

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

THE SOCIALIST

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LET THE NAME GO

The question with many Socialists in Washington the last two months has been: Is it worth while to make fight to retain the name Socialist? There is no doubt of the legal claim which Richard Krueger and those whom he represented have to the name, "Socialist Party" in the State of Washington. The Superior Court of King County decided that in Krueger's favor.

The national organization, known as "The Socialist Party," has no right by its own constitution to interfere in any way with any State organization. The National Socialist Party, in other words, is a loose federation of State organizations, each independent of the others and of the national body.

This condition of State autonomy makes it necessary for each State to settle its own dissensions and decide its own name. As a Political Party is a legal entity, there is no final arbiter of its existence, its rights, its name, except the courts of Capital, which have the power to decide all such questions.

Therefore, when Waynick continued, after his legal removal by the State Committee, to collect money and otherwise act as State Secretary-Treasurer, Krueger appealed to the courts to prevent Waynick from proceeding in such a fraudulent manner. The court decided that Krueger was the regular State Secretary-Treasurer and Waynick and his bondsmen are now responsible to Krueger for all moneys collected fraudulently and illegally under the false pretense that he was the official representative of the Socialist Party of Washington.

Nothing done by Waynick as State Secretary after this decision was in any sense a legal act of the Socialist Party of Washington. The Referendum on the acts of the Gag Convention, as conducted by him, has no more legal standing than as if done by John Jones or Robert Roe.

On the other hand, the Referendum conducted by Krueger, which declared the acts of the Everett convention null and void, was strictly legal as the decision of the Socialist Party of Washington. Recognition of Waynick and Boström by the national organization has no legal bearing whatever on the organization in this State and this faction can be absolutely prohibited from the use of the name "Socialist Party."

Now arises the question propounded at the outset of this article: Is it worth while to fight it out and retain this name?

Local Seattle has decided it is not worth while and has adopted for itself another name, "The United Wage-Workers." It has also issued a call for others to join with Local Seattle in organizing a new party or in reorganizing the old party under this new name. This call is published in this paper on page 2.

Two reasons are assigned for rejecting the name "Socialist Party." First, this name is carried by a national organization which is in fact a two-class party, managed by the middle-class elements in it. The Washington Socialists believe in a one-class party, as shown by the new constitution called for by Locals Seattle, Centralia, Buckley, North Yakima, Raymond and Yelm, which excludes from membership all but Proletarians as defined in the Communist Manifesto.

This antagonism between a national two-class organization and the Washington wage-class party, both bearing the same name, "Socialist Party," would lead to endless confusion and demand endless explanations. Half the time at meetings, in the press and correspondence and in private conversation would be consumed by altercations and discussions over the mere name of rival bodies.

LABOR PARTY IS PROPOSED

The National Women's Trade Union League of America.

[Endorsed by the A. F. of L.]
Mrs. Raymond Robins, president.
Mrs. Mary K. O'Sullivan, first vice-president.

Miss Melinda Scott, second vice-president.
Mrs. D. W. Kneifer, secretary-treasurer.

Miss S. M. Franklin, office secretary, room 503, 275 LaSalle street, Chicago, telephone Harrison 3677.

Executive Board.

Boston.—Miss Emily Greene Balch, Miss Mary Wood, Bindery Women's Union; Mrs. Martha Brotherton, Hat Trimmers' Union.

Chicago.—Miss Mary E. McDowell, Miss Mary McEnerney, Bindery Women's Union; Miss Agnes Nestor, International Secretary Glove Workers Union.

New York.—Miss Leonora O'Reilly, Miss Rose Schneidermann, United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union; Miss Melinda Scott, United Hat Trimmers' Union.

St. Louis.—Mrs. D. W. Kneifer, Mrs. Sarah Spraggon, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; Miss Hannah Hennessy, Garment Workers' Union.

October 21, 1909.

Editor "The Socialist":
Dear Sir and Brother.—In accordance with instructions, I enclose a copy of the resolution adopted by the convention of the National Women's Trade Union League, held in Chicago from Sept. 27 to Oct. 1 inclusive.

Yours fraternally,
S. M. FRANKLIN,
Secretary of National Convention.

Second Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League, Sept. 27th to Oct. 1st inclusive, 1909.

Whereas, it is believed that the time is now ripe for the working classes of the United States to forward their legitimate interests by political action; and

Whereas, the above end can best be served by the formation of a political party independent of all other political parties and pledged to an undivided loyalty; and

Whereas, it is manifest that were the several labor groups now organized in the community, united in a political party upon a common platform, such a party would exercise political

influence far greater than any group acting separately could exercise; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the delegates of the National Women's Trade Union League in convention assembled do urge the American Federation of Labor to take action toward the formation of a Labor Party, which party shall be pledged to forward the higher interests of the toiling millions as against the selfish interests of a privileged minority, and which shall welcome to its membership all persons of whatever other affiliations who shall subscribe to the above line of action; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the American Federation of Labor, to the National Socialist Party of America, and the labor, Socialist and Single Tax press of the United States.

Adopted by the delegates in convention assembled the first day of October, 1909.

Editor's Note.—The above resolutions suggest that a Labor Party is sure to come in the United States. But it should be a Wage-Labor Party, with the same limitations for membership as exist in the Labor Unions. Let it consist of wage-workers alone. There are plenty of them now.

And it should be pledged to a far more definite policy than these resolutions contain. Not merely the general declaration, "Pledged to forward the higher interests of the toiling millions as against the selfish interests of a privileged minority," but let it read, "Pledged to abolish the exploitation of Wage-Labor by Capital, and to overthrow the rule of the capitalist class," in the words of the Declaration of Principles of "The United Wage-Workers of America" (see page 2 of this paper), let the aim of a Labor Party be "The destruction in any way possible of the present capitalist methods 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."

Be definitely for a Labor program and keep out the middle class; otherwise, a mere reform party, a substitute for the democratic, will be the result.

"The Chicago Daily Socialist" uses Arthur Jensen's report of the Swedish strike as prepared by him for "The Socialist" from the files of "Social-Demokraten," and publishes it word for word as an original article, giving no credit to Jensen or to "The Socialist." Such contemptible journalistic ethics and pin-headed jealousy would not be tolerated in any capitalist daily—not even in the Yellow-Press. Simons outdoes Hearst in mean-ness.

The name, Wage-Workers' Party, will require no explanation at all. It is itself a platform of principles. It will put all other parties on the defensive who claim to be, but are not, Proletarian. It marks off the new party in one phrase and appeals to all wage-workers even without a word of argument.

This is the first reason for letting the name, Socialist Party, go. No time will be wasted in mere controversy about a name.

Second. The Socialist Party in the United States has ceased to be Socialist and no real Socialist organization can afford to retain the name. You must reject the name in order to be the thing itself.

The parallel between conditions in 1848 in Europe and in America in 1908, with respect to the meaning of Socialism, is very striking. Engels argues that Socialism was "respectable"; Communism was the very opposite. We could not have called our manifesto a Socialist Manifesto in 1848, for Socialism was then a middle-class movement, Communism a working-class movement.

And Marx gives, in the third section of the "Manifesto," his outlines of the various sorts of Socialism in that day, "Feudal Socialism," "Petty Bourgeois Socialism," "German or True Socialism," "Conservative or Bourgeois Socialism," "Critical Utopian and Communist Socialism," descriptions which apply "mutatis mutandis," to the various sorts of Socialism in America today.

For a like reason, then, as forbade the working class of 1848 to use the name Socialist, the working class in Washington find it wise to discard the name, SO THAT THEY MAY NOT BE MISUNDERSTOOD BY BEING IDENTIFIED WITH THAT FREAK MIDDLE-CLASS ORGANIZATION KNOWN IN THE UNITED STATES AS "THE SOCIALIST PARTY."

In Washington also, a third, though incidental, reason exists for discarding the name. Richard Krueger, legal official of the Party, was so opposed to the one-class constitution proposed at the Seattle conference and subsequently endorsed by the six Locals named above, that he long ago ceased all active work for the Party, and thus made it imperative for the comrades to effect a new organization. Secretary Krueger refuses to accept dues, has done nothing to assist in the congressional campaign of State Organizer Herman, and now declares he holds no official relation to the Party. The new Constitution, therefore, cannot be submitted to Referendum, as the Secretary has abdicated his office. For this reason, then, the new party is relieved of the necessity of proceeding slowly along the old lines and can strike out for the bolder and more consistent policy indicated by the new name, "UNITED WAGE-WORKERS OF AMERICA."

