

# THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

THE SOCIALIST

Tenth Year—No. 447

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# THE DISGRACE OF SPOKANE

**Special:** The latest development of the free speech fight in Spokane is the offer of a prominent business man to donate a thousand pick handles to drive all the members of the I. W. W. into the river.

The men are still maintaining their hunger strike and many of them are sick as a result.

Rear 416-420 Front Ave., Spokane, Wash.

Seattle Socialist:

All our women in jail in Free Speech Fight. I go in today. Women their weak point. Try and arouse all thinking women on the Sound to rally to our assistance. A hundred women needed.

Looks like a second Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone affair.

I go in on a criminal conspiracy charge for editing paper. May mean three years. Sell book for me, and if you can render any assistance publicity, etc., I shall greatly appreciate it. Notify Mrs. Henry Carter that I am in. Don't let copyright to book out of your hands.

In event of my death copyright falls to Mrs. Hattie Titus for propaganda work.

Am not very strong and do not think I can stand sentence they will give me. Yours for a Revolution, AGNES THECLA FAIR.

Some months ago Emil Herman was booked to speak on the street in Everett. The time arrived but Herman found himself up against a fine big crowd with no one to sell literature. He had to take his chances, however, and trusting to luck started his meeting.

Luck came in the person of a frail little woman who took hold of the literature proposition and turned in over \$6. This little unassuming person was none other than Agnes Thecla Fair, who has been held in the Spokane jail on a charge of "criminal conspiracy."

According to the capitalist press Agnes Thecla Fair is a very terrible person, even having the immodesty to "harrange" around the streets of Spokane wearing a flaring red tie.

In reality she is—what? Just a plain frail looking little body about 28. (In fact her frailty is the most noticeable thing about her and elicits immediate sympathy) who considers that she has a "good job" when some kindly disposed (?) mossy brained member of the middle class grants her the privilege of scrubbing the floor of his cafe, which she fails to regard as a blessing, however. To quote her own words, "This getting up at 3 a. m. and staying on one's prayer handles all day don't make a 'hit' with me. Being a wage slave is no fun. How those who live life sentences can enjoy it is foreign to me."

By some strange turn of affairs Agnes Thecla Fair was released on Monday, November 8, on her own recognizance and the sight of her being carried from the jail to her home created quite a sensation in Spokane.

The real downright fight for Free Speech in Spokane started on November 2, and has been gathering strength day by day. The capitalist press is aiding in the only way it knows how—by continually publishing such rot as the "I. W. W. Chiefs Eat; Followers Starve." "I. W. W. Urged to Violence." "I. W. W. Not for Onions" and as much more as you can imagine. All the hold-ups, burglaries and every other old crime are being laid at the door of the I. W. W. and to judge by the "authentic" capitalist press every "crook" and degenerate in the country is being attracted to Spokane. The truth of the matter is that the Class Conscious Workers everywhere are either going to Spokane to help out—agitating wherever and whenever they can—or raising funds in order to keep the fight going. (The Spokane Socialists are even giving "moral support"—what it is!

According to the Spokane "Spokesman-Review" of November 7, an effort will be made to keep all those participants who are not naturalized from securing citizenship papers. Yes, verily the Proletarian is the "man without a country." Also names of those arrested are to be sent to the federal authorities in Washington, D. C. "The plan is an innovation in the combating of the trouble and marks the beginning of Uncle Sam's appearance in the game."

There are some funny things in connection with this fight for Free Speech—among them the incident of the courts being in doubt as to whether the extracts from the Declaration of Independence read to a crowd by F. H. Little, are inflammatory literature. While there seemed to be doubt in the mind of the court, Little was sentenced to 30 days. (This latter, however, isn't the "funny" part.)

Strange as it may appear, there is a minister of the gospel in Spokane who

really thinks that the working man has a cause and should be allowed to talk about it.

At the head of this page is a strangely pathetic letter just received by "The Socialist" from Agnes Thecla Fair—a letter which shows that human combination one sometimes runs up against—a nature full of enthusiasm, full of undaunted courage, full of noble purpose, coupled with a physical so weak as to be unable to stand the strain of life itself.

The "P.-I." of November 9, under the head, "Woman Agitator Arouses a Mob," prints the following:

"The only sensation of the I. W. W. disorders today was the parading the streets on a stretcher of Agnes Thecla Fair, a woman agitator, who had been released on her own recognizance.

"As she was leaving the court room she appeared to be faint so her companions brought a stretcher and carrying her they marched through the principal streets, followed by a large crowd to her rooms."

You will note the sarcasm in the words, "She appeared to be faint."

"Appeared to be faint!" How many women of the Middle Class could scrub floors day after day for a bare existence, trying to get a few dollars together that a little book might be gotten out to go forth to those of her class; how many could stand spending the same length of time in a vile and filthy jail? How many could stand the ordeal of appearing before court—a court whose very existence is a menace to this woman and her class?

Do you wonder that she "appeared to be faint"? But what is fainting, to such a woman as Agnes Thecla Fair. Why, life itself is little to give if it helps onward the cause of the masses. Such is the spirit of the men and women fighting so valiantly in Spokane. A spirit never guessed at by those who win their victories by gun, by club and by oppression!

Today this spirit is being crushed, defeated the world over, but in its defeat is formed the embryo of the world's greatest victory.

## SPOKANE ORDINANCE NO. 4391

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** This ordinance is a disgrace to Spokane and must be repealed. For it is aimed to suppress one natural use of city streets, namely, social intercourse, talking, free speech. It is an attempt to engraft old ideas about country highways upon modern city life. For city streets are not only for walking but for talking, not merely for traffic and travel, but for intercommunication between people.

And it is precisely in the business districts of cities, such as that covered by this Spokane ordinance, where people congregate, that such social intercourse and free speech are practiced. To forbid it, as this ordinance does, is to forbid one person to address two others or to speak loud enough to attract attention.

