

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

THE SOCIALIST

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Price Five Cents

"INDUSTRIAL WORKER" SEIZED

Police Confiscate Entire Edition of I. W. W. Paper at Spokane, Alleging It Is a "Libelous Publication" — Full Text of Mrs. Flynn's "Libelous" Letter.

"Free assemblage" is denied—in Spokane.
"Free speech" is abolished—in Spokane.
And now a "Free Press" is confiscated—in Spokane.
Saturday, Dec. 11, 1909, WITHOUT A SHADOW OF AUTHORITY UNDER THE LAW, AND IN DIRECT DEFIANCE OF THE LAW (See Statute quoted in another column), the police raided the office of the Inland Printing Company and captured several thousand copies of the "Industrial Worker" as they came from the presses and were about to be mailed to the subscribers.
The only excuse for this criminal procedure alleged by these law-breaking officers of the law, was that the I. W. W. publication contained matter libelous on the police department and on the county jailers.
The fact is, this seizure was as much grand larceny as if committed by any other burglars. To be more exact, the Criminal Code of Washington, adopted in the 1909 session of the Legislature, expressly prohibits officers of the law from making such seizures and affixes a penalty up to one thousand dollars' fine and one year in jail, or both. (See law quoted elsewhere.)
Now, every one wants to know what it was Pugh and Sullivan were afraid of in that suppressed paper. They themselves claimed it was an article by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn which libeled them. By lively hustling "The Workingman's Paper" has succeeded in procuring a copy of "The Worker" in spite of the police and deputy sheriffs. We are happy to reprint herewith, word for word, the identical article which Pugh and Sullivan confiscated in Spokane by such law-defying methods.
It will be seen that Mrs. Flynn's recital corresponds quite closely in general substance with the account given in these columns by Agnes Thecla Fair, which created such indignation throughout the labor world, and which the Seattle authorities attempted to suppress.
We do not wonder the officials seek to suppress the "Free Press" which reveals such astounding brutality. There were some who could not believe Miss Fair's story. But Mrs. Flynn's account furnishes precisely the corroboration needed. And the officers of the law who violated the law to suppress these accounts show how they are hit in the solar plexus.
The only result of these silly police tactics will be the wider distribution and more pronounced attention secured for the facts suppressed. Suppression never suppresses. Spokane take notice!

