

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

THE SOCIALIST

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A PROLETARIAN NEWSPAPER

Some of our friends are disturbed over the new attitude of this paper, as described on our second page, under the heading, "Where We Stand." "The Socialist" having been so long a Proletarian paper attached to a party, they cannot now adapt themselves to that new viewpoint of ours which does not regard any specific organization of Proletarians as the sole representative of the Proletariat as a whole.

For instance, some of our I. W. W. readers resent our support of a political organization in Seattle, and consider us guilty of treachery to the Proletariat because we advocate anything "political." Others are distressed when we give the I. W. W.'s so much prominence, since they regard them as part of the "Slum-Proletariat" and hence dangerous to the true working class. Still others condemn us for supporting a "Labor Party" which does not clearly perceive itself as based on the Class-Struggle. In a word, they cannot agree to a policy which recognizes Proletarianism wherever found, but does not venture to select any one branch of Proletarians to the exclusion of all other branches.

Let us remind our critics that this paper has never been dogmatic as to tactics. In fact, the only thing we have been "cock-sure" about is a well-authenticated fact, wherever observed. From the accumulation of such facts, certain conclusions may be drawn, though these conclusions are liable to be erroneous and must be subject to the discovery of more facts and to a better generalization from the facts. That person who has reached positive irreversible conclusions on any subject has practically ceased to live and become a mere automaton. He has "principles" to which the world must conform or the world is wrong. Such a person is unscientific, dogmatic, sectarian, unprogressive, mentally unresponsive and dead. He is one of those men "you can't talk to," he is incapable of argument, because his mind is unapproachable, it is fixed and right beyond the possibility of error; he may let you speak, but he doesn't listen to you; his knowledge is so superior to yours; he has nothing to learn; he is the intellectual Pharisee and all those who do not agree with him are Publicans and Sinners.

Now, the paper hitherto known as "The Socialist" has never assumed this attitude of intellectual Pharisism, even with respect to its principles, and still less with respect to methods. We are thoroughly convinced, for instance, that the Marxian Law of Value is established as the governing law of Capitalist Economics, as much as we are convinced that the Law of Gravitation is established as controlling the stellar universe; though even in these cases we would not assert with absolute dogmatism that no future revision of these laws is possible. So, too, we hold it incontrovertible at present that the Wage-Class must achieve its own emancipation, though this is a deduction from the Law of Value, the Law of Wages, the Law of Exploitation, the Law of Class Interest.

With this as a fundamental proposition, that the Proletariat must emancipate itself, certain further deductions have to be made with respect to Tactics, that is, with respect to the methods by which the Working-Class shall emancipate itself. On this subject, dogmatism is inexcusable, since it concerns the future, and the best social prophets have been discredited by the event itself, both Marx and Engels being conspicuous examples.

It has been the generally accepted belief that Proletarian Emancipation would use, as its chief instrument, the Capitalist device known as the Elective Franchise. The Communist Manifesto refers to the "organization of the Proletarians into a class and consequently into a political party," as a part of social development and shows "the conquest of political power by the Proletariat" to be indispensable, and it affirms distinctly, "Every Class-Struggle is a political struggle."

These expressions have been assumed to mean that the main tactics for the Proletariat are the formation of political parties in the various countries and the conquest of political powers by the exercise of the elective franchise. In accord with this theory of Tactics, the German Proletariat, enlightened by Marx and Engels, and led by Lassalle and Liebknecht, formed a political party some forty years ago and has grown in strength and influence up to the present day. At this very moment, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany is confronted with a crisis in its history and is putting to the test its efficacy as a Revolutionary instrument. The Capitalist Class is determined to limit the Elective Franchise, so that the Working-Class shall not be able to use its majority in numbers to accomplish for itself "the conquest of political power."

It is not for us to say categorically that the elective franchise will be the historic instrument by which the Proletariat must achieve his own emancipation.

Suppose it falls, as a matter of fact, is then the Proletariat to remain unslaved?

Grant that it cannot be freed so long as the Capitalists retain control of governmental forces, that is, so long as the Bourgeoisie, through its political power, can kill and conquer the Proletariat, still is there no other way to capture that power to kill and conquer which is incident to that Class-thing known as the State? Is there no other possible tactic but the Ballot-tactic?

It is puerile to tie the hope of the Proletariat to any method which proves itself impracticable.

Therefore, "The Socialist" has never been dogmatic as to tactics. It has been remarked by many that the promised chapters on Tactics in "Revolutionary and Reform Socialism" by the editor of this paper, have been unaccountably delayed for some three years. The real reason is that the editor has never been sufficiently settled in his own mind on the question of the method by which the Working-Class will achieve its own emancipation, to complete that part of his little book. This attitude of uncertainty may not be satisfactory to those whose minds are so constituted that they require absolute knowledge and partisan limitations to make them contented, but it seems to us the only attitude possible to an open, scientific mind with respect to matters which can be settled finally by the test of evolutionary experience alone.

All this is not to say that this paper commits itself to "Direct Action" or repudiates the Political Party method. We have used this illustration taken from contemporary Proletarian history in order to make our point clear, namely, that it is possible to conduct a Proletarian Newspaper which is not partisan or sectarian or dogmatic.

We do not profess to know whether the I. W. W. is sufficiently adapted to present Proletarian conditions in America to become the instrument of universal Proletarian organization and Revolutionary action; but we do recognize it as a part of the Class-Struggle and will report it and encourage it as calculated to develop Class intelligence, Class spirit and Class action.

We do not know whether the present tendency of the A. F. of L. toward the formation of a political party, composed of Union men primarily, is destined to develop into a Class Party compelling legislative ameliorations of Working Class conditions, or whether it will degenerate into a mere Progressive Party, catering to Middle-Class reactionary elements like the farmers; but we do know that the membership of the A. F. of L. is composed of Wage-Workers engaged in contests with their employers for a greater share of Wage-Labor's product, and that the concentration of Capital is forcing these A. F. of L. Proletarians to act more and more as a Class and less and less as Crafts, and therefore we encourage all these tendencies toward Class action, both as Unions and as a political party.

We recognize the A. F. of L. as the greatest American organization of Proletarians and we do not regard it as controlled by any arbitrary "Principles," revolutionary or otherwise, but by its own interests so far as it perceives them, and it is our place to help it perceive those interests and to avoid reactionary entanglements. We do not deny its Proletarian character nor its part in the historic Class-Struggle. We would like to see it clearer, we will do our best to make it clearer, but we will not be so unscientific as to deny a fact, and affirm that this enormous body of Two Million Wage-Workers is a Capitalist institution, while an organization of One Hundred in Cincinnati or Seattle is the real Proletarian body, inasmuch as it declares of itself, "We can prove that our Structure is the only sound one existing in the Labor World today."

