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REIGN OF LAW IN SPOKANE

THE SHAME OF SPOKANE

We publish the following letter without the consent of its author. We believe the interests of truth demand its publication. When we first read it we could not believe it. Even now it seems impossible that such cowardly and brutal treatment could be accorded a helpless woman, even among savages. Yet we know the capitalist system has developed far lower moral types than savagery or barbarism ever knew. We know, too, that daily revelations are made of jail horrors almost as bad as this. Read what Mrs. Fiset tells in her department, "The Woman," in this paper.

Those who know Agnes Thecla Fair will not hesitate to credit what she testifies to. She is a quiet, frail, unassuming little woman, some 25 years old, who is publishing a book called "The Sourdoughs' Bible." She was drawn into the Spokane Free Speech Fight because she happened to be in that city soliciting for her book, and wherever she is, she cannot refrain from taking the side of the under dog.

No doubt she is nervous and excitable, like many another woman—and man. No doubt she is now prostrate and hysterical, as who would not be, after such a terrifying experience as she relates?

But we have no doubt of the essential truthfulness of her account. We have seen another letter, written to another friend by Miss Fair, covering the same ground, differing in details from this letter, yet betraying not the slightest inconsistency with this account. It would be practically impossible for anyone to write two accounts of the same transaction, differing in many respects, yet perfectly harmonious, one letter supplying unconsciously just those touches which the other lacks to make a complete picture.

Of course, the police will deny her story and denounce her as an impostor. They cannot do otherwise. To admit such infamous cowardice would be to call on every manly man to take vengeance into his own hands and punish the guilty wretches as if they had wronged his own sister.

Yet it is not those officers who are mainly guilty. It is the spirit of Officialdom, from the Mayor and Chief of Police down to the latest "special," that spirit which despises the workingman, the down-and-out, the propertyless, the proletarian. It is the spirit of the Master toward the Slave, the spirit of the Simon Legrees toward the black girls of the old South. Ever since Civilization began, with its basic class struggle, the meanest and lowest passions of men have been cultivated.

Even if the story of horror told in this letter is not true, there is no doubt the writer believes it true. We can vouch for her veracity. What explanation can you give, then? Only this, that this poor girl was so terrified by her experiences of a night in the Spokane city jail that she has completely lost her mind. She has become self-hypnotized into believing this monstrous story.

In that case, imagine what tortures of some sort must have been visited on her to unsettle the balance of her mind.

In either case, the Spokane Police Power is guilty and Spokane's Mayor is guilty and the Republican Party in Spokane is guilty, and "Standard Oil" Capital behind the government of Spokane is guilty, of arresting a gentle, innocent girl for voicing her protest against tyranny and of throwing her into a filthy dungeon, and of so maltreating her that she comes forth a physical and mental wreck.

This is the Shame of Spokane, the everlasting infamy of that fair city. So long as an ordinance which permits such infamies remains on its statute book, every man and woman of Spokane shares this guilt and shame.

MISS FAIR'S LETTER

Spokane, Wash., Nov. 11, '09.
Dr. Hermon Titus and Mrs. Titus.

Dear Comrades and Friends: Well, to put it mildly, Mrs. Titus came very near getting that copyright. I am now labeled by police as a DANGEROUS CHARACTER. My offense was mixing in free speech fight and behaving so different from other women arrested.

I made four jumps, as the box filled with dry goods, standing at Howard and Riverside in front of the White House was a high one. I talked for ten minutes and had a large crowd, when a detective came up and took me down from my high pedestal. He wanted me to walk to the station, but as I had never rode in a hurry-up wagon I asked to ride.

While waiting for a private automobile the crowd grew to thousands. Taking out a red handkerchief, as I entered the wagon, I stood up and waved it at the crowd. Cheers went up for Free Speech.

Little did I dream of what was coming after in this enlightened age. You will pardon language used to get at facts, as I never heard anything so vile. They put me in a cell with a fallen woman and left. They were gone but a few minutes when two officers returned and (although the other woman was not to go until Monday, she told me), they told her to get ready in two minutes and get out.

When she was gone they put me in a dark cell, and about ten burly brutes came in and began to question me about our union. I was so scared I could not talk. One said, "We'll make her talk." Another said, "She'll talk before we get through with her." Another said, "F—k her and she'll talk." Just then one started to unbutton my waist, and I went into spasms which I never recovered from until evening.