We believe every element of the Socialist Party of Washington which has hitherto supported Richard Krueger should now rally to the support of the new party, which has taken headquarters at Room 215, Shafer Building, Seattle, just across the hall from the old Krueger headquarters, and whose secretary is Jos. S. Biscay.

None but Wage-Workers need apply. But this does not mean that none but wage-workers can support the new party, even if they cannot join it; just as millions support and vote for the Republican and Democratic parties who are not members of those parties, and who take no part in their management.

Now for the first time in America there is a party started which is clearly and unmistakably in line with the sentiment of Marx and Engels: "Our notion from the very beginning, was that the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself."

ing no credit to Jensen or to "The Socialist." Such contemptible journalistic ethics and pin-headed jealousy would not be tolerated in any capitalist daily—not even in the Yellow-Press. Simons outdoes Hearst in mean-ness.

I. W. W.

Free Speech Fight in Spokane

November 2 at Spokane, Wash., the "Industrial Workers of the World" put up a great fight for Free Speech on the streets.

The mayor called out the military and was plainly bidding for a riot.

It is said thousands are on the way to Spokane to go to jail with their brothers, some sixty or eighty of them, who were arrested on Tuesday.

The city ordinance is no doubt constitutional enough, and the courts would sustain it. Therefore the I. W. W. comrades are doing the right and only thing under the circumstances, namely, uniting in an endeavor to create public sentiment in Spokane against the ordinance and thus secure its repeal.

If they proceed with calmness and resolution they will succeed in getting Free Speech.

Anyhow, they will get the attention and adherence of hundreds of working men by this fool action of the Capitalists in that city.

Stand by your guns, boys.

McCarthy, "Union Labor" candidate, is elected mayor of San Francisco and Heney, graft prosecutor, is defeated by "Union Labor" votes. It is not a Labor victory. It is a victory of one set of Capitalists over another set, with "Labor" as the tool. Schmitz-Ruef-McCarthy will spend the taxpayer's money and provide for a multitude of grafters, like Tammany in New York. Frisco will be a better town for all kinds of people who have to get a living somehow or other. It will be "a wide open town," run by the Big Corporations under the name of Labor. The Unions will get a better deal and the Trusts will get what they want. It is a bargain between Big Capital and the leaders of "Union Labor." For Labor as a class, it is the worst kind of Opportunism, because it consents to be the blind tool of Capital. Yet it looks good to see Labor casting its votes together, in practical solidarity. It has only to learn its own class interests to repudiate deals and compromises with Capital and to vote for itself alone, in order to become the Real Thing.

A second issue of "The Provoker" is at hand. It is the smallest newspaper we receive, about as big as your two fingers. "Tommy Morgan," of Chicago, is editor and proprietor. He says he has been a Socialist 35 years and was all kinds of a wage worker before he became a lawyer. He has no use for Simons or Mills or any other "Professional." He thinks the trouble with the Socialist Party is the rule of the "Professionals." He is giving some historical data on some of these Professionals. He begins with Walter Thomas Mills, whose "enterprises" he is cataloguing in a lively manner. We will reprint this catalogue when completed. Morgan has always been a power in Chicago Socialist circles, is a good fighter and politician, but has been an opportunist and is himself a "professional." His present role is a bit surprising.

THE NEW PARTY

Address Jos. Biscay, Secretary United Wage Workers, Room 215, Shafer Building, Seattle, all you who have heretofore recognized Richard Krueger as Secretary-Treasurer of the Socialist Party of Washington, and who wish to support a Party which shall consist of Proletarians only. See editorial in this paper entitled "Let the Name Go" and read "Manifesto" on page 2.

Now that the Herman campaign for Congress is over and the last Wage Workers' fight in this state under the name "Socialist Party" is finished, with a splendid showing, it is time to get together under the new banner and gather in the thousands who would never join the Socialist Party because it contained so many "leaders" from the Middle Class. With such comrades as Herman and Jensen and Ault and Downie and Biscay and Hyde and Garrett and McCorkle and Russell and Jonas and Steele and Hendrickson and Longmire and Morris and Gatchell and George Holmes and Howes and Pilsom and Westerholm and Lindstrom and Stone and J. G. Brown and Sunnar and Morgans, and others, every one a power in himself and known as absolutely trustworthy, the reorganized Proletarian movement in the state of Washington has far brighter prospects than it ever had in the past when it was always weakened and disheartened by the Reform elements within its own ranks.

Workers, wake up, come out of your sleep; the time is ripe to shape your own movement. Take the helm and the good ship goes the way you direct. And steer for the wage slaves' emancipation, with wage slaves alone on board from captain to crew, as it's for yourselves you must fight, and not the class who are still in the game for what's in it, as small capitalists.

FROM FRISCO

Overheard at the Workingmen's Home, Beds 10c, Meals 10c.

The reading room of the hotel on Third street is crowded. It is quite a queer crowd and a running fire of comment on present conditions is on tap at all hours. Something is the matter! Surely a few years ago one would not hear such questions as capital and labor up for discussion among the same men.

A young fellow who has always had a good job is talking about his morning's excursion for a job. He is explaining about the "ad" he answered in the morning Ex—, which read:

"Wanted—Four men to distribute circulars; must know the city; experienced and with references. Apply 693 Mission street, 7 a. m."

He said: "I went up there, and there were twelve men before me. I had references from a distributing firm in the East, and the manager called me into his office and told me to read the contract I would have to sign in order to go to work. It read that if I were to place two handbills instead of one on a stoop, or if I missed a house while distributing the circulars, I would agree to forfeit my salary. The salary was \$1.25 per day for the first three days and \$1.50 thereafter.

"Gee! Didn't I see that fat, sleek mutt. I made the air blue and offered to punch his nose."

"He asked me if I came there for a job or an argument."

The rest of the crowd howl-hawed and laughed, but it did not last long. A fellow in the corner of the room had been silent, but now he blurted:

"The damn skunk! Fellows, that's the way the business man takes advantage of the worker. The city is overcrowded with men and work is scarce. The stiff knows he can get not for that price, and it won't even feed a man decent.

"I've run across a bunch of that myself. A man offered me \$8 a week this morning for trucking in a warehouse. And he claimed to be a Socialist at one time. It's rotten, that's what it is."

"Yes, and that's the way all the Socialists will be. Just give 'em a chance and they'll do the same as the capitalists every time."

One of the fellows who had not taken a hand in the game as yet opened up, and it was rich to see him get to it.

"Agreed," he started out; "when a man's way of getting a living is changed, his way of looking at things is changed, too. He is in the game for profit, and that means, do the worker. As a worker, his interest was to get as much for his labor power as he possibly could. Now his interest is not that of a worker, but that of an exploiter; therefore he offers the worker a job at as low a wage as the worker will be forced to accept. He is not a seller of labor power any longer but a buyer of that power, and he is going to get it as cheap as possible.

A farmer is a seller of spuds, corn, etc., and he is after a big price, as much as he can possibly get, for his commodities, and the buyer is after it as cheap as possible. There is where their interests differ.

It is a question of material interest with them all, and if the working class would get wise to that point, only by their following that line will they ever hope to win. And don't forget that the possibility of a worker being anything else is very limited."

"Do you belong to the Socialist Party?" I asked.

"Now! And what's more, I never will. The Socialist Party is not a party of the working class. It does not organize on the lines of the Class Struggle, although it has been preaching a class struggle. But in organization it has stood that on its head. It has admitted to its organization small business men, farmers and exploiters of labor, factors whose material interests conflict with the wage-worker's both as a seller of labor power and a buyer of the necessities of life, which the capitalist class own."

"Do you think for a minute that my interest as a wage-worker is the same as the man who sells me a coat, a loaf of bread or a blanket? If you think so, watch a worker trying to get a coat for less than the seller wants for it. The seller wants \$6 and the buyer won't give more than \$3. They finally end up with the working man telling the seller to go to."

"No, pal, I don't want anything like the Socialist Party for mine, and if the B. L. P. is just as bad. They both admit the enemies of the worker into their organizations. Not until the worker gets his own organization, which says nothing but wage-workers, will I see any hopes for them. It lies with them who have absolutely nothing to lose, the dispossessed, the mucker, the man who does not know when he will be out of a job, not the worker who feels himself a little bit better than any other."

Now, Mr. Editor, don't you think there is something doing in the ranks of the working class when sentiments like that are being expressed by workers wherever you go? The economic conditions of today are the real educators of the wage slave. The workers in the movement all over the country are expressing themselves in like terms. Nothing, absolutely nothing but a working-class organization will do. I hear the cheering news from Denver that a local of the Socialist Party has expressed itself on these same lines. From Portland, Me., to Portland, Ore., the working men are waking up to what is what, and I feel sure the buncombe of the long-haired men and short-haired women in the Socialist movement is about over.

