

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

THE SOCIALIST

Tenth Year—No. 450

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, December 4, 1909

Price Five Cents

LABOR'S FIGHT FOR FREE SPEECH

TO THE SOCIALIST PARTY, FOR "IMMEDIATE ACTION"

By Wm. English Walling, of New York

Daily Despatches from the Battlefield at Spokane

Latest

I. W. W.'s Reply to Police Raid.

(Special Despatch to "The Workingman's Paper.")
Spokane, Wednesday Noon, Dec. 1, 1909.
Gurley Flynn is out on five thousand dollars bail. Rest are held in jail.
Miss Flynn was arrested last night on the sidewalk outside the hall. Gatewood was arrested on the platform. Speed, Secretary Douglas and Committeeman Conner were arrested in secretary's office.

The meeting went on undisturbed. Marvelous discipline prevailed. It was the best meeting since I came to Spokane three weeks ago. Greatest enthusiasm was manifested.

Chief Sullivan himself, accompanied by Capt. Burns, Bull Shannon and four others, conducted the raid.

The answer of the organization today to the attack last night was FORTY SPEAKERS on the street this morning instead of the usual five or ten.

MEN AND MONEY ARE NEEDED.

Pitiful Case

SPOKANE, Tuesday, Nov. 23.—One of today's cases was really pitiful, and in the opinion of many, the conviction of the prisoner was purely a matter of revenge. The defendant Stein had been arrested twice before and had been released on his own recognizance and was staying in town because of a suit he had pending against an employment shark. There is no question in the minds of any of us who know Stein but that he was doing his best to keep out of the clutches of the law, as he had to leave town on important business as soon as he finished his case against the employment agent.

While waiting for this trial to come up he developed the unfortunate habit of going to the police court daily to hear the I. W. W. cases and in so doing he sowed the seeds of his own undoing. It happened that he was one of the men who witnessed the brutal assault on Shannon upon Joe Mullin in the hallway just outside of the court room and when the latter called for witnesses he was foolishly enough to give his name. Joe Mullin has sworn a warrant out for Shannon and as Stein's testimony will seriously injure Shannon's chances for acquittal, Stein became an object for police vengeance.

The opportunity for this revenge came last Sunday when the "bread riot" took place. (I mean the incident wherein the people of Spokane showed themselves so sympathetic with the starvation tactics of the police that they just about started a riot in their efforts to get food to the prisoners.) In common with some 2,000 or more people Stein was present and followed the boys to the schoolhouse. Although, according to the testimony of the officers, he was very much in evidence during the demonstration, none of them considered his conduct as disorderly.

Twenty-four hours later, however, he was enticed into the station house and a charge of vagrancy placed against him. He pleaded with the hard-hearted Judge Mann that he was innocent of the disorderly conduct charge placed against him (the charge finally resolved itself to the same old thing), but it was useless, because, as usual Judge Mann's mind was made up beforehand.

The best proof in the world that Judge Mann resented the injustice of the accusation is found in the fact that he gave him a third offence prisoner, but thirty days, while he gave the newcomers thirty days and \$100 fine. Such is the fate of any working man who has the temerity to offer to testify against a policeman in Spokane at the present time.

I. W. W. Headquarters Searched

(Special Dispatch to "The Workingman's Paper.")

SPOKANE, Wednesday, Nov. 24.—Last night three policemen visited the I. W. W. Headquarters. They waked up all the men sleeping there and demanded of each one how long he had been in town and whether he intended to speak on the street. Then the intruders went over to the Bulletin Board and read the notices posted there. After a general warning to the men that they had better leave town, they departed. This action, combined with other suspicious actions of the authorities lately, seems to bear out the widely expressed opinion that the

Headquarters will be raided in the near future and the organization suppressed.

Crane, the lawyer arrested for addressing the people on the street from his office window, expressing his indignation at the treatment of the I. W. W. was sentenced today to Ten Days and One Hundred Dollars fine. He appealed his case to the Superior Court. Crane is a fiery Irishman, and he made Chief Sullivan look like thirty cents under cross-examination. One question upset the audience. After drawing out the dignified chief at considerable length, Crane suddenly plumped this at him: "Mr. Sullivan, had you been drinking that morning?" The room exploded with laughter and Judge Mann was so horrified at the outbreak that he ordered the court cleared of all spectators. There were several women present, but none were put out except Miss Gurley Flynn and Mrs. Heslewood. Two big policemen requested them to go. Pretty cheap business.

Strong disinterested evidence went to show that Crane's conduct had been anything but "Disorderly," but Judge Mann, in pronouncing sentence, admitted in so many words, it was not Crane's speaking, but his criticism of the Police that he was convicted for. It has come to this in Spokane that citizens are arrested and punished for criticizing the police. Can Russia or Mexico or Spain beat that?

Some of the boys were sentenced today to the usual 30 days and \$100 fine for merely singing "The Red Flag."

How is it possible for these things to be "Disorderly Conduct" on the streets and not "Disorderly Conduct" in the Hall? Pretty soon the Hall speakers will be caught in Judge Mann's mill.

To show their contempt for Mann's new severity in doubling his sentences announced Tuesday, 12 men went to jail today instead of the usual five or ten. Twenty-seven got in from Montana last night and will soon be in jail.

Debs Coming

(Special to "The Socialist.")
SPOKANE, Wednesday, Nov. 24.—Attorney Moore today received a telegram from Fred Warren, of the "Appeal," announcing that Debs had been instructed to postpone his trip to Los Angeles and to proceed to Spokane to assist in the Free Speech fight. As to where Debs is now located or when he will be here, Moore does not know.

Thanksgiving On Bread and Water

(Special to "The Workingman's Paper.")
SPOKANE, Thursday, Nov. 25.—Last night the I. W. W. Local passed resolutions that members out of jail should live on Bread and Water today ("Thanksgiving Day") in honor of their fellow workers in jail who got the same.

In yesterday's "Review" Chief Sullivan announced that all the prisoners in the city jail, with the exception of the I. W. W. men, would be given the regular turkey dinner customarily given to them on Thanksgiving Day. The I. W. W. men will enjoy the same bread and water fare that has been given them since their incarceration.

Not satisfied with this discrimination against the free speech agitators this worthy gentleman added a few sarcastic remarks to his announcement which clearly show his bitter hatred of these prisoners. He says the water spigots will be kept in good working order so that these "alien vagabonds" can get their fill of good, pure water. He also announced that the menu of the dinner will not very strongly resemble the old-fashioned Thanksgiving dinner, and to point out the great dissimilarity between the new and the old, he calls attention to the fact that the bread served will not even be steamed, so consequently will hardly even suggest the hot mince pies or steaming pudding we are prone to associate with a Thanksgiving dinner.

These heartless remarks were entirely uncalled for, and in order to show its disapproval of them and to honor the boys who are thus being cruelly starved, the members of the organization at their business meeting last night passed a resolution to forego their Thanksgiving dinners and eat nothing but bread and water for the day. The amount to be allotted to each member to be the same as that allowed the prisoners in the jails.

This morning about 10 o'clock we all lined up at the I. W. W.'s kitchen and received a half pound of bread and a cup of water, and after eating this

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Jail Fodder In Spokane

(Special Correspondence of "The Workingman's Paper.")
Spokane, Nov. 24.

Jail fodder is pouring into Spokane from all directions and the I. W. W. has become a sort of "clearing house" for the free speech fighters on their way to jail. Men are arriving here from the most distant parts of the country and after a day or two's feed and rest at the hall they go out on the street and attempt to exercise their "God given" right of free speech with the usual result. A sentence of almost four months on bread and water. There is always a crowd of men at the headquarters, but the faces are ever changing, the new faces coming from outside points and the old faces going to jail. The I. W. W. member in Spokane who has not been to jail at least once is a curiosity and not alone that, but a stench in the nostrils of his fellows. Many of them have been in several times, but owing to old age or ill-health they were not subjected to the rigors of a lengthy stay in jail. The police know that none but men or rugged health can stand the hardships being visited upon the prisoners in the

various jails, and when they arrest anyone in delicate health they keep them but a few days or until they are broken down, and then turn them loose to find succor as best they may. They are not quite ready to have any deaths occur in their jails, for as yet public sentiment largely favors the prisoners.

