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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves
of Capital to Vote Their
Own Emancipation

Ninth Year—No. 410

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, February 6, 1909

Price Five Cents

SHARP DEBATE AT CHICAGO

Washington Case at National Convention -- Attempt to Declare Washington Unorganized -- State Autonomy Defended by Berger--Spicy Speeches by Goebel, Hutcheson, Brown, Herman, Wagenknecht, Boomer and Others -- Verbatim Stenographic Report -- Principles and Tactics Involved -- Should Be Read By Every Party Member.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

(Afternoon Session, Sunday, May 10.)
Del. Solomon (N. Y.): presented the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials met, with the following comrades present: Reilly, New Jersey; Untermyer, Idaho; Clark, Texas; Berlyn, Illinois; Graham, Montana; Tuck, California; Solomon, New York; Boomer, Washington; and Gaylor, Wisconsin.

Clark of Texas was elected chairman, and Solomon secretary.

The Committee took up first the unorganized delegates, and ask to report as follows:

Here follows list of delegates from various states.

The next case was the state of Washington. There has been correspondence filed with the national secretary from the provisional committee of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington. The committee did not go into the merits of the controversy, but recommends for the present the temporary seating of the delegates from the State of Washington, as follows: Emil Herman, Richard Krueger, John Downie, Alfred Wagenknecht, George E. Boomer, and E. J. Brown.

Moved, seconded, to concur in the recommendations of the Committee. Carried.

(Afternoon Session, Monday, May 11.)
Carey, of Massachusetts, Chairman.

The Convention was called to order at 2 p. m.

The Chairman: The first business will be the supplementary report of the Committee on Credentials. Comrade Solomon will read the report for the Committee.

With reference to the Washington contested delegation, the Committee makes the following report:

MAJORITY REPORT ON WASHINGTON CASE.

Whereas, the Provisional Committee of the Socialist Party in Washington present no delegates to be seated in this convention, and inasmuch as the matter of their recognition as a Socialist organization is still being passed upon by the National Executive Committee, this Committee does not consider that it has any jurisdiction in the matter and can only recommend that these delegates who have presented proper credentials be seated.

We further recommend that the National Executive Committee be called upon to take up the matter at once and report its findings and recommendations to the national convention.

The Chairman: If there is no objection we will take up the report of the Credentials Committee serially.

Del. Reilly (N. J.): I am a member of that Committee, and have a minority report. A minority of the committee desires to make a minority report. I have placed in the hands of your secretary a copy of the minority report which I wish to have read to this convention.

The Secretary: There are two minority reports.

Del. Reilly: This is the minority report on the Washington contest. This minority agrees with the committee in all its recommendations, except one particular phase of the Washington contest. I will read the report and it will make our disagreements clear to you.

The minority report was read, differing from the majority report in that it did not favor referring to National Executive Committee.

minority report have the right idea of the subject—but I would add that the delegates take their seats in the convention and let the matter be disposed of after the convention, after the Washington comrades have sent in their request in the proper manner for a referendum vote in that State.

GOEBEL HOT

Del. Goebel (N. J.): Now, Mr. Chairman and Comrades, I think I have an intelligent reason for opposing this motion. As a national organizer I have been twice to the State of Washington. I have no interest whatever in either side of this controversy, but I like the rest of you, have a great interest in the Socialist cause, and the spread of Socialist principles.

I stand here—and I know what will be the consequences of standing here, in my work as organizer, from those whom I oppose, and yet I stand here and put on record my candid judgment that the Socialist movement in Washington has been paralyzed by the action of those who call themselves Socialists. I stand here and say that as organizer I found my work interfered with repeatedly by those who were supposed to be the organization. I worked like a dog to overcome the consequences of the action of those who called themselves Socialists. The State Committee arranged my route, and three days later I saw letters written by those same people knocking me and urging that they insist that I be taken out of the state. Under such circumstances, something is wrong. Why should we not deal with the matter now? I know the obstructionists up there, and their one purpose is delay.

