

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

THE SOCIALIST

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Price Five Cents

THE UNITED LABOR PARTY

Vote for Labor

The political conditions in Seattle are typical of those which will soon prevail throughout the United States.

There are five parties in the field, all appealing to Labor for its votes: (1) Republican, (2) Democratic, (3) United Labor, (4) Socialist Labor, (5) Socialist. We enumerate them in the order of their probable vote at the city election on March 8.

How shall a workingman vote? What principle shall guide him in choosing out of these five? Let us assume he has a vote and that he thinks it worth while to use it.

The title of this article is the only rational reply: VOTE FOR LABOR. But how? The whole five claim to represent the interests of Labor. The Republicans say, "We'll give you a wide-open town and help business. The Democrats say, "We'll give you a respectable town and help business. The Socialist-Labor and Socialists say, "We represent Labor. The United Labor party says, "We are Labor. . . And they all tell the truth.

There ought to be no difficulty for any intelligent Wage-Worker in choosing out of that list of claimants and claims. The Republicans and Democrats both frankly claim to stand, first of all, for Business Men and Business interests, and only incidentally for the interests of Labor. In their entire list of managers and committeemen you cannot find a single workingman; and only a single man now working for wages on both their tickets. In one word, the Republicans and Democrats stand for Capital, and are composed of capitalists, exactly as the Citizens' Alliance or Manufacturers' Association or Civic Federation stands for Capital, and is composed of capitalists. A Union man might just as appropriately be a member of either of these organizations of his employers as to become a member of the Republican or Democratic parties by voting for their candidates.

But what of the two Socialist parties? They claim to represent Labor, at least primarily. Why not vote for one of these? The Socialist-Labor party has been in existence for some twenty years and the Socialist party for ten years, always claiming to represent Labor, yet never able to secure the support of Labor. Neither of them is composed of Wage-Workers. Both of them are officered and guided mainly by professional men. Both admit to their membership men of both classes on equal terms, employers and employed. For this reason, while their platforms state the Principles of Labor, their membership does not include the body of Labor itself. In a word, they represent Labor, but are not Labor. Therefore as political parties the two Socialist organizations are impotent and becoming more so as Labor itself enters the political field as well as the industrial. The Socialist-Labor party has such a ridiculously small constituency and vote, after all these years, that it seems as futile and impracticable as some long-haired fanatic proclaiming himself on the Bowery as the Saviour of mankind. Except as an Educational Club, with De Leon as its teacher, employing elections as educational opportunities, the Socialist-Labor party does not exist. Yet the Socialist party, faced with a real Labor party, will probably cut a less figure in elections than even the S. L. P. For a party constructed by the Proletarians themselves and composed of Proletarians, will attract to itself all those "sympathetic" votes which have heretofore been cast by Wage-Workers for the Socialist party as the only political representative of Labor in the field.

The United Labor party in Seattle is the only straight Wage-Workers' party to vote for in this election. It has sprung spontaneously from the ranks of Organized Labor, by means of an open organization, known as "The Workingmen's League," to which all workingmen were invited. Every one of its candidates bears a Union card, as well as every one of its executive officers. Among those who have been most active in promoting this new political organization in Seattle are a number of the men who last year were expelled from the Socialist party for being too insistently Proletarian, and who later were found in the ranks of the proposed political organization known as the United Wage Workers. Ault, Downie and McCorkle are on the Campaign Committee of the United Labor party, and the latter is the campaign manager.

Without much doubt, the movement which is taking political shape in Seattle as the UNITED LABOR PARTY, is a part of a natural and spontaneous development of the American Proletariat in the direction of politics.

Organized Labor sees itself crushed by political power in the hands of its employers, the Capitalist class. The boycott is forbidden by injunction. The strike is defeated by courts and police and militia and damage suits. Any effective or aggressive Labor Union becomes a "conspiracy," either to "violate law" or to "incite to disorder." The great organizations of capital, like the Steel Corporation, refuse to employ Union men at all, while congress and supreme courts are only the instruments of enforcing their arbitrary decisions against Labor. Even Gompers and Mitchell are being forced to abandon their diplomatic catering to the two old Capitalist parties, and to admit the necessity of Labor organizing itself to take possession of political power for itself.

A Labor party seems inevitable. In the State of Washington, a referendum is now out to be voted on, issued by the last convention of the State Federation of Labor. It seems likely to carry. It submits, in substance, this question: Shall Organized Labor in this State constitute itself into a Labor party? The United Labor party of Seattle is in all likelihood a forerunner of this State party of Labor.

This paper has for ten years fought consistently for a Wage-Workers' party. All these years it hoped the Socialist party was destined to become such a Wage-Workers' party. That hope is now completely obliterated with the election for the next two years of an Executive Committee of seven containing only a single Wage-Worker. We shall now welcome the rapid formation of an American Labor party which shall consist of Wage-Workers organized on the same strict class lines as the Unions from which the new party springs as a natural and inevitable outgrowth. We have given up trying to force the Labor movement. At best we can follow, recognize, encourage, assist, educate.

We print herewith the platform of the U. L. P. of Seattle. It is remarkable for its brevity, simplicity, directness and clear statement of the fundamental principle of LABOR FOR LABOR. It omits all reference to subordinate issues of the campaign and concentrates attention on the Class Struggle between Labor and Capital. From that fundamental position United Labor cannot go far astray. All "entanglements" with the Capitalist parties and Capitalist economics will surely be thrown off as self-consciousness develops in the course of the struggle, and as self-interests demand and discover those scientific truths, the knowledge of which is essential to Proletarian victory and which lead to revolutionary tactics.

A UNITED LABOR PARTY will constitute the Mountain to which the Mahomet of Scientific Socialism is bound to come.

"THE STAR" NOT FOR WORKINGMEN

On Monday, Feb. 21, 1910, the Seattle Daily "Star" contained the following front-page boxed article. This paper has always appealed to the support of the workingmen, like most Scripps-McRae papers. They saw how numerous and important the working class was becoming, and pretended to cater to that class.