A few days ago two of four who started from Imperial Valley, California, arrived in town after having accomplished this distance in eight days. The other two were caught in the Northern Pacific wreck at Lynn a couple of days ago, and while one escaped the other had a very narrow escape from being killed. He was beating his way and was ensconced on the tender of the Great Northern train when it collided with a Northern Pacific switch engine, killing two engineers and a fireman. He saw the switch engine while it was yet 500 yards off and shouting a warning to the engine crew, he jumped from the train, which was going fully 45 miles an hour. Almost immediately after he jumped the wreck took place and one of the coaches rolled down the bank towards where he had fallen, and it almost got him, but injured as he was, he managed to struggle out of the way. He suffered a severe scalp wound, three broken ribs and a badly bruised leg. Last night he reached Spokane and although hardly able to hobble about, has expressed his determination to go to jail in a couple of days. The boys have stated that they will use force if it is necessary in order to prevent him from adopting any such foolhardy course. If they have any influence with him he will stay away from the horrible bull pen at Franklin school until he has recovered a little. This is an example of the spirit animating the members of the I. W. W. in this fight. They are determined to win, and all the thunders of Judge Mann cannot break their indomitable spirit.

Officer Meyer, one of the human brutes on the police force in this benighted city, today met his Waterloo. He was ignominiously discharged from the force for a brutal and unprovoked assault upon a harmless drunken working man. Although the assault took place in the slave market district, public sentiment has been so aroused over the brutalities attending the I. W. W. arrests that even here in this promised land for police brutality, such a howl of protest arose over the affair that the authorities simply had to take steps in the matter. It seems that he was arresting a man who was scarcely able to accomplish the perpendicular, a harmless drunk, and after trying to make him stand erect this cur drew back his fist and delivered a powerful blow full in his victim's face. The latter fell to the street unconscious, and many feared that he had been killed. The witnesses of the affair took speedy vengeance on the coward.

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U. W. W.

WOMEN FOR SPOKANE

Working women, if it were your brothers and sons in Spokane, you would be walking the ties to share their lot. But if you allow those men to lose out in Spokane, your brothers and sons will be in a worse condition than those men are at present. It means you have helped to fasten the chains of drudgery and oppression upon them to a greater degree and it will require an additional length of time to break them.

Again I ask for women recruits, and as before I will tell you our method for raising the funds to go on. Send us your name and address and the price of fare from your home to Spokane, and we women in the cities will raise the necessary funds in street meetings. Before we can leave Spokane we must have free speech there, for our fare home must be raised by street meetings. Do you see the necessity of free speech to the working class? By this means, and this means only, can we acquire the funds necessary to do our political and propagandist work.

BEULAH B. HYDE,
Care JOS. BISCIAY,
Room 215 Schaefer Bldg., 1414 Second Avenue, Seattle, Wash.

NOTES

By J. S. Biscay, Temp. State Sec.

Here is the pledge that the U. W. W. has decided to put on the new application cards:

"I, the undersigned wage worker, recognizing the class struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and the necessity of the wage workers organizing themselves, exclusively, to oppose the capitalist class on every field of battle until the emancipation of the working class is complete, hereby declare that I have severed my connections from all organizations of the capitalist class, political and industrial, in which I might be used as a tool against my fellow workers, and I hereby pledge my full support in every struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and promise to abide by the principles of the UNITED WAGE WORKERS OF WASHINGTON and the constitution or any rule hereafter laid down by the majority of the membership of the or-

ganization or any branch in which I may hold membership and hereby apply for membership to said organization."

How does that strike you? The cards are to be white, printed in red ink. The new cards are ready, so if anyone wishes to fill out one, let me hear from you.

The weather has been so bad lately that Hyde and Herman were unable to hold their customary meetings in Tacoma this week. The speakers are developing webbed feet, so there is some hope.

Krueger has taken the sign off of the door and gone into business for himself, using the same office. He refused to give us a copy of the local secretaries or members at large a few days ago. He will do nothing that will aid the new movement, or give any information in his possession to us, he says. That does not say that he will not do anything against us. In fact, he admitted talking to many people on the new movement. We know what his talk would be from his attitude. But we are getting there just the same. Any movement of any consequence cannot be stopped by one man, at least this movement WILL not.

Tom Lewis, "spoke" for the Seattle Pops Sunday. It looks as if the meatie had a strong influence with Tommy. I understand that he will have a few meals ahead for turning down his own class. I understand also that he made the crack that he saved Local Portland from falling to pieces, and from the clutches of the terrible Sladden. I would expect something more revolutionary from Portland, but Tom has not been there long enough to absorb the spirit of real proletarianism.

It looks as if the Polish people in different parts of the state will soon be with us. There is a movement on foot to organize a local in Seattle, and other parts of the state. Talk about this movement spreading—it's like rolling a log down hill.

Received five applications from Buckley a few days ago. None of the applicants were members of the party before. It certainly sounds good, doesn't it? Especially when those on

the outside are seeing the right proposition. We have a comrade in Buckley that is doing some great work. Keep it up, comrades; that is the spirit that wins.

The author of the land amendment to the constitution of the modern (?) Populist Party, that has created so much trouble that even poor simple Simons is discouraged, was in town Monday to tell something he did not not know. Some person in the audience asked a question on the middle class proposition and Work, who is willing to work anything that pays, was up in the air. He did worse than Untermyer ever could. When he got through proving that Socialism should prostitute itself before the capitalist class and had performed a few abortions on Marx, that even Untermyer never thought of, there was some applause. Why shouldn't the people whom he represents applaud? Did not the long-haired freak dentist-lawyer prove to his own satisfaction (if to no one else's) that he and every other exploiter were proletarians?

Talk about the abortion of scientific Socialism, this is seduction.

Mrs. Hyde is trying to get the women to make a start for Spokane. They are needed there—men, too. I hope that she is successful and gets some support from the women. Why don't some of the men think this over. If a woman is willing to leave a baby behind in order to help the free speech fight, how much will the men do?

The money for the free speech fund is coming in very slowly. The following is the list:
Previously acknowledged\$7.50
J. P. Brady50
Harry Howell 1.00

The I. W. W. say in answer to my letter in which the above \$7.50 was sent that there is need of all the funds available and also all the men and women that are ready to go to Spokane.

From the returns of the free speech there seem to be but few that believe in free speech. Get busy, comrades. NOW is the time to act. Show where you stand—do something NOW.

JOS. S. BISCIAY,
Organizing Sec.
Room 215, 1414 Second Avenue, Seattle, Wash.

Mass Demonstration For the Benefit of the I. W. W. in Spokane will be held in Arcade Hall, Sun., Dec. 5, 2:30

George Speed, direct from Spokane, will be the principal speaker. The United Wage Workers will assist the I. W. W. in this meeting. Everyone who believes in Free Speech should be on hand.

Editor's Introduction: We publish this letter of English Walling's for the benefit of those who are still interested in the U. S. Socialist Party, many of whom are readers of "The Socialist."

Comrade Walling has been for many years a close student of Organized Labor, both in America and Europe. With his wife, Anna Strunsky, he went to Russia to assist the Revolution there, but was practically expelled by the czar's government. Himself an heir to wealth, he devotes his life to the Labor Movement. Like Geo. D. Herron, W. E. Walling has no confidence in the British Labor Party, as he shows in this letter. Like Herron, too, he has much confidence in the organization of the Unskilled Workers.

As to the subject of this letter, "IMMEDIATE ACTION" to prevent the reelection by the Socialist Party of an Executive Committee planning to turn the Socialist Party into an A. F. of L. Labor Party, the following words of A. M. Simons, written Oct. 20, 1909, will be pertinent:

"It is evident to me," wrote Simons, "that the Socialist Party is about to go through a period of disintegration, and this will be the beginning of a much more solid and better organized Socialist Party. I think one of the reasons why this is necessary is the predominance of intellectuals and professionals upon the one side and the natural but ridiculous exaggeration of ignorance upon the other side. I fully believe the time will come when we will be working together in the Socialist Party OR SOME OTHER ORGANIZATION WHICH SHALL REPRESENT THE WORKING CLASS INTEREST."