For nearly ten years this paper and most of its supporters have been allied with the Socialist Party in the U. S., believing that that party repre-

sented best the Proletarian cause. But the course of economic development led that organization to represent the small Bourgeois rather than the Proletarian, and we finally were driven out of that party, because we continued to insist that the Party was and should be composed of Proletarians. So we are no longer supporting that organization because it seems to us essentially Middle-Class in its constituency and tendencies.

Some of us are now to be found in an attempted new Party called the Wage-Workers Party which has not yet completed its organization and has never put a ticket in the field. If it accomplishes things and makes itself felt as a real part of the Class-Struggle, this paper will report its progress; but at present, this organization disapproves the course adopted by us as outlined in this editorial and we bear no other relation to it than to any other body of Wage-Workers.

Others of the former supporters of this paper are now allied with the attempt to found a United Labor Party in the city of Seattle and in the state of Washington. At the election last week in this city, this Party, which had the support of none but Proletarians and was opposed vigorously by the old-party "Labor-Leaders" in the Unions, polled some 1,500 votes for its candidate for Mayor and probably elected one of its candidates for ward councillor.

This paper supported that ticket as the only Proletarian Party in the field. But we reserve our right and duty to criticize its development into a State Party if it shall be so unwise as to unite, for the sake of a few, or many, votes, with the Farmers' Leagues which are springing up over the country to secure better prices and lower R. R. rates, both of which tend to lower the purchasing power of wages and hence make it harder for the Unions to maintain their standard of living. Ask the Farm-Laborers to unionize themselves and demand an 8-hour day, if you want to see the absurdity of the farmers and wage-workers belonging to the same organization.

We expect our new attitude will lose us a good many friends and supporters, but we have never yet accommodated our views to our subscription list and we cannot begin now. We shall conduct a Proletarian Newspaper, aiming to give that news which is most significant of Proletarian advances, which will best promote the Class-Spirit, develop the Class-War, encourage Class-Solidarity and hasten the final victory of the Proletarian Class.

We append an extract from a recent letter sent to an I. W. W. official, in response to a friendly letter from him.

Extract from Editor's Letter

My Dear S.—

I would like you to understand perfectly the attitude of this paper. It will support every contest which it regards as a part of the Class-Struggle of Labor against Capital, though it may not endorse without reserve the organization conducting such contest. Our aim is to unify the Proletariat against the Bourgeoisie. We do not think the I. W. W. the only Proletarian organization engaging in the Class-Struggle, though we are doing a great deal to promote its growth by reporting its activities. But we do not surrender the right to criticize it. Our attitude is the same toward the A. F. of L., though more critical, as that body seems to us less Proletarian in spirit and less revolutionary in form than yours.

If we come to see things differently, as your Branch of the Proletariat develops, we shall not hesitate to change our attitude.

We await the normal evolution of the Working-Class itself, and do what we can to speed on the inevitable war and the inevitable Proletarian Victory.

The unswerving loyalty of this paper, through ten years of loss and calumny, to the interests of the Wage-Workers, is the best guarantee of its future course.

Sincerely yours,

HERMON F. TITUS.

THE "IRON HEEL" IN PHILADELPHIA

By Arthur Jensen

Company Provokes Violence

Anyone who has read "The Iron Heel," by Jack London, cannot help but compare the brutality of the Philadelphia authorities in the present strike with some of the gruesome descriptions of the future which Jack London so forcibly presents. One is almost tempted to believe that the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company officials have read "The Iron Heel" and intend to make an experiment.

Strike Carmen's Only Choice

The fact remains that the street railway employees of Philadelphia were forced by the company to go on strike. They had practically no choice.

In June of last year the men struck for higher pay, shorter hours and better treatment. They had chosen an opportune time. It was just preceding an election. The public officials did not desire to endanger their position by taking a stand in opposition to the strikers. Or, rather, the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company did not want to endanger the election of their loyal representatives who hold office in Philadelphia and throughout Pennsylvania. So the carmen were victorious. The company treated with them and a satisfactory agreement was made by which the men were to be granted their demands after election.

Election over, the company broke the agreement. The officials claimed that they could not keep the agreement and at the same time pay the guaranteed dividends.

The first warning was sounded when Assistant Superintendent of Police Tim O'Leary announced to the newspapers that a supply of rifles and ammunition had been purchased for riot and strike use.

Next the company discharged hundreds of its men in open violation of the agreement. They had no choice but to strike. So they struck.

The company forced them to strike, and when they refrained from violence the company manufactured bomb stories and provoked the strike sympathizers with a grand display of armed forces.

Commissioner of Public Safety Henry Clay is a heavy stockholder in the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company. He is therefore easily convinced of the "injustice" in the carmen's demands. And he can readily see that drastic measures must be taken to protect the company's property. So he augmented the three thousand regular policemen by six hundred "specials" picked up on the water front. Two thousand firemen were placed on police duty with rifles and clubs. The State Fencibles, a fashionable military organization, composed of society youths, were called out, but were quickly withdrawn after having been held up to humiliating ridicule. A troop of State Constabulary galloped into town armed with carbines. As the company provoked the strike, so it was now trying to provoke violence.

But the carmen understood. Out of a thousand arrested less than a dozen are strikers and most of these are facing trumped-up charges such as "inciting to riot," "conspiracy to incite to riot," etc.

Company Refuses To Arbitrate

The carmen offered to arbitrate the trouble, but the company flatly refused.

A committee of clergymen prayed to the Lord and the company to arbitrate, but the company refused, and the Lord declined to answer (perhaps he is a Transit stockholder).

The business men of the city, feeling their business being paralyzed,

requested the company to arbitrate, but received the reply that there was nothing to arbitrate, as they had received no word of complaint from any of their employes.

Pratt Is Arrested

It was plain that the company wanted fight. Clarence O. Pratt, national organizer of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, was arrested on charges of "rioting," "inciting to riot" and "conspiracy to incite to riot." Although the preliminary hearing showed that the charges were absolutely groundless, Pratt was held on each count and released on \$3,000 bail.

Mayor Reyburn, who represents the City on the Board of Directors of the Transit company, caused the city council to ask the company to arbitrate, but at a subsequent meeting of the Board of Directors he voted against arbitration.

General Strike Contemplated

It was plain that the carmen's union was to be crushed. And the other unions in the city saw their doom if they did not protest. So the discussion of declaring a general strike in Philadelphia was begun. Sunday, February 27, at secret meetings, the Central Labor Union and the Allied Building Trades Council, voted to call a general strike Saturday, March 5, unless the Transit Company agreed to submit the dispute to a board of arbitration before then.

But the company wanted fight. At midnight, March 4, the general strike was declared.