But the worst of this Spokane ordinance is its hypocrisy, its discrimination against the workingman and in favor of the religious. ITS ACTUAL INTENT IS TO FORBID FREE SPEECH BY WORKINGMEN ON SPOKANE STREETS. IT IS A DISTINCT ATTEMPT BY CAPITAL TO

## MASS MEETING

to raise funds for the support of the workers putting up a fight

## FOR FREE SPEECH

Held by the Industrial Workers of the World. The United Wage Workers of Wash. will assist

## ARCADE HALL

2:30 SUNDAY AFTERNOON NOVEMBER 14

F. W. Heslewood, I. W. W., and Geo. S. Holmes, U. W. of W., and others will speak

EVERYBODY IS URGED TO ATTEND

### SUPPRESS LABOR'S RIGHT TO ADDRESS LABOR.

Public sentiment in Spokane will yet repeal this disgrace.

An ordinance prohibiting the use of certain streets, alleys and sidewalks within the city of Spokane for the purpose of holding public meetings, street shows, or the use of the same by street fakers or other persons or the doing of any act which tends to collect or draw a crowd, providing a penalty for the violation thereof and repealing ordinance No. A. 3391.

The City of Spokane does ordain as follows:

Section 1. It shall be unlawful for any person or persons to hold any public meeting or make any speech, give any show, performance, exhibition, or do any other act which shall tend to draw or collect a crowd upon any street in the city of Spokane, to-wit:

Beginning at the intersection of Division street and Second avenue, thence north on Division street to the Spokane river, thence west along the bank of the Spokane river to Lincoln street, thence north on Lincoln street to Mallon avenue, thence west on Mallon avenue to Madison street, thence south on Madison street and Madison street produced to Second avenue, thence east on Second avenue to the point of beginning.

**PROVIDED THAT THE MAYOR MAY GRANT A PERMIT TO ANY REGULAR RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION TO HOLD RELIGIOUS MEETINGS WITHIN THE ABOVE DESCRIBED TERRITORY.**

Sec. 2. Any person or persons violating the provisions of this ordinance shall be fined in any sum not exceeding one hundred dollars or be imprisoned in the city jail for a period of not to exceed 30 days or be punished by both such fine and imprisonment.

Sec. 3. Ordinance No. A.3390, entitled "An ordinance prohibiting the use of certain streets, alleys and sidewalks within the City of Spokane for the purpose of holding public meetings, street shows, or the use of the same by street fakers or other persons or the doing of any act which tends to collect or draw a crowd," be and it hereby is repealed.

Sec. 4. An emergency existing, this ordinance shall take effect and be in force from the date of its passage and its approval by the mayor.

Passed the City Council August 10th, 1909.

E. LAMBERT,  
President of the City Council.  
C. A. FLEMING,  
Attest:  
Approved August 11th 1909.  
N. S. PRATT, Mayor.

### ANOTHER OFFER OF HELP (?)

(From the "Industrial Worker" of Spokane, organ of the I. W. W.)

Seattle, Wash., Oct. 30, 1909.  
718 First Ave.

James Wilson:  
Dear Comrade.—I am informed that you have been discriminated against by ordinance in the city of Spokane; that you mean to make a demonstration, and that the authorities have threatened to call out the negro troops to prevent you from the exercise of your guaranteed rights.

I would like to make the fight for you in the courts, but I should want to

plan the campaign for you, as much depends upon the manner in which a fight of this kind is initiated.

If I am called in to make this fight, I shall ask nothing in the way of compensation, but actual expenses, hotel bill, railroad fare, etc.

The difference to those engaged in the conflict may not be greatly advanced by proceeding along lines that have been provided for by the masters, but you will reach and impress your working class spectators, and in this way win them to your cause. Many thousands of the working class are not yet ready to accept the more direct way and will be repelled by that method. Fraternally yours,  
E. J. BROWN, per D.

## NOW TO ORGANIZE!

Headquarters United Wage Workers of Wash., Room 215 Shafer Building, Seattle, Wash. November 8, 1909.

To the Members and Locals of the Defunct Socialist Party, and to all other Proletarians in the State:

Comrades.—The United Wage Workers of Washington has started. At its last meeting, Local Seattle elected a temporary organization committee for the State, consisting of John Downie, Floyd Hyde and John McSillarow. Jos. S. Biscay was elected temporary organization secretary. These will hold office only until such time as there is sufficient support secured in the balance of the State to elect permanent officers.

It was not thought necessary to adopt any form of constitution till such time as the rest of the State can participate in its formulation, the only rule adopted being that the dues shall be 50 cents in the Locals, 20 cents of which is to go to the temporary committee to carry on the work of the organization in the State. The secretary has stamps and cards.

Now, comrades, we must get to work. Everything is ready to push the work of organization. If you have been a member of the old Socialist Party you should send in your application immediately for membership in the new organization. You have seen in "The Socialist" that Krueger has ceased to act as State secretary, and there is nothing for you to do, if you wish to work for the emancipation of the working class, but to join the United Wage Workers of Washington. Get your local in line if you can, but if not, send in your own application, and as soon as possible we will send you an organizer to help you out. We want to get every Class-Conscious Wage Worker in the State into this organization in the next few weeks.

Already dues are coming in. The work is being pushed in all parts of the State. Applications for membership are coming in every day, and we bid fair to eclipse anything in the line of Socialist organization that has ever been attempted in the State.

Comrades Hyde and Herman fired the first shot in the State work for the United Wage Workers of Washington at Tacoma. In two meetings on the 6th and 7th of this month, they sold \$19.65 worth of literature. The attendance at their meetings was large and their talk was so well received that the religious organizations, the S. L. P. and the Brown-Burgess-Barth Socialists had to give up their meetings for lack of hearers.

In Seattle, the total literature sales in October for 52 meetings was \$195.65. The work has been interfered with greatly because of rainy weather, but where it has been possible to hold meetings they have been well attended and the working class are eager for news of the new organization.

This is the way the wage-workers are responding to the new move. It will take funds, comrades, to continue with this work. The State organization has no literature, and though some donations are coming in there is not enough money in sight to do any effective work. We should have at least \$100.00 worth of literature to start the speakers who are ready to take up the State work.

It is up to you to get this work started right. The first thing to do is to get your local lined up for the State organization and get their dues on the way to the State office. If you can not get your local to line up, send in your own dues and those of the comrades who are with you for a wage-workers party and become members-at-large. Send in a donation for helping out with the State work, for it will be some time before the dues are enough to do much effective work. Let's all push together. Get in line and help form a permanent organization.