This quotation fully agrees with what Simons now writes to Walling and with published criticisms by Simons of the present Socialist Party.

It seems plain that Simons, Barnes and Berger are planning a move such as Harriman, Greenbaum and others tried some eight years ago, namely to turn the Socialist Party into a Union Labor Party.

Walling has a more favorable conception of the composition of the Socialist Party than we have. He evidently imagines it is still Proletarian, because its "Principles" remain substantially Proletarian. But he is obviously out of touch with the ranks of the Party throughout the country.

Unquestionably the Socialist Party in the U. S. is doomed. Its enormous losses in the elections in Chicago, in New York City, in Massachusetts, as well as Simons' testimony, prove its decline and announce its fall. All the chance it has is to linger on as a Resort of Middle Class Freaks and individualists. It has failed, Comrade Walling, because it has not had the courage to be a one-class Party, the only kind that can survive under the advanced economic conditions in America.

What will probably happen is something like this:

1. A Union Labor Party, composed of A. F. of L. members mainly, into which Berger and Barnes, Simons and Hunter, and Hillquit and Spargo will beg admission as teachers and leaders. It will perhaps be called a Labor Party, and will ally itself more or less with the remnants of the Bryan party, like the Liberals in England.

2. A Wage Workers' Party, consisting of the vast unskilled multitude hitherto unorganized, but revolutionary because having nothing to lose but their chains.

A Socialist Party or Social Democratic Party, modeled after the German organization, mainly Proletarian, led by Intellectuals, catering to Traders and Peasants, becoming more parliamentary and opportunistic and less revolutionary, year by year, will not suit American capitalistic development.

What Simons does counts little. He is a feather weight, swept by opportunist winds. If he and those whose foolish mouthpiece he is really trying to transform the Socialist Party into a Labor Party, as Walling fears, they will get nowhere, only laughed at for their pains.

But they will be re-elected all right enough, in spite of Walling's efforts. We are giving this publicity to the matter in order that all of our readers who still cherish hopes of the Socialist Party in the U. S. may get a

move on themselves and see if they can elect Proletarians in place of Simons, Hunter, Spargo, Berger, Hillquit, Work and Floaten. If Walling had sent us the names of the candidates nominated by Local New York, we would gladly have published them.

Walling's Letter

21 W. 28th Street, New York, Nov. 24th, 1909.

Editor "The Socialist," Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrade: I have just received a personal letter from Mr. Simons which I believe is convincing and first evidence that the majority of the present Executive Committee are determined (1) to maintain themselves in office against all opposition, and (2) to form a labor party (more or less Socialist).

The letter consists of nearly four closely typewritten pages. I have shown it to J. G. Phelps Stokes and others here, to whom it conveys the same impression as it does to myself. I shall quote some of its most important phrases in order that you and those with whom you are closely associated may be able immediately to take what action you see fit.

At the end of the letter Mr. Simons says: "We must drive from our own ranks the demagogical politicians who are seeking to raise rebellion against every person they cannot use for their purpose. The present Executive Committee is more than willing to surrender their positions if real workmen are to take their places. They do not propose to surrender to those who have never worked, save with their laws, and are tearing down every organization to which they belong."

Mr. Simons does not specify the persons to whom he refers, but he says in another place in the letter that he could show me the "evidence of their work in nearly every state in the country." There is then no question that he refers to the movement to make several important changes on the Executive Committee, and that he and certain other members of the committee do not propose to allow these changes to be made, even if a majority decides upon them. Not only does Mr. Simons fail to specify the persons pointed at, but he does not define "their purposes." Mr. Simons' purposes, however, are perfectly clear: If the American Federation of Labor will not come towards us, then we must go towards the American Federation of Labor.

Before making any further quotation, let me say that Mr. Simons states that the party is divided into two parts: "On the one side are a bunch of intellectuals like myself, Spargo, Hunter and Hillquit; on the other side a bunch of never-works, demagogues and would-be intellectuals, a veritable 'Lumpen Proletariat.'" This makes it clear that Simons thinks that the persons mentioned (Spargo and others) stand with him. Who the others are he does not state. However, he would have undoubtedly mentioned Berger were it not that in my last letter to Berger, Simons, hoping to bring me over to his faction in the letter I am now quoting, could certainly not mention the name of Berger without prejudicing me even more than by the mention of any of the names just quoted.

We have, then, in all probability, Simons, Berger, Hunter, Hillquit and Spargo as the majority on the committee which proposes to perpetuate itself, if possible, without regard to what action the party takes.

I do not believe that the purpose of this proposed capture of the party machinery is by any means exclusively that of promoting the political fortune of any of these people. On the contrary, some or all of them certainly feel that they have a sacred mission to convert the present Socialist Party into a Labor Party. "No one has denounced the defects of the A. F. of L. more than I," says Simons, "but I am forced to recognize that it comes much nearer to representing the working class than the S. P., and unless we are able to shape our policy and our organization so as to meet the demands and incarnate the position of the workers, we will have failed of our mission."

No member of the Socialist Party, as far as I know, has ever dared to say in public that the A. F. of L. as at present constituted, comes nearer to representing the working class than the present Socialist Party! It is also clear in this paragraph that when Mr. Simons speaks of workers he means to include the skilled and conservative workmen who compose a large part of the rank and file of the A. F. of L. and an overwhelming majority of the officials.

But why this sudden passion for the A. F. of L.? Is it because there is an element in the Federation that is coming our way? Mr. Simons was at Toronto and so ought to know. On the contrary, Simons' reason for wanting us to go to the A. F. of L. is because

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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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THE REVOLUTIONARY AGITATOR

By Emil M. Herman

"Life is one continuous round of pleasure."

"His pathway is strewn with roses." These are phrases which we sometimes hear with regard to certain conditions and certain individuals. They do not fit the life of the Socialist agitator or the road he is compelled to travel.

Of course, in making this statement I do not have in mind the out of "Work" lawyers and other traveling evangelists sent out by the Socialist Party at \$4.00 per day and expenses to save (?) the wage-workers.

Unless the \$4.00 per day are guaranteed, he will make no effort to save the wage-class or even help.

This type of agitator seldom goes into new territory. He is generally met at the depot by a committee. He never walks from one town to another, and is too respectable to beat it on a "side-door Pullman." He doesn't shave himself or shine his own shoes—he never learned how. He kicks if there is not hot and cold water in the room provided for him. He would feel outraged and insulted if requested to sleep on a bench at headquarters. He never faces a mob—he is too cowardly. When he does consent to speak on the street he generally makes sure that a permit has been secured from the political watch-dogs of the capitalist class. He would feel disgraced if arrested, and would fly into a rage if bail were not immediately forthcoming. He thinks he is letting the organization down easy if his wages and expenses do not exceed \$8.00 per day. He does nothing except deliver his lecture, and it is generally injurious to the wage-workers' cause at that.

The Socialist Party as constituted today pays tribute to this type of intellectual grafter.

The revolutionary agitator, the real Socialist worker, is an altogether different type. He is a despised "undesirable citizen." He belongs to the class that really do things—the Biscays, Hydes, Aults, McShannons, Holmes, Sladdens, Rosens, Downies, Jensens and others. An agitator who received his training, not in the subsidized universities of capital, but in the university of hard knocks—the industrial work-shop and the industrial battle field.

This type does not come into the Socialist movement to save the wage-class at \$4.00 per day and expenses. He comes to save himself from the grasping hand of capital by uniting with others of his class to teach the rest of the class how to organize for their own emancipation.

He enters not from pecuniary motives, but from economic necessity.

As a general thing the agitator of this type was not an organizer, an executive, a lecturer or a writer when he joined the party. He becomes one by doing his duty—not out of a desire to make \$4.00 per day and expenses—but to hurry on the Proletarian revolution.