General Strike Begun

Union orchestras playing in the leading hotels and cafes, picked up their instruments promptly at midnight and started for home. Cab drivers and chauffeurs abandoned their posts. Taxicab drivers refused to take out their machines after midnight. In the morning whistle after whistle blew its summons without the usual response from the workingmen.

The first general strike in the history of this country had begun. And Labor was forced to take this step by aggressive Capital.

That the eyes of the world is on Philadelphia may be judged by the many telegrams and letters of encouragement received by both sides of the fight.

National President Mahon of the carmen's union recognized the tremendous importance of the general strike when he, shortly after the walk-out, made public the following statement:

Mahon's 'Call to Labor'

"The Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company in making public through President Kruger telegrams from associations of manufacturers and employers all over the country approving the stand of the company against arbitration, and offering assistance in its fight against organized labor, discloses the real issue in this contest. The presentation of these telegrams was no surprise to me. I am somewhat surprised, however, that the allied interests are so willing to publicly show their hand.

"The Rapid Transit Company, with its allied interests, has declared a sympathetic strike of capital against labor. That is what those telegrams mean. The Carmen's union did not go on strike. Its members were locked out as the result of a well-laid plan to crush labor in this city.

"It is an industrial fight now. The workingman finds capital and corporate interests arrayed against him and the first battleground in a great struggle has been pitched in this city where the interests think they are strongest and their opponents weakest. Those telegrams are a call to labor, organized and unorganized, to band together and fight for their preservation. Victory here means the uplift of humanity. Defeat means the accomplishment of the first step in a widespread plan to crush labor. We are right and we will win, but we must have the united support of the working classes.

"The answer to the Rapid Transit Company's telegrams will come from organized labor of the country."

Significant Telegrams

The telegrams to which President Mahon refers as "a call to Labor to band together and fight for its preservation" are certainly of stupendous



IN THIS FIGHT LABOR SHALL BE VICTOR!

Continued on Page 4

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WHERE WE STAND

(Reprinted From Our First Issue in 1910.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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The "Iron Heel" In Philadelphia

Continued from Page 3

significance, showing as they do, the highly developed class-spirit of the large capitalists.

Following are a few of the telegrams received by President Kruger of the Transit Company on the eve of the general walk-out:

"Cleveland, O., March 3, 1910.—Mr. Kruger, President Philadelphia Traction Company, Philadelphia, Pa.: I commend the firm stand you are taking and urge that you stand fast against the demands of the strikers. I extend to you the cordial support and sympathy of the association which I represent.—Howard P. Ellis, President National Metal Trades Association."

"New York, March 3, 1910.—President Kruger, Vice-President Wolfe or George H. Earle, Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, Philadelphia, Pa.: Do not give up the fight you have already won. Repress disorder with a stern hand. The eyes of the country are upon you. Uphold the principle of a man being able to work for his wife and children without being murdered. If you do not stand firm you may as well hand over your railroad to the mob.—Sons of Liberty (N. Y.), 1,000 Strong."

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TOM CLIFFORD (Socialist lecturer): "I have longingly desired such a work for years. A service to civilization."

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stand, upholding that policy in your city as an example to the whole country.—The Manufacturers' Association."

"New York, March 4, 1910.—President Kruger: You are standing for principles vital to the industrial progress and prosperity of our country. You have the sympathy and support of every good citizen. We urge you to stand by your position without compromise.—National Erectors' Association, by Walter Drew Counsel."

A number of other telegrams of the same nature were published in the Philadelphia daily papers, showing that the employing interests throughout the country are watching this struggle with great interest.

Class Solidarity In Philadelphia

And the Working Class of Philadelphia is giving their employers a little surprise in the form of class solidarity. Philadelphia, the most typical American city on the continent, the Cradle of Liberty, a city where the independent American workman has been predominant, where the wicked Labor Trust has not been very successful—that this city, Philadelphia, should be the first battleground in the United States for a general strike, is almost unbelievable. So their newspapers talk. In short, Capital calculated that by attacking Organized Labor in Philadelphia it would win an easy victory, but for once Capital was fooled.

Unorganized Organize

In fact, instead of breaking up the Labor Organizations, Capital in its brutal aggressiveness is solidifying Labor.

Large numbers of unorganized men and women came out in response to the call of the General Committee of Ten, in charge of the strike. Thousands of textile workers and three thousand employees of the Baldwin Locomotive Works were among the unorganized who went out. The men of the Baldwin Locomotive Works have organized a union with temporary officers, a permanent organization to be effected later.

State-Wide Strike Proposed

And from all over the country the Philadelphia unions are receiving telegrams and letters offering financial and moral support. Extension of the general strike to include the entire force of Labor throughout the State is being seriously talked of. Yes, the unions affiliated with the State Federation of Labor are now taking a vote on the question of joining the strike, and there is but little doubt that they will vote in favor of it.

The Streetcar men in Pittsburg are making preparations to join in the strike.

Bricklayers, Too

In Philadelphia the bricklayers caused some surprise by walking out with the rest, as they are regarded as extremely conservative. That they should break their "sacred" contract with their employers, especially as they are not affiliated with either the Central Labor Union or the Allied Building Trades Council, was quite a shock to the Master Builders.

The daily press has time and again predicted a break in the ranks of Labor, but so far, instead of materializing, the papers have been forced to report a daily strengthening of the strikers' forces.

Merchants Squealing

The merchant of Philadelphia is howling. He is facing ruin. He appeals to the Rapid Transit Company to save him, but in vain. And the department stores chuckle. They are being saved the trouble to squeeze out their small competitors. The Philadelphia department stores own two of the daily papers, but they are not appealing to the transit company to quit.

Capital and Labor, the upper and lower crust of society, are engaged in a battle so fierce that little things, such as retail dealers who happen to be in the way, are being crushed between the upper and nether millstones of society. And they squeal, but of no avail.

In the beginning of the general strike the union men employed in the supplying of milk, bread and other necessities of life, were advised to continue working, but they have now been called out also, and it is expected that this step will prove effective.

Fake "Rioting"

As to the stories of rioting and violence which the Associated Press dispatches have related, these are either very much exaggerated or they have originated in the minds of the reporters.

The Philadelphia papers have given such space to the stinging of cars by strike sympathizers, but only casual mention of shooting down of little children and women.

Extortionists' hands were required for the release of strikers arrested on trumped-up charges of rioting, but a motorman who fatally shot an innocent bystander was released without bail.

Justice in Philadelphia is being exercised in the courts very much like in Spokane during the recent fight for free speech.

The preliminary hearing of Organizer Pratt of the Carman's union is instructive in this respect.

Below is a report of the same as given in one of the Philadelphia dailies, a paper which is anything but friendly to the strikers.