Remember the address of the Temporary State Organization Secretary, Jos. S. Biscay, and the State Headquarters of the United Wage Workers of Washington is Room 215, Shafer Building, Seattle. Send in your dues for cards and stamps now.

For a Wage-Class Party,

JOS. S. BISCAIY,  
Temporary Organization Sec'y.

## CLASS STRUGGLE IN SPOKANE

The class struggle is going fiercely on in Spokane. The I. W. W. are putting up a fight for free speech which is being denied them. To make more certain, the masters swooped down upon the organization paper and seized the editor to prevent the news from escaping. The capitalist press would stick to its class interest and warp the information so as to deceive the workers outside. Then the officers of the organization were all run down and stowed away in a safe hell-hole. The good tools of the system were chagrined to learn that a substitute editor had put out the paper. He was hounded down and placed in jail and the capitalist papers said it was all over. It was the echo of their hope.

But, ah! They swarm into Spokane from all over. They rally to the defense of their struggling comrades, weak women, even sick men, with one end in view—to take their place in the ranks and fight.

Warrants are unnecessary, even an excuse is superfluous to the blue-coated tools of the system. The sky-pilots shake hands with the employment thieves and pray to God for victory against the oppressed. About 150 are soon collected in jail, and most of them sentenced after a sham trial to hard labor. They refuse to work and are placed on a diet of bread and water, and given less each day. Those awaiting trial also refuse food unless the others are fed likewise. At this writing they have resisted for 84 hours, and hungry, but full of fight—like men.

To force them into submission—the workers are placed into small cells, so thick that all must stand. No toilet accommodations are provided. The cell is heated to an abnormal temperature, and treading in their own excrement, the men faint from the heat and stench. Women are sick on the other side and beg for hours to have a window opened. But, is not Spokane in the United States, the free country?

On the outside the ever-increasing numbers of the I. W. W., of whom many are women, are charged upon by the police and clubbed, the headquarters raided, the fire department is called out, and the hose turned on the crowd. What for? They are working people that dare to tell the truth, a menace to the stinky capitalist that owns a "free" country.

A speaker mounts the box and starts to read extracts from the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States; he is arrested and given 30 days for using inflammatory language. Sex is given no consideration, when it is of the working class, and cells are filled with sick and fainting women.

Still the fight goes on, the workers must win, as there is nothing to lose. How long do you suppose that organization would carry on such a detrimental struggle if it was composed largely of the middle class? But it is not. Neither is the middle class much concerned over the struggle, except that the hearing of the conditions of those struggling offends their fine feelings of delicacy. It's vulgar to be in jail even for principle, and if the middle class had control they would rather be a yellow cur than stand for principle.

In the struggle of the working class, when the fight becomes hot, the middle class is on the other side of the struggle. If they are within the ranks their influence tends toward respectability and not principle.

Some in the State understand this and are lining up with the new organization of the working class exclusively. There can be no middle ground and he that hesitates is a coward. Better line up against us as an enemy than stand behind. We can respect an enemy if he be worthy and has some spirit, but the yellow streak, never.

The temporary secretary of the Wage Workers of Washington has new cards and stamps ready. Every loyal wage-worker should get busy and line up himself and get as many as possible to do the same. We must have a working-class party—we will have it. But another thing is necessary, comrades. Some of us have taken part in such a struggle as the I. W. W. is putting up in Spokane. Some of us know what jail means. We all realize that their fight is for the interest of all wage-workers. It's our duty to help. Those that can get away should go to Spokane, if possible. But ev-

eryone should do something. A mass meeting will be held in Seattle next Sunday at 2:30 in Arcade Hall, to raise funds for the I. W. W., who are putting up a brave fight. Every loyal wage-worker should forward all he or she can to help our fellow-workers. Don't wait. Do it now. Money can be forwarded direct, or to the organization secretary of the Wage Workers of Washington. Get busy, comrades. Show your color.

JOS. S. BISCAIY,  
Organization Secretary, Room 215 Shafer Building, Seattle.

## SPOKANE POLICE ARE INHUMAN MONSTERS

Fred Niederhauser, reporter for the Spokane Evening Chronicle, visited the jail Tuesday night, and there he saw Wilson, Thompson, Filigno, Cousins and as many other members of the union as they could force in, crowded into a dark cell. The men had only standing room and were stripping themselves to the skin so as to be able to withstand the terrific heat of the miserable hole. No toilet facilities were possible, and the men were forced to trample in their own excreta. Following is the statement made by the reporter:

"I do not make this statement to give my attitude in the present street-speaking controversy or to hinder the police who are endeavoring to enforce the city law as it has been interpreted by the police judge.

"But I do want to say that the herding of men as I saw them herded in the Spokane city jail last night, is monstrous.

"If those men had murdered my own mother, I would not see them put to the slow torture to which I saw them being subjected at 6 o'clock last night. If a resident of Spokane should place any of his dumb beasts in the condition which I saw the men, arrested for street speaking at the local city jail last night, he would be promptly arrested by the humane officer.

"If the jail had been full, and there had been no more room, there would have been some excuse for crowding the men in a cell, with not the least possible chance for ventilation. There were many empty cells in the jail. The condition of the men in one of the cells, which I observed last night, beggars description. To describe it would insult decent people.

"FRED NIEDERHAUSER."

New York's beautiful new \$3,000,000 theatre is at last completed and dedicated to Art and the "People."

J. Pierpont Morgan, being a fair representative of the "People," accepted the building.

At the opening performance (a rehearsal of "Antony and Cleopatra") the "People" occupied every seat in the house, and for the first time in history the "People" to the last man were in full evening dress.

Even the "People" in nigger heaven were no exception.

From this it must be inferred that a miracle has been performed in New York—and no longer are the "People" in anything but affluent circumstances. Let us hope this wave of prosperity will spread to the rest of the country, or at least that the "People" of other cities may learn how the "People" of New York have been able to emerge from the tenement, the sweat shop, the factory, the slum, into the bright light, the laughter, the gaiety, the warmth of the "People's" Theatre.