I was hardly over the first when they brought in a man disguised as a woman and put him in a cot next to

me. I thought it was a drunken woman until the officers went out. Then I felt a large hand-creeper over me. It's too horrible to put on paper. I jumped out into an enclosure, screaming frantically and frothing at the mouth. Had not two of our girls been arrested and brought in just then I do not think I would ever come to.

Even then they showed no disposition to treat me as a human. I never slept or ate the three days I was in there. The third day I was so weak when the doctor called and they would not have let me out then only the doctor said (a "trusty" told me): "She cannot stand it another hour, and her death will mean the end." Then they hurried in and carried me out near a window.

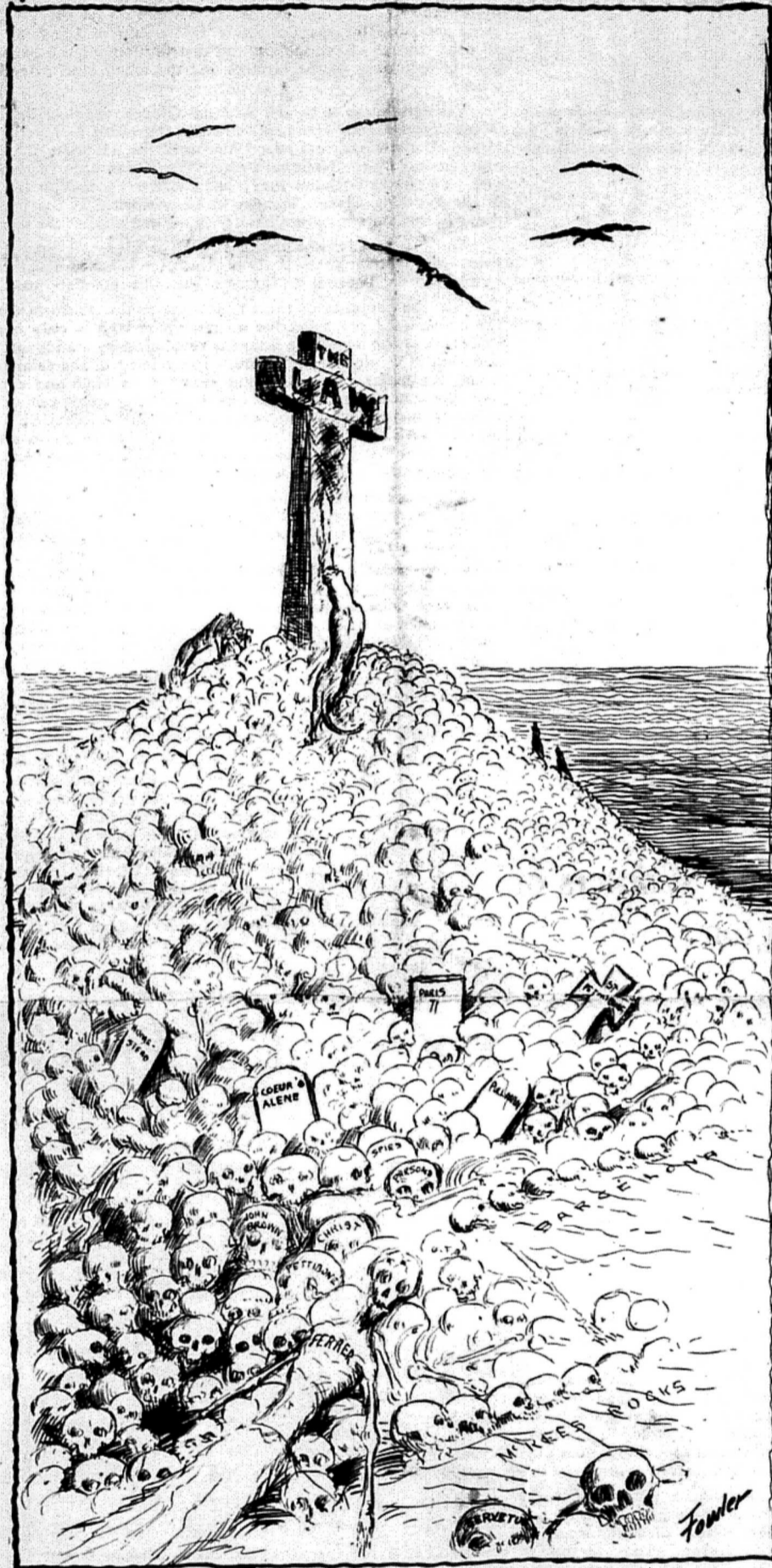
When the matron, who is on the pay roll (a Salvation lassie), but never around the women, was taking me into court, an officer said, "Let her walk." The matron said, "She can't." He said: "If she faints we'll throw a bucket of water in her face; that will wake her up."