Note the embarrassment of the testifying policemen.

Pratt's Preliminary Hearing

After a few minor hearings, Pratt was then brought into the court room. He was not as spruce as usual, showing that he had spent a night of unrest as well as doing without a bath and shave. But, he came smiling into the dock when his name was called.

Save the clicking of a dozen cameras as he stood upright in the pen, there was little or no excitement in the crowded court room. The police arrangements to keep back or prevent a demonstration were well-nigh perfect from a police standpoint. At each end of the east corridor five policemen were stationed and no one without credentials could pass through. But, to be sure that the credentials should pass muster, four more bluecoats were stationed midway between the east elevators on either side to the door of the hearing room. And, again, to make assurance doubly sure, two more policemen were stationed at the door leading from the hall into the outer vestibule of the hearing room, and they made imperative demands for paper showing the right of the person who asked for entrance.

When Pratt stepped smilingly into the dock his attorney asked that the charges be read. They were, and a titter went around the court room. Samuel Boyle and Mr. Wetmer represented the Rapid Transit Company. There was no officer from the district attorney's office present.

"What is your name?" was the first question asked the prisoner.

"Clarence O. Pratt," he replied.

"Where is your residence?"

"Wellfield, Ohio," he answered.

Then Welsh, a policeman, took the stand.

Welsh and the other police witnesses against Pratt had been called into the office of Timothy O'Leary prior to their appearance on the witness stand.

Couldn't Identify Pratt

Welsh could not identify Pratt as being one of the crowd that attacked a car at Franklin and Poplar streets about 3 o'clock yesterday afternoon. "I only heard him say," said Welsh, "to the men on the street, that he wanted to say a few words to them in Mercantile Hall."

Welsh was not cross-examined by Mr. McAleer.

Then came Gore, a detective; Brest and other policemen, who testified to a riot having occurred, but none saw Pratt, so they said.

Finally Frank O'Connor, who swore out the warrant, was called to the stand, and said:

"I saw Pratt leave the Labor Lyceum Hall and walk to Franklin street. There were two or three hundred men gathered and a car attacked. I saw Pratt at the head of the crowd."

"Did you see him commit any act of violence?" asked Mr. McAleer.

O'Connor stammered a bit and said: "No, but he was at the head of the crowd."

"Did you see him throw any bricks?" McAleer queried.

"No," O'Connor answered, but Agistrate Beaton interjected the suggestion that he was present when bricks were thrown, to which O'Connor answered "Yes."

"Who caused you to swear out this warrant, hours after the alleged rioting occurred?" McAleer asked.

The P. R. T. lawyers were on their feet in a moment to object and say the warrant spoke for itself. The magistrate told the witness not to answer.

Again McAleer asked: "Did not the Assistant Superintendent of Police cause you to swear out this warrant?"

This question, too, was unanswered. All O'Connor could or would testify to was that Pratt had walked by the point where the mob later stoned a car and inflicted injury upon a policeman.

No Evidence Says McAleer

McAleer briefly told the magistrate that no testimony whatever had been given to show conspiracy, that none had been given to show that his client had participated in a riot, and further that he would produce unbiased witnesses to show that the prisoner was actually in Mercantile Hall when the disturbance occurred.

Magistrate Beaton, however, took the view that a prima facie case had been established, and held the prisoner on each count in the sum of \$5,000 as a whole.

When Pratt had been furnished bail, he thanked the police for their courtesy and said: "As to my arrest, I have no criticism to make. I know

you men were only obeying the orders of a tyrant and renegade."

Pratt later, accompanied by his attorney, went to Assistant Superintendent of Police O'Leary's office and demanded papers which were taken from him when arrested. One of these, he said, was an unopened letter from his wife, and another a letter from his wife which he had only glanced at.

O'Leary denied knowing anything about the letters or other papers. They were later given to Pratt by Capt. Gallagher of the detective force. Pratt declared the unopened letter had been opened and presumably read by the detectives.

Labor in Philadelphia is making a splendid fight, and it is up to Labor throughout the country to see that Labor wins.

There is no doubt but that "defeat" means the accomplishment of the first step in a widespread plan to crush Labor.

Their fight is our fight. An injury to one is the concern of all.

TREATY NEGOTIATIONS

Official Statement by the I. W. W. Committee.

Spokane, Wash., March 6, 1910.—At last the great Spokane battle has been brought to a close. This was effected through the instrumentality of a series of conferences between the city and county officials and an I. W. W. committee. The following is an account of the various conferences and the conclusions arrived at by the contestants in this long battle.

On Feb. 23 "the executive or fighting committee" of the I. W. W. elected a committee of three—T. J. Gillette, Gillespie, McKelvey and Foster—and commissioned them to call on the authorities and discuss the situation before opening hostilities on the morrow. This interview terminated in practically a declaration of war on both sides, as the mayor seemed to think the only possible solution of the difficulty was to test the ordinance in the court. He frankly stated that he did not indorse a prohibitive or discriminatory ordinance, but said he had no other choice than to enforce the laws already on the books. He professed a willingness to treat on the matter, but claimed lack of jurisdiction. This was considered unfavorable by the committee, and the mayor was told that the fight must continue until the I. W. W. was crushed or free speech assured. Next day the committee, enlarged by the addition of Fellow-Worker Stark, called on the Police Department, where a general conference was held. The authorities showed a willingness to reasonably consider the situation and asked for specific credentials from the committee which would show their authority to talk business. These credentials were secured, and on March 3 the general conference met. The city and county were represented by Mayor Pratt, Prosecuting Attorney Fugh, Corporation Counsel Blair, Chief of Police Sullivan and Detective Captain Burns. The I. W. W. was represented by Fellow-Workers Stark, McKelvey, Gillespie and Foster. The conference took on the nature of demands by the I. W. W. These were four in number:

First, the promise that landlords would not be intimidated into refusing to rent halls to the I. W. W., as has been done during the last few months of the fight, and that I. W. W. meetings be absolutely free from police interference; provided, of course, that we kept within the common rules; in short, hall conditions were to be the same as those prior to November 2, 1909, freedom of the press and the right to sell the Industrial Worker on the street just as other newspapers are. Third, the release of I. W. W. prisoners in the city and county jails. Fourth, the use of the streets for public speaking.