For one year we have looked over every published list of new books at Seattle's Carnegie Library and have failed to find one thoroughly scientific book on economics. There will be books entitled "A Guide to American Citizenship," "Houston (Tex.) Mayor's Annual Message," etc., and nice little capitalist primers, but as for anything of benefit to the working class—niti!



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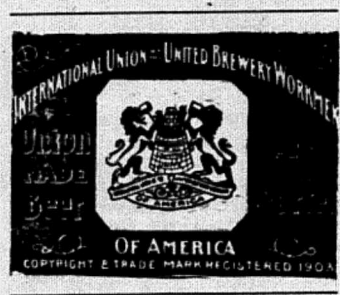
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# WAGE-WORKERS PARTY

## 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. BISCAY, 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 causing 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 unceasingly 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 under- signed, 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.

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# ALASKA--THE WORKING-MAN'S PARADISE--NIT!

By Arthur Jensen

"I am going up to Alaska next summer and make a stake." "Alaska is the place where a workingman should go if he wants to make money."

Remarks such as these are often heard from workingmen who are not familiar with actual conditions in Alaska.

Are not wages high in Alaska? Are not miners offered five dollars per day and board?

Yes; high wages are offered, but not always paid. Several large companies in Alaska have acquired the very profitable habit of not paying their men.

Such a company is the Tanana Electric Company, with headquarters in Fairbanks. The stockholders in this company are not known, but Mr. Chilberg, ex-president of the A.-Y.-P. Exposition, has a mortgage on the outfit.

This gang of thieves, backed by Chilberg, the Seattle banker and financier, has, during the last three summers, cheated its employees out of wages amounting to not less than \$60,000.

Michael Eluf, a young Pole, came down from Fairbanks a couple of weeks ago. He had been working for the Tanana Electric Company last summer, but he had received no wages, that is, no cash. He had gone to work with the understanding that wages were to be \$5 per day and board. He worked about 72 days, and during that time received merchandise on the company's account for the amount of \$8.75. When he quit work wages due him amounted to \$350.25. But he received nothing. And hundreds of others have been treated in the same manner.

Two years ago seventy men working for the same firm were beaten out of wages aggregating \$20,000.

"Why don't these men secure their wages by a lien against the company's property?" you may ask. Good reason why they don't. They have appealed to the courts, these great benevolent institutions, protecting every American citizen in his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The result is that the first case, brought into court two and a half years ago, is still awaiting action. Judge Wickersham, whom the miners

sent to Congress to represent their interests, ruled a couple of years ago that no lien can be placed on a "dump," it being private property. So the wage-worker has nothing to fall back on except his strength in organization. And so far the labor unions have made but little headway with the Alaska workingmen.

The strike at Fairbanks has not been called off yet, but most of the men are back at work at ten hours per day. The operators, as a rule, have mortgages on their mining outfits, and these mortgages provide that ten hours must be worked each day.

And Fairbanks is but one of the places where workingmen are buncoed in Alaska.

The following advertisement was published in the Post-Intelligencer of this city May 20 last:

"Wanted--Men for ditch work at Nome; \$5.00 per day, including board and lodging; transportation there and return furnished by the company; must invest \$100. Apply Alaska Investment & Development Co., 511 American Bank building, cor. Second and Madison."

One man who went there to investigate found that half of the wages were to be received in cash, the other half in stock. James A. Moore was referred to as the financial backer.

A considerable number went up with the result that about 140 returned

this fall on the revenue cutter Bear, absolutely destitute and penniless. They hadn't received a cent.

Thus we see that James A. Moore, Seattle's great capitalist; Chilberg, Seattle's great banker; and Judge Wickersham, Alaska's great statesman, are all in the business of the lowest and dirtiest kind of labor skinning.

## WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

In Czerniowcach, Poland, the police have arrested six men who for years were dealing in white slaves. One of these men, Moti Chruclia, an ex-convict, had mock marriages performed with the most difficult ones, and then sold them to assignation houses in neighboring cities or abroad. These men were arrested while interviewing several unsuspecting young girls.

The victims were transported and sold in Argentina, Brazil and China, and many other foreign countries.

This band used mercantile names for different countries in order to mislead the authorities. They referred to Roumania as "wool" and Poland was referred to as "potatoes," etc.

It is estimated that an enormous number of girls were shipped to foreign countries and sold to a life of shame in the last few years that this gang was operating. J. S. B.

## SIEBYSZ STRIKE WON.

The strike at the mines near Krakow, Poland, has ended in a complete victory for the workers. The struggle has been on for over two months. The miners did not attempt to arbitrate and the employers were forced

to ask for arbitration and finally appealed to the authorities. Finally some concession was made to the strikers, but not the general demand for 10 per cent. increase in wages and the installing of proper lights. About 50 disgruntled miners went back, but the majority stood by the organization.

The employers made several calls to the miners to return to work, offering them each time some concessions. Finally, when everything failed, the bosses asked for the terms at which the strikers would return.

The organization was heavily in debt but held firm and demanded:

1. Installation of proper lights and in the meantime the light be furnished at the company's expense.

2. Ten per cent. increase in wages.

3. No discrimination against the men who were out, but all shall be employed.

4. The employers to pay 75 per cent. of the deficit of the labor union.

There were some demands of lesser importance, and the employers were forced to accept the demands of the miners, and the demands were granted. The miners went back to work with smiles on their faces. J. S. B.

About 60 per cent of the masons are out on strike against a reduction of wages and lengthening of hours of labor, in Warsaw, Poland. The brush makers in about five or six different

factories have had their days of labor increased two hours, in Warsaw.

## AN ORIGINAL EXECUTION.

At the execution of a revolutionist, Garcia, in Madrid, the troops did not respond to the command: Fire! The officers looked at the company and cursed them for not obeying the command. Another command to fire was given and several soldiers shot in the air, but would not shoot the condemned. The air was blue with curses and threats that the officer heaped upon the soldiers, but all to no avail. Finally drawing his revolver he shot the condemned revolutionist himself.

## REFORMING SPAIN.

The new cabinet in Madrid has announced its intention to change the policy of that political body and make such reforms as are necessary to make Spain a nation of peace, prosperity and happiness.

It is rumored that this new body intends to curtail the power of the church and give an opportunity to all religions and creeds, heretofore unknown in the way of competition and free thought.