But this editorial article ought to dispel any doubt as to its real attitude. No wage worker can mistake these sentiments.

The "Star" supports for mayor, not the choice of Organized Labor, but the choice of J. D. Farrel, the "Standard Oil" representative in the Northwest.

Hickman Moore is just as acceptable to the corporations and capitalist class as Hiram Gill himself. The Workingman is only considered by either of them for the votes he can cast.

But Charles H. Miller was selected by a body of workingmen as their candidate for mayor. This body of wage-workers is known as The Workingmen's League, and consists almost entirely of Organized Labor in this city.

But they have no money to purchase the support of any daily paper.

The daily "Star" refuses to support the United Labor Party and does support the Democratic candidate, who never did a thing for Labor except to bestow two or three personal rewards in the shape of appointments to office when he was mayor before. And he actually put scores of workingmen in jail as their reward for daring to oppose his election in 1906. For this in 1908 he went down to ignominious defeat, and now no workingmen, except a few personal favorites and office-holders, have any use for "Billy" Moore.

This article from the Star, with its explicit declaration that "IT WILL NEVER SUPPORT A WORKINGMAN FOR OFFICE JUST BECAUSE HE IS A WORKINGMAN" ought to put this paper into the same class of "Dead Ones" as Moore and Wappenstein.

THE STAR AND C. H. MILLER

(From "The Seattle Daily Star" of Monday, Feb. 21, 1910.)

"Resolved, That in view of the consistent support heretofore rendered the Seattle Daily Star, financially and politically, by workingmen of this city, the Workingmen's League of the United Labor Party denounces and condemns the action of said paper in its persistent ignoring of the ticket presented by workingmen for the suffrages of the citizens of Seattle on March 8 next."

The above resolution was adopted at a meeting of the Workingmen's League of the United Labor party at a meeting held last Saturday night at Labor Temple.

The Star is proud of the fact that it has been supported financially and politically by the workingmen of Seattle, and trusts that this support will continue. It has gained this good-will by being "on the square," not only with the workingmen, but with citizens of all other classes. It has fought for the workingman because it has realized that it, the contest for his daily bread the workingman has been in need of aid. It has asked nothing of the workingman in return for this assistance.

Today the Star is supporting William Hickman Moore for mayor and ignoring the labor ticket for the reasons: First, that Judge Moore is the only man in the race who can defeat Hiram C. Gill, the gambler-saloonkeeper-restricted-district candidate; and second, that the labor ticket has the support of only a small portion of the laboring element of the city.

If, in the opinion of the Star, C. H. Miller, the labor candidate for mayor, was a stronger candidate than Judge Moore, the Star would support Mr. Miller. It respects Mr. Miller, and knows that he would make an infinitely better mayor than Gill. Some of the other candidates on the labor ticket are good men; others of them could not secure the support of the Star under any circumstances.

The Star is, first and foremost, for the people of Seattle—all of them—of every color, every creed and every condition of servitude. It will never support a workingman for office just because he is a workingman. This will be its policy, because it wants to make this city a better place for the workingman. It will continue to do this, even though it should lose the support of the politicians among the workingmen. Some day, perhaps, in the near future, it may be necessary to elect to the office of mayor of this city and to seats in the council good, high-minded workingmen. When that day arrives the Star will be found fighting the political battles of the workingman as it has fought all of his other battles ever since its first day of publication in this city.

And, in spite of the views of the men who condemned the Star on Saturday night, the Star is engaged today in the greatest fight for the workingmen of this city in which it has ever enlisted.

Editor's Note on "The Star's" Article

Why does this newspaper "ignore the Labor ticket," by its own confession? Notice: "Ignores the Labor ticket," refuses even to print the news about it!

Its reasons are two: First, Moore can defeat Gill, who stands for a wide-

Continued on Page 4

The seven members elected on the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the U. S. are Robert Hunter, Victor Berger, Morris Hillquit, John Spargo, Lena Morrow Lewis, George H. Goebel and Jas. F. Carey. The last is the only straight Proletarian. The next, or eighth choice, only a little behind Carey, was Carl D. Thompson, the preacher. Simons and Work were defeated for reelection. The amendment to the Constitution was adopted, making the official term two years.

TO NEW READERS.

You get this paper as a sample. On the second page you will find a declaration of our principles. If you like the paper, subscribe. If you don't like the paper, but want to keep in touch with the progress of the proletarian movement, subscribe. "The Workingman's Paper" will thoroughly cover every field of battle, and no one who pretends to be up-to-date in these matters can afford to do without it.

The Flynn-Filigno Trial

(Reported for "The Workingman's Paper" by its Editorial Correspondent, Bessy Fiset.)

Wednesday, the 9th of February, 1910, saw the opening of the case of the State against C. L. Filigno and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn-Jones for criminal conspiracy.

The fact is that this trial is bringing to light the greatest conspiracy on the part of the MASTER CLASS AGAINST FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS AND ASSEMBLAGE that has yet been revealed in this country, making it rank with the foremost cases that have had direct bearing, or been the direct outcome of the Revolutionary movement in America.

To any one looking on at this trial the spectacle was certainly a representative in miniature of conditions as they exist in society today. On entering the large courtroom—seating approximately three hundred—one faced the court with the jury box on the left, counsel's table immediately in front of judge, clerk's desk just to right, and at extreme right along the wall a row of seats reserved for women spectators.

Between the right wall and the court was a door opening into an anteroom, which in turn led into a corridor leading to the county jail. Between the court and the jury box on the left was the door leading into court chambers.

At the extreme left corner of counsel's table sat Spokane's ablest guardian of the system's interests—Attorney Pugh. In appearance Mr. Pugh is certainly not prepossessing; very small and dark, with an unhealthy yellow skin, a mouth marked for its sarcasm, and discontent; and eyes which at a distance appear to be without lashes, giving his face the expression of a turtle or a snake, which expression is enhanced by the crinkly texture of his skin; he doesn't arouse any feelings of hero worship in the human breast. As one becomes familiar with his idiosyncracies one finds oneself watching for the covert and almost imperceptible adjustment of a small cud of tobacco before uttering his bored, "Oh, if your honor please, I object!" In spite of his small stature his hands are the only thing that suggest femininity.