The first two propositions were granted after but short discussion. The third proposition was very closely related to the fourth, and after a very unsatisfactory discussion of it the committee turned to the fourth so as to find out how they stood on that. The mayor, corporation counsel, etc., assured the I. W. W. committee that free speech is to be allowed in Spokane in the near future, and though no date was or could be set for this new arrangement to take effect, they were positively assured that it will be in a short while. And meanwhile the regular religious organizations will not be discriminated in favor of, but must await their time when the streets are open to all. With this proposition established as a working basis, the conference again took up the matter of the release of prisoners, which was a delicate one to handle. Prosecutor Fugh professed to have no animosity against any of the prisoners, but stated that it is impossible to release them all at once. It was agreed that the city prisoners (some fifteen in number) should be immediately released, and the county prisoners (fourteen in number) released on a sliding scale, to begin immediately, without discrimination. In return for these concessions he demanded a hostage in the shape of National Organizer F. W. Heslewood, who was then vigorously fighting extradition proceedings at Coeur d'Alene City, Ida. The conference came to a stumbling block here, as the I. W. W. committee had no jurisdiction over Heslewood, who is employed at Coeur d'Alene by the national headquarters. To obviate this difficulty it was necessary to put the proposition before Heslewood, so the conference adjourned, to meet again in Coeur d'Alene three hours later.

Owing to poor connections Heslewood could not be reached before 7:15 p. m., and the final extradition proceedings, scheduled to start at 7:30 p. m., were postponed while the conference met in Judge Dunn's private chambers. Meanwhile the committee had been increased by Dr. Gurley Flynn, Heslewood's Attorney at Law. The situation was outlined to them and the further proposition made to Heslewood that if he surrendered himself he would be released on \$5,000 bond and his case continued from time to time, for 90 days, when it would be dropped. Flynn's case it to be allowed to negotiate also, and it too will be dismissed at the end of 90 days. Meanwhile the appeal will pend and he be allowed his release on bonds.

The Burns case and charge suits

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against the city are to be dropped. This decision, as far as Heslewood was concerned, could not be postponed, as the court was waiting while the committees conferred, and upon the strongest recommendations of the I. W. W. committee Heslewood accepted the terms in so far as he was concerned. The effect of this was not to bind the organization in any way. Heslewood simply placed his head in the lion's mouth at the instigation of the committee and his own belief that the rank and file, on referendum, would accept the conditions jointly agreed upon. The next day he surrendered himself to Spokane county and is now out on bonds. The following evening at a mass meeting in Hilliard, composed of all the I. W. W. members in town, regardless of where they hail from, the action of the committee was indorsed and the street fight was officially declared off, pending the good faith of the authorities. The conference committee has visited the boys in the county jail and explained the situation. They also have indorsed the action taken. The city prisoners were released by Chief Sullivan according to the present agreement. The charters seized by the police in the raid on the hall have been returned.

lost in the terrible Wellington disaster on the Great Northern R. R., demanded decent wages for such hard-earned labor.

The fact seems to be that the responsibility for that unexampled destruction of an entire trainload of people, "marooned" and exposed for a week, and finally hurled to death in the dead of night, rests with the very employers whom the "Times" seeks to defend by attacking Organized Labor.

For the reason assigned by the Railroad officials for not rescuing that train sooner than a week, and for not running it into the adjacent tunnel instead of leaving it exposed to the avalanche which destroyed it, is Laek of Coal, so that they could not run their rotaries and could not keep the train warm in the draughty tunnel.

And why were they short of coal? Because the Great Northern Railroad had failed to settle with its striking Switchmen and had not force enough of skilled workmen to keep its coal stations supplied for the winter's needs. That appalling loss of human life was preventable, if the road had been willing to meet the reasonable demands of Organized Labor and pay its workmen living wages.

So now comes the paid scribbler of the trucking Capitalist press and scores his fellow workmen for trying to compel the tyrant Railroad to pay back to the working class a few of those dollars which it had wrung from its employees at the sacrifice of a hundred innocent lives. It is indeed a bad reminder.

A BAD REMINDER

"The Times" of Seattle makes a bad break when it goes out of its way to cast a slur at Organized Labor because some of the workmen employed to risk their lives to clear away the fallen avalanches at the summit of the Cascade Mountains and find the hundred or more dead bodies

The Socialist

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TREATY OF PEACE IS CONCLUDED

SPOKANE AUTHORITIES COME TO TERMS— I. W. W. ORGANIZATION WINS RECOGNITION—BOTH SIDES MADE CONCESSIONS— FREE SPEECH ORDINANCE GUARANTEED.

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

SPOKANE, March 5, 1910.—Thursday afternoon and evening witnessed a remarkable war conference between the Belligerents, Labor and Capital, at Spokane and Coeur d'Alene.

The representatives of Labor were the following members of the I. W. W.: J. J. McKelvey, J. J. Stark, D. J. Gillespie, William Z. Foster, at Spokane and at Coeur d'Alene; National Organizer Heslewood, Gurley Flynn and the I. W. W. lawyer, Fred Moore.

Capital was represented by Mayor Pratt, of Spokane, Chief of Police Sullivan, Captain of Detectives Burns, County Attorney Pugh and City Attorney Blair.

It was agreed that hostilities should cease on the following terms: City's I. W. W. prisoners to be released immediately. Hall meetings of I. W. W. to be resumed and "Industrial Worker" to be reissued without police interference. County prisoners to be released gradually. Heslewood and Filigno to be released on bail and cases dismissed in 90 days. Fair street speaking ordinance in near future positively guaranteed, though no date set.

On the other hand, Labor's conferees agreed to allow extradition of Heslewood as guarantee of good faith on part of the organization on the understanding that he is to be set free at once on \$2,000 bail and his case dismissed after 90 days. Also, I. W. W. perjury case against Detective Burns and damage suits against policemen to be withdrawn.

Settlement is satisfactory to both sides. I. W. W. committee met at Hillyard and indorsed the treaty, which will be submitted to Referendum. I. W. W. city prisoners released today (Saturday).

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

ordinance under which Thompson was arrested was entered and argument presented to me November 2, and I decided that the ordinance in question was invalid, at the same time saying that, by reason of the fact that it contained a repealing clause, the ordinance which applied to everybody alike was brought back into force. At that time I also stated from the bench to 400 or 500 men who had assembled to hear the case, that any one attempting street speaking, even though the ordinance had been declared invalid, might be prosecuted under the original ordinance.

I further stated that if it was their desire to sincerely and honestly test the validity of the original ordinance there was no doubt that the authorities would enter into an agreed statement of facts upon the arrest of any individual and carry the case into the highest court.

Despite this warning, immediately after my decision 40 or 50 men, almost simultaneously and at various points, began making speeches on the streets within the prohibited district, and for days kept up this procedure.

Attempt to Override Law.

The authorities realized that this was an attempt to override the law, create chaos and disorder within the city by a lot of malcontents who, by their own statements, have no aim in life and no responsibility—men who have not even enough interest in the welfare of this country to stay in one place a sufficient length of time to qualify themselves as voters.