Mrs. FLYNN'S LETTER

Story of My Arrest and Imprisonment

On Tuesday morning, Nov. 30, at about 8 o'clock, I was walking toward the I. W. W. hall. As I reached the corner of Stevens and Front avenue I was accosted by Officer Bill Shannon, with the demand: "Are you Miss Flynn?" I replied "Yes," whereupon he grunted, "Well, we want you." I asked, "Have you a warrant?" "Now, we haven't," he rejoined, when the other officer stepped up and remarked, "There is one in the station."
I accompanied them to the station, where I was booked and a warrant read for criminal conspiracy. I was then taken to the chief's office, where prosecuting attorney Pugh put me through the "third degree." Mr. Moore, attorney for the I. W. W., came to the door and asked for the chief, demanding to see me, but they unceremoniously slammed the door in his face. The chief said: "Let him wait till we get through." At that time there were present besides the chief and prosecuting attorney, Commissioner Tuerke, a stenographer and several other officials unknown to me. I refused to answer the prosecuting attorney when he fired the first question, saying "I don't know who you are." Indignantly the chief introduced us with necessary formality: "This is the prosecuting attorney, Mr. Pugh; Miss Flynn, the I. W. W. organizer." They were all extremely courteous, probably due to the information conveyed to them over the phone that my physical condition was such that it would be dangerous to be otherwise. But the ordeal of a rapid fire of questioning is not as easy as it looks from the outside. Every trick known to a shyster lawyer is resorted to. Every appeal made to the honesty, sincerity and truthfulness of the average citizen, that the questioners presumably had no respect for themselves. Frankly, the only mistake I made was to talk at all; but what I "forgot," "refused to answer," "didn't remember" and "couldn't recall" would fill a book. A man they would have put in a sweat-box and broken his physique and spirit, and eventually got him so faint and sick that he wouldn't know what he was saying.
The idea of the third degree is evident—namely, to trap you into attempting to prove yourself innocent, into forgetting that it is up to them to prove you guilty. Some of the cross-questions were entirely humorous. For instance, Mr. Pugh remarked: "You know it's useless denying what is an apparent fact, easily proven by scores of witnesses." To which I retorted, "Well, why do you ask me so many questions about an apparent fact?" The chief of police was anxious to know if Katherine Flynn, who signed the Irish Socialist communication, happened to be of any relation of mine. Irish on both sides of this fight annoys the chief in face of his assertion that we are all foreigners.
With an assumption of innocence, Pugh asked: "Who are the executive committee, and who handles the finances?" The first I didn't know, the second I refused to answer. He asked, "Do you know?" And I answered, "Of course I know." And he asked, "You refuse to answer?" I said, "I certainly do." He asked, "Did you say so and so in your speeches?" to which I replied, "I talked so much I don't know what I said." They all gave him the laugh, and he asked if that statement wouldn't probably, if published, injure my reputation as a speaker. Anxious he was for me to maintain my standing as an agitator, indeed! Finally he said, with a very smooth preliminary about not caring to prosecute a woman, that I might go if I would state that I had no connection with the free speech fight, was not in sympathy with the tactics of the I. W. W., and had not induced men to go to jail. I refused to either deny or affirm, declined to be tried and found guilty or adjudged innocent in the chief's office, and that settled it.
I was allowed to see Mr. Moore and Mr. Rogers in the chief's office, after which I was taken to the county jail in the patrol wagon. The morning "Spokesman-Review" had a story that I had requested to be taken across the river in a hack. The idea never occurred to me, and if it had I would have known better than to lay myself open to be refused. The "Review" lied, as usual.
I was placed in a cell with two other women, poor miserable specimens of the victims of society. One woman is being held on a charge that her husband put her in a disorderly house. The other is serving 90 days for robbing a man in a disorderly resort in Spokane. Never before had I come in contact with women of that type, and they were interesting. Also, I was glad to be with them, for in a jail one is always safer with others than alone. One of the worst features of being locked up is a terrible feeling of insecurity, of being at the mercy of men you do not trust a moment, day or night. These miserable outcasts of society did everything in their power to make me comfortable. One gave me the spread and pillow cover from her own bed when she saw my disgust at the dirty gray blankets. I could not eat the heavy, soggy food, stews, etc., nor drink the terrible stuff called coffee; but the girls gave me fruit that had been sent into them. They moderate their language, apologize for their profanity and pathetically try to conform to some of the standards of decency when they see that you are "different." They have been so accustomed to being ill-used and brow-beaten they rather expect it, yet become indignant when it is done to another. In the morning they gave me soap and clean towels that I might not have to use common soap or dirty jail towels.
The jailers are on terms of disgusting familiarity with these women, probably because the latter cannot help themselves or don't care. Imprisonment does not seem to have any horrors for them. Content to sleep and eat, they seem as happy inside of jail as out. They are unconscious of their deg-



The Free American Workingman

radation and solicit no sympathy. Perhaps they shouldn't be conscious, for society is to blame and not they.
I was put in with them about 11 o'clock, yet the lights were burning bright and they showed no sign of retiring. Three little iron beds were the furnishings of our sleeping facilities, so I threw my cloak over me and tried to sleep. The younger girl still remained up, though she turned the light down that I might sleep. Several times she went to and fro, asking if she disturbed me. Finally the jailer came, opened the cell door and took her out. She remained a long time, and when she returned I gathered from the whispered conversation with the older one, the following: That he had taken her down to see a man on the floor below—a sweetheart she called him to me afterward. She went again and remained a long time, and, whispering, told the other woman that "Bert" (I judged to be the jailer) would have brought "Jack" up but for this woman, indicating me. "They don't trust her," she said. Perhaps I am justifying her suspicion in writing this. But the whole performance bore the earmarks of a putrid state of morals inside the county jail of Spokane. Taking a woman prisoner out of her cell at the dead hours of night several times to visit sweetheart looked to me as if she were practicing her profession inside of jail as well as out! And what particularly interested me was that man "Bert," so intimately designated by his first