Directly back of Mr. Pugh, bending forward with elbows on arms of chair, sat during the entire trial, the most grotesque figure in Spokane, Chief of Police Sullivan. Many are the descriptions given of this specimen and many the sketches drawn, so it is enough for me to refer the reader to the accompanying likeness and to further add that he has the huge frame and little head that so often bespeak mental degeneracy.

Next in line at the right of Attorney Pugh came Assistant Attorney Blair, a young man, whose habitual facial expression would indicate that he smelled something bad.

Rather behind him, in the vicinity of Chief Sullivan, sat Mr. Burns—Martin J. Burns—chief of detectives, a very smug and self-satisfied individual.

Continued on Page 4

Platform of United Labor Party

(Adopted in Seattle City Convention, Feb. 8, 1910.)

The time has come when labor must take a decisive step forward. Our past attempts to secure better conditions through our political prowess have left behind a trail of broken promises and blasted hopes.

Labor has begged the men elected by its own votes for concessions rightfully its own and has been sneered at and reviled by these very people who would not hold position except for labor's support.

Labor is the mightiest force in the world today. "We are many, they are few." Why should we beg for legislation which our numbers, if rightly directed, can obtain in spite of all opposition?

Undaunted by past reverses and firm in the belief in labor's ultimate triumph, we call upon all workingmen, irrespective of past political affiliations, to unite under one banner and rally to the support of the United Labor party, the political wing of organized labor in this city.

We pledge our candidates, if elected, to labor unceasingly to promote every measure which has for its object the bettering of conditions for the working class; and to vigorously and unalterably oppose every measure which does not promote the interests of labor.

Rally, workers! Why stay longer divided? You can depend on your organizations, when freed from all old party entanglements, to truly represent your interests.

Let us give them another surprise by voting together as we marched together last Labor day. At the ballot box we can make effective the power manifested on parade.



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WHERE WE STAND

(Reprinted From Our First Issue in 1910.)

In what relation does "The Workingman's Paper" stand to the various organizations of the Wage Class, and to that class as a whole?

This question is frequently asked, now that this paper does not profess to represent any particular organization. It seems inconceivable to some that a newspaper can be non-sectarian, an organ of Proletarianism but not an organ of any exclusive branch of Proletarianism. Yet that is the critical scientific attitude this paper seeks to assume. It is the complete opposite, for example, of the De Leonist attitude, which damns every organization of workingmen which does not bear its own brand.

"The Workingman's Paper" sees good in the I. W. W., sees good in the "I'm a Bum" song; but it also sees good in the A. F. of L., and even in De Leon's S. L. P. It also sees evil in all of them. This critical method is also constructive, for the paper seeks to promote the good in all and to remove the evil in all. And on every occasion, this paper seeks the solidarity of all Proletarians.

The following outlines our position exactly:

"The Workingman's Paper" does not seek to form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. It supports the UNION of Wage-Workers.

We advocate no interests separate and apart from those of the Proletariat as a whole. All policies are decided from this standpoint.

We do not set up any sectarian principles of our own by which to shape and mould the Proletarian Movement. We follow, not force, that Movement.

"The Workingman's Paper" is distinguished from partisan journals of the working class by this only: 1. In the various struggles of the wage class organizations with the capitalists, this paper will point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire Proletariat, independently of all apparent divisions, national, industrial or personal. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the Working Class against the Bourgeoisie has to pass through, this paper will always and everywhere, in the future, as in the past ten years, strive to represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

"The Workingman's Paper" therefore, encourages, on the one hand, practically every advanced and resolute organization of Wage Workers wherever found, those organizations which push forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, like all scientific Proletarian publications, we have the advantage over many Labor papers, of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the Proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of "The Workingman's Paper" is the same as that of all other really Proletarian organs, namely: **FORMATION OF THE PROLETARIAT INTO ONE CLASS, OVERTHROW OF BOURGEOIS SUPREMACY, CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER BY THE PROLETARIAT.**

Our theoretical conclusions are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

These conclusions merely express the actual relations springing from an existing Class Struggle, from an historical movement going on under our very eyes.

We disdain to conceal our revolutionary views and aims. We openly declare that Proletarian ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social foundations. Let the ruling class tremble at a Proletarian Revolution. The Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win!

Workingmen of all countries, unite!

To assist in organizing the Wage Slaves of Capital into a union capable of winning such an emancipation, this paper was founded in 1900. It has no other policy in 1910.

The Proletarian elements now scattered in A. F. of L., I. W. W., W. F. of M., S. P., S. L. P., U. W. W., and other bodies, together with multitudes now unorganized in the United States, must some time come together as a **UNITED LABOR PARTY.** To that end this paper is devoted.



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UNDER THE RED FLAG

Capitalism's Confession

By Ben Hanford

The State Convention of the Socialist Party of Washington was held at Everett, July 4-5, 1909. Shortly after its organization the Committee on Rules and Order of Business reported the now famous (or infamous) rule that the majority should gag the minority and refuse them a hearing at any time they so desired. After a heated debate, during which the minority was repeatedly gagged, even though the rule had not been passed, the report of the Committee was adopted. As this was a clear violation of the Constitution those delegates and spectators who have always stood for Proletarian Socialism and party Discipline under the Constitution, announcing that they would appeal from the Convention to the Party Membership, left the hall and proceeded to a clearing in the woods a short distance away. The picture on the preceding page is a reproduction of a photograph taken at the time. There are in the group 14 delegates to the Convention and 19 spectators, a total of 33, being a part of what Comrade Krueger called "The Boonch." The names of those shown in the picture are as follows, starting with the rear rank at the left:

Thomas Fotheringham, McMurray.
C. W. Garrett, Centralia.
John W. Gehrke, Seattle.
J. A. McCorkle, Seattle.
Floyd Hyde, Seattle.
F. A. Solschied, Langley.
John Downie, Seattle.
Thos. W. Russell, Cle-Elum.
David Howes, Buckley.
Emil M. Herman, Midlands.
Mrs. Eleanor M. Herman, Midlands.
O. H. Stone, Baring.
Herman Meyer, Olympia.
A. Krumin, Seattle.
Martin Gran, Buckley.
E. B. (Harry) Ault, Seattle.
Mrs. Bessy Flset, Seattle.