Let us deal with the matter right now and get the Socialist movement in Washington in shape to go forward in this presidential campaign. Let us put the "leaders" on both sides in the hole, and get down to the rank and file. Why should we defer? Right here in Chicago we have the representatives of both sides. On the one side we have the ablest men they have, with the exception of Titus. They can state their side; the committee can hear them. On the other hand we have Hutcheson, the leader on the other side, a man that has sacrificed a great deal for the Socialist movement—he can talk for that side.

If you leave it to the National Executive Committee to deal with after the convention, there will be a mass of correspondence and a great deal of necessary delay. The next thing you know the presidential campaign is upon us, and matters not being settled our work will not go forward in Washington as it ought. The rank and file on both sides feel that both sides ought to agree to immediate action. We don't know which side is right, but we do know there is wrong on both sides. I suggest, therefore, that being the case, that we declare Washington unorganized, so that the national secretary can ask of the rank and file of Washington to say who they really want, whether it is the Titus crowd or the other crowd, and let it be decided so that in one month or six weeks we will have everything going along in a straight line.

Del. Gaylor (Wis.): There is a very logical reason why as a member of the credentials committee I support this recommendation of the committee: Comrade Hutcheson came before the committee; we said, "What evidence have you?" He said, "The evidence is in the national office." We asked why they had not got it, and the answer was that it was addressed to the National Executive Committee. It was understood that the National Executive Committee would hold its session previous to the session of the convention. They voted not to do so. Their vote not to hold their meeting previous to the convention was taken at a time after this material was addressed to them. Consequently it was not competent for us to receive mail addressed to the National Executive Committee. At any rate we did not feel that we had any authority to call for it and take the matter out of their hands. Now then, the comrades are here from both sides. We feel that the time to attend to this is now, while they are all here. The matter is of national importance, and the comrades are all here. The committee do not feel that it is their business to decide a matter which the constitution says shall be handled by the National Executive Committee. We therefore ask that they take it up, address themselves to it at once and report to this convention.

Del. Clark (Texas): It is true that there are merits on both sides. To go away from this convention without considering the contesting delegations I believe would be a crime against the Socialist Party of Washington. Any organization that will come all the way from Washington here in the effort to do something to harmonize the differences that now exist in Washington and demand that it be threshed out in this convention, certainly have some strong reason for making this effort.

Now, comrades, if I had known that the National Executive Committee was going to turn down the consideration of this question I never would have decided as I did. It was the object of our recommendation that this question should be settled by the National Executive Committee. We can run this convention without them while they settle this important question. Let them bring their evidence back here to this convention and report it; and, for God's sake, let us not have another Nebraska question.

Del. Osborne (Cal.): I move a substitution for the whole, that the delegates from Washington be seated in full in this convention. (Seconded; lost.)

Minority report rejected. Majority report adopted.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Morning Session, Tuesday, May 12.)
Slayton, of Pennsylvania, Chairman.

Del. Cowan (Ohio): I move that we have the report of the Executive Committee on the Washington affair.

The motion was seconded and carried.

REPORT ON WASHINGTON CASE.

The National Executive Committee then made the following report:

Del. Work (Iowa): The committee met last evening to pass upon this matter. We have a report to present, and in order to make the report clear I would like to read the amendment to the national constitution adopted last November, which was sought to be invoked in this case. The amendment is as follows:

"In case of controversy in any State as to the validity of the title of its officers and the question of recognition by the national organization, a referendum of the membership of the state to determine the question may be taken in the following manner: A call signed by not less than one-third of the total membership of the state in good standing at the time the controversy arose, asking the National Executive Committee to take a referendum of the said state membership for the election of officers for the positions in dispute, shall be filed with the National Secretary. Upon receiving such call the National Executive Committee shall take a referendum of the membership of said state for the election of officers for the positions in dispute. All locals appearing on the state list at National headquarters in good standing at the time the controversy arose shall be privileged to make nominations, and all members in good standing at that time shall be entitled to vote."