name, have in the matter? It would bear investigation. Readers may well imagine the horrible night of restlessness I put in.
Early in the morning a man by the name of Bigelow, jailer, I presume, came into the cell with breakfast. Instead of leaving it in the ante-room of the cell and going about his business, he marched straight into the room where we were all still in bed. He laid his cold hand on my cheek and I awoke with a start. My anger blazed up and I said, "Take your hand off me; I didn't come here to be insulted." He murmured some inarticulate excuse, "Of course not," or words to that effect, and got out.
It certainly is a shame and disgrace to this city that a woman can be arrested because of union difficulties, bonds placed so high that immediate release is impossible, thrown into a county jail, where sights and sounds, horrible, immoral and absolutely different from her ordinary, decent mode of life can be forced upon her. Her privacy invaded while trying to steal some sleep by a brute of a man in a jail that hasn't attained the ordinary standard of civilization that requires a matron for the care of women prisoners. This all for law and order!
"O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!"
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

DAILY DESPATCHES

From Our Own Reporter

Spokane, Wednesday, Dec. 8, '09.
Hall at headquarters was raided again last night. Five more "leaders and editors" captured on "conspiracy" charge. This makes twenty-five "leaders and editors" in jail. One of those left outside signs himself "Reserve Editor 999."
Gurley Flynn's trial has been in progress today.
The manner of selecting these Police Court Juries should be noticed. The Judge (Stocker in this instance) chooses, not "draws," but chooses to suit himself 18 names. From these eighteen the state and the defense each reject six, and the six left constitute the jury.
But the Judge SELECTED THESE SIX, every one of them. Of course, the verdict was settled in advance. Of course, there was no workingman on that jury. It consists of four business men and two retired farmers. Two of them are old soldiers.
Flynn verdict excites Spokane women. Call her Joan of Arc.
Spokane, Saturday, Dec. 11.
Entire edition "Industrial Worker" seized coming from press today. Mail list is safe. Will be published elsewhere next week. Two policemen with guns stationed at doors of Inland Printing Company to see that no more papers are printed. Gurley Flynn's article said to be libel on officers. Great indignation at unwarranted seizure.
Pugh claims he will apply for injunction to forbid further publication unless copy is submitted first to special censors appointed by the Court.
Spokane is certainly going the limit to compete with Russia. Zelaya isn't in it with Pugh.
Bundle "Workingman's Paper" came today. They are great and just in time after the suppression of the "Industrial Worker."

Will introduce them at meeting tonight. Doubtless they, too, will be suppressed.
Spokane, Sunday, Dec. 12.
Two hundred and fifty copies "Workingman's Paper" sent by Seattle I. W. W. went like hot cakes last night. No copies of "The Worker" can be had. Policemen still on guard at printing office. Flynn made brilliant talk today in hotel lobby before Economic Club. She is quite a heroine now. The stupid Capitalists could have done nothing better for I. W. W. than to sentence this girl of 19, in delicate condition, too, to ninety days in jail for alleged "conspiracy to commit a crime," said "crime" speaking on the street in a perfectly orderly manner in defiance of a city council ordinance passed to please the employment sharks and to suppress a Labor Union.
Spokane, Monday, Dec. 13.
Six more "speakers" arrested today, after Capitalists had been publishing boasts that the I. W. W. were at last killed off by the arrest of their "leaders," the conviction of their Girl Organizer and the suppression of their paper. The I. W. W. answer is this new batch of "criminals."
New dodge tried today. Judge Mann claims to have a letter from Chicago threatening him with death if he does not leave Spokane within ten days, and announcing that three men are leaving Chicago to attend to him if he finds him in Spokane at the end of the ten days. This is a plain Pinkerton trick. Not a single act of violence has been forced out of the I. W. W. hundreds here, though subjected to the most brutal provocation. Thus public sympathy has been growing in the men's favor day by day, until feeling on account of the Flynn trial and unheard of sentence was sweeping the town. Something must be done. Hence this letter threatening Judge Mann.
Of course, it may be genuine. Spokane has done violence enough to provoke violence in return. The whole country is ablaze with amazement at this Russian town in America. It may be that some determined men are on their way as announced. But it is not any I. W. W. It is far more likely a Pinkerton scheme.
Crane's case for "Disorderly Conduct" set in Judge Hinkle's Superior Court today.
Bruce Rogers, formerly on "Appeal" here, was given ten days today by Judge Stocker for carrying some letters from the postoffice to some prisoners in the Franklin School Bull Pen. The Hunger Strike has been declared off by the I. W. W. They will hereafter go on the Rock Pile and get "square meals." Spokane will pay more this way and the men will not starve. Starvation policy served its turn, but the new move is expected to work better from now on.
Spokane, Tuesday, Dec. 14.
Crane's trial in progress. Defense rests tonight. Will go to jury tomorrow.
Judge Mann's Pinkerton Fake is being worked for all its worth. Six armed guards attend him constantly. The town will soon be laughing at him. No I. W. W. member takes the threat seriously.
Latest.—Officers are now stationed at the Headquarters Hall meetings held every evening. They censor the speeches. If anything which they object to is said, they arrest the speaker. This is "Free Assemblage" in Spokane.