When he goes into the field his pathway is strewn with thorns and his life is a continual round of hard knocks. He is seldom guaranteed a living wage. He often goes into new territory, regardless of consequences. He is often mobbed and many times sent to jail. He never asks for a permit to speak on the street. He simply speaks. If arrested, he puts up no bail, nor does he consent to have others do so for him. He does not allow the comrades to employ a lawyer—he defends himself. If convicted he does not expect nor permit the comrades to pay his fine—he goes to jail.

He is rarely met at the depot by a committee—it seems to be taken for granted that he has brains and muscle enough to locate himself.

He often walks from one town to another, sometimes twenty-five miles—as the writer did not so very long ago—and accepts as commonplace a fifteen-mile hike. He misses many a meal, not because he likes to, but because he hasn't the price.

He usually shaves himself and does not consider it humiliating to shine his own shoes. He never kicks at accommodations provided for him by his comrades, does not expect hot and cold water in his room, thinks he has struck it rich when he has a comfort.

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able bed to sleep in and often sleeps on the floor or a bench at Socialist headquarters.

If there is a local in town he feels grateful if they pay him \$3.00 per day for his services.

Besides delivering his lecture and overcoming all the other obstacles enumerated above, he must often do his own advertising, and he always considers it his duty to visit as many Socialists and near-Socialists as possible while in town.

The Socialist Party as constituted today has no time for so useful an agitator as this. He spends too much time on the class-struggle and thereby repels the "respectable" and "influential" people.

Through the intellectual job-lots in control of the S. P. and their dupes, they try to destroy the usefulness of these loyal members of the wage-class by hurling at and circulating about them such epithets as "police spy," "Pinkerton," "dictator," "disorganizer," "autocrat," etc., and by reading them out of the party wherever possible and without regard to the methods used to accomplish that end.

I know whereof I speak, because during the sixteen years that I have been a Socialist and the twelve years I have belonged to some Socialist political organization, five years have been spent in the field as an organizer and lecturer for the Socialist Party.

But the work done by these agitators born of the Proletariat is bearing fruit. Everywhere the seeds of Scientific Socialism and revolutionary tactics have been sown.

From Maine to California, from Washington to Florida, we hear, ringing clear and true, the clarion call of enlightened members of the Proletariat as they call their fellow slaves into action.

Strange though it may seem, these

uneducated and unpolished Proletarian agitators are clearer of vision, keener in intellect, sounder in judgment, abler in reasoning and more correct in their logic than the intellectual nonentities parading as organizers for the Socialist Party—at \$4.00 per day and expenses.

In fact, they realize that before the revolution, the higher taxes are the less work they will have to do for nothing on the rock pile and the chain-gang. The Proletarian pays no taxes, only in exceptional cases where he owns his home, and then his interests as a wage-earner are paramount to his interests as a taxpayer. He would much prefer high wages with much graft in the halls of legislation and the consequent high taxes arising therefrom, than low wages with no graft and low taxes. Low freight rates, the recall, government by commission, abolition of the senate and other such middle-class buncombe, appeals to him no stronger than "reduction of taxes" and "abolition of graft."

What the Proletariat wants and needs before the revolution is higher wages, abolition of child labor, shorter hours of toil, abolition of convict labor, free speech, free press and such other improvement of their condition as will assist them in their struggle for the abolition of the wages system.

The Proletarian agitator teaching these scientific truths will receive little support—and wants less—from the influential (?) people who have up to the present time damned the Socialist movement of this country by their presence.

The Proletariat must and will depend absolutely upon itself—produce its own organizers, lecturers, executives, writers, parliamentarians, etc., and provide its own sinews of war for its own emancipation.

To the Socialist Party

Continued from Page One

the A. F. of L. is not coming to us. He speaks of the "intense hatred against the Socialist Party" that he found at Toronto, and he adds that "fully one-half of the delegates were members of the Socialist Party of the S. P."

From these two facts, the blindness of the A. F. of L. majority to the mission of the S. P., and the numerous renegades to be found among them, Mr. Simons concludes, not that the political situation is for the moment hopeless in the A. F. of L. as far as Socialism is concerned, but that this "is the most terrible indictment that could be drawn of our methods." (!) (The underlining is mine.)

In extension of his conclusion, Mr. Simons says that there existed also at Toronto "a perfect willingness to accept the philosophy of Socialism." Does he not know that the philosophy of Socialism was accepted long ago by a British Prime Minister (William Vernon Harcourt), and that the present Prime Minister of France, Briand, still calls himself a Socialist? Half the ministers and writers of the United States, to say nothing of England and France, accept Socialism as a philosophy.

Mr. Simons says that he stands for "a same revolutionary position. No doubt his associates on the Executive Committee agree with him. Perhaps the policy they stand for is not only "same," but sane, safe and conservative, guaranteed not to offend the reactionaries of the present Federation of Labor or their anti-Socialist allies, the Civic Federation.

Mr. Simons says further that we "must not jeopardize action for the sake of our own peculiar ideas." This is surely the creed of opportunism in a nutshell. We must get results even if we have to let our principles go.

Simons says further: "I do not like the English policy, but I say frankly that it is better than the present S. P." That is to say, Simons and his friends prefer to the present party in America, whose revolutionism he does not consider to be "same," a labor party which dodges the name of Socialist, denounces the class struggle and the materialist conception of history, and makes a working political agreement with the Liberal party in nearly every district in England.

He is fatuous enough to say of the English party that it is "rotating the antagonism of the capitalists to fight back." This is the exact opposite of the truth. It is the landlords, the Protectionist manufacturers and the financiers who are howling against the Liberal and Labor combination. On the other side is the bulk of the manufacturing and industrial interests of Great Britain, which have adopted the so-called radical reforms for the double purpose of raising enough money for a larger fleet and of putting before the English people an alternative to the tariff reform proposed by Chamberlain (protection). There is no doubt that the majority of the industrial capital

of England is in this Radical-Liberal party and lending its enthusiastic support to the "same" labor party for the purpose of maintaining cheap raw materials, the preserving of the colonial markets and a low price for food in England in order that working people may be had more cheaply.

Finally, Mr. Simons says: "There must be a reorganization of the S. P. That is almost unanimously agreed upon. It must be reorganized into a working class party, fighting every battle of the working class all the time, and using every weapon."

Has any Socialist organization in the world ever insisted more on its Proletarian principles and Proletarian party than the Socialist Party of this country? Will not any further approach to the organization of skilled labor tend to make us, not more Proletarian, but infinitely less Proletarian than we are, leaving to one side not only the overwhelming majority of the unskilled industrial Proletariat but also the Proletarian farmers and the so-called intellectual Proletariat of the cities, composed of store clerks, office workers, school teachers, starving physicians and numerous other classes, numbering in the total several millions, and whose admission is sought for by every Socialist party of the world? Is not the antagonism and hatred of the A. F. of L. due precisely to the fact that the S. P. is a Proletarian and democratic organization, not adapted to securing political favors from the big parties or trade agreements with the Civic Federation? What definite Socialist criticism has Mr. Simons or any of his associates been able to make against the attitude toward labor of the party as at present constituted? Is it not obvious that any possible further step towards the A. F. of L. must necessarily mean a complete and final abandonment of our Socialist principles and tactics?

We do not believe that the majority of the party feels any need for a reorganization of any kind, since both the membership of the party and the propaganda are growing in a wonderful way in every direction on account of the maintenance up to the present moment of our fearless revolutionary policy.

The rest of Mr. Simons' phrase might sound well were the true meaning not exposed in the present letter. By "working class party" Mr. Simons, it is perfectly clear, means a "labor" party such as would suit the majority of the delegates of the A. F. of L., such as those with whom he talked at Toronto. By "fighting every battle of the workers" he means that we should make ourselves a subordinate branch of the A. F. of L., equally ready to fight for the industrial and democratic unions of unskilled labor and for the reactionary organizations which are so strongly represented on the A. F. of L. Executive Council, like Vice-President Damsen's Granite Cutters or Vice-President Hayes' Green Glass Bottle Blowers, both organizations which have led a constant warfare against unskilled labor, or even skilled branches of the workers who happen to be a little less skilled or fortunate than themselves.