Instead of prosecuting them under the so-called "street-speaking ordinance," and thereby giving them an opportunity to delay proceedings by demurring to its validity, they were prosecuted on charges of "disorderly conduct," the ordinance covering such charges having already been upheld by the Supreme Court.

The men, as fast as they were arrested, were given trial in the regular manner, being represented by counsel in each case, and upon the hearing of the evidence, and upon the admissions of practically all of the defendants themselves they were sentenced by me to serve 30 days in jail. Each defendant gave notice of appeal to the Superior Court, and even though this court was almost overwhelmed with the increase of business and thereby compelled to employ considerable clerical help, transcript of every case was filed immediately in the Superior Court, but no attempt was ever made to prosecute these appeals.

Applies Rockpile Rule.

It is the practice of this city when a prisoner is sentenced to jail that he serve out his sentence by working on the rockpile, and the same rule applied to these men. I ordered them to be put to work the same as other prisoners, but each flatly refused. They even went so far as to refuse to clean their own cells, whereupon it was ordered that they be placed on a diet of bread and water. Some of them apparently having the ambition to pose as martyrs, went so far as to refuse to take any food for several days.

In the beginning, it is true, the jail, which like all other jails provided for the purpose of taking care of the ordinary business of the city, was crowded to such an extent that it became necessary to put several men in one cell, but this was no fault of the authorities.

One of the slogans of the organization was "fill the jails," the intention and purpose being to have such a large number of men violate the law as to make it impossible for the authorities to place them under arrest and keep them in custody. But in this they were disappointed, because the citizens, business men and members of various organizations who were here on the ground and understood the situation, expressed themselves as being absolutely opposed to such procedure and did everything in their power to assist and aid the authorities.

Use School Buildings.

The school board came to the rescue by tendering the use of a large school building, which had recently been vacated owing to the erection of another building. This building contained eight rooms, all of large size, equipped with sanitary plumbing, heat and other conveniences. As soon as the jail became filled prisoners were transferred to the school building, and after it also became pretty well filled, the aid of the military authorities was asked for, the result being, after an investigation by the government and military officers, quarters at Fort George Wright were open to the city.

So it can readily be seen that if there had been any desire on the part of the authorities to be inconsistent they never would have gone to so much trouble in securing accommodations for the prisoners, but they would have packed them in the city jail until it was crowded to the limit. As a matter of fact, it is my opinion that had we so desired we could have put all of them in the city jail.

The testimony given on the witness stand by many of the men under arrest showed plainly that it was not a desire on their part to test the validity of the law or bring about a better condition for themselves, but merely an ambition to do everything in their power to overthrow the law and to create turmoil to such an extent that they would have absolute freedom and be unmolested in their desires and avowed principles of consecrating to their own use everything they saw fit.

Leaders Should Be Censured.

It is not the rank and file of this organization that is to be censured and

MANN'S MENDACITY AND POLICE PERFDY

By Bruce Rogers

To begin, it must be observed that the wealthy grafting interests which are really in control in unhappy Spokane are for the most part the same dominating factors which for so long outraged the mining districts of Colorado and Idaho, who, with the same despicable Pinkerton agency, the same labor-killing thugs of policemen, have inherited the same hatred for labor, liberty and decency. In the persons of judges and courts, the corruptors and crookedly have inherited fully as obnoxious puppets as disgraced the Rocky Mountain region ten years ago, and in the person of Governor Hay, fully as abased a scoundrel as Peabody, who long ago walked the plank of oblivion.

Singularly enough, this feverish hatred is directed at practically the same labor factors and at practically the same cause, since everybody knows, who knows beans about western labor wars, that the organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World was born in the Western Federation of Miners, that it is an extension of the principles of the W. F. of M., and that it inherited practically all that was good in the tactics and activities of the parent organization.

Some day, and when it does it will lend a leathery color to the wash, it will all come out about how the President of the Western Federation of Miners came to intercept and turn back a certain appropriation of \$500, voted by Butte Miners' Union for the defense of Elizabeth Flynn, and the slimy investigation will be traced to the door of a certain labor-faking politician in Spokane, and closely related by Pantangunity to this delectable police judge.

But to our enemies in the open. It must be borne in mind that Judge Mann and the entire wretched city administration of Spokane were made by the "Spokesman-Review," a journalistic harlot whose abominations would shame the Apocalyptic whore of Babylon.

After making them, the "Review" began pumping into them the laughing gas until Judge Mann, fitted neither by education, training nor character for the job, wore his capitalistic livery as proudly as a new-made negro bell-hop. A man of much native conscience, he is spineless as a cotton thread, an invertebrate mammal who long ago kissed goodbye to

condemned altogether, but it is the men who act and constitute themselves leaders and agitators—men one might almost designate as anarchists—who by inflammatory speeches and by abusing everything that is for law and order, everything that is for the betterment of mankind, and by creating discontent among laboring men, who, as a rule, have given no attention to public affairs, to such an extent that they become influenced by the misleading and ribald arguments of these so-called leaders who, in my opinion, are in the organization only for personal gain and notoriety.

Among the members of the Industrial Workers of the World who were trying to carry out these plans of lawlessness were several women, probably half a dozen. They went into the streets shouting in sympathy with the cause and committed acts of lawlessness the same as men. They were arrested and brought into court, but instead of being committed to prison like the men, they were released on their own recognizances after promising they would not attempt to violate the law in this manner again.

Most of the women kept their word. However, there were two or three of them who did not seem to have any regard for their word or actions, and almost as soon as they were liberated went on the streets encouraging the men to violate the law, and in fact, as the evidence produced plainly showed, violated it themselves.

Of course, when they were first arrested they were placed in prison a few hours awaiting their arraignment in court. They were given consideration which was not and never has been accorded the men, and were released without bond solely upon their pledges which some of them violated.

As for the statements which have been circulated through the medium of periodicals in sympathy with this movement, it is my opinion that every one of them is made out of whole cloth and that there is not a word of truth in them. I have been associated with the police department of Spokane in various ways during the last six years and the first report has yet to come to me in which a charge of ungentlemanly conduct toward women is made against the officers.

I believe that the statements and charges made by women associated with the I. W. W. are absolutely untrue, and are made solely for the purpose of notoriety, and at the same time casting reflections upon the police department of this city, to gain the sympathy of the good residents of this country.

Truth and Principle and joined the primrose way with the bayd, Expediency. Suave, plausible, and of generous men, members of his whist club tell me he is a bully good fellow, and I have no doubt he would shine with stellar ray serene amid the environs of third-class actors in second-class dance halls!