PINCH THE PINCHERS

Editor's Note.—We commend to the attention of the Spokane authorities, legal and illegal, the following extract from the new "Criminal Code" of the State of Washington, page 1001, chapter 249, section 359. We hope these officers who broke into that print-shop will be prosecuted to the full extent of this law.

"Section 359. Oppression under color of office.
"Every officer, or person pretending to be such, who unlawfully and maliciously, under pretense or color of official authority, shall—
"1. Arrest another or detain him against his will; or
"2. SEIZE OR LEVY UPON ANOTHER'S PROPERTY; or
"3. Dispossess another of any lands or tenements; or
"4. Do any act whereby another shall be injured in his person, property or rights, commits oppression. SHALL BE GUILTY OF A GROSS MISDEMEANOR.
"5. No officer or person having the custody of the body or liberty of any person under arrest, shall REFUSE PERMISSION TO SUCH ARRESTED PERSON TO COMMUNICATE WITH HIS FRIENDS OR WITH AN ATTORNEY, NOR SUBJECT ANY PERSON UNDER ARREST TO ANY FORM OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE, INTIMIDATION, INDIGNITY OR THREATS for the purpose of extorting from such person incriminating statements or a confession.
"Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

THANKSGIVING DAY IN SPOKANE

Thanksgiving days may come and go. But they are taught to me; Could one but be a fair gazelle, Then thankful be for one is free.
Could one but roam the virgin hills, Where man has never trod, To hear the natural sound of bees, Then thankful be to God.
But widow's sighs and children's cries 'Mid cities' dust and din, Who could give thanks to any God And not see Satan grin?
Tho' not a single spot on earth Where one may lay their weary head, Yet when you know the Brutes in Blue, One should be thankful they're not dead.
AGNES THECLA FAIR.

NEWSBOYS TORTURED

Prosecuting Attorney Pugh and Police Chief Sullivan Attack Boys and Women.
(By Our Special Correspondent in Spokane.)
On the evening of Dec. 1st, just as the regular nightly propaganda meeting of the I. W. W. had got well under way the hall was raided by ten big burly policemen.
It so happened that a well known lawyer was on the platform talking and as he was not a member of the I. W. W. he was allowed to continue his talk. The police were disappointed, however, and to make their visit yield some fruit they arrested eight newsboys present who ranged in age from eight to sixteen years.
Recently the I. W. W. organized about forty newsboys into a union and so rapidly was this growing that the police decided to break it up, and the above mentioned raid was the result. The meeting continued on undisturbed by the raid as the I. W. W. are getting blasé to police interference. The boys were escorted out of the hall to the tune of a hearty hissing and jeering from the large audience present.
Many thought the boys would be released after having been taken out of the hall, but the Spokane police don't pursue any such milk and water course. Here was a glorious opportunity to learn the "secret" workings of the organization. So valuable do they consider these "secrets" that they have inflicted the most terrible hardships upon many of the prisoners in the vain hope of getting them to divulge them and to take the stand against the alleged conspirators. The boys are small and can be easily

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

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

Statement of Principles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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By Wm. C. Green, Former State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Florida

Editor Socialist:
Dear Comrade.—I heard the other day that the police of Seattle had confiscated your paper on account of reporting the vile outrages on women perpetrated by their friends in Spokane. I thought it probably related only to that one edition, but as I have not received my copy for last week, I fear that it may be more serious than that.

