixture of Middle Class elements in it. All the Fusion proposals we have had to fight have come from that Middle Class Untermann says is really Rats. All we have to say is, that here in Washington they have acted exactly like Cats and stirred up hell among the Rats.

"This is 'Rat Logic,' Friend Untermann, we confess. It is experimental logic. Do you know of any other kind? Did Dietzen, your professed master, know of any other kind? Is there any introspective, esoteric, psychological, unrelated, egoistic, spiritistic, Utopian kind of cerebral process which is competent to displace this practical, every day 'Rat Logic'?"

Next time we shall have more to say on this live subject, the Composition of the Proletarian Party and the Character of this New Middle Class.

We hold another letter from Untermann in which he wishes it understood by all that he has no sympathy with the New Wage Workers' Party proposed by Washington and Oregon, that he stands by the National Organization in its treatment of the Washington Party and that, if he were in Washington, he would belong to the anti-Titus faction. All of which, everyone ought to know, who has not forgotten that Untermann opposed us in the National Convention, and has never proposed to stand with us. But he sees no reason why he should not exercise his privilege of Free Speech, if "The Socialist" is willing to accord him the use of its columns.

alist, but I pay my wage slaves the same wages today that I did yesterday. The middle class argues it this way: The worse I treat my men the more they will need Socialism. It is their own fault, they perpetuate the system and I am forced to be a capitalist or a wage slave, and I am going to be a capitalist as long as I can. They never take the answer of Bernard Shaw, who, when asked by a capitalist what he could do, saying he could not help being a capitalist, was answered in this manner: You can go and crack rock if you want to; no one forces you to be a capitalist, but you are a capitalist because you want to be. No one forces Hillquit to be a lawyer; he could get a job in a lumber yard. There is no more excuse for a man being a capitalist or a lawyer than there is for him being a Pinkerton detective. He is either by his own free will and accord. The system—they acclaim in one breath, the system makes us do what we do not wish to do. The system does nothing of the kind; the system gives a man the choice between honest labor and dishonest labor—skinning, and a labor skinner is a labor skinner because he wishes to be, just the same as some men are pickpockets because they wish to be. The difference between a pickpocket and a lawyer is that one is legal and the other illegal, and the difference between a capitalist and a pickpocket is that one is legalized and on a wholesale scale.

The difference between a Methodist and a Socialist of the middle class school is one of name and who shall occupy the pulpit. Sometimes the two are combined in the one person.

Believe in God and join the Methodist Church, and believe in Socialism and join the Socialist Party as it is constituted today.

Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden and we will give you rest.

Dig up for the support of the traveling evangelists and pulpiteers (Socialist organizers?), pay 15 cents a month dues to the Illinois Blatter (never mind party dues); don't kick when your money paid in for dues to organize the working class is used to subsidize a putrid press, whose every effort is used to mislead the working class, sell subscription cards for the Daily Squall or mining stock for the Monthly Gold Brick, and you shall be an honored member of the community, a thirty-third degree evolutionist; you will have your name enrolled in the hall of fame; you will receive autograph letters valued at 25 cents per auto by the writer; in fact, you will be a model Socialist, and some day you may even have the pleasure of shaking hands with John D. Rottenfeiler.

We have created a Socialist Party Religion, an American Federation of Labor Religion, an Industrial Workers of the World Religion, a Socialist Labor Party Religion and many others, and each of these Religions is defended by advocates so fanatical as to put to shame the wildest follower of Mohammed or the craziest Howling Dervish that ever gyrated around a picture of a dried snake or brought tribute to lay upon the shrine of a dead cat.

And so it has always been. The working class would attempt to build an organization. He would create the name, he would struggle for the up-building of the organization, but while he slept and worked others would creep into the organization, its principles would change, its form would change, its membership would change, and all save the name, devoided of all meaning, would be changed. But still there would be those who looked and revered that holy name. It had become their God. A new tin Jesus had come into existence.

And so it is in the Socialist Party today. We have an organization, to use the words of Ben Hanford in referring to the Democratic Party, "without a single decent attribute save a name borrowed from the graves of its illustrious dead."

Socialism is not a belief, it does not belong to the realms of metaphysics, but is a crystallization of working class interests brought to their understanding through the physical, through their methods of gaining a livelihood from day to day.