This letter is not written with the purpose of converting you to anything. I have no doubt you will understand it as I have. The need is for immediate action.

Already the New York Local, which is intimately acquainted with Messrs. Hunter and Spargo, has endorsed a full list of candidates for the Executive Committee, purposely omitting these two names. It will probably be impossible or perhaps even inadvisable to attempt to replace all the

above mentioned "leaders" by men who are more uncompromising in the coming election, but is it not time to begin the effort?

As Simons says in his letter, there is evidence of the work of his opponents in every state of the Union. May it not be possible to entirely reconstitute the Executive Committee with one or two exceptions?

From the tone of his letter I infer that the present majority of the Executive Committee will not hesitate, in case they are defeated in the coming election, to attempt to take possession of the party machinery and the party press, or failing that, to attempt the organization of an "Independent Labor" or "Social Democratic" party.

I am writing this letter to a number of prominent comrades who I believe are revolutionary Socialists, not, as I have said, with the idea of being able to tell you or any of the others anything you did not know about Socialism, but in the firm belief that you will see the matter as I do and take the necessary action.

Fraternally yours,
WM. ENGLISH WALLING.
Per Sec'y.

Sladden Astray As to McCarthy

The Editor, "The Workingman's Paper," Seattle, Washington.

The article by Comrade Tom Sladden in your number of last week is an amazing mass of false "facts," inverted reason and perverted logic. I do not propose to deal with his reasons or his conclusions, but some of his facts cry aloud for correction. For instance, he states that if the Socialist Party in San Francisco had been called upon to put up 10,000 cents, the Party would have been stumped. Nonsense, pure and simple! We put up 10 times 10,000 cents without being stumped. We spent at least \$1,500 in five or six months of campaigning and came out of the campaign with a small balance to the good.

Another mistake of Sladden's: He says that Union Labor "took a man from its ranks" and made him mayor. Absurd! Wildly absurd! Mr. McCarthy didn't come from the "ranks" when the committee of twenty-one, most of them entirely outside of the union, nominated him for mayor. Why, McCarthy has an income of at least \$4,000 a year, and it's a long time since he was in the "ranks." And as for his "shopkeeper opponent," he can say for himself: "I worked for wages for over twenty years, and when I was running as a candidate I was living on the \$12.00 a week I received as organizer and speaker for the Socialist

Spokane Jail Fodder

Continued from Page One

party policeman, however, and today he stands stripped of his "honorable" and much prized "star." It gives the bunch particular pleasure to see this thug deprived of his meal ticket, as he was noted for being one of the most cowardly and sneaking policemen on the force. This is the same worthy who ten days ago, dressed in plain clothes, followed a bunch of prospective street speakers about so as to be early on the scene and gain a reputation by arresting some of them. The crowd soon spotted him and jeered him so heartily that he shamefacedly retraced his steps and walked back around the block from whence he had come. The I. W. W. is celebrating a belated Thanksgiving over this matter.

Ernest Untermyer spoke in the I. W. W. hall last night. Many of the boys had read his late editorial in the "Chicago Daily Socialist," in which he ridicules the direct action tactics of the I. W. W., stating that "The police of Spokane were beating some political sense in the muddled heads of its (I. W. W.) members," and as a consequence his reception was not as cordial as it would otherwise have been. Unlike John M. Work, who recently talked here, Untermyer was tactless enough to introduce the tabooed subject of political action, and this also tended to make his reception a trifle chilly.

Today the long-drawn-out trial of Joe Mullin came to an end, and this unfortunate young man was railroaded to the jail for thirty days and \$100 fine. The incidents in this case are particularly illustrative of the police methods used here in Spokane, the kind of justice Judge Mann hands out and also the subtleties by which he attempts to bolster up his outrageous decisions.

The I. W. W. trials held in Mann's court are proving of great interest to the public, and as a consequence the court room is usually crowded. In order to prevent the crowd from becoming too dense, after the seats are all occupied there usually is an officer stationed at the door to prevent any but attorneys and witnesses from entering. The notorious Bill Shannon was given this post during a session last week and instead of stationing himself outside of the door where he could be in evidence, he planted himself inside, where he could hear all that was going on. As a consequence every newcomer had to open the door before he was aware of the crowded condition of the court room. This continual opening and shutting of the door got on Shannon's nerves and when it had kept up for a short while he lost his temper and when Joe Mullin, a commonly dressed young working man, innocently opened the door to enter the court room the gorilla Shannon leaped at his throat and after choking and beating him placed him under arrest. Mullin was terrified as the whole affair occurred so suddenly that he was unable to collect his senses. He gave vent to scream after scream as he struggled in the arms of three burly policemen who were doing their best to choke him. The court room was almost thrown into a panic.

Mullin was brought to trial on Tuesday and faced about six police witnesses who all parroted the same story about his unprovoked assault on Shannon. However, several disinterested witnesses testified so strongly in his behalf that even the reckless Judge Mann didn't dare to find him guilty in the face of such conclusive evidence. In the taking advantage of the fact that it was rather late, postponed his decision until today. When the police

party. It's true I own an interest in a small shop—it's my way of distributing Socialistic literature. I'm in the book business simply because it affords a chance to do propaganda in a more settled way of life than the precarious soapbox campaigning. And surely my paltry book stand is a small capitalist interest compared to Mr. McCarthy's interest in a big printing business in San Francisco, to say nothing of his real estate interests." His reality assessment, he admits, is \$5,000 at the very lowest.

Whether McCarthy will represent labor rather than capital remains to be seen. But I think the editor of this paper is dead right when he says that McCarthy is a capitalist candidate. He wasn't elected by the Union Labor vote. We in S. F. don't swallow that gush. McCarthy received more Republican votes than the Republican candidate, the millman Crocker. I have been privately informed by one of the inside men here that a fund of a million and a half was raised in the East to elect McCarthy, and the big capitalist press here say they have no hesitation in believing that McCarthy intends to stand by the business interests, "without which he could not have been elected." Since his election he has been surrounded by lawyers, real estate men, hotel owners and the other biggest men in the "McCarthy Business Men's League," that cut such a figure in his election. (News is just in that McCarthy has turned down Working Men candidates for two Police Commissionerships and named two Business Men instead.—Ed.)

If Sladden were here and knew all the facts, he could never go so far astray. Does he forget Schmitz? Schmitz and the police force under Schmitz fought the Socialists and free speech more bitterly than the present capitalist administration have done; and Schmitz was more radically stewart for labor, as a candidate and a politician than ever McCarthy has been. To assert that because a mayor has been a leader of union labor, he must stand for labor and against capital, is to fly in the face of every experience of San Francisco; and you can't make such an assertion go down in this city, even if you do go away with it in Oregon. We know better. That's why our Socialist average vote in 1909 is better than our average of 1907 or 1905 or 1903, despite the union labor landslide (so-called). You can't make us believe that a mayor who has denied the class struggle in his platform (specifically) and in every utterance in his campaign, is not a capitalist candidate in every sense of the term. Wait and watch. If I'm wrong, I'll gladly eat my words.

Fraternally,
W. McDEVITT.
Editor's Note.—McDevitt was Socialist Party candidate for mayor against McCarthy.

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Entered as second-class matter in 1900 at Seattle, in 1905 at Toledo, Ohio, in 1906 at Caldwell, Idaho, and April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Washington, under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1907.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES. United States and Mexico.—One year, \$1.00; six months, 50c; three months, 25c; single copies, 5c. To Canada and Foreign Countries.—One year, \$1.50; six months, 75c. Weekly Bundles.—For one year: 5 copies per week, \$3.25; 10 copies per week, \$6; 20 copies per week, \$10; 50 per week, \$20. Special Bundles.—10 to 50 copies, 2 cents apiece; 50 copies or more, 1 cent apiece.