The previous number was one of the hottest I ever read, and it is a pity that it could not be put in the hands of every decent man in the nation. It must have struck home in the cuticle of the Seattle police to cause them to commit such a high-handed outrage. Talk about an anarchy; there is no anarchist anywhere in the world that equals the authorities of this country everywhere. They are the most reckless law-breakers in the world today, and I begin to wonder how long they can go on in that way before the people rise up and wring their worthless necks. Spokane as a sample, ought to be blotted off the map of the earth, and yet, with all her unspeakable villainies, I don't suppose she is really worse than any of the rest.

However, these abominations have their compensations, for there is nothing that could be thought of that will bring about the solidarity of the workers so quickly and thoroughly as such infamous cruelties and outrages.

I am persuaded that in this way, and ONLY in this way can the workers ever have a party which is a genuine "political expression of the working class." Not that many of the middle-class Socialists are not entirely sincere but that their psychology and mode of thought renders it impossible for them to "represent" the workers. They are masters of speech and can write and talk about Socialism in the finest language, but throughout all their writings there can always be detected the bourgeois mind. There is always a tone of superiority, benevolence and condescension that betrays them. It is always "the hand of Esau but the voice of Jacob."

I am not blaming them for this. I am a middle-class man myself and have never worked for wages a day in my life, except a couple of years in a bank to learn the banking business. But I know there is an entirely different psychology in the two classes which renders them unable to mix any more permanently than oil and water. Let them keep their parties apart. Let the middle class and intellectuals keep on with their "Socialist" party if they want to and see what they will make of it, but let the workers form and RUN their own party without asking the assistance of ANY other class, and by the United Wage-Workers, and they will find themselves on the right track to solve their problem and quicker and better than in any other way. That's my belief.

But "United Wage-Workers" is so definite and clear that none can distort its meaning. Perhaps some few millionaires who draw 50,000 or 700,000 salaries as figure-head directors of great corporations may try to sneak into the party as "wage-workers," but they will hardly be able to deceive even the most illiterate. The amount of energy that has been wasted in defining, explaining, and sugar-coating Socialism for middle-class consumption will at once be done away with by the new name and the immense cost of such useless work saved for more useful purposes by the change of name.

Another thing I think that is wise is to form an entirely new party instead of trying to reform the old one. The old party has most evidently run its course and completed its mission. It demonstrated its utter incompetency to make the party a success, and its complete failure to win the confidence of the working class. It had been turned from its supposed revolutionary purpose into a diluted middle-class reform party. This was perfectly natural, as I hold that men of middle-class training are wholly incapable of riding themselves of their middle-class minds and proclivities, and so are absolutely unable to truly represent the working class. The fact that our middle class and intellectual comrades have insinuated themselves into the offices and management of the party under the idea, real or pretended, that the workers are too unintelligent to manage their own party, is proof positive in my mind that they have no business in a working-class party at all and should be relentlessly kept out.

But very few of them will make that sacrifice, for their training makes it impossible for them to conceive of being in any party which they did not run. Probably most of them will have to be thrown down into the proletariat and dig out their living with a pick and shovel before they will be able to reach this plane of wisdom.

Personally I believe that it is the "man with a hoe," the man in the ditch and the factory; in short, the manual worker, who is to effect the deliverance of the world, because, if there were no other reason, there is no one else that can do it. He out-numbers all other classes, and when he realizes that he is poor simply because he is being robbed by the present system and that he can only effect his deliverance through his solidarity with his fellows, then the change will come and not before. He is the man the middle-class Socialist does not and cannot reach, and so his work is fruitless, and we find he has built up a party which is almost all head, with a little body which can never get anywhere.

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What is wanted is to teach this downmost man that he is being robbed and that HE must unite with his fellows and overthrow the system that oppresses him and keeps him poor. The lily-white middle-class Socialist cannot teach him this even if he did not have a contempt for the man whom he constantly characterizes as "slum proletariat" and "loafer," in case he happens to be out of work. The stuff the middle-class Socialist writes and discusses is no more use to the laborer than "two tails to a toad," and would never influence him in a hundred years. It is clear out of his faculties and is mostly addressed to middle-class men. It is about as significant to the Socialist cause as the old speculations of the clergy as to how the angels could dance on the point of a pin. It is worthless and futile, so far as he is concerned.

So I say, go ahead with your new party and let the managers of the present Socialist party keep it going if they can and want to do so.