To the middle class Socialism is a dream; to the working class a stern reality, an instinctive class consciousness which shapes their ideas and thoughts. Their organizations take such shape as the requirements of capitalist development demands. When any organization takes such shape as to be reactionary and a bar to the further development of the modern forces of society at that time that organization is doomed.

On account of the Socialist Party of the United States continually putting with middle class reforms, it has never been able to command the respect of the working class. The working class is not interested in schemes of irrigation, of reforestation, of municipal or government ownership except as to how it will affect his status as a wage earner. But he is interested in 25 cents a day more or having to work one hour in a day less for the same amount. He is not interested in honest government because he works just as long hours for just as short pay for an honest government as for a dishonest one.

Next Tuesday, November 2, you have a chance to vote for the Lumber Jack, Emil M. Herman, for Congress. Do your duty, every Workingman, from Port Angeles to Aberdeen and South Bend and from Tacoma to Vancouver.

The clear stand "The Socialist" is now taking for a Wage-workers' Party is costing it a lot of old subscribers, who are frightened at such a radical position. New papers are being started to down "The Socialist," and others are threatened. You who believe in "The Socialist" are needed now as never before.

Get subscriptions from your Swedish friends!

If one city was governed by horse thieves and the other by preachers, the workers would most likely move to the city governed by horse thieves, because the crooks would be ready to pay the largest wages and the preachers would try to drive every one to church on Sunday and make every one as good as they think they are themselves.

As a matter of fact, the wage earners have learned by bitter experience that one of the first practices of all reformers is to lower taxes and cut wages. It is an old saying among men that work on farms—never work for a man that opens meals with prayers, for that is all you get to eat. The more Godliness, the less food.

Theoretically, an honest government sounds nice, but actually, the more money spent in a town the better the conditions for labor in that town, and while the city council is squandering the taxpayers' money the cupboard of the wage worker is full.

The tax assessor cannot rob the wage earner, the wage earner has been stripped by the man that employs him long before the tax assessor gets around.

Now, in the United States we are rapidly approaching, if we are not there now, a state similar to the position of the German Socialists when they issued their famous manifesto. The party has become or is rapidly becoming the stamping ground of all the freaks in the country. When the Communist Manifesto was written it was called the Communist Manifesto because the Socialist organizations in Germany were made up of the followers of Fourier and St. Simon, and other brotherly love advocates. Today in the United States the party is rapidly reaching the same position. History is repeating itself. A new manifesto is the need of the hour. A party of wage earners, composed entirely of wage earners and run in the interest of wage earners, is the necessity.

A Socialist is not a believer in the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, but is a wage earner in revolt against the system that allows an employer to pay him a wage which is less than what he has earned.

Wiltshire once said that "this world was full of unconscious Socialists." He made a mistake—it is full of conscious Socialists, but they fail to recognize as a Socialist Party an organization dominated by the middle capitalist class. They can detect the spurious from the genuine. They will not swallow all the "dope" peddled out by "inspired" teachers who haven't got brains enough to carry guts to a hog and bring the basket back. I have heard men time and time again calling the working class ignorant when these inspired teachers did not have sense enough to grease a hand car.

We have at least 3,000,000 wage earners in the United States enrolled in some labor organization or another. They have different preambles, different constitutions, different types of officers, different forms of organization, some industrial and some otherwise; they differ radically in a great many things, but the one great principle of all they share alike. They have a great many differences of opinion as regards tactics and organization, but there is one thing they have in common, they are all members of the same class, they have the same class interests and they are all advocates of the strike and boycott.

Now this body cemented together in one political party will be a real Socialist party whatever its name. When that party is formed not only will we have a real Socialist party, but a real Industrial Union. It can double the membership of the American labor movement of today because it can organize the places that are now unorganized. Such an Industrial Union Socialist Party can reach into every town and hamlet and village where even a half dozen wage earners are employed.

The Socialist Party can pull off the biggest strike ever known on election day—and their "natural allies" can have the opportunity of allying themselves with the working class by walking up and voting a working class ticket, a ticket as shy of lawyers, business men and millionaires as hell is shy of ice water.

Where will the "natural allies" of the working class be on that day? Let me tell you where they will be. They will be out with guns in their hands to defend unprotected rights against the "unconstitutional" laws of the wage worker class.

In my next letter I will give my opinion of what success they will (not) have.

THOMAS A. SLADDEN.

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