Workers, wake up, come out of your sleep; the time is ripe to shape your own movement. Take the helm and the good ship goes the way you direct. And steer for the wage slaves' emancipation, with wage slaves alone on board from captain to crew, as it's for yourselves you must fight, and not the class who are still in the game for what's in it, as small capitalists.

HERMAN GETS TEN PER CENT

The reports from the Second Congressional District in Washington are very meagre as regards the vote cast for Emil M. Herman, candidate of the Socialist Party of Washington—NOT of the Socialist Party of the United States. Herman was opposed by the Boström organization recognized by Barnes. At Hoquiam, for example, the Finns were warned by Boström not to let Herman use their Hall.

But, in spite of such opposition, Herman gets 120 votes out of 1,134 cast in Thurston county. This is the only county definitely heard from at this writing (Wednesday noon, November 3, when "The Socialist" goes to press).

The full vote was as follows: McCredie, Republican, 556; Lister, Democrat, 396; Herman, Socialist, 120;

Rockhill, Prohibition, 30; Harlan, Independent Republican, 23; Carlson, Socialist Labor, 9.

The entire vote was very light, but the vote for Herman forms a very high percentage and is remarkable, considering the facts that he was opposed by the Populist Socialists recognized by the National Socialist Party, and was not even supported by Secretary Krueger of his own organization. Herman's campaign has been conducted by himself on the field, backed up by "The Socialist" and by the Local comrades. While reports from other counties are not yet in, it may be assumed that Thurston county will not be the best for Herman, as the Reform Socialists opposed to him as a Revolutionist, are pretty strong in this county.

FROM THE FIELD

The Workers.

Subscriptions are arriving in bunches of three, four, five and seven, with promises to send more soon.

Keep it going, comrades. Emancipation is sure to come—if we work for it.

If we don't work—well! It won't be emancipation. It will take a word that rhymes with well to express what it will be, all right, all right. As one comrade expresses it, "its Socialism or Hell!"

Which do you want? It's up to you; you can have one or the other, but you'll have to choose. Yes, whether you know it or not, you are choosing!

Now this paper is in business for one thing, and one thing only (that talk about a Socialist paper being a "graft" is all rot, and anybody with ordinary intelligence knows it), and that is to show the wage-workers it is emancipation or Hell for them. When they do understand, it's for them to decide which they want, and they'll get whichever they decide they want. The only reason we want you to get subscribers is because we believe that this paper is providing one of the best means of educating the wage slaves of capital to understand what they are up against, and to know how to win their emancipation.

This means work and money. If you can't work, perhaps you can spare a little money now and then. If you haven't any money, do a little work and you'll get somebody else's money. If you can work and you can also spare a little money now and then you have the two necessary qualifications for success.

Encouraging words and encouraging work and encouraging dollars from the workers.

From a comrade who sends us seven new subscribers:

This comrade is a woman! Look out men; if the women once get started, you'll have to quicken your pace a little, if you don't want the women to leave you at the end of the procession:

Dayton, Ohio, Oct. 25, 1909.

Dear Comrade.—I send herewith my own and six other subscriptions to "The Socialist." One of the subscribers has a barber shop, and a paper there will reach a good many others. It is through my sister, Ella Kautz Stone, that I became acquainted with your paper. She has been sending me hers. We have had a flood of Wisconsin speakers here, and it was a task to stem the tide of middle-class sentiment such as "There would be no Socialist movement if it weren't for the intellectuals," and "Isn't it better to have half a loaf than no bread?" etc. I know better now how to sympathize with you.

Yours for the Revolution,
LENA KAUTZ CHAFFEE.

We don't know whether we should appreciate the work of Comrade Mrs. Stone, for sending her paper to her sister, and thus getting for us a new and very efficient worker, more than the work of her sister who has sent us seven subscribers as a result of the first attempt, or not. Fact is, they must be both made of the same stuff, for Comrade Mrs. Stone has just sent us five subscriptions and a dollar for our Plant Fund. If there are any more in that family, please send them more papers, or send us the names and we will send all the papers they want!

Dear Comrades.—Herewith find P. O. order for a few subs. I have been away camping or would have sent them before. Shall send you more soon. Please send me subscription blanks. I observe that 55 Proletarian Socialists have withdrawn from the Barnes-Berger Socialist Party. I guess this middle-class-controlled party is decaying rapidly.

Yours fraternally,
HARRY HOWELL.

There are about one hundred times 55 by this time, comrade, according to the many reports from far and near. Even Simons admits the Socialist Party is in process of disintegration. Proletarians unite. You have nothing to lose. Besides the middle class could be benefited by reforms that would still leave the wage system. In fact, many of the middle class want the wage system to remain.

We are glad to have such clear-sighted wage-workers as readers of and workers for The Workingman's Paper, as Comrade Howell and other comrades in Nebraska. They've had their experience, and so have we. We've had enough of middle-class dope!

Los Angeles.
Dear Comrades.—Enclosed find 50 cents for six months subscription to "The New Coffee Club." Those articles by Jensen on the Swedish strike situation are fine. Sandgren spoke here to a full house. One hundred dollars was taken in collection for the Swedish strikers, and several pledges to a one day's wage fund.

Yours for the Revolution,
A. F. LINDWALL.
Comrade Lindwall is one of our oldest subscribers and boosters. We always know where to find him. He stands pat.

Too Much Johnson? Nit!

We have three Oscar Johnsons on our list, besides numerous other Johnsons. We cannot vouch for everybody by the name of Johnson, but if a man has Oscar before Johnson we will bet our bottom dollar he's all right. On the same day we heard from two of our Oscars—one in California, the other in Washington. One gave us a dollar for a year's subscription and 50 cents for subsidy fund, and said if he had a hundred dollars, we should have that, too. The other Oscar sent us the following letter:

"The Socialist":

Dear Comrades.—Enclosed find P. O. order for \$1.00, for which send the Swedish strike numbers to the following five comrades. Maybe some of them will be permanent subscribers after a while. Give Jensen my thanks for the splendid way he has reported the Swedish strike. As for myself, I will be with "The Socialist" after the "Ten Years," as well as the first ten! If I was located in Washington instead of California, you bet I would be with you to the bitter end.

Yours for the Revolution,
OSCAR JOHNSON.

Comrade, there ain't going to be any "bitter end!" I hope we'll all be in at the Grand Beginning!
Now, we happen to know this Comrade Oscar (isn't it too bad a no-account king has that name) did put up a hundred dollars to keep "The Class Struggle" Socialist paper in Frisco going, but he had to mortgage his cigar stand to do it! That's the kind of Johnsons we can't have too many of! Does anybody know any more Oscar Johnsons? We would like to get about a hundred or two on our list.

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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 Wash- ington has ceased to exist; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Local Seattle in regular meeting assembled de- clares 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 de- fined 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 Social- istic Party of Washington between Proletarian Tactics and Middle- Class Tactics—between Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism.

At first, at the time Joseph Gilbert, then State Organizer, went through the state in 1900 causing upon the farmers to come into the party and take its control away from the wage workers, the Proletarian opposition, while aggressive and effective, was not farreaching, and the seeds sown by Gilbert bore fruit in numerous farmers' locals which thenceforward consistently stood in the pathway of the pro- gress of Revolutionary Principles.

All through this struggle members of both classes have been on both sides. many Wage workers have supported Middle-Class Tac- tics 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 coun- try. At the height of its strength this party had about 1,500 dues pay- ing 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 se- cured 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 com- pass "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 mem- bers of the committee who stood for the Wage Class, State Secretary Krueger was unconstitutionally removed from office without a trial, by a vote of 7 to 6, and his place filled by W. H. Waynick, a landlord.

Following this, a state convention was held at Everett, July 4-5, 1909. Many Wage Workers, delegates to this convention, stayed away because of the necessity of holding their jobs, and in cases where Middle-Class alternates were elected, these were present. A preponderance of this element at the organization of the convention made easy, in absolute violation of the constitution, the admission of other delegates representing locals that had been dead for months, thus making their control of the convention certain. A further viola- tion 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 Way- nick 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 Organi- zation, 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 en- joined 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 Plat- form declaring for the Collective Ownership of Land, as well as all other means of production and distribution for the express pur- pose 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 stop- ped. 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 na- tional organizers from \$3.00 and expenses to \$4.00 and expenses a day; the concentration of effort in the farming communities; the de- cision against the party in this state MERELY BECAUSE IT WAS PROLETARIAN, and a hundred other instances go to show that the National Party has ceased to stand for Socialism and has become the exponent of a diluted form of Populism.