The court (through counsel) asked me: "Will you make any disturbance if we release you on your own recognizance?" I said: "I won't be able to for a few days. I don't know what I'll do after that." "Counsel" worded it different to the court, and the court ordered me to the receiving hospital. How kind of the court! I only stayed there a few minutes when I saw a fellow worker pass the door and I asked him to let me lean on his arm to get to a hall a few doors away. As it cost money to hire cabs and it would only keep from the public the brutality of the bulls, and I looked dead, the fellow workers carried me on a stretcher through the principal streets to my room.

While the bulls beat back a crowd of ten thousand twenty-five more went in today.

AGNES THECLA FAIR.

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



TRUTH FOREVER ON THE SCAFFOLD

This cartoon by Fowler is simply terrific in its truthfulness. When you come to think of it, every martyr has been crucified BY LAW. The Cross of Jesus was a scaffold, just as legal and disreputable as the hangman's rope in Washington or the guillotine in France or the electric chair in New York.

The scientific student of history knows why "The LAW" has always been the instrument wherewith to crush Progress and to persecute and kill those who stand for Progress. The Law, whether embodied in the Decalogue or the U. S. constitution or the Spokane ordinance prohibiting Free Speech on the street, was always the instrument of the Property Class to protect itself against the Propertyless Class. "Thou shalt not covet thy Master's Property" was always the commandment of the Master Class who made and administered the Law in its own interest. Any interference, like John Brown's, with the Property of the Master Class in its Slaves or the products of its Slaves, was criminal, disreputable, wicked.

That is why the I. W. W. in Spokane and the Revolutionary Socialists in Seattle have been denied the "Right of Free Speech," because their influence is opposed to the exploitation of the Wage Class by the Capitalist Class. They demand that Wage Robbery shall cease. They organize to make it cease. Therefore Seattle two years ago and Spokane now, with their Capitalist governments, penalize that street speech which urges the workers to combine in their own interests.

Lowell wrote, "Truth forever on the scaffold" indeed, but he added, "That scaffold sways the Future."

SPECIAL SPOKANE DESPACHES

Discipline Excellent

SPOKANE, Sunday, Nov. 14.—The one distinctive feature of this fight, which impresses me at first glance, is the calm, business like determination of the men and the excellent discipline pervading throughout their ranks.

Things are quiet today. No street speaking is the order for Sunday. Tomorrow street speaking will be resumed. The plan is to send out a sacrifice squad daily. Many men are arriving. Two hundred and eighty are in jail, living on bread and water. Eighty of these are in Fort Wright, seventy-five in the abandoned Franklin school house and one hundred and twenty-five in the city jail. Two meetings will be held tonight, one in the city court room and one at I. W. W. headquarters. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and John M. Work are speakers for both meetings, relieving each other. WM. Z. FOSTER.

Horrible Conditions

SPOKANE, Monday, Nov. 15.—Ten speakers arrested today. Police handled them roughly and were jeered by the bystanders.

Conditions in jails are horrible. In the school house bucket is used for toilet. The place is alive with vermin. The prisoners are refused water to boil their clothes. Windows are closed: no visitors are allowed. No place to sleep except floor. No blankets. Half loaf bread daily. All are suffering with cramps in stomach. Doctor gives them castor oil. Many are very sick, but they are ordered to work on rock pile. Only two so far have accepted this means of release.

Today a six day striker was released, afflicted with bleeding piles. Blood was running down his legs. At first they ordered him to rock pile, then told him to go. He could hardly walk and was refused admission to hospital. He was penniless, but authorities refused to return thirty cents taken from his person when he was arrested, on the plea that he owed for costs.