King Alfonso is said to be very angry at the protests and criticism of the execution of Ferrer, which are pouring in from all parts of the world.

It is amusing to note that in the muckraking stories the muckrakers always bring forth the pictures (written and otherwise), depicting how the "muckraked" stacked up their millions by getting gigantic rebates, avoiding taxes, customs, etc. Never once do they publish pictures (written or otherwise) illustrating the homes (?) and existence of the workers who are robbed of the millions stacked up by the "muckraked."

It is a toss-up who is the greater enemy of the workers--the "muckrakers" or the "muckraked."

# Propaganda Material

## The Terrible Truth About Marriage

by VINCENT HARPER. A brilliant analysis of capitalist marriage. Suppressed by the chief of police of Seattle, though wholly without warrant. Was 25c. Now 10c.

## Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism

By HERMON F. TITUS. It is the only pamphlet published in this country which clearly and simply defines the principles of Revolutionary Socialism. Simply great for propaganda. Price 5c.

## The Historical Achievement of Karl Marx

by KARL KAUTSKY. Translated for "The Socialist" by Ernest Untermann. A brilliant appreciation of Karl Marx's services to the Proletariat. Intensely interesting and readable. Best possible propaganda. Price 5c.

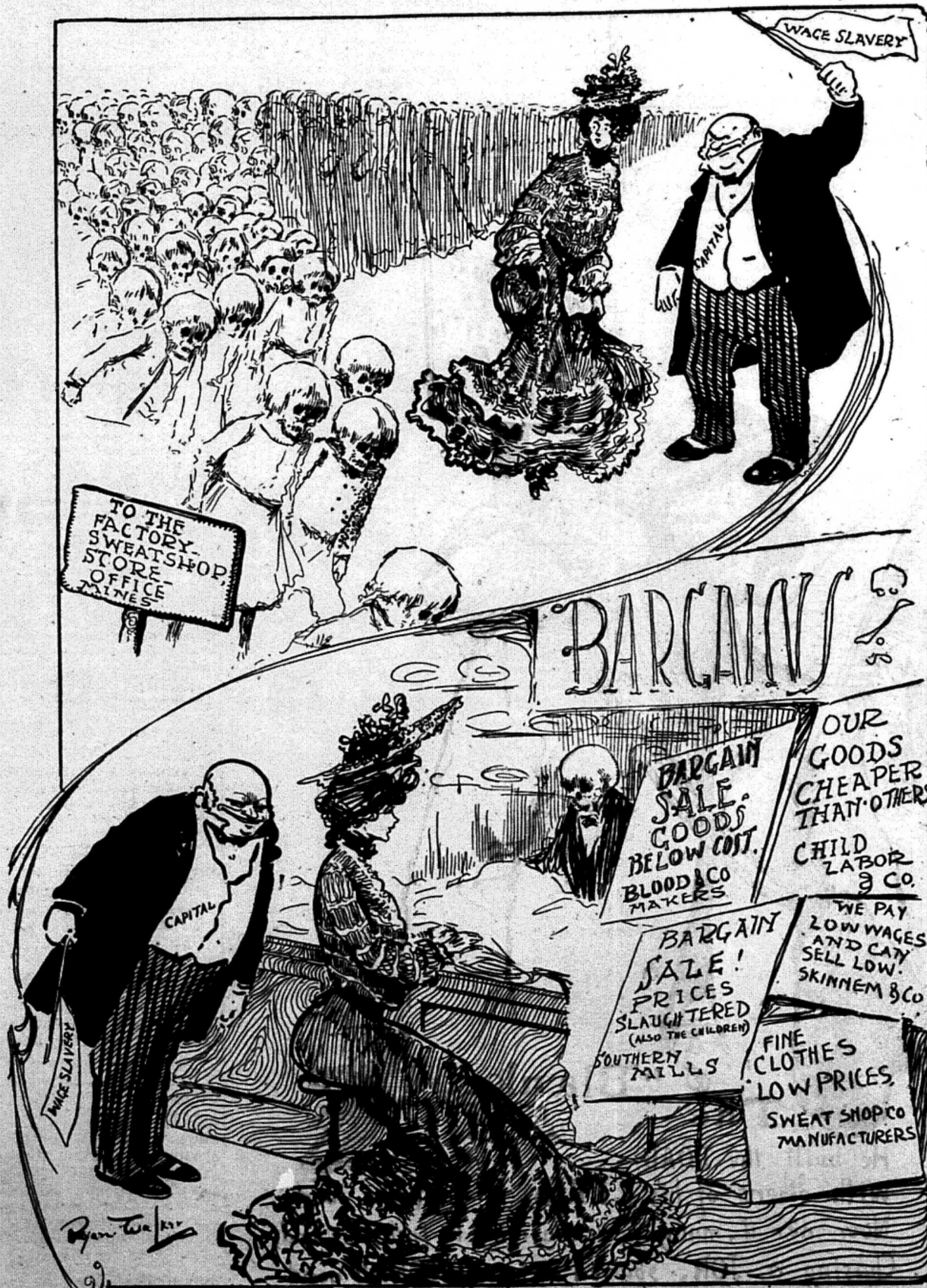
## Anarchism

By GUSTAV BANG of Denmark. Nothing in recent years has been written which so clearly shows up the inconsistent and ludicrous position of the Anarchists and the menace these doctrines are to the working class movement. Should be read by every worker. Price 5c.

Trustee Printing Co.  
Box 1908, Seattle

# A Fairy Story from Real Life

The Ogre's Daughter drew her dainty skirts about her and said: "I don't like to come in contact with such loathsome creatures as the workers."  
Then her Papa waved his little wand--



--and said: "Behold, my Daughter, how I change these people you loathe into beautiful bargains for you to select from and adorn your precious perfumed person with."

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whether "The Socialist" lives or not? Do you care to build up a Working Class press that will be able to cope with every situation that is presented?

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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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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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Please do not delay but send your subscription at once to

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## NOTICE TO CREDITORS.

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON, FOR KING COUNTY.--In 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 B. TEEPLE, As Administratrix of said Estate. GILL, HOYT & FRYE, Attorneys for Estate, 427 Colman Building, Seattle, Wash.