Richard Krueger, Seattle.
Mrs. Anna L. Steele, Seattle.
L. W. Longmire, Yelm.
Joa. S. Blascy, Seattle.
Mrs. Hattie W. Titus, Seattle.
Mrs. Ella K. Stone, Baring.
Arthur Jensen, Seattle.
Miss Minnie Kriens, Seattle.
Herman F. Titus, Seattle.
J. E. Jaynes, Buckley.
Geo. E. Boomer, Prosser.
John McClaraw, Seattle.
E. E. Martin, Silverdale.
Miss Lulu Ault, Seattle.
J. H. Steele, Seattle.
Miss Helen Taplett, Midlands.



LULU AULT-JENSEN, 1885-1910

This picture and the text are reproduced from the elegant souvenir prepared by Printer Ault with the title "Under the Red Flag." It is copied here because Lulu Ault, married last Christmas to Arthur Jensen, died of Quick Consumption Wednesday morning, Feb. 23, at Seattle. In this photograph, she sits in the very center, the first woman in the foreground, with head-uncovered. Her husband, Arthur Jensen, is the second to her right, with hand extended and her brother, Harry Ault, is the first at Jensen's left, just back of his extended arm. Lulu was Circulation Manager of this paper until she fell sick early last fall of Pneumonia, following which came the terrible Tuberculosis.

She was a beautiful girl and a strong, loyal character, proud to be a Proletarian and crowned with her husband's love. She said: "I would rather die, having known Love, than to have lived without it."

The rose, plucked in its bloom, will never wither on the stem.

The strong man fights fair. He relies on his strength to win.

The man with a righteous cause fights fair. He relies on his cause to win.

The brave man fights fair. He would rather lose with honor than win with honor lost.

Cowards, weaklings, men with a cause unjust—such men are ever ready to bow if hard pressed in a fight. The fowl below the belt, the dagger in the back, the venomous arrow, the poisoned well, slander, lies—foul fighting. These are the weapons of the man with a craven heart, the man who fears.

FEAR—the most terrible thing in the world. All this world's realities of wrong for all time do not total such an awful sum as FEAR. Truly, the man who fears is possessed of the devil. His life is a burning, living death, beside which death itself is an angel of grace on a cloud of peace.

Fear is a most prolific mother. Fear breeds greater Fear. Fear marches like the black plague, only faster. In all the world there are no walls so high or thick that Fear cannot mount them or raise them. Earth has no rock-bound citadel that Fear cannot enter. Man can make no door that Fear cannot open. In a city of a million souls, if there be but one man who Fears, all are in danger. One may calculate, measure, limit, the power and action of enemies, fools, scoundrels. None can forecast the actions of the man who Fears. Fire, fever, clubs, swords, wars—there is no limit to the evil power of those who Fear. Their enemies, their friends, themselves—all are endangered by those who Fear.

Wherever there is a capitalist who grasps a part of the meaning of Socialism, there is a capitalist who Fears. He thinks that shrewdness is wisdom and that force is power, and, moved by the lever of Fear, he first tries to fight philosophy with sophistry, and to oppose science with cunning. Worst of in the test by argument, his Fear grows greater. Then his craven heart comes to the relief of his crafty mind—they are always

your intelligence, too, Hennessy, not knowin' what the I. W. W. is. Well, I'll try to explain the situation as I see it. Some say I. W. W. means I'm Willing to Work, and others say it means I Won't Work, but be that as it may, the trouble up at Spokane—"Spokane?—I think I've heard that name," said Hennessy.

"Yes, you probably have," said Mr. Dooley. "There was a horse by that name that once won the Derby, and they named the town after the horse. But to get back to the I. W. W. You see, they were breakin' the law by disobeyin' the police orders agin makin' speeches on the street corners. Ye see, its unlawful to prevent the police from exercisin' their constitutional right of suppressin' free speech. Ye must remember, Hennessy, that this is a free country. In efete, down troddin European monarchies such as Germany, Austria and Great Britain, there is no such thing as freedom for the police. In the land of the hated Sassanagh, for instance (except in Ireland in our time), the police are not even allowed to carry clubs in their fists, and the only time they see a gun is through a pawnshop window. They tell me that in these degenerate days the police of Europe are nothing but a lot of mollycoddles. Why, me friend Hogan told me that he saw a man ask a London policeman to show him the way to Paccadilly, and that the policeman actually took the trouble to walk a block with him to show him the way; and another time he said a policeman even went so far as to tell a man the right time and to say 'sir' to him. Now, Hennessy, if ye had the gall to ask a policeman here what time it was he'd be likely to hit ye over the head with his club and say: 'It just struck one.' But, annyhow, these I. W. W. were interferin' with the inalienable right of the polis to the pursuit of happiness, for ye know that one of our grand American polis-men couldn't be happy unless he had the privilege of hittin' ye on the head once in a while. But who cares, anny how, for if I. W. W. means I Won't Work, they are a lot of hoboes, and if it means I Want Work, they are a lot of workin' men, so they are no good annyhow, and it's of no consequence."—Dooley (not Peter Finley), in New York Daily "Call."