Socialists have declared boycott on Apple Show. Public sentiment is strong for strikers. W. Z. FOSTER.

Fifty Trials in Forty-Five Minutes

SPOKANE, Tuesday, Nov. 16.—Ten speakers arrested today. This afternoon fifty were tried in forty-five minutes, all for "disorderly conduct." Last week Police Judge Mann declared the ordinance against street speaking to be unconstitutional, so all are now charged with "disorderly conduct," though their only offense is speaking on the street.

Of the fifty cases tried today eleven were "continued," four "dismissed," thirty-five sentenced to 30 days on the rock pile, two for second offense fined one hundred dollars in addition to 30 days. Three were sick. Judge Mann tried to make them promise to speak no more. They refused to promise. Then he dismissed them without promise. One who had been insolent to Mann on previous day was ordered to be examined for his sanity. It is easy to get doctors and judges to commit to asylum.

All cases have been appealed to superior court, where they will get jury trials. Bruce Rogers is attorney in charge of cases. W. Z. F.

Special Correspondence

By William Z. Foster.
Spokane, Monday, Nov. 15, 1909.
There were ten arrested today. Really it requires courage to face

thirty days in that jail after hearing the reports of the horrible conditions prevailing there. The men, however, face it cheerfully and amid the jokes of their fellow workers they are taken away.

Today three were arrested at one spot, and then the rest decided to give the police a walk before they could have an opportunity to arrest another "rioter." It was amusing to watch the Pinkertons and plain clothes men follow us about. One fellow was jibed so heartily that he shamefacedly turned back and went around the block to head us off so as to be early upon the scene and make a reputation by pulling a rioter.

The methods used by the I. W. W. in this fight are of so peaceful a nature and so systematic that the police are afraid of creating any more public sentiment in favor of them by handling the "speakers" very roughly. Once in a while, however, a policeman will show his bravery by giving some unresisting fellow a yank when he takes hold of him. The crowd resent this and with their hissing and jeering drive these obnoxious minions of order half mad with anger.

This afternoon our fourth "speaker" was in a bad plight as the policeman didn't arrive soon enough. He didn't have a word to say, and had to be prompted by some of his more literate brethren who stood on the curb and gave him his speech word by word, sotto voce, with but slight accent on the "sotto." When the policeman did arrive this "speaker" was so pleased that he actually made a couple of steps toward him so as to expedite the matter.

After the afternoon's five speakers had been arrested some of the boys in the crowd called out that there would be no more demonstration today. This is the usual procedure, and the I. W. W. keeps its word by not holding any demonstrations.

At first they held their meetings down in hoboland, but when the police began the clubbing they moved to the business district and public sentiment has saved them largely from this feature. They hold no "street meetings" after 5 p. m., as for obvious reasons they wish plain daylight to shine on the actions of the police in the arrests.

The story in my despatch tonight is the skeleton of a terrible tale told me by a young Frenchman, an I. W. W., who got out today. He has protruding piles to a bad degree, and when he would sit down he had to be helped up. All the medical attention he got was doses of castor oil. The doctor advised him to go to the rock pile. They reward these traitors by giving them their liberty. So far only two have accepted this chance. This young fellow deposited 30 cents at the station when he was arrested, but they refused to return it to him. He was informed that he had received 30 days and costs, and that his 30 cents had gone to help liquidate the "costs."

This young Frenchman showed up at headquarters in a most deplorable condition and one of the fellows took the platform, and after briefly stating the case asked for a collection. There were only a few present and many of them were absolutely penniless, but the crowd responded with \$3.40. It was really thrilling to see such enthusiastic class spirit. These men are determined to win and a victory for them in this fight spells trouble for the employment agencies.

Work's talk fell flat, and the boys are disgusted with his ladylike harangues. He is certainly a wretched talker, one of the very poorest I have heard for some time. He told us all about Lovejoy, Phillips, Garrison, Brown, etc. Gurley Flynn followed him and gave a real live, direct action talk that was very well received.

Duggan has gone to Chicago on business, but of what nature I couldn't learn. W. Z. FOSTER.

Women for Jail

By Agnes Thecla Fair.
Spokane, Nov. 17, 1909.
I was arrested for speaking on the streets. The judge has discharged all women.

Continued on Page 4

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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 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 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 unswerving 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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