Meet him in private and he will tell you that he believes in fundamental Socialism, and I think the good judge does, but it just "gooses" him so good to lick the pudgy pleased hands of the powers that sustain and reward him and pat his abased head; the same powers that made a Chief of Police out of a former macquer, a wife beater a lecherous long, lean, lank libel on the image of God! The same powers that have made the Pughs come to think of Spokane county as "merely a Ducal estate of their family!"

It is enough to controvert Mann's article in the "Spokesman-Review," that he has stepped down from his high place to write it. Why the necessity of leaving the dignified realm of rendering constitutional opinions to defend the brass-buttoned, clubbing committee of the Capitalist Class? Then, too, why the necessity of the "Review" devoting so much space to their defense? Have so despised and unbelieved a bunch as the I. W. W.'s created such a necessity by showing there was a basis of truth to our charges?

When Agnes Fair's charges were mentioned to a Police Attorney of Seattle in connection with the suppression of the paper publishing them, he blurted out, "I believe it, it sounds so natural." Now, Judge Mann was not in the unlit recesses of that jail at the time of the alleged indignities to women prisoners. Mrs. Edith Fernette and Miss Agnes Fair were, as prisoners. The former, under a jail sentence and a bond of \$5,000 imposed by the self-same Judge Mann, was lately offered full release if she would make an affidavit refuting Miss Fair's charges. Under those circumstances she made an affidavit verifying Miss Fair and further implicating the police for vicious and obscure treatment of defenseless women! And under the further circumstance, if I must tell a secret, that she personally disliked Miss Fair!

Gentlemanly police! It is to laugh. If there is no error in the print, and if Judge Mann penciled the statement that those women lied, when he could not have had personal knowledge, even he shames his mother's memory, and he lies. The worst of it is I believe the good judge knows he lies.

There are things in connection with his statement about which I know that he knows he lied. He lies about the sweat box. At the time the inhuman practice of packing men into that hole was at its worst the cells of the city jail were practically empty, the I. W. W. prisoners being in the Franklin "University" and in the Federal prison at Ft. George Wright. On one occasion when I was in the jail and knew it was empty, except as to the sick ward, I saw the jailer count into that 6 by 8 ft. dungeon 33 men.

Judge Mann had personal knowledge of the brutality of the police and their barbarous beating of helpless prisoners. Daily, I. W. W. prisoners appeared before him in a beaten and bruised condition, many times with the clothes bloody and their wounds fresh. I asked Judge Mann repeatedly to issue warrants and arraign the policemen whom the men identified as having mistreated them. Always he refused, but upon one occasion he remarked to me that he purposely avoided the immediate precincts of the jail because if he should see such goings on with his own eyes he should "certainly be compelled to remonstrate."

By the way, had you noticed how adroitly these valet creatures, the Spokane Judiciary, have prevented an inquiry into our charges of cruelty and barbarism on the part of the police, and about the sweat box? If our charges were false, it were we ourselves who were inviting that they be proven so. And, in passing, had you noticed that, while in the trial of C. L. Filigno and Elizabeth Flynn Judge Kennan excluded from the jury all that would be favorable to the defendants, now in the Gordon case, with the defendant a bribe giver, suborner of courts and embezzler, he excludes everything that would injure the cause of Gordon and, through him, one James J. Hill?

But with all their venal subservency, I don't believe there is another judge in Spokane who would stoop to a newspaper defense of its execrable police force.

Again: Judge Mann lies when he conveys the idea that his hearing of I. W. W. cases was fair and impartial, or anything but high-handed, arbitrary and prejudiced, though the poor fool may be ignorant of it this time.

BRUCE ROGERS SOUNDS WARNING.

Dear Comrade Editor:

I am advised that a tentative agreement has been reached between the Industrial Workers of the World and the authorities in the Spokane Free Speech fight. I am the last person on earth to criticize the acts of the suffering men and women in charge of the fight there, but I must be pardoned an expression of deep misgiving.

I have not the slightest confidence in the world in any promise made by the lecherous labor-baiting bunch in charge of that woful city's unhappy affairs, especially in any promise of deferred performance. They have proven their treachery to the working class over and over again, and their utter dog-like subservency to the Washington Water Power Company and certain bootstrapping interests about whose pleased knees they fawn and whine.

You should, in this contingency, sound a warning of no uncertain portent to these "valet persons" that if bad faith is shown on their part, the matter will simply be fought all over again with tenfold vigor. We are gaining accretions everywhere and by November will be able to put up such a fight as we never have before.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
BRUCE ROGERS.

trary and prejudiced, though the poor fool may be ignorant of it this time.

The proof is documentary. Examine it. After this profound jurist had handed down his now renowned decision declaring the right of free speech to be "inherent, God-given and inalienable," and releasing Thompson, the police, knowing no orders except those of "business men," proceeded to arrest every one who so much as attempted to exercise the right, and booked them at the station for violating the street-speaking ordinance.

Now this booking process compares in police court jurisprudence to the indictment or information in the "higher courts," and the charge is specified by the officer making the arrest or a witness accompanying him.

Judge Mann witnessed none of the arrests, knew nothing of the commission of the offense, yet he ordered the charges changed to "disorderly conduct." He could just as consistently have issued a warrant for the King of Zanzibar! Maybe a judge can bring his own indictments in causes to be heard before him, and still be fair.

I attempted to defend most of the cases until I myself was arrested and imprisoned, and I want to say here that in not one case out of a dozen was I allowed to argue in defense, or so much as allowed to interrogate the prosecuting witness touching the elements of the offense charged.

The proceedings in Judge Mann's court filled me with feelings of disgust and contempt I will never survive. At one stage of the trials he blurted out that he believed the employment agents were the cause of all the trouble, and yet he sweetly punished their victims, and let the real offenders go free. What a beating of tom-toms and fetch in the name of Justice!

And he discusses the merits of the struggle. He lies again. We violated no law, nor did we ever seek to override the city's laws. We knew there was no law against speaking on the street because had not the hypocrite Mayor himself addressed a vast multitude, completely blocking the streets and sidewalks? And Mr. Bryan? And Mr. Taft? We spoke on the streets when arbitrarily forbidden to do so.

Considerable opposition and apprehension have been excited by the agreement entered into by the I. W. W. in Spokane with the Capitalist authorities of that city relative to the contest for Free Speech. We have called it a Treaty of Peace, for that is what it amounts to. Both sides met, by responsible delegates, and formally agreed to certain terms and conditions to be observed by the warring classes involved.

As shown by Foster's despatch published in this issue of "The Workingman's Paper," there were four questions involved, on each of which definite stipulations were entered into by the representatives of Capital: (1) The I. W. W. should be unmolested in their Hall meetings in Spokane; (2) They should be unmolested in the publication of their paper in Spokane; (3) The I. W. W. prisoners now in jail for whatever reason, Disorderly Conduct, Vagrancy, Conspiracy, should be gradually released within 30 days; (4) A reasonable street-speaking ordinance should be passed by the city council within a short time, exact date not set.