These conditions require a remedy. We, whose names are under- signed, are locals and members who have upheld the Proletarian po- sition 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 secur- ing the votes of the land owning class. We have come to the conclu- sion 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, sub- scribing to the following Statement of Principles and pledging un- swerving 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 ex- ploitation 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 work- ers have been better than at others, and the history of modern civili- zation 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 bet- tering 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 em- ployers.

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 destruc- tion 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 of- fice at every election, wage-earners, members of this organization, whose aim shall be, if elected, to weaken the powers of resistance of of the capitalist state, and to assist in every way possible every re- bellion 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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For further information, address Jos. S. Biscay, Sec'y,
 Room 215 Shafer Building, 1414 Second Avenue, Seattle

LAND SHARKS

Seattle, Wn., October, 1909.

Editor of "The Socialist":
I would like to use the columns of your paper to let your readers know what is going on at Seattle's famous Slave Markets, where men, women and children go and pay for the right to work long hours and get small pay.

While going by these Slave Markets I noticed that they had signs out advertising for coal miners to work at Wilkeson, where the United Mine Workers of America are on strike. But these sharks tell the workers that there is no strike on. They take these sharks' word and when they get to Wilkeson they find out that they have been flim-flammed out of their money.

These loafers are trying to hire shingle weavers for Elma, Hoquiam and Aberdeen, where the shingle weavers are on strike. They tell them that there is no strike on, but they soon find out that the shark got their money.

Is there any wonder that such sharks as McNicoll, Jack St. Marie, Rudenseny & Rudenseny and other sharks, can wear diamonds, own automobiles, horses and carriages?

And we own a roll of blankets and we ride in automobiles, too; that is, we ride as far as the police station and we have uniform attendants to watch us so we won't get hurt. That is, when we have been in town too long.

These same employment sharks are responsible for workmen working on chain-gangs, jumping in the bay, hold-ups, and other crimes. If a man or woman comes to Seattle "broke," they want work. The first place they will look up is one of these job sharks. Then they will go in and ask the shark for a job. Well, the shark will tell them that the job will cost one to ten dollars. "Well, I am broke." "Have you got a watch or any other valuable to leave as security until you get paid?"

Now, think of how many people are in this position every year.

These same sharks notify the bosses that they can get men for less than they are now paying. Suppose that there are 25 men working on a job and they are receiving \$2.50 for an eight-hour day. One of these parasites will come out to the boss and he will ask him how much he is paying. Of course the boss will tell him. The shark will say, "Here, if you will send to my office I will get you all the men you want for \$2.25. And I will do better than that. I will give you half of the office fee if you will fire the men every three to five days. How can men

beginning with Oct. 10 there is being issued a Sunday Edition of

The New York Call

This Sunday paper, for which there has been a strong demand, will contain a complete condensation of the week. Being, therefore, partly of the nature of a weekly periodical it will be able to circulate to every part of the Union.

There will be full Socialist and Trade Union news, a full page of Woman's Sphere and the best department "For Young Folks" ever printed. Early issues will contain stories and articles by Prof. Thorstein Veblen, Leonid Andreff, "Hebe," Brigit Stanton, Max S. Hayes, Ewald, Norolenko, Ernest Poole, Robert Hunter, Charles Edward Russell, R. Rives La Monte and others.

Very soon will be commenced the serial publication of the greatest book yet written by Maxim Gorky, which is the noblest and most triumphantly optimistic expression of faith in the power and destiny of the people ever penned.

NOT THE BIGGEST SUNDAY PAPER BUT THE BEST.

Subscription rates are as follows: For one year—Sunday issue only, \$2.00; week-day issue only, \$4.50; Sunday and week-day issue, \$6.00. For six months—Sunday issue only, \$1.00; week-day issue only, \$2.25; Sunday and week-day issue, \$3.00.

For three months—Sunday issue only, .50; week-day issue only, \$1.15; Sunday and week-day issue, \$1.50. For one month—Sunday issue only, .20; week-day issue only, .40; Sunday and week-day issue, .50.

In addition to the above rates subscribers in New York City and the Bronx must pay a cent a day to cover postage.

A Socialist Press is an absolute necessity if economic freedom is to be obtained and wage slavery abolished. It is both your privilege and your duty to help in its building and support.

It partly depends on every one doing a little. Will you not do your share by subscribing for as long a period as you can to the Sunday Call? Please do not delay but send your subscription at once to

The Subscription Dept.,
THE NEW YORK CALL,
442 Pearl Street, New York City.

NOTICE TO CREDITORS.

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON, FOR KING COUNTY.—In the Matter of the Estate of Charles B. Teeple, Deceased. No. 10645.

Notice is hereby given to the creditors of, and all persons having claims against said deceased or against said estate, to present them with the necessary vouchers to the undersigned administratrix of said estate, at 427 Colman Building, the place of business of said estate, in Seattle, in said county and state, within one year from and after the date of first publication of this notice or same will be barred.

Date of first publication October 9, 1909.
ANNA B. TERPFE,
As Administratrix of said Estate.
GILL, HOTT & FRYE, Attorneys for Estate, 427 Colman Building, Seattle, Wash.

save any money when they don't let you save any money?"

There was an article in "The Star" which proves the above statement. It is, that Crawford & Pratt have been shipping men to Missoula, Mont., to work for Roberts Bros. They paid \$3 office fee. When they arrived at the works they charge \$5.25 per week for board (furnish your own blankets), \$2 poll tax, \$2 road tax, and a \$1 hospital fee. Then when all the bills are paid they will fire them and get another bunch of men from Crawford & Pratt employment sharks, who have their office at 110 West Main street.

Then there is Lillyman & Renard, who have their office at 108 West Main street. They ship to nearly all the railroad works. At present they are shipping to "Columbia Sliding." Then you have to walk 35 miles to the works, but they will not tell you in the office that you have to walk, because nobody would buy the jobs. What is the result? When the men get to Columbia Sliding they are broke 200 miles from Seattle. They have to ride in box cars and ask for hand-outs, while the fat sharks sit at home eating good meals, smoking good cigars, and thinking of how many men they are going to skin in this free country.

Then there is Rudenseny & Rudenseny, who want men to go to Treadwell, Alaska, where the Western Federation of Miners are on strike. These two sharks run the American-Scandinavian employment office on Main street, and the Pioneer employment. Notice what fine men to catch the free-born American slave who pays somebody for the right to work. I enclose some clippings from papers printed in Seattle.

H. WARNER.

[From the Seattle Times.]

LABORERS VICTIMS OF EMPLOYMENT AGENTS.

Brokers Operating in Seattle Find a New Way to Swindle Ignorant Montenegrs Who Want Work in North.

Steamship Tickets Sold on Five-Dollar Margin.

Orders Obtained for Cheap Rates from Office of M. J. Heney and Then Disposed of at Neat Profit.

New methods of swindling ignorant foreigners have been discovered by local employment agents and as a result of their practices 250 laborers who went to Cordova on the last trip of the Pennsylvania, are stranded in the northern town. They are living off the bounty of the people of that place, who have raised a fund to feed the men until they can obtain work on the Copper River & Northwestern Railroad line in Alaska.

According to statements made by representatives of M. J. Heney, contractor on the Copper River road, the employment agents had managed to obtain possession of orders issued by Heney's office on the Alaska Steamship Company for transportation to Cordova on the basis of \$15 per passenger. These orders were issued to men who applied for station work at Heney's office. The regular fare charged laborers sent north by employment agencies is \$20.

The employment men obtained these orders by sending men secretly to Heney's office and paying \$15 each for an order for a ticket, on the promise of going north to work as station men. Heney's agents here have wanted only station men, chiefly Swedes and Norwegians, accustomed to that form of railroad work. They have refused to employ Montenegrs, who know little but day employment. It was the Montenegrs who, unable to obtain employment from Heney, were induced to purchase the tickets sold at \$15 by Heney's agents and they paid the employment agents down town \$20 each for them.

By this means the labor brokers who originated the novel scheme were able to clean up \$5 on each Montenegro. The latter, when they arrived at Cordova, according to a dispatch received by The Times today, were unable to obtain employment. At the office of Contractor Heney the statement was made today that the new swindle had been exposed and steps would be taken to prevent its successful operation again.

[From the Seattle Star.]

SAYS HE IS VICTIM OF A SCHEME.

Laborer Accuses Employment Agents.

He Writes from Grading Camp to Say He Has Been Duped.