# THE SWEDISH STRIKE

# Wives Revolutionary

By Beulah B. Hyde

## By Arthur Jensen

As far as can be learned the great Swedish strike is still on. About four weeks ago 52,000 were reported out. The others had returned to work as individuals on the advice of their organizations. It was found that it would have been impossible to continue feeding and clothing these hundreds of thousands of men, women and children. They went back as individuals and not as an organized body, because otherwise they would have been forced to sign the impossible conditions demanded by the employing class.

The number still on strike is large enough, however, to hold the world's attention. It is a wonderful record these men and women have made since August 4th.

### THE HELSINGFORS CONFERENCE.

A little over a month ago representatives of Organized Labor of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland met in Helsingfors, Finland, to discuss the situation. The Danish representative, Carl F. Madsen, president of the organized labor of labor in Denmark, on his return made a report to the "Central Labor Council" of Copenhagen in which he gave a history of the conflict. The report was printed in full in "Social Demokraten."

### DANISH REPRESENTATIVE REPORTS.

Below is given extracts of his report:

### THE EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION.

"The most important employers' organization in Sweden, the Swedish Employers' Association, has as its basic principle the protection of the employers' interests through extensive lockouts. In the by-laws of the association provisions are found which bind the members to stand by one another in case of lockouts, and as a guarantee, the employers must deposit certain amounts, in proportion to the number of men employed. The association pays 'lockout benefits' to those employers who enter into conflict with their employes.

### UNIONS FELT HARD TIMES.

"The trades unions have during the 'good times,' until a couple of years ago, used rather aggressive tactics in Sweden, but since the 'hard times' of two years ago they have been forced to moderate these somewhat. However, the workers have not been inactive altogether, several groups having systematized their organizations, while others had renewed their contract with their bosses.

### UNIONS WOULD AVOID WAR.

"On every occasion possible the capitalists threatened with lockout but the workmen for a long time succeeded in postponing war. They had planned to steer through the trouble until after their national convention this fall, where a closer organization between the various unions was contemplated, so that they might be better prepared for the seemingly inevitable struggle.

### FIRST LOCKOUTS DECLARED.

"Soon, however, the Employers' Association declared a lockout in the tailor trade on account of failure to reach an agreement, the employers demanding considerable wage reductions. Lockout was also declared in part of the wood pulp industry because the men refused to accept a reduction in wages.

"When the lockouts did not bring about the desired result, the employing class resolved to bring them to a close—not by declaring them off, but by extending them!

### LOCKOUTS EXTENDED.

"Thus it happened that the executive council of organized labor in Sweden was informed that if the workers did not accept the reductions demanded by the employers before July 25, the lockouts would be on that day extended to include all the organized workers in the wood pulp, textile and gas works industries, and on August 24 the iron mining industry.

"These lockouts affected 80,000 men, but besides these, the officials of the Employers' Association had been given full power to further close out the workers in other industries until the general lockout might include 163,000.

### GENERAL STRIKE DECLARED.

"On receiving these threats of a general lockout labor's executive council resolved to meet the employers with the general strike.

"At the beginning of the conflict the organizations had but little money in their treasuries, these having been nearly made empty during the preceding conflicts. However, the feeling among the workers was such that they preferred a fight down the line without strike benefits rather than limiting the fight.

"It was planned to carry on the fight practically without finances. The organizations in other countries were informed of the situation and were asked for help.

"In spite of all experiences, it was not thought possible that such a gigantic struggle could last more than two or three weeks. Neither was it thought possible that 300,000 workmen could be kept quiet and away from their places of employment any longer.

### BRILLIANT BEGINNING.

"The beginning was brilliant. On the same day and at the same hour the workmen all over the country ceased work with the exception of the railroad employes, whom the executive council had decided not to request to quit.

"Reports from various places showed that the feeling among the strikers was good—beyond expectations. But the opposition was powerful; all forces of capitalism were against the workers. The press attacked the unions

# THE SCIENCE OF A HUMBUG

By Ernest Untermann

The longer Sladden attempts to defend his position, the worse he gets tangled up in the meshes of his own somersault logic.

In the issue of October 16, of "The Socialist," he practically overthrows his long-cherished and vaunted position, and refutes himself. For years he has attempted to read every one but common unskilled wage-workers out of the active management of the Socialist Party. For years he has contended that none but industrial wage-workers are real proletarians. For years he has flouted the idea that small farmers and small business men might be accounted proletarians. But in his reply to me he at last overthrows his own premises, tramples on his own argument, adopts my position instead, and then uses this position as an argument against me. And he is blissfully ignorant of the fact that he thus exposes himself as a complete humbug, who does not care a rap for science, but whose sole purpose is to sow discord and mudslinging broadcast among the working class and prevent the growth of a united and clear working-class party.

He starts his article by throwing a doubt upon my statement that Marx included others than industrial wage-workers in the ranks of the proletariat. And when he has written four columns of personal vilification and billingsgate to bolster up his doubts, he suddenly turns a somersault and tells me that I am too thick-headed to understand that "all proletarians are wage-workers, but not all wage-workers are proletarians," thereby demonstrating that he does not carry on his argument in good faith. For he adds that the governor of Idaho is a wage-worker, and in the same breath he tells us that his statistics of 75 per cent. wage-workers were meant to place all those who worked for wages and depended upon them on one side, and all those who didn't on the other. And he coolly figures out from the statistics of the total employed in gainful occupations that 74.3 per cent. of the employed makes 75 per cent. of "society."

Either men like the governor of Idaho are included in his statistics of the wage workers, and then he should claim that 100 per cent. of society are wage-workers. Or, he must draw the line between those who have nothing but labor-power to sell as a principal means of existence and those who have other principal means of existence, and then his claim that 75 per cent. of society are wage-workers is a farce. He does not dare to disprove my claim that the economic function and with it the political tendency of the lower strata of the old middle-class has become altered and that Marx's statements in the "Communist Manifesto" and in the first volume of "Capital" refer to the old, not to the new classes. He merely asserts that he cannot believe that Marx did so. What a stuporous ignorance and effortlessness! My careful reader of the "Manifesto" knows that Engels himself, in his preface, has called attention to this fact. For in 1888 Engels declared pointedly that many passages of this manifesto, especially the old program, are obsolete, because most of the political parties criticized by it have disappeared. How does roughneck science explain the disappearance of those political parties? According to Marxian science, a political party changes its character or disappears when the economic class whose interests it represents changes its character or disappears.