All remittances should be made payable to TRUSTEE PRINTING COMPANY. All business communications should be addressed to TRUSTEE PRINTING COMPANY, Box 1908, Seattle, Wash. Communications intended for the Editor should be addressed to the Editor. Communications intended for publication should be mailed in time to reach this office not later than Monday.

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"REMUNERATION" OR COL. BLETHEN'S THANKSGIVING

"The Times" of Seattle gave its employes a Thanksgiving blowout, and here is what the editor, Col. Blethen, said about it:

"It required 1,545 pounds of turkey to supply the help (242 employes) and it cost an even \$600 to entertain the carriers and newsboys at the Butler Hotel. This made an aggregate of \$1,064 expended by The Times on Thanksgiving Day for its help—and the sum was expended as cheerfully as if full remuneration had already been received because of the expenditure."

Now, Colonel, let's make a little calculation to see whether "Full remuneration" had not "already been received" by you for this "expenditure."

Your report says you employ 242 "help." Suppose their average wage is \$2 a day. You certainly don't pay less than that for office clerks, stenographers, bookkeepers, reporters, compositors, pressmen and the rest, employed in the Times Printing House.

That means you pay about \$500 a day on Wages Account. In 300 days a year that foots up \$150,000 annual wages paid.

Now, listen, Colonel, listen sharp. For here we will name a fact which you and your fellow capitalists never think of. Even your workmen—"help"—most of them, never think of it. Yet it is the most significant fact in the whole scheme of Business. It is this, namely: When you paid your 242 employes that \$150,000 in wages last year, YOU WITHHELD FROM THEM AT LEAST AN EQUAL SUM.

Does that startle you, or seem absurd? Let's repeat it, so that there will be no mistaking our meaning. If you pay your employes in the year 1909, one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in wages, you in the same year get out of them an equal sum of UNPAID LABOR, probably a good deal more than an equal sum.

You say your \$1,064 for a turkey dinner for all your "help" was "expended as cheerfully as if full remuneration had already been received" from those men and women who were the recipients of your bounty.

We say, you had already received "Full Remuneration" a hundred times over from these women and men.

You think you were generous and THEY ought to be thankful.

We say THEY, the "Help," were generous and YOU are the only one to be thankful, thankful for a system which permits you to extract so many thousands of dollars' worth of Unpaid Labor from your "Help," exactly as the slave owners everywhere live off their slaves and are thankful.

You, Col. Blethen, are no worse than your fellow capitalists. But when you boast in such bold terms of your generosity and their obligation, you force us to use you as a "specimen brick."

You don't know what Socialism is all about. You only know it as discontent among workmen, and you hate it. You, like most others of your kind, Erastus Brainerd, for instance, never took the trouble to find out what this spreading spirit of rebellion among workmen really means.

Let us tell you, IT IS BASED ON THE FACT OF WAGE ROBBERY. Wage Workers, like Slave Workers, get only a bare living, that is, what you pay them as wages. On two dollars a day average, they can't get more than a bare living, can they, Colonel? That is exactly what the black slaves got, a living—with perhaps a Thanksgiving turkey once a year from some generous masters.

Did the Black Slave produce more than his living cost? Yes, or no master would have kept a slave. It was the surplus over his cost of living that a slave could produce that made slave-holding profitable.

And—listen, Colonel, listen, IT IS WHAT YOUR "HELP" PRODUCES ABOVE HIS COST OF LIVING THAT MAKES HIM PROFITABLE FOR YOU. You would not keep that inoperative, high priced as he seems, or the girl at that advertising window, or the stenographer who dictate your editorials to you, would you not hire them for an hour, IF THEY DID NOT GIVE YOU MORE THAN YOU GIVE THEM.

For think, if you can think when thinking contradicts your interests, think how; there is not an element in all your publishing establishment which brings new value into the world, except the Labor employed there, which you old-fashionedly call your "help." It is Labor Power which you buy for \$2 a day and which, exerted and expended in the form of Labor, turns blank paper any type metal and ink and rotary presses into a newspaper having value enough to be sold to subscribers and advertisers and politicians for at least twice what you pay for it; it is this Labor Power which is the source of all the Wealth with which you paid for a mansion on Queen Anne Hill or bought turkey dinners for your exploited "help."

Think these things over, Colonel Blethen. For as sure as the earth moves, and a good deal surer than Hell or Heaven, this Robbing of Labor in the payment of Wages, is the Dynamic Fact of Modern Society. In this Fact of Facts lies the Inevitable Revolution.

Call it Injustice, call it Robbery, call it Exploitation, call it what not; this fact that a small class of men like yourself are able to extract at least half the wealth they produce from that large class of men like your "help," this fact MUST overturn the supremacy and power of your Proprietor Class.

Why? Simply because the Wage Class is more numerous and more powerful than the Capitalist Class. Don't flatter yourself, Colonel, it is your "brains" that keeps you in power. For think again. Your "help" includes some pretty brainy people. Those reporters, stenographers, printers, who make your paper for you, they are no "muckers" nor "mutts," so "Hol Pollol"; they are among the keenest, ablest, most forceful. No, the Proletariat is no longer either few or ignorant or submissive.

THEY HAVE THE POWER. Ye are few; they are many. They have the Power to emancipate themselves from your exploitation, and it will not be many years before they use their Power.

That is the Inevitable Social Revolution, Colonel Blethen. To use your own unhappy word, it might be called the Social "Remuneration," when your "Help" will help themselves and remunerate themselves. That will be their Thanksgiving Day, with their own turkey, thank you.

Vincent Harper O. K.

Henry Austin Adams, who won fame as a short story writer under the nom de plume of "Vincent Harper," is now writing as "Austin Adams." He lives in California, near San Diego, at home at last with his loved wife and child, safe from the vicious attacks of bourgeois virtue.

He keeps his head level, too, with respect to his Socialism. The San Diego Local of the Socialist Party grew to a thousand members, largely by the influence of Adams' eloquent lectures, like those he gave in Seattle three years ago. But when this idealistic Local entered into compromises with capitalists in that city, Austin Adams withdrew from the organization. He is now speaking for the "Propaganda Club" of San Diego, outside the U. S. Socialist Party, but which stands for the Revolutionary Proletariat.

Our readers may not know that San Diego's charter was cancelled recently by the California State Central Committee, but the Committee's action has been rejected by state referendum of the California S. P. The California organization is thus seen to have committed itself to compromise and Middle Classism, in spite of its state committee.

In San Diego, "Vincent Harper" recently held a debate with a "Socialist" preacher, Cantrell, which is reported by an anonymous correspondent in the Oakland "World" in part as follows:

"Austin Adams declared that a mere Reform Socialist Party was useless and dangerous."

"John Burns," Adams said, "who once preached to the workers in England to organize for their own interests, and who was hated and feared by the English government, has evolved to a smirking representative of the aristocracy, drawing a fat 10,000 pounds a year as a member of his majesty's cabinet. And Briand is the same in the French cabinet."

Adams declared that these temporizing "evolutionary" tactics were the cause of his leaving the Socialist Party, as he thought he could do more good for the Party as an outsider.

He said he thought the Socialist Party should change its ways and quit merely trying to get votes and start to work along Revolutionary lines.

"There can be no better way to clarify the present conglomeration of bourgeois 'Socialists,' near-Socialists, Populists and Co-operators than consistent adherence to a distinctly working class programme, revolutionary in character and in thorough harmony with social evolution."

"Cheap gas, lower rents, 2-cent car fares, municipal baths, afforestation, swamp drainage, all these crutches of a decadent middle class may be left to the bourgeois quack Sociologists."

Socialist Piracy

The "expurgated letter," revealing "Third Degree" enormities of the Spokane police, and published in "The Workingman's Paper," has aroused the widest interest and indignation. Labor papers everywhere have copied it, editing out the objectionable matter, however.

The reports of the I. W. W. contest for Free Speech on Free Streets in Spokane, as published from our special correspondent, Comrade Foster, have also been extensively copied. We are delighted at this, as the fight is thus advertised in all Labor circles and the support of the "fellow-workers" at Spokane assured.