There will be more or less friction for a time between them, but not near as much as though the workers should try to use the present party for their purposes.

I enclose \$2 to be used as you think best. If you think best, you may send me another copy of your paper for part of it, as I can generally use it to good advantage. Your paper will be the most important paper in the new move and should be heartily supported by all the workers.

Fraternaly,
WM. C. GREEN.
San Jose, Cal., Dec. 2, 1909.

WILL HE PUBLISH IT

Centralia, Wash., 11-16-'09.
Editor "The Catholic Northwest Progress," Seattle, Wash.

Dear Sir:
I just received a copy of your educational edition. As I am grasping for light and guidance in order that my family may have some certainty for material sustenance while they live here on earth, I take considerable interest in your manifest antagonism toward Socialism and will now quote two statements that appear therein:

On page 10 near the bottom of the fourth column: "This they (the Catholics) cannot conscientiously do, since the declared aim of Socialism is to revolutionize the government, abolish the rights of property, and destroy the family relation which is the cornerstone of our civilization."

On page 1 near the top of third column: "The Catholic Register, of Kansas City, notes the fact that in the county of Missouri, in which that city is situated, there were 3,500 marriages last year and 1,300 divorces, or over one-third as many divorces as marriages, and it says 'Thirteen hundred homes wrecked in one year in Jackson county is certainly appalling enough to wake us up to a realization of the effects of the divorce evil.'"

When I bring these two statements into juxtaposition I receive a severe jolt in any confidence I might have had in your sincerity and ability to furnish light and guidance to any wage worker on the labor movement and Socialism.

You say on one page that Socialism will destroy the family relation, and then on another page you state that our present civilization (capitalism) has actually destroyed 1,300 family relations in Jackson county, Missouri, in one year. In your zealous effort to combat Socialism by misrepresentation, you have exposed your hypocrisy. The system which you uphold has destroyed "one-third" of the new "cornerstones of our civilization" in Jackson county, Missouri, and yet you want to lay such as this at the doors of Socialism, a phase of civilization not yet reached!

You couple Socialism and anarchy together in so many instances that it reveals, on your part, a very poor opinion of the intelligence of the working class, so many of whom know that the two terms are the very opposites as any standard authority will show. That half truth about Ferrer which you indulge in, also reveals your lack of sound argument. Do you open your columns to free speech?

Very truly,
C. W. GARRETT.

Herman to Bostrom

In the current issue of the "World's Referee" there appears a letter by Franz Bostrom, secretary of the Populist Party, in which he calls upon the members of that organization to enlist in the free speech fight and deplore the fact (?) that he must sacrifice his own desire to go on account of his duty to the party.

Pretty flimsy excuse, Franz, and besides I know of at least two former occasions in your home city, Bellingham, that you could have gone to jail had you only had sufficient sand to do so, and you hadn't the excuse of being secretary of the Socialist (?) Party, either. Fact is, you are like the vast majority of the members in your party, you haven't got courage enough to go to jail, nor manhood enough to admit it. While I do not think so, it is possible that I do you an injustice; therefore I will suggest a method by which you can enlist in the Spokane Free Speech fight without leaving your party secretaries.

Resign your position, to take effect in 45 days. That will give the membership time to relieve you of your burden and make somebody secretary who is not so anxious to go to jail. But, what's the use—you're only blinding.

EMIL M. HERMAN.

SLADDEN AND UNTERMANN

A Woman's View

Charleston, Wash., Nov. 9, 1909.
Editor "The Socialist."
Dear Comrade:—For some time I have been closely following the controversy between Sladden and Unter-mann, and needless to say, not favoring Unter-mann, but did not like to write before, as it would look like "butting in."

However, Comrade Unter-mann has so noticeably changed in this week's issue that I must say a little about our experience with the small farmer and business man.

He is quite right in saying in this week's article that the comrades who thought he was leaning away from the National Party, must have read his letters in strips and jumps. I surely had no such idea. I don't see how anyone could possibly make any such blunder.

I have come to the conclusion, by what he says, that he has never tried much propaganda work among the two classes he so warmly champions, or he would know better than to class them with the real wage worker.