Another complaint of the alleged methods on the part of Seattle employment bureaus has been received at the office of the Star and turned over to the city bureau of employment for investigation.

F. Sant, a railway laborer, writing from Missoula, Mont., states that Crawford & Pratt, local operators of an employment bureau, and Roberts Bros., railway contractors, have a coming-and-going scheme whereby men pay \$3 and are shipped to the railway grading camp, used two days and fired, after being forced to pay various fees and dues amounting \$5 aside from the original \$3. Says Sant: "Editor the Star: I forward you a little article which will be of great service to the workmen of Seattle, especially those who follow the excavating of railways, etc. We were shipped out to this place by Crawford & Pratt, for which we had to pay a \$3 fee.

"The contractors, Roberts Bros., don't allow a man to work above two days, and then they send to Seattle for more, which causes one bunch of men coming and another one going. "They have been shipping from the eastern cities for the past two months, men getting acquainted with them in

the last named way. When a man works here he has to pay \$2 poll tax, \$2 road tax and \$1 hospital fee. Should you put a little column in your paper of this you would greatly oblige me and many more of us unfortunate working men. F. SANT."

[From the Seattle Star.]

HE BARELY ESCAPES A LYNCHING

Angry Workmen Attack an Employment Agent.

Claim That He Beat Them on a Mean Swindle.

Had it not been for the timely arrival of Patrolman Jennings, Joe Martinkavich, who says he is an employment agent, might have been beaten to death by a crowd of angry Russians this morning at First avenue south and Washington street.

When Jennings put in an appearance the crowd was growing more ugly, and Martinkavich was being pushed and shoved about very roughly. Jennings whisked Martinkavich to jail while the angry Russians followed with tales of woe.

A MEAN SWINDLE.

According to the Russians, Martinkavich secured \$2 from each of them in exchange for jobs in Bucoda, this State. Twenty-five of the foreigners went to Bucoda, only to find their jobs to be myths. They returned to Seattle determined to punish the alleged swindler. They encountered him on First avenue south this morning and were preparing to do things when Patrolman Jennings appeared. Martinkavich is being held at the city jail pending an investigation of the charges.

A bunch of receipts for \$2 each were offered as evidence by the Russians. Each receipt is signed with the name of E. W. Barrington. This name, the Russians say, was signed by Martinkavich.

[From the Seattle Times.]

FALSE REPORTS TAKE MEN TO ABERDEEN.

Misrepresentation of Seattle, Tacoma and Portland Employment Agencies Responsible for Laborers' Plight.

Aberdeen, Saturday, March 13.—Attracted by alleged false statements made by employment agencies at Seattle, Tacoma and Portland, laborers are coming to this city in droves, say the local police, believing that plenty of work awaits them here.

Many men have spent their last cent getting to Aberdeen. It is said, only find no jobs are to be had, and, after wandering about in a vain search for work, end up at the police station. The men arrested say that many employment companies have huge posters stating "Thousands of men are wanted on Gray's Harbor," and victims part with their last cent only to find no such situation exists.

In some instances men have held coupons representing that they were to go to work in some of the local mills, but in each case proprietors of the plants declared they would not employ the men and have authorized one of the cities to solicit employees. The men are now drifting out to railroad construction camps, but what jobs existed have already been grabbed up by preceding victims. Chief of Police Birmingham states that no employment firm in any Sound city is authorized to contract employment for any manufacturing firm in Aberdeen.

The Populist Party in Seattle gets its meetings well reported in the P.-I., the Republican organ of "Standard Oil." That is as it ought to be.

The Wage-Workers' Party has held the most remarkable and successful series of street meetings on record, reaching fifty thousand strangers, and selling ten thousand pieces of literature, and not a line of this news appears in a single capitalist paper in Seattle. This is as it ought to be, too.

The clear stand "The Socialist" is now taking for a Wage-workers' Party is costing it a lot of old subscribers, who are frightened at such a radical position. New papers are being started to down "The Socialist," and others are threatened. You who believe in "The Socialist" are needed now as never before.

NEW TABLE OF VALUE

"Now, children," commanded the austere instructor in advanced arithmetic, "you will recite in unison the table of values."

Thereupon the pupils repeated in chorus:

"Ten mills make a trust;
Ten trusts make a combine;
Ten combines make a merger;
Ten mergers make a magnate;
One magnate makes the money."

—Virginia Pilot.



LINE UP!

By Jos. S. Biscay

"Oh, you fellows are going entirely too far. It's bad enough to talk about the class struggle, and now you want to keep all the respectable persons out of the Socialist Party." This is what I heard some time ago.

We are gone too far, eh? The trouble has been in the past, we never went far enough, or never went at all, as far as class division is concerned. Just think of it! A working-class movement representing anything but the working class!

We want to keep the respectable persons out of the Socialist Party?

What?

Little do we care who is in the Socialist Party—we are not.

Where does the Socialist Party represent the working class? Not even on paper.

Are we going too far in fighting for an organization that will represent us? Is it not time the working class was taken into consideration, especially if the working class is ever to be emancipated?

This supposed working-class party does not represent the working class, and it's high time the workers were getting busy with an organization of their own and draw the lines on all other classes.

Nearly every reformer who has become a fad, like pointed shoes or poodle dogs. Many good bosses and capitalists are Socialists. If you don't believe it, ask them.

It's awful! We are about to adopt a name of our own since the word "Socialist" stands for anything but the principle.

Some yell: "Don't abolish the name 'Socialist.' It means so much." That is just the trouble. It means anything from single tax down to communism and brotherhood of man.

The working class stands for its own interests. The organization that is being started is founded on the principle of Socialism and not on the name. At one time in the past it became necessary to adopt a distinctive name in order to be known as a working class organization. This was when the working class organization took the name of Communists, for which the Communist Manifesto was written. The Socialists of those days were composed of as fine a bunch of utopian freaks as today, more pronounced because not so numerous.

Today the word "Socialist" in America is an apology for any freak action that the middle class may take. Therefore the distinctive name of the United Wage-Workers of Washington will need no explanation. The name can not be misunderstood as being a part of the Socialist Party.

As the name implies, the organization stands for the working class. The middle class or any other class have no place in such an organization. Let them get into the Socialist Party.

The different classes work for their own economic interest. It is natural for the middle class to work for its own interest. We depend on the working class to work for its own interest. When it does this we can do something and don't need any other class to help.

The only trouble with the Socialist movement in general is the other classes. It is not confined to the working class that must be emancipated itself. Still, it pretends to stand for the working class.

Imagine, if you can, lawyers, preachers, capitalists, farmers, "cock-roaches," bosses and what not, standing for the working class and going to emancipate it. They all stand on the working class and hope to keep the workers under foot. That is just what the Socialist Party in the U. S. stands for.

Some point with pride to Europe, where the movement is farther advanced. Let us see what this model looks like. I quote from Odin Por in the September "Review." Being on the ground, his words should have some weight:

"That the different Socialist parties have become peaceful, respectable and reformist parliamentary parties is largely due to the bourgeois elements in their ranks, which, though foreign to the psychology and real demands of the working class, have assumed leadership in the Socialist movement. These men shifted the burning issues of the class struggle onto the scenes of parliament. A lassitude and languishing in the direct class struggle and a decline in its revolutionary principles followed, for it is the nature of parliamentary activity to extort certain stated measures, to mediate and make compromise.

"The famous three-million vote of the Social-Democratic party in 1903 contained about 750,000 bourgeois votes. And from recent statistics we know positively that the Socialist parties of Italy, France and other countries recruit a great part of their workers from the various strata of the bourgeoisie.

"The fact that the different Socialist parties gather many hundred thousand votes from the half-proletarians, intellectual and well-to-do class has destroyed the fiction hitherto firmly held, that the Socialist parties are class parties."

Now there is the model that the Socialist Party of this country is striving to equal. In Wisconsin, no doubt, they have come up to it as close as possible. No matter, if the working class was not taken into consideration. The party is for the middle class, so they might get some benefit. The working class in Wisconsin will be saved by not noticing the little thing vulgarly called class-struggle. In Europe the workers will be saved through public ownership. They will have a more powerful master to fight, one who can oppress them more effectually. But that is of little consequence. Are not the rates on the railroads reduced? How about the decrease in taxes? Oh, hell! Pass me a brick.

and "upper" class. The "nice" respectable people that bemoan the fact that the working class does not concern itself over the saving of souls but rather answers to the call of the wrinkled stomach. They feel the pangs of hunger and do not pray, but try and feed themselves with something more substantial than hope—gross beings that they are!