ism, and has, without the slightest regard for truth, used it to the utmost of its understanding, to break up the party, and has only succeeded in making the party stronger and now finds itself in a position where it can no longer get an audience above the Seattle deadline, the challenge becomes a cheap trick, an attempt to get a hearing at the expense of the Socialist Party. The party has not now, as it had when Herman "by bitter experience" learned that the S. P. does not represent the interests of the wage-working class, and incidentally made money enough out of talking to build himself a home, any hirelings to order about. And what is to be won by such a debate? If Herman were to beat a speaker selected to meet him that would only prove his spouting superiority and would not settle the question. And if it is to merely be an entertainment, why not have Herman's boss, Dr. Titus, meet somebody of national reputation. We have all heard Emil, and are not hungry for his stereotyped howling. Years ago I warned Herman that he was a poor actor and that the effect of his talk was seriously marred by an unmistakable ring of insincerity and tired feeling in his voice, something that informed the audience as frankly as if he had said it, "I am paid for this." The Socialists of Washington have chosen and are still choosing at a rate that every month equals in number the whole injunction party, and it would be wasteful to use the time of the voluntary speakers, who after a hard day's work offer their services for nothing, by sending them up against the jawbone of an ass, welded by a man who calls himself a worker, but who has in fact been a true parasite for years. Going through the State starting local in impossible places, and begging one month's dues from alleged Socialists so as to enable him to make some showing for the wages he drew, there is today nothing in this State to show that he was ever a member, let alone lecturer and organizer, except the land he bought and the house he built at the expense of the party. Let him go out and exercise with the saw and ax for a few months and get rid of his superfluous gall and conceit and incidentally earn the right to speak as a workingman—a right he certainly does not hold while he is a common street beggar. The Socialist party is engaged in untiring the working class and has no time to stop and fight mosquitoes. Emil is welcome to hold his opinion and his theories; when somebody takes stock in it, it will be time to combat it. Until then, ta-ta, Emil.

FRANS BOSTROM, S.S. of S.P.
(Ed. Note to Above.—We hardly thought the S. P. had fallen so low as to have its officials issue a statement like the above.)

V. Tacoma, Wash., Feb. 10, 1910. S. E. C., Socialist Party of Washington:
I knew when I issued it that you would be afraid to accept my challenge to debate, but I wanted that fact recorded by yourselves. As to your comment with regard to my challenge, will simply say that vituperation, abuse and misrepresentation have ever been the recourse of those too cowardly to meet an opponent in open discussion. Respectfully yours,
EMIL M. HERMAN.

LOU M. PALMER, DAVE BLAEM
President Manager
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DOOLEY ON THE I. W. W.
"I see," said Mr. Hennessy, "that the I. W. W. is makin' trouble again; what is this I. W. W. annyhow?" "Well," said Mr. Dooley, "I'm surprised at your ignorance. A man of

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SOME INTERESTING LETTERS

I. Tacoma, Wash., Feb. 10, 1910. Editor Workingman's Paper:
Dear Comrade—I am enclosing herewith two challenges to debate, one issued to Local Tacoma and the other to the S. E. C. of the Socialist Party. With regard to the first one, I heard nothing officially but was informed by one of the members that a motion was passed, "that inasmuch as the challenge comes from a dead limb of a dead tree, it be relegated to the waste basket." Last Monday I was informed by P. A. Johnson that Local Tacoma is dead and that he would quit the same because he saw no sense in paying dues simply to pay hall rent. As to the one sent to the S. E. C.: I am enclosing their answer and my reply thereto.
EMIL M. HERMAN.

II. Tacoma, Wash., Jan. 11, 1910. Frederick F. Lowe, Secretary of Local Tacoma, S. P.:
Dear Sir—I hereby challenge Local Tacoma to select a representative to meet me in debate on the following proposition: "Resolved, That the S. P. does not represent the wage-working class," at any time and place agreeable to you, so long as you give me two weeks' notice. If I fail to hear from you within two weeks I will take it for granted that you agree with me and are afraid to put your party to the test.
EMIL M. HERMAN.

III. Tacoma, Wash., Jan. 30, 1910. Franz Bostrom, State Secretary S. P. of Washington, Everett, Wash.:
Dear Sir—During the nine years that I held continuous membership in the S. P. I was constantly given to understand that it was the political representative of the wage-working class, and that it was at all times prepared to defend its position in debate before the public against all comers. Having learned by years of bitter experience that the S. P. is not now—nor likely to become—what it claims to be, I hereby challenge the S. E. C. to select a representative to meet me in public debate, at any time, upon two weeks' notice, and at any place you may select, upon the question: "Resolved, That the Socialist Party does not represent the interests of the wage-working class." If I do not hear from you within two weeks I shall take it for granted that you agree with me and that you are afraid to put your party to the test. Respectfully,
EMIL M. HERMAN.

IV. Secretary Bostrom's Reply.
At first sight the above seems exceedingly fair, but when we remember that the injunction outfit had the whole party machinery in its hands, that it robbed the party of its funds and used these funds for disruptive purposes; that it has had the only paper in the State published in the name of Social-

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your intelligence, too, Hennessy, not knowin' what the I. W. W. is. Well, I'll try to explain the situation as I see it. Some say I. W. W. means I'm Willing to Work, and others say it means I Won't Work, but be that as it may, the trouble up at Spokane—"Spokane?—I think I've heard that name," said Hennessy.

"Yes, you probably have," said Mr. Dooley. "There was a horse by that name that once won the Derby, and they named the town after the horse. But to get back to the I. W. W. You see, they were breakin' the law by disobeyin' the police orders agin makin' speeches on the street corners. Ye see, its unlawful to prevent the police from exercisin' their constitutional right of suppressin' free speech. Ye must remember, Hennessy, that this is a free country. In efete, down troddin European monarchies such as Germany, Austria and Great Britain, there is no such thing as freedom for the police. In the land of the hated Sassanagh, for instance (except in Ireland in our time), the police are not even allowed to carry clubs in their fists, and the only time they see a gun is through a pawnshop window. They tell me that in these degenerate days the police of Europe are nothing but a lot of mollycoddles. Why, me friend Hogan told me that he saw a man ask a London policeman to show him the way to Paccadilly, and that the policeman actually took the trouble to walk a block with him to show him the way; and another time he said a policeman even went so far as to tell a man the right time and to say 'sir' to him. Now, Hennessy, if ye had the gall to ask a policeman here what time it was he'd be likely to hit ye over the head with his club and say: 'It just struck one.' But, annyhow, these I. W. W. were interferin' with the inalienable right of the polis to the pursuit of happiness, for ye know that one of our grand American polis-men couldn't be happy unless he had the privilege of hittin' ye on the head once in a while. But who cares, anny how, for if I. W. W. means I Won't Work, they are a lot of hoboes, and if it means I Want Work, they are a lot of workin' men, so they are no good annyhow, and it's of no consequence."—Dooley (not Peter Finley), in New York Daily "Call."