I well remember seven or eight years ago Burgess reported in "The Socialist" the results of a trip through eastern Washington, especially among the farmers of the Yakima and Wenatchee valleys. It was so disheartening and he made such scathing comments on the attitude of the farmers generally and their ideas of Socialism that my husband and I both thought he must be easily discouraged to feel as blue at a few repulses.

But when we lived among the same class ourselves we changed our minds. When we moved to Columbia county, Oregon, we heard very soon that there were lots of Socialists in the neighborhood and at one time there had been a "colony" started there. Full of hope, Mr. Armstrong started to find some of them, but came home blue as Burgess had been. He said several different ones assured him, "Yes, I'm a Socialist, you bet. I'm for any reform that can be pushed through to help the working classes. We've got to stand by 'em and help 'em in their fights against such injustice," and that was as far as they knew of it.

Colonels Dick Maple and Wayland were their gods and "The Ripsaw" and "Appeal" were their Bible. When you talked of revolutionary, scientific Socialism, they asked "What are you talking about?" Class them with the city working man who toiled in factories or mills or mine workers, whose wages were dictated by the bosses, and they waxed very wrath, vowing they were free, independent American citizens and no one could dictate to them.

When asked about the trusts, the railroad monopolies, the extortionate express charges, over which they had absolutely no control, but which they had to pay if sending or receiving anything by those ways, they would squirm and side-step, and say, "Yes, the trusts ought to be abolished, and all railroads and expressage owned by the government"; but to assert they needed the assistance of the Socialist era as bad as any one, made them very indignant.

Yet hardly a one could put his hand on much over a month's supplies in advance. Many could not do that, but had their farms mortgaged to keep going at all, and all had to grind early and late (not only themselves, but their wives and children, too). The "rural delights" so bragged up by the city people, consisted of a drive in the big farm wagon (without springs) over miles of awful roads to the little country town, where they saw perhaps ten or a dozen people. If hayding didn't interfere they might get up a picnic on the Fourth of July, which meant so much additional work and worry for the already overworked wife and mother that the day had little or no pleasure for her.

I talked with numbers of them about how much woman's work would be lightened by the new order, but they were so worn and crushed by the years of toil and labor that had made them old before their prime, that all they could say was: "It would be fine if it could ever be, but that is too much like heaven for this world."

Yet I found that after numerous talks and reasonings with some of the women they were far more ready to accept the true Wage Workers' Party than their husbands. The "lords of creation, as they imagined themselves to be, were 'good Socialists' (?) every day except election. Then, rather than "throw away their vote on a losing cause" they'd vote for "the next best man." One of them, who really was very intelligent on all other matters, accepted nomination on the Democratic ticket and asked George to vote for him and also electioneer for him.

His god was Bryan and the Commoner his gospel. Yes, he honestly thought himself a Socialist, and George simply a visionary impossibility. He subscribed for "The Socialist" for three months, then said, "I don't see anything in it whatever for present troubles and needs, and anyway I can't understand half that's in the paper, so won't take it again."

The step-at-a-time reforms advocated by the "grange" always got this man's warm support, but the world-