This class that is so much concerned about the fellow that they stand on, are of the middle class, or rather, most of them a class of mental prostitutes. It matters little whether the harm is done consciously or not. The effect is what we are concerned about. No matter how the bullet was fired, if it strikes us we get the worst of the deal no matter what the morals or ideas of the fellow who handled the gun.

The lawyer defends the present system and must help to oppress the working class or he can not succeed. The bank clerk looks on the toiler with scorn. He will be a bank president some day—perhaps.

The farmer is interested in the working class! He answers the demand for an eight-hour day by liberally giving his "hired hands" two eight-hour days in one.

The boss is of a better grade of mud and to prove it drives the unfortunate slaves to the limit. He is destined to become a superintendent, if he manages to break a strike for an increase in wages or can save a few dollars for the company by letting a few workers get killed daily rather than protect their worthless carcasses.

The minister looks on with a spy-glass and sees the begrimed toiler. He knows what the fellow needs. He tells the worker: "Be good—don't resist; submit to everything, and if you do you will wear a golden crown, but not here on earth."

These are all good Socialists. Don't they say so? What's the matter with you? Some of them voted the ticket, once. After so much abundant proof you may well hang your head in shame for ever having doubted their Socialism.

They all stand on the neck of the working class and loyally help the capitalist to hold it down. When the working class starts to think of doing something for itself, they come forward with the glad hand. "You have of deepest sympathy," they say. "Let me do this for you. I always felt for you and will save you."

The workers are fooled by these soft, silky ways, and are led back to where they were before, but not for long. When the working class begins to act for itself, it is reproached with ingratitude. This is the position we are confronting today.

The middle class are with us. That is what we don't like. They stand on our backs, sympathy and all. If they did not love us so much we would feel their hoofs the less.

Is it not time to draw the line, then, on all classes that are not of the working class? It means so much, this struggle for emancipation, that we can not afford to take any chances. Being charitable to our enemies sounds very fine—but a knock-out blow sounds much better and is ever so much safer—for us. The fact that there is an exceptional man or woman of the other class that is right, from our point of view need not trouble us. The whole class can never be exceptional or the majority will never be with us unless we submit to them. We are not building for exceptions but for the natural element, and for the working class and by the working class. We stand for our own class interest.

If the others don't like it, we'll make them take it when the time comes, as we represent the majority of the world's population. Many things the giant working class did not like, which was forced down their unwilling throats in the name of the law or the prevailing God. Some may become alarmed at a working class movement and wish to know what we will do and how. To such we will answer that we will do as we damn please and in our own way, too. That is what the other class has been doing all this time, and our time is coming.

The time is now ripe for a working class party. The movement is by no means confined to Washington, especially since the national decided to drop Socialism.

We can really go to the members of the working class with something that has been missing in the past: "Here is the working class organization. It stands for the working class, because it's of the working class, and asks nothing of its enemies."

We could not say this in the past, and if we sent the bourgeois forward to say what we would not, who would believe it?

We must get to understand that all other classes are enemies and can't be otherwise as long as class divisions exist. We must stand by ourselves, if we hope to attain victory.

In closing I wish to quote Liebknecht in "No Compromise," as follows: "The enemy who comes to us with open visor we face with a smile; to set our foot on his neck is mere play for us. The stupidly brutal acts of violence of police politicians, the outrages of anti-Socialist laws, the anti-revolution laws, penitentiary bills—these only arouse feelings of pity and contempt; the enemy, however, that intrudes himself upon us as a friend and brother—him and him alone have we to fear."

"Our fortress can withstand every assault—it can not be stormed nor taken from us by sleep—it can only fall when we ourselves open the doors to the enemy and take him into our ranks as a fellow comrade."

If you are a proletarian your interest is with those that are struggling for the working class interest. Don't let some one, other than yourself, carry your share of this struggle. You either are with the working class or against it.

You wage-workers of Washington—show your colors now. Line up with the movement of the working class. LINE UP.

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TWO CHANGES

The motto of this paper from its inception in 1900 was, "To organize the Slaves of Capital to vote their own emancipation."

We remember distinctly with what difficult care these words were selected.

First, our purpose was practical; it was "To Organize," not merely to educate, to teach theoretical Socialism, not even to be a scientific interpreter of current events, and to speak always from the proletarian point of view.

"The Socialist" was established, first of all, "To Organize," to secure unity, to promote solidarity among those it aimed to reach.

Second, it aimed to reach and organize "The Slaves of Capital." At first this read "Slaves of Capital," but after a few issues was changed by the addition of the specifying article, "The," thus signifying that these "Slaves of Capital" were a distinct class in society.

But we did not even then render this phrase specific enough, as we now see after ten years' experience. We remember also distinctly how the phrase, "The Slaves of Capital" was intended to include others besides "Wage Slaves."

A Fabian Socialist in Seattle, who had, together with the editor of "The Socialist," been intimately associated for some years with Laurence Gronlund, remarked on the happy phrasing of our motto, as including, besides the wage-workers, the great body of professionals and small traders, like himself, who were no less "Slaves of Capital."

Now we wish to limit the expression by the introduction of the very word we then excluded, "Wage," and to make it read, "To Organize the WAGE Slaves of Capital."

We shall have a good deal to say in subsequent issues of "The Worker's Paper" on the reasons for this change. For the present it is sufficient to draw attention to the change itself and to ask you to notice how exactly it corresponds to the closing words of the "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels: "Proletarians" (not merely "Workingmen" as it is obscurely translated, "Proletarians of all lands, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain.")

A second change was made in our motto some weeks ago, as some observant readers have noticed. It formerly read: "To Organize the Slaves of Capital to vote their own emancipation." It will now read, "To Organize the Wage Slaves of Capital to win their own emancipation."

This signifies that there are other methods of action for the Proletariat besides the use of the ballot. Ten years ago, we were all of us in America so dependent for our Socialism upon the German comrades that we did not venture to differ from them. But we can now see, having studied the history of the German Social-Democracy for ourselves, and having had the advantage of French and Italian Proletarian thought added to our own, that Parliamentarism has been too exclusively relied upon in Germany. Capitalism, in all but its final stages, finds the suffrage and constitutional methods of government adapted to its own purposes.

This Parliamentary method was overrated by Lassalle and the earlier German Socialists to such an extent that the Vote was almost counted omnipotent. They anticipated the use by the Proletariat for its own emancipation, of that historically developed instrument of popular government which characterized the bourgeois era.

But Capital, in its final stages, at any rate, as we find it in the United States, is disposed to limit rather than to extend the use of the elective franchise. Even where it nominally remains universal, its results are nullified by the economic power possessed by Capital.

The Proletariat, therefore, may find other methods of asserting its power besides the exercise of its voting privileges. If the "Vote" is ineffectual, surely the Great Revolutionary Class will not abdicate its power.

Hence we have changed that word "Vote" in our old motto to "Win," which allows the use of any method available to achieve the emancipation of the Wage Slaves from the domination and exploitation of Capital. Quoting from the "Declaration of Principles" of the new Party calling itself "The United Wage-Workers of America," "We maintain that our final aim and object is THE DESTRUCTION IN ANY WAY POSSIBLE of the present capitalistic methods used in the production and distribution of wealth."

So that the motto of this paper, as revised after ten years of experience and study, reads thus: "TO ORGANIZE THE WAGE SLAVES OF CAPITAL TO WIN THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION."

THAT WAGE CLASS

By Sumner W. Rose

Editor's Note.—Comrade Rose quite fails to recognize the massive outlines of the Class Struggle in Modern Society. Again we urge him to study his "Communist Manifesto," and he should get Labriola's commentary on it, also published by Kerr. He is sincere enough, but sincerity is no test of scientific accuracy. A Stwash may be just as sincere as Edison, but he is hardly to be trusted to construct a telephone system.

Rose's class lines are based on the Production of Wealth, including in one class all who produce, farmer, banker, prospector, author, doctor, bookkeeper, as well as most wage workers; and in the other class, all the non-producers as parasites, living off the producers.

This seems reasonable—but it is not, as Marx and Engels went to infinite pains to prove. Rose proves his own statement, that he has done his own thinking, exactly as a Stwash might do his own thinking about electricity.

The real class lines in modern life, as Marx shows, are based on the ex-

real character and function of THAT CLASS in Modern Life.

Comrade Rose, have you read "Revolutionary Socialism and Reform: Socialism" by the present writer? But stick to your Communist Manifesto till its meaning dawns upon you.

Biloxi, Miss., Oct. 11, 1909.