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EDMOND PELUSO European Correspondent

"The Star" Not for Workingmen

open town. This means that, in the opinion of the "Star," the red-light ques-
tion is more important than the Labor question. That is, the greatest and
most pressing question of modern times, which is dividing every civilized
nation, is made subordinate to the false issue whether inevitable vices shall
be treated frankly or hypocritically; whether their windows shall be trans-
parent or screened.

The "Star" thinks and says "It will never support a workingman for office
just because he is a workingman." It is for the people, all the people, not for
the Working Class. As if the workingmen were not already 75 per cent. of
"the people," ruled over and robbed by the other 25 per cent. of "the people"
the "Star" represents.

Second reason for "ignoring the United Labor Party": "It has the sup-
port of only a small portion of the laboring element of the city." That remains
to be seen. So far as we have heard, the United Labor Party has the support
of ALL EXCEPT a small portion of the laboring element of the city. A
few of the old-liners are still bound to the old parties of their employers, the
capitalists. They will vote for Gill or Moore. But we don't believe they can
control a paltry hundred votes in the city. The overwhelming demand of
Organized Labor, and still more of unorganized labor, is for a party and a
ticket of their own. That sentiment is going to astunish the capitalist dailies
when the votes are counted on March 8.

Let us remind the "Star" the workingmen themselves probably know what
is good for themselves and what they want quite as well as any newspaper.
C. H. Miller and his companions on the ticket of the United Labor Party were
selected by workingmen. No one denies that. The great body of the Labor
Unions are behind them. No one denies that.
Therefore the "Star" has blundered and forfeited what support of work-
ingmen it has hitherto managed to retain.

The Flynn-Filigno Trial

By Bessy Fiset

Continued from Page 1

The faithfulness with which Mr. Sul-
livan and Mr. Burns attended the pro-
secuting attorney, the number of con-
sultations held between them and the
countless suggestions which seemingly
came from these exponents of law and
order, would almost lead one to think
the police of Spokane are the real power
behind the prosecution.

During a part of the trial Attorney
Don Kiser was in court and sat on
Mr. Blair's right. This man is a tall,
lank person, whose face might be
termed good-looking were his nose op-
erated upon. As it is, he has his
mouth open most of the time, which
makes him look stupid and uninterest-
ing.

So much for the prosecution!

At the extreme right of the lawyers'
table sat the defendants and their
counsel.
Before taking up the personnel of
the defense I might mention Judge
Kannan himself. Aside from hearing
this dignified personage say, "Overrule
the objection" (when objection was
made by defense), and "Sustain the
objection" (when made by prosecution)—
which seemed to have become a
habit—one couldn't gather much as
to his intellectual brilliancy. How-
ever, I heard a prominent Spokane
man say of him: "He doesn't know
the law, and he is so deaf he can't
hear the testimony, and he's corrupt;
but aside from that he's all right."

But to return to the defense: Near-
est to the prosecution sat Mr. Symmes,
the attorney from Chicago for the de-
fense. Mr. Symmes is a large, thick-
set man, whose chief characteristic
during testimony, aside from being
good on cross-examination, was his
ability to get into a quarrel with either
opposing counsel or the court.

Next on his right came Fred H.
Moore, the other attorney for the de-
fense. Mr. Moore was the exact op-
posite of Mr. Symmes when it came
to quarreling, for no matter what was
said, Mr. Moore preserved a smiling
imperturbability—not an easy thing
when one is being continually "sat
upon."

Back of Mr. Moore, a little to his
right, sat C. L. Filigno, one of the de-
fendants. Filigno is a young Italian
who has been in this country some six
or seven years. He is quite young
and has a smile warranted not to
come off.
Immediately at his right sat the de-
fendant around whom most of the in-
terest in the case centered—Elizabeth
Gurley Flynn has been called the



Girl prisoner's favorite rose in court.

of the great mass of workers. They
represented the class which has pro-
duced all the good things of life, all
the necessities of life, all the luxuries
of life, and has always done without.
On the other hand, the little handful
of footy politicians, representing the
prosecution, was certainly characteris-
tic of the treachery, scheming and
browbeating used by the capitalist
class in order to keep up its system of
extortion and robbery.

The I. W. W. stand today the most
Revolutionary organization of workers
in this country, and for that reason the
moneyed interests are using every wea-
pon by which they think the organiza-
tion can be crushed. They have yet to
learn that starvation, physical suffer-
ing, imprisonment, and death itself
mean nothing to this army of men and
women, if by enduring these things the
emancipation of the workers is brought
one step nearer.

The Jury

The first two days of the trial were
taken up with impaneling the jury. It
fell to Mr. Don Kiser's lot to have
charge of the prosecution's side of this
part of the performance.

About forty men were called before
it was possible to get twelve men who
were satisfactory. The vast majority
were prejudiced against the I. W. W.;
in fact, it was a surprise when a man
would make the statement that he
had formed no opinion concerning the
case, or even when one would say he
considered labor had a right to organi-
ze in order to better its conditions,
etc.

Finally, however, by Friday after-
noon the jury began to look like a jury
and things were ready for taking up
the testimony.

Detective Burns On Stand

The first witness brought on by the
prosecution was the aforementioned
Martin J. Burns. This worthy took
up most of Friday afternoon telling of
the organization known as the "Indus-
trial Workers of the World," its
purpose and methods of organization,
and the program carried out after the
trial of Thompson on Nov. 2. He also
testified that the vast majority were
from other parts of the country than
Spokane, and that in his estimation 20
per cent. of those who were arrested
said no more than "Fellow-Worker."