But one feature of these quotations from "The Workingman's Paper" is not so agreeable, namely, the open theft and misrepresentation indulged in by some "Socialist" papers. We were not surprised that A. M. Simons' paper, "The Chicago Daily Socialist," pirated our reports and published them without a word of credit under the heading "Special Dispatch to the Chicago Daily Socialist," not surprised at it because this same paper had previously stolen our reports of the great Swedish strike and published them as its own.

Seattle Fusionists Fuse

Now that the Pop Socialists in Seattle are rid of the "Titus Gang," they once more show their colors as Fusionists, just as they did twice before when they had the upper hand.

They nominated three candidates for School Directors, Christman for the one-year term, Iten for the two-year term and Dr. McFadden for the three-year term. But the Unitarians and Anti-Vaccinationists and Women Suffragists got busy and nominated Mrs. Bettinger for the three-year term and endorsed McFadden. This made McFadden and Mrs. Bettinger both candidates for the three-year term. It so happened the three-year term was the one most likely to be won by a small vote for two reasons: (1) The "regular" candidate for re-election, Guion, was weak because he was charged with inducing school teachers to subscribe for stock in a poor company of his; and (2) because there are two independent candidates for the three-year term, Everett Smith and C. W. Latham. These conditions made it likely that Guion's vote will be small, and that the rest of the vote will be divided among Bettinger, McFadden, Smith and Latham.

But Bettinger and McFadden are both supported by Unitarians, Suffragists and Anti-Vaccinationists and McFadden by Socialists. McFadden, a new Socialist, who never joined the Socialist Party when the Wage Workers were in control, announced he did not want to run against Mrs. Bettinger, his Unitarian friend. So the Pop Socialists accommodated him. Local Seattle's secretary, Mrs. Wolfe, requested the School Board to change Iten to the three-year term and McFadden to the two-year term. Since political parties are not recognized in the school election and the nominations were originally made by petition, it is not probable that the change requested by the S. P. will be made, though it would be better for the capitalist candidates to grant the Socialist request.

The only object of this exchange requested by the U. S. Socialist Party of Seattle, is to help the capitalist candidate, Mrs. Bettinger, and the certain result of the exchange will be to lessen the chances of the Socialist candidate McFadden. For McFadden against the numerous weak three-year candidates will stand a better chance than Iten, as McFadden has been a conspicuous Anti-Vaccinationist for years and was sure to get the support of that faddist faction in Seattle as well as the support of some of the Unitarians who had endorsed both him and Mrs. Bettinger.

If the Socialist Party secretary's request is granted by the School Board, McFadden will stand no show against the single strong capitalist candidate for re-election to the two-year term, and Iten will stand less show for the three-year term than McFadden would if left to run against Mrs. Bettinger.

The only net and certain result of the S. P. action is to throw away the only chance they had of electing a "Socialist" and to assist in the election of Mrs. Bettinger, the Suffragist and Unitarian. But perhaps if Mrs. B. is thus elected by help of the "Socialists" she will join the Party, or maybe reward Iten for his self-sacrifice by getting him a janitor's job at the high school.

Such is Opportunist Socialism or U. S. Socialist Party Socialism as exhibited at their first show down in Seattle—after repudiating the "No-Compromisers."

Later:—The County Attorney's office declared the proposed "swap" illegal.

LABOR'S FREE SPEECH FIGHT

Continued from Page One

humble fare we starved through the day until late in the afternoon, when a similar meal was served. The boys have conscientiously kept their promises and tonight there are some hungry I. W. W.'s outside of jail as well as inside. We all feel that it is an honor to forego our dinner as a testimonial to the courage of the starving prisoners within the jails of this city. It is a disgrace to the working class to allow this starving of men who have had the courage to freely speak according to their constitutional right.

For the present the whole working class cause is left in the hands of a few to defend it as best they may, and nearly 400 of these gallant defenders are on this Thanksgiving day starving in the jails of the Christian city of Spokane.

A telegram was received at I. W. W. Headquarters today dated at McKees Rocks stating that forty men have left there bound for Seattle.

Two men got in this morning from Imperial Valley, California, which place they left eight days ago. Two more from the same place got "ditched" and have not reached town yet.

Re-Inforcements

(Special to "The Workingman's Paper.") SPOKANE, Friday, Nov. 26.—Re-inforcements are coming in every day; men are beating their way to Spokane from all parts of the country just simply for the privilege of going to jail for 110 days on bread and water.

Today nine of these courageous free speech fighters from almost as many states went out on the street and violated the infamous ordinance, and at this moment are lying in the city jail. Tomorrow just as sure as they are brought before Judge Mann they will be given 30 days and \$100 fine apiece, unless a charge of conspiracy can be hatched against them overnight. Z.

Mann Makes I. W. W.'s

Mann's course is driving hundreds of working men into the I. W. W. Perhaps the feeling engendered by this harsh treatment among the working class has been best expressed by a witness in a case against a policeman who was arrested for beating an I. W. W. This witness had been browbeaten by the prosecuting attorney, who did everything in his power to discredit his testimony. He bore it patiently for awhile, but finally the worm turned and when the prosecutor in a last attempt to belittle his evidence asked him if he was a member of the I. W. W., he said: "I am not a member yet, but if this keeps up I soon will be." Z.

A Brave Woman

SPOKANE, Friday, Nov. 27.—Mrs. Fernette was released today on \$1,000 bail. A cellmate, a woman, who was arrested for robbing a man, was released for \$100. This plainly shows how highly the Spokane authorities value an I. W. W. prisoner.

Mrs. Fernette refused to eat the vile food offered her in the city jail and went on a hunger strike for two days, during which time she ate nothing. Although naturally a strong woman, she was made very ill by the treatment she received during her imprisonment and has been hardly able to be around.

It will be remembered that Mrs. Fernette is the courageous young woman who was arrested at the I. W. W. meeting held last Sunday just outside the Franklin school jail. Although the meeting was held outside the fire limits, the police descended upon it and dispersed the crowd. Mrs. Fernette gallantly stood her ground on the 17' rocky mound from which the speeches had been delivered, and while the police were busy she led the prisoners in the schoolhouse in singing "The Red Flag." For this she was arrested and sentenced to 30 days' imprisonment and \$100 fine. The officers in testifying against her all stated that she was drunk, although it was proven that she has never tasted liquor.

As she had been arrested twice before, the police wanted to get rid of her by railroadng her just as they have done the men members of the I. W. W. who have fallen into their clutches. In furtherance of this laudable plan Judge Mann held her in \$1,000 bail in hopes that she would be unable to secure such heavy bonds. Alas! for his calculations, however. She has succeeded in raising the necessary amount and is again free. Z.

The First Martyrs

(Special Dispatch.) SPOKANE, Sunday, Nov. 28.—Several men from McKees Rocks, Pa., arrived today. They report a band of about twenty more will reach here in a day or two.

A delegation arrived today from Omaha. They report bitterly cold weather east of the Rockies.

Last evening a Memorial Meeting was held at I. W. W. Headquarters in honor of JAMES K. COLE, the first martyr to the Spokane-Free Speech Fight.

This young "Fellow Worker" was killed while beating his way from Chicago to Spokane.

He was "riding the rods," but lost his hold and fell on the track, the whole train passing over him. Z.

Conspiracy—Six Months

(Special to "The Workingman's Paper.") SPOKANE, Monday, Nov. 29.—Pancher was sentenced by Judge Mann today for "Conspiracy." He was given six months in the County Jail. Case appealed to Superior Court for jury trial. Mann demanded \$2,000 bond to secure his appearance at that time. Of course he could not get that amount. So he goes back to jail.

Fifteen more jailed today. Minneapolis delegation of nine and Chicago delegation of seven arrived today. Z.

Editor's Note.—This six months' sentence for "Conspiracy" has been heralded over the country in "Associated Press" Dispatches, made up in the office of the "Spokesman-Review," the Republican Morning Daily of Spokane. The intent of this wide publication was to frighten other I. W. W.'s from coming to Spokane and to show that Capitalist Spokane is not frightened.