Editor "The Socialist": Have read your comments on my letter of Sept. 17. Let me thank you for their kindly nature. At the same time I shall not feel at all angry if you hit me as hard as the case requires. As long as my honesty of purpose is not impugned, I cannot find fault with the earnestness a comrade uses to set me right where he thinks me wrong, and to use all the emphatic language—barring "kuss words"—that he finds necessary.

As to the "Manifesto," while I have given it two or three readings, it is some time since, and I have loaned the book out and never got it back. I shall send for another copy shortly. So with "Das Capital." I have read it twice, or rather the first 600-page volume of it. It, too, is now loaned out to an aspiring young lawyer, who wants to get acquainted with Socialism so he can knock it into the middle of next week.

But, comrade, did you ever contemplate how many kinds of "Christians" are basing their belief on the Bible, and who can take that same Bible and condemn each other to eternal torment?

Long ago I laid all books aside and reasoned out a religious belief that suits me, and that has cast out fear of the next world. I can compress that belief into a few words: "He that does his full duty as far as he is able, to his fellow-man, will be fitted for the next step that follows in another life—if there is another life."

So, when I have read so many opinions on Karl Marx and other great writers, I not only accept their ideas as far as I can understand them, but I go outside of all books at times and try to do a little reasoning for myself. My reasoning has led me to the following results:

1. What is a wage-earner? A wage-earner is he who must rely on some one else for a job.

2. Is a wage-earner a wealth producer? Not necessarily. In fact, thousands of wage-earners are merely small parasites, working in the interests of larger parasites.

3. What is a wealth producer? A wealth producer is one who absolutely produces wealth. He is the opposite of the parasite. He not only produces that upon which he himself lives, but all of that which is required to sustain the lives of the parasites, large and small.

4. Which is the most important? The wealth producer is by far the most important. A mere wage-earner may have no importance whatever, as he may be one of the smaller parasites. Only the wage-earner who is a wealth producer—if we are to limit ourselves to the useful class—should be taken into consideration.

However, as the millions of wage-earning parasites do not know their uselessness, or, knowing it, have no power without the help of the majority of their fellows, to change their condition, I have no wish to shut them out and say they cannot be "good Socialists." I merely state that if a certain class must be the aristocracy of Socialism, it should be the wealth-producing class that supports the whole world.

You wish to shut out all but the wage-earners. Let us see where this will land us.

The farmers are wanting to join us. "Dam" the farmers; they are middle class. Out they go.

The doctors want to join us, including Dr. Titus. "Dam" the doctors; they are middle class. Out they go.

The printers, who have changed into agents, small shopkeepers, or who have become "proprietors," owning a job press, which they kick, and set type for themselves, including Rose, want to join. "Dam" such printers. They are middle class. Out they go.

Preachers, priests and teachers come and ask membership. "Dam" such people. They are middle class. Out they go.

And so runs the story. And so, with Titus, and Simons, and Hillquit, and Kerr, and Herron, and Patterson, and Malloy, and Debs, and all the rest given their "walking papers," the "wage-earners" are left to educate themselves.

Will they do it? NIT!

When have slaves freed themselves? Numerous times they have risen, but in only a few instances have they succeeded in maintaining themselves. In most instances they have been put down with horrifying loss of numbers.

Every man who is in earnest, who will not flinch, who will not compromise, we need in the Socialist ranks. I may read till I am gray-headed and until I am as toothless as a Shanghai hen, and I will never believe that there is not a place for each earnest man in this grand movement.

You cannot agree with me on all of this, perhaps. Very well, you do not need to.

While there is not a man in the movement I would rather read after than Dr. Titus, yet I do not always agree with him—as witness this letter.

While Tom Sladden is a modern Sampson, to my mind, and I always read every word he writes, yet I do not agree with all he says—especially his "kuss" words.

I take some papers whose writers are not of my mind in many things. But what of it? Here is my formula: Belief in Socialism 100 per cent.

Compromise 000 per cent. Courage 100 per cent.

If a comrade is with me there, I do not care whether he understands an algebraic problem in Karl Marx or not; whether he can tell the difference between a wage-earner or a wealth producer or not; whether he milks cows, plants corn and cultivates cabbage, or if his job is digging postholes, molding bricks or spinning cotton at 'steven cents a day—he is my brother. Aye! he is more; he is my comrade.

I want every wage-earner, wealth-producer and man who aspires to be a

Socialist, to get busy with his brain-box and learn all he can, but I would rather he would not learn so much that he wants to fire other earnest men out of the party on a question of occupation.

As ever, I am with you in the fight for the human race. "In union there is strength." Let all earnest, non-compromising human beings who believe in Socialism stand together. Let us not expect to win over the common enemy by kicking each other out of the party, merely because our occupations are different.

SUMNER W. ROSE.

WHERE I STAND

By Ernest Untermann

Editorial Note.—Comrade Untermann feels called upon to announce in this article that he is "regular." He supports the Berger-Barnes Party in Washington. He has no sympathy with what he miscalls "the seceding faction" represented by Herman, Jensen, Ault, Hyde and their associates.

Why doesn't Untermann use a descriptive phrase which tells the truth, such as "Revolutionary Faction," or "Wage Workers Faction"? He knows "Seceding Faction" does not tell the truth. He knows that this so-called "Titus Faction" is and has always been the regular organization legally known as the Socialist Party in the State of Washington. He knows this faction never "seceded" but was rather seceded out of the national party by unconstitutional interference from Chicago.

And Untermann is not in fact so fair minded as in his present letter he seems to be. He supported the Hutchison-Mills faction at Chicago in the National Convention last year. He knew what the regular delegation from Washington at the convention stood for, yet he opposed seating that delegation.

He has been familiar with the Washington contest for years. It is some six years ago that Ernest Untermann in these columns, through an extended debate with the editor of "The Socialist," defended the proposition that the farmers of the West formed the most reliable and revolutionary portion of the Proletariat. He knows what Titus and those with him have always stood for in the Socialist Party. Yet, in spite of their regularity at the 1908 convention, in spite of their unexampled success in membership and votes, in spite of their consistent Proletarian principles and tactics, Untermann opposed seating the Washington delegation at Chicago. It is up to him to explain why. We have a right to believe that his opposition, then and now, must be due to the EXTREME PROLETARIANISM of the Washington organization. He wants the Farmers and Business Men in the Party. He always did want them. That is, he stands for a Two Class Party—and we in Washington and Oregon do not. We stand for a One Class Party.

Untermann writes a good "Declaration of Principles" for the National platform and then defends the practical repudiation of them by the U. S. Socialist Party. He is good on theory but had in practice. We don't care a rap what the Platform says, if the Party itself repudiates it in fact. A Middle Class Party on a Wage Class Platform is as bad as Rockefeller's church professing to accept the Sermon on the Mount and to follow Jesus the Carpenter. It is mockery and a lie.

Whether the Socialist Party is actually Middle Class or not, Untermann is not qualified to decide. Let us quote the judgment of a man who is qualified. Ralph Korngold is a National Organizer for the Socialist Party. He has traveled everywhere West of Chicago, working with the Locals. He was State Organizer for Illinois. He is remarkably intelligent, studious, scientific, observant. And his sympathies were with the Berger element in the National Party.

Now Korngold said again and again at Seattle, to the editor of "The Socialist" and to others, that, in his judgment, based on his extended observation, from Chicago and St. Louis to Los Angeles and Portland, he could not recall more than three Locals in the Socialist Party which were thoroughly Proletarian in spirit and management; and that, in his opinion, the Party was dominated undoubtedly by its Middle Class elements.

He did not say this for publication. He did not claim to have figures to back up his impression. He didn't deny his impression might be incorrect. But such was the fact, a most significant and pregnant fact, that a keen, unprejudiced observer, with ample opportunity for judging, came to the conclusion that Middle-Classism and not Wage Classism, was dominant in the Socialist Party of the U. S. Against such a man's judgment, on the field, Untermann's opinion, away in the mountains of Idaho, is not worth a straw.

Untermann says the Wage Workers' Party will disappear by historic necessity, that events in a few years will prove it abortive and sectarian.

It is anything but sectarian. It is issuing from the process of evolution itself. Whether it will last or not, let the times decide. Untermann may be a prophet. Even Engels often failed in his attempts at prophecy. We will not try to solve the future. But today and here we see a demand for a Wage Workers' Political Party.

That the Socialist Party is not such a Party, even Untermann agrees.

Who best interprets the economic currents of the day remains to be seen.

The issue of Oct. 4th of "The Socialist" compels me to define clearly my position towards it and towards the comrades gathered around it.