On Monday morning cross-examina-
tion of Burns began, and Symmes did
some good work, succeeding in visibly
annoying the witness. Burns denied
that Kiser said: "To hell with the Con-
stitution! We are running Spokane,"
and also denied that there was a dark
cell in the city jail, or that any I. W.
W. men were in any such cell.
At 11:30 Manager Jones of the West-
ern Union Telegraph Co., was called
and identified a bunch of telegrams ex-
hibited by the prosecution, most of the
telegrams signed by Filigno.

Chief Sullivan As a Witness

At 11:45 Chief Sullivan was called
(this man is to Spokane what the To-
tem pole is to Seattle). When taking
the stand witness looked very impor-
tant indeed, and one was disappointed
when he gave the same old hackneyed
testimony. The amusing thing about
all the testimony for the prosecution
was that they would make the state-
ment that Gurley Flynn or some
one else had called on men to go out
on the street and fight for their rights,
or that Filigno had actually sent tele-
grams to Foote or Sladden or some
one else, telling them to send men, or
something else in like strain, as if by
the statement of these facts the defend-
ants would, or at least should, be so
covered with confusion that they
would not know how to make even a
stab at defense. Their minds are so
small that they can't conceive of an in-
dividual, let alone a class, who is not

one going on the street and even sell-
ing papers, could be charged with con-
spiracy (as happened in the case of
Roe).

At 3:20 on Tuesday the prosecution
rested.

Moore then made a motion to dis-
miss the case on account of invalidity
of the ordinance, etc., and on account
of class discrimination. Motion was
overruled.

Defense Opens

At 3:30 Mr. Symmes addressed the
jury, and on request of defense court
adjourned at about 4, to take up de-
fense testimony in the morning.

The principal witness for the de-
fense at the Wednesday morning ses-
sion was John D. Thompson, who was
examined concerning the conditions
prevailing in the jail, especially in the
sweat-box. His testimony was to be
used to connect up with Filigno's to
prove that Filigno was in the "sweat-
box" for forty-five minutes and that
at the end of that time was not in a
condition, mental or physical, to give
a clear account on examination in Sul-
livan's office.

Naturally, most of such testimony
was objected to by the prosecution,
and objection sustained.

During the afternoon session several
minor witnesses were on, among them
Balley and Foster. These witnesses
could have given much interesting
information, but it was of such a char-
acter that Pugh and Sullivan didn't
care to hear it, so it was suppressed
before it was uttered.

Filigno Testifies

Then came Filigno, whose testimony
was weak in comparison to the testi-
mony given later by Hartwell Shippy
and Gurley Flynn.

He brought out that he was acting
merely as secretary for the committee
and received instructions from them,
and that he was simply their agent.

He gave a description of the "sweat-
box," holding the twenty-six men, and
of the fainting away of Clark.

Shippy, Star Witness

Hartwell S. Shippy was the next wit-
ness called, and in many respects was
the finest witness during the whole
trial by reason of his intellectual
clearness and his fearlessness, termed
"conceit" by the capitalist press.

When called upon to explain what
he meant by such terms as "lackeys
of the capitalist class," to give reasons
why he treated the courts and the law-
makers of the land so contemptuously
in his articles, he gave a very clear
explanation of the place government
has always held in the world's progress.
How the laws have always been
made by an oppressing class for their
own interests in order that their su-
premacny should be maintained, and
that the courts—as an institution—
are presided over by men who are sim-
ply hirelings of the class in power,
and that whether they believe their
position to be just or not, these "hire-
lings" were in duty bound to act in
the interest of those upon whom they
were dependent for their living.

When asked to explain what he
meant by his statements concerning
the forces of economic revolution, etc.,
he very plainly stated that just as
there had been a definite economic rea-
son for the overthrow of feudalism
and the bringing forth of capitalism
(going into detail), so are the eco-
nomic forces going on today bringing
on the death of the capitalist system
and the birth of a new social order.

Mr. Pugh, on cross-examination, sar-
castically asked him if he considered
himself a constitutional lawyer. He
said no, he did not. He then asked
him concerning his opinion of the cour-
ts and laws of this free country. Shippy
told him he was not alone in
his opinion; it was shared by such
men as Lincoln Steffens, Charles Ed-
ward Russell and Judge Lindsay.

When asked as to his education on
redirect examination, he stated he had
had two years of law in one of the
Chicago law schools. (The facial ex-
pression of prosecuting counsel was
quite worth noting at this juncture.)

The testimony of Shippy lasted until
well into Thursday morning, and all
through it was an exposition of the
fearlessness and mental ability of the
thinking working class.

"Red Flag" Evidence Excluded

After this witness, defense brought
on a witness for the purpose of secur-
ing testimony as to the incendiary
character of the song, "The Red Flag."
All testimony was prevented by the
prosecution.

Shortly before noon Attorney Moore
started the reading of various articles
in the several issues of "The Worker"
that Pugh had entered as exhibits.
(For some reason he entered the en-
tire paper instead of simply the ar-
ticles written by Gurley Flynn, so it
gave the defense an opportunity to
read any and all articles bearing on
the street fight. By noon time Mr.
Moore's voice gave out, owing to a cold
and at the afternoon session the writ-
er of this was called upon to finish the
readings, which continued well into
the afternoon. It was hard to tell
whether the prosecution listened to
this with pleasure or not, but it is cer-
tain that the jury was very much in-
terested in hearing accounts that they
had been kept from hearing during
testimony.

Mayor Miller's Opinion On Free Speech

(No Spokane Daily Would Publish This.)
Seattle, Washington, January 22nd, 1910.

Mrs. Bessy Fiset, 1918 42nd Avenue Southwest, City:
Dear Madam.—Since becoming Mayor of this city, I have under-
taken at all times to preserve to the public all of their legal and nat-
ural rights.

In the use of streets and highways, I understand the law to be
that social intercourse therein be lawful, and can only become unlawful
from such use when traffic and personal passage, the primary use, is
impeded or obstructed; therefore, in this city street speaking, which
is one form of social intercourse, is lawful and permissible so long
as the greater public use is not interfered with.