In another column will be found the very temperate account of the negotiations leading up to this treaty, issued by the I. W. W. It is in marked contrast with some of the evasive and misleading reports published in the Capitalist dailies in Spokane and sent out by the reporters of the Press Associations, which are evidently intended to let the Spokane officials down easy.

The I. W. W. can easily afford to let the Capitalists bluster and strut and crow, if that makes them feel better. The only thing Labor need concern itself about is that Capital keeps its Treaty obligations, especially that concerning the adoption of a new and reasonable street speaking ordinance by the city council. If they dodge that, the fight must be fought all over again. Yet we are assured by those who represented the I. W. W. in the conferences which preceded the Treaty, that the Capitalist officials, all of them, showed the greatest eagerness to reach some settlement, and the Labor Committee are quite confident that Capital is acting in entire good faith and that the agreement in respect to the ordinance will be carried out to the letter.

It should not be forgotten that back in November, when a delegation of citizens met the Council's Committee, and the latter refused to consider the question of a new ordinance, the Councilmen declared they would act only when requested to do so by the Executive department of the city. Now that Executive, Mayor Pratt and Corporation Counsel Blair, as well as Chief of Police Sullivan and Chief of Detectives Burns, are all parties to the Treaty of Peace, including that stipulation which provides for a new ordinance.

If, after this solemn and deliberate pact, entered into with every profession of sincerity by the official representatives of Capital with the official representatives of Labor, the Capitalist officials shall break faith with respect to the street speaking ordinance, even to the extent of passing an ordinance which is UNreasonable, then, by all the rules of honorable warfare, by defiance of law. It can hardly afford to add to that infamous reputation that the ethics which Capitalists have themselves announced as sacred and inviolate, the authorities of Spokane will stand convicted of a depth of perfidy and treachery unheard of even in Russia or Spain. Spokane has already made itself famous, or infamous, throughout the world by its brutalities and of deliberate violation of the most solemn treaty obligations.

JUDGE MANN DEFENDS SPOKANE

Apologetic Review of the I. W. W. Free Speech Fight by the Police Judge of Spokane, Reprinted from "Spokesman-Review" of Sunday, March 6, 1910. With Stinging Reply by Bruce Rogers, Attorney Who Defended First I. W. W. Cases Before Judge Mann, afterward Arrested and Imprisoned for 10 Days for Carrying a Letter from the Postoffice to an I. W. W. Prisoner.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Spokane has been so disgraced by its treatment of workmen in the past four months that even within its own borders an apology and explanation was demanded; so we are treated to the spectacle of a judge on the bench driven by public sentiment to issue an elaborate defense of his own judicial actions and have it printed in the Sunday papers. We give it in full for the benefit of our readers. But we challenge the "Review" or any other Spokane daily to republish Bruce Rogers' reply, which follows Mann's article on this page.

The whole disgraceful affair boils down to this:

Spokane capitalists and officials determined to stop Free Speech on their central streets because the I. W. W. was growing too fast, and spreading revolutionary ideas too fast by their addresses to crowds of workmen on those central streets. Hence the city council passed an ordinance making it illegal to speak on any streets within the fire limits. They knew this ordinance would be held constitutional by the highest courts. It was a legal way to deny Free Speech and suppress a dangerous Labor organization. When the I. W. W. met this ordinance in the only possible way, by deliberately violating it in order to concentrate public attention upon this legal denial of Free Speech and thus secure its repeal, the authorities resorted to those brutal and illegal practices which have now made the name of Spokane infamous throughout the world. Neither Judge Mann nor any other can wash out those blood stains. The Working Class will never forget Spokane. Its name has become synonymous with Russia and Spain.

Judge Mann's Story

In March, 1909, at which time an ordinance prohibiting the holding of meetings, making or doing anything upon the public streets of Spokane, within the fire limits, which would tend to draw a crowd, was in existence, the organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World, through action of that body, entered upon a crusade called "The Fight for Free Speech," and deliberately violated the ordinance in different parts of the city simultaneously. Between 50 and 60 men were arrested, among them Thomas H. Walsh, acknowledged to be an authorized organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World.

(Judge Mann's accuracy is tested here. Walsh's name was not Thomas at all. It was "J. H. Walsh."—Ed.) The men arrested were brought before me as police justice were tried,

and, in practically every case, convicted, the defendants admitting that they had attempted to make speeches on the public streets for the sole purpose of being arrested. Several days after the defendants had been committed to jail they began to negotiate with the chief of police and myself for their release.

Promise to Drop Fight.

After the conference, at which were present the executive committee of the organization, the mayor, corporation counsel and the chief of police, the matter was presented to me, whereupon I stated that, provided the men as individuals, the executive committee of the organization and the men as members of it, would promise on their word of honor to refrain from violating the law, the case against Walsh could be appealed to the higher courts and a final decision obtained as to the validity of the ordinance. The men were released, having given their promise.

The case of Walsh was appealed to the higher court, where the ordinance was upheld as constitutional, and notice of appeal to the Supreme Court given by the defendant. However, for some reason the appeal was never prosecuted, Walsh leaving this part of the country in the meantime.

The men who had been imprisoned and released, as agreed, kept their promises until new agitators appeared on the scene, the latter alleging and using as an argument to the rank and file that the Spokane authorities had not treated them fairly for the reason that the Walsh case had never been taken to the Supreme Court. This was not a fair statement of fact, as it was the duty of the defendant to prosecute his own appeal, and it was incumbent upon him to see that the case was brought before the Supreme Court.

Superior Court Sustains.

After the Superior Court sustained the ordinance under which Walsh and others had been convicted, which ordinance prohibited, as already noted, the doing of anything by any one which would tend to draw a crowd, various religious organizations appealed to the city council, requesting the members to pass an ordinance which would permit them to use the streets, and after a short time such an ordinance was adopted. It prohibited the use of those streets mentioned by every one except religious organizations, who might be given permits by the mayor.

Finally, after sensational articles had appeared in various organs of anarchistic tendencies an appeal was made to the rank and file of many organizations to congregate in Spokane last fall, and among these that came from afar was James Thompson, who admitted that he was a deputy organizer of the I. W. W.

Thompson violated the ordinance prohibiting the use of the streets, except by various religious organizations, early in October. He was arrested and his case set for trial on November 2. Immediately after the case was set for trial, notices were sent to all parts of the country urging men to come to Spokane for the purpose of celebrating "Free Speech Day," and expressing the intention of compelling the authorities to annul the ordinance and give them the use of the streets.

Rule Ordinance Invalid. A demurrer to the validity of the