The statute on "Conspiracy" in the new criminal code of Washington, so far as it applies to this case, reads as follows: "Whenever two or more persons shall conspire * * * to accomplish * * * a purpose * * * by unlawful means, every such person shall be guilty of a gross misdemeanor."

"Gross Misdemeanor" is punishable by imprisonment in county jail not to exceed one year, or fine not to exceed \$1,000, or both.

The Western Union Tel. Co. produced telegram from Pancher to Tom Sladden at Portland, reading "Five hundred men to go to jail"—signed "Pancher." Wonder if Sladden is also guilty of "Conspiracy"? Extradition and kidnaping and a special train, a la Moyer-Haywood may be Tom's fate.

Washington's new "Criminal Code," by the way, was last winter rushed through the legislature as prepared by several young Prosecuting Attorneys, well known to the Corporations, and under it any Workingman or any Workingman's Paper can be sent to Penitentiary or County Jail, if they venture to do or say anything "tending to encourage any unlawful act," or "having a tendency to encourage disrespect for law or for any court of justice."

Under this last clause, Judge Mann of Spokane could certainly be convicted.

Still They Come

(Special to "The Workingman's Paper.") SPOKANE, Tuesday, Nov. 30.—I. W. W. Attorneys applied today for change of venue, claiming Judge Mann to be prejudiced. This was on "Conspiracy Cases" remaining to be tried. Argument on this point occurs tomorrow.

Four more jailed today. Seven came in Monday from advance guard of bunch of twenty-five who left Chicago three weeks ago.

James K. Cole, who fell from the rods and was killed, belonged to this bunch. His companions say he was well educated and an excellent speaker.

Otto Just, a well-known member of the I. W. W. in Chicago, was another member of this group. This is the young man who posed for the cover picture on the "International Socialist Review," entitled "On to Spokane."

Another party of nine, all wearing big red badges, arrived yesterday from Minneapolis. Z.

Police Invade I. W. W. Hall

Three Arrests in Headquarters Most Highanded Act Yet. SPOKANE, Tuesday, Nov. 30, 1909.—Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Louis Gatewood and George Speed were arrested at 8 o'clock tonight in I. W. W. Headquarters Hall.

These are all good speakers and excellent. "Unlawful Assemblage" will probably be the charge.

Anyhow they will be imprisoned and thus unable to assist in outside organization.

Apparently this is to be a fight to the death, when Wage Workers are arrested in their own halls for encouraging one another in a Fight for Free Speech. Z.

Disorderly Manning's Disorderly Ordinance

The following is the Spokane city ordinance under which Police Judge Mann has made himself famous. He is not punishing the I. W. W. for speaking on the streets. He made the break at the outset of declaring the anti-street speaking ordinance "unconstitutional" and now he cannot go back on that decision. Therefore he is convicting hundreds of men for "Disorderly Conduct" under this ordinance herewith printed.

Of course, as Attorney Tone pointed out, if conduct is Disorderly on the street the same conduct, under the terms of this ordinance, is also Disorderly in a hall or house. But all that does not count. The Mayor of Spokane, who is Mann's superior, and the "Powers that be" behind Mayor Pratt have ordered that the I. W. W. be suppressed as "Disorderly" or any other odd thing. "Put them in jail, starve them, beat them until they shut up. Their talk is dangerous to the Profits of Weyerhaeuser and McCormick and Sweeney and Lovett and Hill. What right have these slaves to organize against us? We'll show them. Pratt, Sullivan, Mann, Shannon, get busy and

crush these audacious, infamous I. W. W. rebels. They are vagrants, hoboes, allens, anarchists; their very existence is disorderly. Crush the wretches. They are in our way!"

Ordinance No. A1324.

The city of Spokane does ordain as follows: Section 1. Every person who shall on any street, sidewalk, alley or public place, or in or upon any private house, building or premises, act in a noisy, riotous or disorderly manner shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding one hundred dollars or thirty days' imprisonment in the city jail, or both.

Sec. 3. This ordinance shall take effect and be in force ten days after its passage. Passed by the City Council March 24, 1903.

Things Done in Tacoma

Saturday evening, November 20, and the afternoon and evening of the next day a series of the three successful open-air meetings were held on the streets of Tacoma under the auspices of the United Wageworkers of Washington, with Comrade Floyd Hyde and the writer as speakers and Comrade Mrs. Herman assisting in the sale of literature.

The Socialist Party is evidently becoming alarmed at our activity. Last Saturday evening their local members were out almost en masse and it seemed as if they had well laid plans with which they hoped to disrupt our meetings. They seem to realize that although they have a number of able (?) speakers, then cannot put us out of commission by competing with us in a legitimate manner.

One of their number called out from the curb and wanted to know what became of the funds stolen by our bunch from the Debs meeting in Seattle last fall, two other members immediately got enticed and between the three of them (while Comrade Hyde was ably answering the question of No. 1) made a chattering noise very similar to monkeys.

In order to convince the two who were the drunkest that they would either have to act like civilized humans or take a sneak, it was necessary for me to threaten them with a punch in the jaw. Comrade Hyde ably answered the question, and entirely to the satisfaction of the audience. The individual making the accusation was challenged three times to take the stand and produce proof for his statements. Of course, having no proof, we did have cold feet and finally he stated that he was simply repeating what he had heard. Needless to state that instead of accomplishing their end they succeeded only in giving themselves a black eye and strengthening our cause. On Sunday afternoon, by request of the I. W. W., who wished to advertise their free speech meeting for the evening, we did not speak on the corner of Twelfth and Pacific, but moved two blocks down the avenue and held a very successful meeting, much to the chagrin of the Starvation Army, who were holding a meeting for "Jesus sake" on the same street. In fact, they were more than chagrined, and like the capitalist class lickspittles that they are, endeavored to get the cop on the beat to stop our meeting, but instead of getting into action, as per the request of these peddlars of dead things and dead issues, he simply informed us of their displeasure at being put out of business by two Socialists on a corner which they had held "in the name of God" for the last several years. Sunday evening "it rained, but nothing daunted, we kept our promise and opened a meeting on the corner of Twelfth and Pacific and to our own surprise collected a crowd of about 100 people.

The literature sales and other receipts of the meetings were as follows: 297 copies "The Socialist" @ 5c. \$14.85 11 "Thoughts" @ 10c " " " 1.10 7 "Class Struggle in America" @ 10c " " " .70 1 "Anarchism and Socialism" .50 Contribution to I. W. W. free speech fund .50 Collections .460

Total receipts \$22.25

The effect of this agitation and the spreading of our literature and paper is making itself felt.

Already several wage workers have asked as to when we are going to organize in Tacoma, and it will not be long until we have some members of our organization in this city. These meetings will be continued every Saturday and Sunday and Sunday afternoon. We hope the Socialist Party will continue to lend us their assistance by making asses of themselves, as they did last Saturday evening.

EMIL H. HERMAN.

"THANKFUL"

Editor Arlington, Wash., Nov. 25, '09. Editor "The Socialist":

Dear Comrade—As this is Thanksgiving Day and as I always have something to be thankful for, I think this is a good time to show what I am thankful for.

You will find a money order for the renewal of my paper. I say "my paper," for it is the only paper printed in the United States that just suits me. It has always been a good paper, but it is getting better every week. It is getting down to the bed rock of truth now. For if the wage slaves of this country don't save themselves, I would like to know who the devil will save them; they will wait a long time for the little farmer and little business man to lift them out of their present trouble.

Now, Titus, I think you are teaching the clear stuff to the wage boys this time, and I will do all I am able to do for our paper. Just keep pounding the truth into the boys; some of the seed will fall on damp poor land, but the most of it will grow. And that is as good as our little farmers expect. And some day you will get the harvest.

Anyhow, I am willing to do all I can to help you and the rest of the boys that know what they want and know how to go after what they want.

So to show you that I am thankful this day, I will enclose a money order for my renewal and a few subs.

Give my best regards to all my old friends. Yours, J. W. MORRIS.