Social subjects and economic questions are legitimate subjects of
discussion. In all public speaking seditious, treasonable or incendiary
language and language calculated to cause breach of public peace or
incite riots, is prohibited, but such has not been attempted in this city
so far as I am informed.

Respectfully,
(Signed) JOHN F. MILLER, Mayor.

Councilman Wardall On Free Speech

(No Spokane Daily Would Publish This.)
Seattle, Wash., January 26, 1910.

Mrs. Bessy Fiset, Seattle, Wash.:
Dear Mrs. Fiset.—In response to your request for my view concern-
ing the I. W. W. agitation in Spokane, I wish to say, as a member of
the city council of this city, that from a close comparison of the condi-
tions prevailing in this city during the incumbency of our former
mayor, Mr. Moore, and the present mayor, Mr. Miller, that the condi-
tions in which streets are allowed to be used for public speaking so
long as traffic is not actually blocked, is conducive to good order and
the general betterment of civic conditions. I am satisfied the city
council would not consider for a moment the passage of an ordinance
that would forbid or even restrict it.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) MAX WARDALL, Councilman 14th Ward.

Gurley Flynn In Witness Chair

At 3 p. m. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
was called to the stand, and her testi-
mony lasted until well on to noon on
Friday. During her examination there
were more women in the courtroom
than at any other time. (It was a dis-
grace to Spokane that when a woman
was being tried there should have been
so few women in the town interested
in the outcome. That courtroom
should have been full of women. It
is always amusing to hear the suffrag-
ists hark about the treatment women
will get in the courts when women
have the suffrage. But just let a Revo-
lutionary woman be tried for any-
thing, or be running for any office, and
see how many suffragists rally to her
support!)

Like the testimony of Hartwell
Shippy, Gurley Flynn's answers were
to the point always. Never did she
evade the truth, and her directness
must have had weight with the jury.
Even Attorney Pugh was compelled to
say that he admired her spirit. When
he asked if the fact that she was on
trial did not make some difference in
her position, and she answered, "Not
in the least."

When questioning, her counsel would
invariably say: "Miss Flynn, tell the
jury," etc., which she would proceed
to do, looking the jury frankly and
fearlessly in the face. No matter
whether one agrees with the beliefs of
another or not, fearlessness is some-
thing that every one admired, and cer-
tainly that played a large part in Gur-
ley Flynn's testimony.

After she left the stand Martin J.
Burns was called in rebuttal. On
cross-examination he admitted that
there was a cell in the city jail called
"the tank," and described what out-
siders call the "sweat-box" in detail.
The cross-examination on this was
very interesting, to put it mildly, al-
though Mr. Burns said he had not been
to "the tank" on either the 2nd or 3rd
of November, the days when there
were so many of the I. W. W. con-
fined there. It was a noticeable fact
that the prosecution did not recall
Chief Sullivan, who was the one who
shut the door on the prisoners every
time during those two days.

This practically ended the testimony
and early on Friday afternoon the de-
fense rested.

Whether this case is won or lost, it
marks one more step of the first stage
of the gigantic struggle between the
class in power and the Revolutionary
wing of the Working Class—a struggle
which nothing short of the emancipa-
tion of the Working Class can end.

Shippy "Gets His"

At 6 o'clock on Friday night word
was brought from the county jail that
Hartwell Shippy had been put on bread
and water; that he had been attached
to the 20-pound ball and chain, and
that there was talk of solitary confine-
ment as a result of his fearless testi-
mony! So are those who are faithful
to their class rewarded by their mas-
ters.

Heslewood Attacked

(Special to "The Workingman's
Paper.")
SPOKANE, Feb. 24th, 10 p. m.—Jury
in conspiracy cases out twenty-four
hours. Filigno found guilty. Miss
Flynn acquitted. L. R.

Editor's Note.—This is a cowardly
verdict. The Jury did not dare face
public sentiment by condemning the
woman. The Judge's sentence of Fil-
igno will show by the length of its
term what the Higher-Ups really in-
tend in this fight. Gov. Hay has shown
what his orders are by issuing extra-
dition papers for Heslewood across
the line at Coeur d'Alene City in Ida-
ho. If Capital really wants to build
up the I. W. W. organization, the best
way is to bring on another jail fight.
We shall see. Where hundreds went
before, thousands are likely to go to
Spokane next time. Where only mem-
bers of the I. W. W. went before, "sym-
pathizers" of every kind will be there
next time.

World, arrested in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, charged with conspiracy in connection with Spokane Free Speech fight. Fighting against extradition. Give all possible publicity. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

(Special to "The Workingman's
Paper.")
COEUR D'ALENE, Idaho, Feb. 23,
1910.—Heslewood released on two
thousand dollar bonds.
Spokane City officials returned with-
out him.
Restraining order issued protecting
I. W. W. property and funds.
Extradition is being fought here.
Trial begins Feb. 24, tomorrow.
Defense work continues as before.
PRESS COMMITTEE I. W. W.

Editor's Note on Heslewood Case.—
This attack on Heslewood shows Gov.
Hay of Washington is co-operating
with Spokane officials against the I.
W. W. They know funds have been
sent to Heslewood and they want to
suppress his activity so near Spokane.
The Governor of Washington is a Spo-
kane man and he has issued his re-
quisition on Gov. Brady, of Idaho. The
"trial" mentioned in the above tele-
gram probably means that the court at
Coeur d'Alene will investigate the
grounds for extradition, as alleged by
the Washington Governor and his
agents from Spokane. The Idaho ex-
ecutive can act independently of the
results of this investigating "trial," but
he is not likely to do so. The local
authorities in Kootenay Co., Idaho,
where Coeur d'Alene is the county
seat, are not hostile to Heslewood, as
the Socialists cut quite a figure in the
elections of that region. So Gov.
Brady, of Idaho, may conclude to turn
down Gov. Hay, of Washington. If
he does not, then it is fair to conclude
that the Higher-Ups who make and
unmake Governors are bent, hell-bent,
or subduing the I. W. W.

In that case, "damned be he who
first cries, Hold, Enough!" In that
case, it is not a battle but a campaign.