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By J. Ed. Morgan

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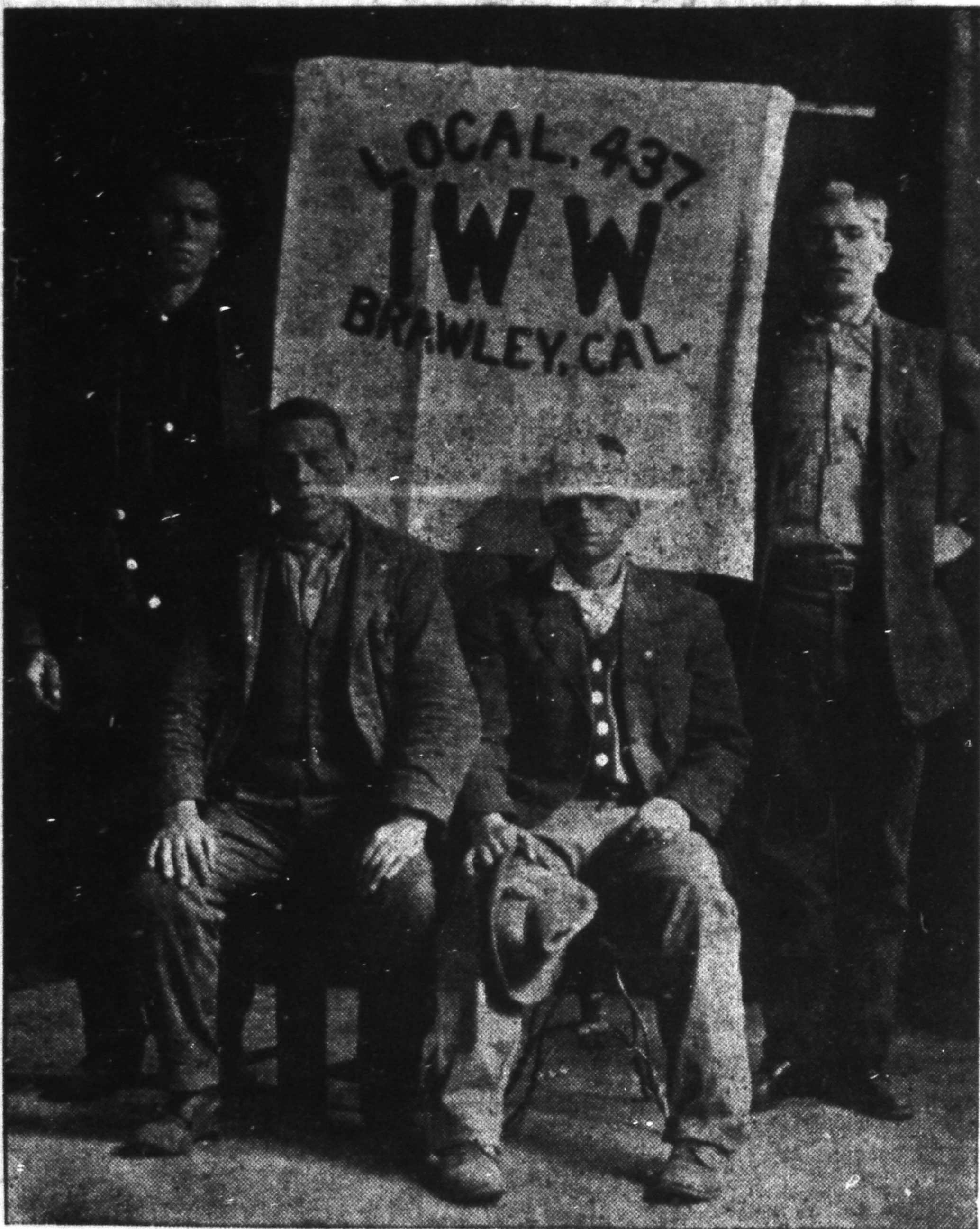
Since cats in cats and rats in rats. And cats and rodents can't agree. And cats and rats agree to part. For sake of hides and harmony, Then to the fight, ye pro-rat-beirs, In Mar:ian squad and orderly, And mind ye well that rats is rats And no pelts for the tannery. And when the fur flies good and strong In simon-rat-pure jamboree, With rats to rats and rats on rats And not a cat to interfere— Ye gods! how sweet to feel that cats Can't stick their sniffrs in the fur!

That rats can fight and cats can't—but then, rats! what's the use of pro-baying! It was the only logical thing to do.

If the middle class are to join the party then we must treat them as comrades, giving them all the rights we give to any comrade. If they want to rule it is their right to do so if they can without violating party rules. If they want to change the program it is their right if they are in majority. Once in the party, unless we want to pose as an aggregation of militant hypocrites, we must grant them all the rights and privileges that go with membership. If we don't want them logical or half decent to nag at them in the party let us say so. It is not eternally because of their middle-class instincts once we admit them to membership.

Let the rats and cats separate for a season as an experiment. We can all watch the outcome of the Washington movement. Let us not be too cocksure of failure. The rats may be able to agree. If they can get along without scrapping their organization to pieces, we have solved the class struggle problem. Once we can see the working class agreeing on a revolutionary program and staying, we can see the victory we dream about. Will the Washington comrades "stick together" and stay stuck, or will they go back to the delicious pastime of head-hunting and liver roasting?

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



This is a photo of I. W. W. reinforcements from Imperial, Cal. It was a difficult journey, beating their way. They were caught in a train wreck, and one of them shows the results.