When I ask Sladden to show specifically where I have given any such ridiculous definition of the proletariat as he attributes to me, he says: "Why, in that same article, because—I insist that individuals of other classes should be admitted to the Socialist Party, if they accept its proletarian principles. He falls to point out where I have given any 'middle-class interpretation' to any of Marx's statements in my translations, but asserts that every wage-worker knows that I have done so, because—my middle-class bias would compel me to do so whether I meant it or not. In order to be logical, Sladden should claim that Marx's middle-class extraction and education in the first place prevented him from writing a proletarian work on science, and that the theory of surplus-value and the materialist conception of history will never be written from a working-class point of view until they are written by a wage-working proletarian. He is afraid to let us know the initials and whereabouts of his "friend and cigarette send," Kaufmann, but this dark horse was good enough to serve as an authority on Marxian science and to act as a witness for my "abortion" of a translation of Marx's "Capital."

He has told us again and again, that

and the conservative government supported the employers.

### MASS OF LIES.

"After the first week the papers published a mass of lies about the strikers going back to work, but nothing was said about their unequalled heroism and not a word about the fact that the lockout was the cause of the war.

### PRINTERS STRIKE.

"The printers, therefore, decided to join in the strike.

"The other workers considered this as a help, but it was learned that the papers were soon enabled to be issued by the assistance of scabs. Scab-herding institutions were formed in a number of cities and the "patriotic" citizens partly succeeded in securing cab-drivers and street-car men. The strikers had not alone the employing class against them, but also all other powers in society.

"The workmen of other countries were their only friends. It was a struggle between the working class

and the capitalist class of the world.

### HELP ASKED FOR.

"Strike committees had been elected in all cities and towns. Soon requests came in from these committees for help for their poorest members.

"The third week the first help was distributed and the following two weeks the amount needed to keep the strikers from absolute starvation increased greatly. The fifth week over 500,000 crowns (\$125,000). Then finally Sept. 6th came the partial settlement. (Here follows a detailed account of this settlement and also of the stranded attempts at complete peace)

### STRIKE LIMITED.

"It was clear to the Swedish trades unions that the fight could no longer be carried forward on as large a scale as hitherto, and as it was out of the question to accept the conditions offered by the employers, nothing was left but to limit the fight.

"Permission was given to step out of the general organization (Landsor-

ganisationen) and if necessary, also of the local organizations. In most places the workers returned to work, and as a rule no questions were asked.

### CONCENTRATION OF EFFORT.

"It was the plan of the executive council of the trades unions not to resume work all over. The struggle was to be continued in certain industries and all effort concentrated in supporting it.

"The places where the fight is being continued are the iron industry, certain sawmills in Northern Sweden, some textile factories, the mines in Lapland and the coal mines in Southern Sweden.

"All in all, there are still over 50,000 men out.

"It is of the greatest importance for these strikers that material assistance be sent to the Swedish trades unions without delay."

All financial assistance should be sent to "LANDSEKRETARIATET, FOLKETS HUS, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN."

Principles and praised me for its clear proletarian ring, and Sladden pretends to have just now found out the "guilty" person who wrote it.

This is the sort of argument upon which Sladden bases his sneers at the theoretical thinkers of Marxian Socialism. If Kautsky disagrees with him, Kautsky must needs be "middle class" and must have abandoned his revolutionary principles. If Simons disagrees with him, Simons must be a "middle-class freak." If I disagree with him, nothing will do but that I am a "middle-class yep." And all the time Sladden asserts that even a middle-class thinker can see clear proletarian truth—provided he agrees with him.

Having exposed himself as an utterly unscrupulous humbug, his sole defense is personal vilification of his opponents.

This man, who cannot defend his own position for five minutes without contradicting himself five times, who steals the arguments of his opponent in order to turn them into a peg upon which he can hang some personal slander, flitches disconnected passages from the standard works of Socialism in order to make them a basis for his roughneck science, who quotes my own words against me in order to prove that I changed my position, and quotes just those passages which I wrote to bear out my own position—this humbug and conceited ass has the gall to complain about MY vanity.

He says that I ought to lose my Kerr and my Wilshire job and get down among the working class, and then I would find out what a true man I am! Well, I started out at the age of 15 years as a sailor before the mast of merchant vessels. Eight of my twelve seafaring years were spent before the mast. On shore I worked for wages as a cowboy, a bartender, a public school teacher, and with pick and shovel on a road-building gang. I got my university education by working for wages in the daytime and studying at night, or vice versa. I served in the

German navy and army in the ranks. And I know from the experience which a wage-worker gets hunting for jobs that a man can be rough and hard and yet need not be a four-mouthed black-guard or a filthy swine like most of the gang that Sladden has gathered around himself in Portland, whom he parades before us as the "best organization of proletarians in America."

I don't have to apologize for my presence in the Socialist Party. I belong to it by rights. Sladden is more middle-class than I have ever been. His Roughneck Declaration of Principles, if carried out consistently, would bar him from active membership in any organization that would put it into effect, but it could not bar me.

Kerr has not paid me an average of \$300 per year for the eight years that I was connected with him, and I have cut loose from him for reasons that any one can learn who wants to know them. My Wilshire job is a figment of the thing that Sladden calls his brain.

Perhaps Sladden will howl some more about my vanity after these personal references. According to him a man must be silent and let Sladden's personal lies go uncontradicted, or, if he corrects those lies, he must submit to some more lying vilification.

In spite of all his distortions, contortions, lies, evasions, self-contradictions, billingsgate and sneers, all of which he has the gall to place before an intelligent circle of readers as a scientific argument, he stalks about as the defender of truth and of proletarian integrity. And he feels insulted when I tell him that he is either a police spy or a fool.

I don't apologize for any personal remarks against such a humbug, and am perfectly willing to be charged with vanity for it. After this, if I have any argument with Sladden I am going to write it in cuneiform script on bricks and hurl it at his head with a hundred horse-power catapult. That is the only way to do justice to his fine intellect and retiring personality. ERNEST UNTERMANN.