This issue leaves no doubt that the faction supporting this paper is organizing a new Socialist party in Washington, with the avowed aim of antagonizing the national organization of that party and splitting the entire Socialist movement of the United States along the imaginary lines of cleavage laid down by Titus and Sladden.

Some comrades have received the impression that my continued contributions to "The Socialist" signify a leaning of mine towards the secession and away from the national organization of our party. These comrades must have read my articles in about the same way that Sladden has read Marx, namely by skips and bounds and without any coherent thought.

I stand uncompromisingly by the national organization and by that wing of our party in Washington which has been recognized by the national organization.

I do so, not so much because I believe in majority rule, as because I hold that the position of Titus and Sladden is unscientific, based upon a theory made up of imaginary elements, and detrimental to the historical revolution of the proletariat.

I certainly believe in majority rule. But I do not blame Titus, Sladden or any comrade from seceding and splitting the national organization, if they are convinced that this national organization is actually dominated by the middle class and transformed into a Populist Party. I should do the same if I had this conviction.

But I do not grant any of the charges made by Titus or Sladden against the national organization of the Socialist Party, nor any of the charges made by them against the officially recognized wing of our party in the State of Washington. If I lived in the State of Washington I should belong to the officially recognized wing, not to the Titus-Sladden wing.

The charge that the Socialist Party has been transformed into a Populist or into a middle-class party with capitalist aims is the fruit of a warped imagination. Not one of the individual comrades attacked by the seceding faction has abandoned the class struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist class. Not one of the small business men or small farmers, who are members of our organization, has abandoned the principles laid down in the Declaration of Principles adopted at the national convention of 1908.

The Populist Party did not accept the class-struggle theory. Neither did it aim to abolish the capitalist system. To claim that the insertion of an amendment regarding the tenure of land in our Declaration of Principles turns the Socialist Party from a revolutionary proletarian organization into a capitalist reform organization is to throw reason and logic to the winds and to indulge in cheap demagogic ranting.

If the truth were known, as it will and shall before long, it will be found that the amendment, which serves to the misguided faction in Washington as an excuse for splitting the party, was not carried by the small farmers, but by the majority of wage-workers, that constitute its bulk. It was precisely the small farmers who refused to adopt this amendment at

the national convention, and it was the wage-workers who thought that the small farmers needed such a sop in order to be attracted to the party.

This amendment, without a doubt, was dictated by the wish to catch votes. But whether it was or not, the amendment itself does not conflict with the principles of Scientific Socialism.

Neither does it overthrow a single tenet of scientific Socialism.

The Declaration of Principles clearly proclaims that no absolute titles to land can be given. But at the same time it also declares that the interests of the social revolution aimed at by the proletariat require only the nationalizing of the means of production, including land, used for exploitation.

This amendment accords perfectly with the position taken by Karl Kautsky in his "Social Revolution." Surely no one will claim that Kautsky defends the interests of the middle class.

For my own part, I am as much opposed to this amendment as many small farmers are. It may be a wise campaign policy to throw out such a sop, but it does not agree with my idea of what a scientific Declaration of Principles for a Socialist Party should be. As I had outlined this Declaration, it was a sketch of economic and political evolution leading to the proletarian revolution. As it has been amended now, several times, the consecutive stations of my thought are interrupted by reflections about momentary considerations of policy regarding land tenure, religion, etc., which fit into my sketch about as well as a calico patch fits into a broadcloth coat.

But while I deplore this incoherent tampering with the Declaration of Principles, I must admit that the amendments inserted in it are wise, are not in conflict with the principles of scientific Socialism, and could not give rise to any scientific objection from the most orthodox Marxian, if they had been inserted where they really belong, namely among the immediate demand portion of the Program.

However, this is too unessential a matter to split the party over. We shall write a new Declaration of Principles at the next, or one of the next, national conventions.

In the meantime, there will be two Socialist organizations in the State of Washington. I have continued to write articles for "The Socialist," not because I agree with its policy, but because I combat it. Surely no comrade ought to complain, if the seceding faction staunchly stick to the principle of free speech and give me an opportunity to combat them in their own paper. If they are right, then my argument must be wrong, and in that case they will win out in spite of my opposition. If they are wrong, then I am right and they must lose out in the end.

I am convinced that this Titus-Sladden movement is doomed to failure as surely as the DeLeon movement was. It is not in line with social evolution. Its theory is not based upon facts, but upon imaginary lines of cleavage. Its science is not an application of the Marxian method to facts, but a caricature of Marxism.

The test suggested in the proposed constitution of the seceding faction in Washington will fail, first, because large masses of proletarians continually shift their occupation, become small storekeepers, domestic workers, small farmers, etc., and thereby are turned from voting members into "assistant" members of the new party; secondly, because large masses of proletarians are owners, or part owners, of homes, small machines, small parcels of land, etc.; thirdly, because large masses of proletarians are "intellectuals," such as school teachers, small preachers, struggling authors, artists, etc. All these elements will not put up with the absurd idea of having to do a lot of hard work in a party, in which they have no vote. Consequently the new party is doomed from the outset to remain a sect, and in proportion as the national organization of the Socialist Party becomes a powerful political weapon of the revolutionary working class, this sect will dwindle and be relegated to oblivion.

In a few years, the futility of their course will become apparent to all who now champion this Titus-Sladden position. If, nevertheless, Titus and Sladden sneer at other comrades and pretend to a clearer Socialist science than we, we can leave them to the fate which historical development will pre-

pare for them. It will dawn upon them in due time that all their scientific pretensions were idle boasts, and that the only authoritative and orthodox Marxian, namely the historical development, denied their claims.

All this I clearly recognize. Yet I see no reason why I should not continue to write for "The Socialist," even though it represents a rival faction, so long as I am convinced that it is really a Socialist paper.

It is true, Titus and Sladden are wrong, in my opinion. But I have not received any proofs, so far, that they are traitors or spies. And I know that the faction recognized by the national organization is not one whit better, cleaner, or more devoted to the social revolution than they are.

Only the historical development can demonstrate whether they or we are right. I am willing to grant that they are honest and faithful Socialists. They do not seem willing to grant to me and to other comrades the same qualities. Never mind. It does not matter what they call me or think of me. Our records will tell the tale.

Before long the official organization of the Socialist Party in Washington, Oregon and Idaho must have a joint paper of their own. When such a paper is published, I shall certainly work with it. But this shall not prevent me from writing for "The Socialist," so long as it is in the hands of comrades who believe in free speech and who respect a man even if he dissents from them.

And no matter what paper I may write for, I shall work for the unification of all revolutionary elements into one solid and powerful organization, which shall be able to overthrow capitalism and inaugurate the classless society based upon industrial equality of all citizens, the Socialist Republic.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

The annual "Parteitag," or convention of the German Social-Democratic Party was held at Leipzig from the 12th to the 18th of September, 1909. This is where the German Socialists do business. It is the highest court of the Party. Its debates are the real thing.

The report of this convention's proceedings is a beautifully printed volume of 534 pages, bound in paper, and selling for 30 cents in Germany. Any American can get it by sending a postal order for 50 cents to Buchhandlung Vorwärts, Berlin S. W. 68, Lindenstr. 69.

This report was received in Seattle Oct. 15, that is, thirty-three days after the convention adjourned the complete printed proceedings was on the other side of the globe, 4,000 miles away. Contrast with this prompt efficiency the slovenly delay of the American Socialist Party officials, who issued their report of the convention held May 10 to 17, 1908, about eight months after, that is, in January, 1909. The Germans do business in a businesslike way.

LITTLE LETTERS

Dear Comrade.—I enclose one dollar for "The Socialist" for another year. I like your good paper. Tom Sladden is sure the goods; let him come as often as he can. Just keep your little wooden hammer in use, for the Lord knows lots of folks ought to be locked good and hard.

Yours fraternally, F. L. RUNYON.

Pt. Williams, Wn.

Dear Comrades.—I am perfectly satisfied in regard to my subscription to "The Socialist," and the paper is getting better every issue. Comrades Hiscay and Sladden voice my sentiments exactly. And, in fact, "The Seattle Socialist" is the best clean-cut Socialist paper published. Keep up the standard of the paper where it is and it will undoubtedly be a success.

Yours for a clean-cut Socialist Party. B. F. WOOD.

Editor "Socialist."—Enclosed find three dollars to extend the following three subs for one year. My own is not out yet.

Yours fraternally, JOHN A. BECKER.

When Comrade Becker's sub is out we are dead sure we'll get another dollar, for Comrade Becker is always there with the goods!

TAKE IT, DURN YE!