We are all well acquainted with the ideals that influence the girl just from the schoolroom.

There is bred in her a contempt for labor, and those who must labor to live. Therefore a contempt for labor, and a desire to hide under false pride and a mock refinement, the poverty that infests her own home. You find her trampling under foot her self-respect and forcing unbecoming friendships with some one whose higher sphere only creates in her envy and malice, which she covers with insipid, mincing manners, only that she might flutter around this light, that she has been taught is the representative of all the brave and glorious qualities that inspire the youth.

The girl from this home of the wage worker after, perhaps, time spent in the department store or some other such work, marries some one whose wage comes so much beyond the small pittance that has always fallen to her, that she feels she has stepped into the realization of her ideal. She makes a show of having all those moral qualities that she feels are fitting with an environment expressing wealth, or property. She dares not be what her natural tendencies demand of her. She watches her neighbor of the higher sphere, and borrows her morals, her manners and her thoughts, more befitting the fashion of dress she has also borrowed.

We who look upon this borrowing proposition are disgusted with the littleness of it, and hold the borrower of little account. But, my friends, she is a moving force in society and as she moves, so moves the world's progress. What is she going to do?

Children begin to fill this home. Bit by bit the mother is forced to dispense with those things essential to her self-respect and as she parts with them she turns upon society a censorious and soured disposition. Lack of time and means forces her to cease watching her neighbor to borrow, and envy changes homage to criticism. Through her own experience she ceases to believe it more than an empty show, and as that belief forces itself into her mind she not only ceases to stand in awe of that class, but she also loses respect for their institutions. She finds herself down and out through being forced to accept the realities of life, and in meeting those realities she has come in touch with her own personality. That personality, required to meet and master the conditions of her family, creates a deeper respect for her own ability than she has felt for those things that proved a mockery in her former life. Wherefore her disposition to enter all your affairs and dictate to you.

She is the head of the family. She propels and keeps in running order the machinery. Her constant and intimate association with the family forces her to take the lead. The necessities of life must be supplied and she, being in such close touch, must necessarily become the one most able to foretell the needs of the family. This places in her hands the distribution of the wage brought into the family. It is not here that busy commands and wifely obeys. They may have their disputes, but in order to supply the necessities of that family on his limited income the wage-worker is forced to return that long-privileged right of his to his wife and become second fiddler himself. One reason, you see, why the working woman is not interested in the woman's suffrage movement.

Now, I wish to show how cause and effect come into her life. I do not give those things as being realized in her life now, but as the things unconsciously revolutionizing her mind. For one thing, if she could look about, she finds herself where the middle-class woman is struggling to get. The working woman is not only free from the domination of her husband, but she is in the lead of him, through the economic conditions of that home forcing her to take that position. You say he can force her submission by leaving her helpless by taking off himself and his wages. That is true. But those cases are exceptional, for the family is his as well as hers.

Again, her children begin school. Her daughters, through school ideals, look upon her as demeaned by constant toil, and a gulf arises between them, only widened by her utter contempt for the foppery of their lives. Her sons look upon her as ignorant and undeserving of their confidence through her continual devotion to

household tasks, keeping her in ignorance of the outside world. She sees detrimental traits forming in their character through their association with persons and things, that she is utterly powerless to counteract.

The constant struggle through the week without some reprieve, would utterly unfit her for the coming struggle of the next week.

She finds this reprieve at church. She dismisses her doubts, and for a few short hours abandons herself to utter trust and confidence in a supreme being that looks after her and her affairs. All the struggle to manage each individual's lot is forgotten, till she leaves the church door. But immediately she enters upon her tasks her religion with its moral limitations slipped aside and she easily and naturally adapts herself to the circumstances that compel her to act in behalf of herself and her family, and we judge her a hypocrite.

Now to make a summary: She has lost faith in all traditional ideas of heroism. Through her experience she has found the very word, as she has known it, to be a fraud. She has heroized herself through her ability to deal with the cruel facts of poverty.

Cause and effect she has faced every day of her life. It has been such a factor that not one effect arises but she begins searching for its cause, or looking forward to the effect of a cause.

She considers herself capable of responsibility, more capable than any other member of the family, wherefore she will feel the responsibility of the human race calling upon her activity. She has ceased to build castles and dream. Her life is composed of facts and activity.

She has already ceased to feel the oppression of the male sex through marriage rights, and she knows that economic causes have brought this about.

The only hold religion has upon her is through her necessity for it. She has already disregarded it beyond the demands of necessity and she has not only a disregard but a grievance against other institutions.

When a crisis arises will the mind of the worker's wife be open to grasp the revolution with all its possibilities and causes? But till that crisis arises to awaken her activity, can we hope for her in the wage-workers' movement?

## In Passing

I must plead my lack of intelligence. I am not a mind reader. Our comrade showed how women could be persuaded to leave the field of industry. I took it for granted that was what she meant. However, she says she did not. In her next article she dwelt largely upon the exalted position of woman as a child-producer, but said nothing about her having any other part in production. I took it for granted she gave her no other place. Now she tells me I am not intelligent—because I cannot read between the lines. Again I must disagree upon the question our comrade feels so sure I will agree with her on. "The complete emancipation of the workers" may do for those who are so they who accept the abstract, but for us who are underneath, the fundamental point is: How are we going to emancipate the workers? I think you will find this is our whole disagreement. She is going to give to woman a free and exalted position, and I say: How are you going to give her that free and exalted position? There are causes for all things, and woman cannot have her free, exalted position without the causes and effects that will deliver her safely into that position.

Our comrade is by no means the first who has given woman a dream of freedom. I heard one of our most brilliant speakers say one night, in answer to the question: "Will women work under Socialism?" "Why, we will make the women so free they won't need to work."

There is nothing so disintegrated, so moth-eaten, so sterile of thought, as the average middle-class mind.



**The "Blanket Stiff"**  
He built the ROAD—  
With others of his CLASS, he built the road,  
Now o'er it, many a weary mile, he packs his load,  
Chasing a JOB, spurred on by HUNGERS good.  
He walks and walks, and wonders why  
In H—L, he built the road.

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