The National Executive Committee decided that this amendment is not retroactive. It was adopted in November, 1907. I will now read the report:

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GOEBEL STILL HOT

Del. Goebel (N. J.): I have no desire to stir up controversy, but because I have no desire to stir up controversy I believe in meeting this thing right here and now. Seven members of the National Executive

Committee that could have given us something positive one way or the other, have come in here with a beautifully worded program and everybody gets the glad hand. It does not amount to shucks in Washington. I have been in Washington and I tell you that all that this action of the National Executive Committee does is simply to say that a fight is going on. I stand here to tell you, no matter what you do, I stand here to make a prophecy that if this convention adjourns without taking definite action one way or the other in the case of Washington, then inside of a month you will read in the party press of another row in Washington. We have got to deal with this situation. I have already been notified as to what will happen to me as National Organizer for what I said; that they have got my record from New Jersey. Well, I have faced the capitalists, and I am not afraid of a few Socialists that try those tricks. I challenge any National Organizer that has been in the State of Washington.

Del. A. M. Simons: I rise to a point of order. I do not think Del. Goebel has been criticized, and there is no use wasting time on that.

Del. Goebel: I knew you would raise that point.

The Chairman: If a speaker wishes to waste his time let him waste it. Proceed.

Del. Simons: Then I appeal from the decision of the chair, because such a ruling would wipe out all regularity.

Del. Goebel: You need not decide the point, because I will try to keep within the bounds that he seems to want me to keep in. I am trying to make a point. I want to be distinctly understood that I am not here favoring either faction, for I have got through absolutely with them. But I believe both sides have made mistakes. I believe both sides are absolutely honest. Both sides simply made the mistake of believing that some power above has ordained them masters to save the Socialist rank and file in Washington from being stolen by some crooked capitalist method. That being the case, both sides have made mistakes and properly having come here and stated that they are unable to settle these factional fights within the state, we have got to go to the national office to step in and adjust. If this convention should give a decision like that in Nebraska, and say, "We make no reflections on either side; we do not know who is wrong; we do not care to mix in this fight, but we do know that Washington is a magnificent possibility with some of the finest members in the ranks on both sides; and we want all to work together; therefore, in the interest of peace, we, the National Convention, step in, Washington, we say, to them that we are temporarily going to declare that state unorganized; we are going to send this to a vote of the rank and file in Washington to say who they want for state officers, and when that decision has been put on record we are going to stand with the crowd that has got a majority in the referendum." Is there anything wrong about that? My friends claim to be regular. I call your attention to this: read the state constitution of Washington. They think we have a democratic organization. In that state the State Secretary is not nominated by the rank and file. The State Committee is not nominated by the rank and file; it is nominated by a delegate body, a state convention. If I control the State Committee I will say whose delegates shall sit in the State Convention. If I control the State Convention I will nominate the candidates, and when I have nominated them I will say to the rank and file, "Vote for my nominees." That is the situation in Washington. Regular, of course they are regular, but regular under those circumstances. You can do as you see fit, but you are simply putting off the day for this national action, for the National Executive Committee to step in, not taking sides with either side, but saying to the rank and file who claim they have not been given a chance to say who is regular, that we will settle that; we will have a vote of that rank and file, and then make them stand by that vote of the rank and file. What did they tell us? They told us on this side that they have got 93 locals. If they have, they have got them in a hurry; they didn't have them when I was there. They say, "You have got a grievance." If I have got a grievance I challenge every other National Organizer that has gone to Washington in the last three years to stand up and tell whether my grievance is a personal grievance. They say they have 93 locals with a membership of 1400 or 1500. The other side claim a membership of 700. If that is the case, with 1500 on one side and 700 on the other, what have they to lose by a referendum? Nothing at all. That being the case, they themselves should consent to a referendum. They would lose none of their rights when the national officers were conducting that affair. They simply get their settlement direct instead of indirect. They say, "We don't want the stigma of being declared unorganized." We are not here for sentiment; we simply want to do the best we can, and the best way to do it is through the National Committee, so that both sides will feel that they have got a square deal. You take this case and I will show you local after local in Washington whose members are already completely disgusted and say it is no use doing anything. All you have to do is to go to their state constitution, and that settles it. We believe in fair play; let us show it. They say they have 1500. All right; put the 1500 up against the other 700 and get a square count and see whether they have 1500.

Del. Berlyn (Ill.): I am in favor of the adoption of the report of the

committee, for I could hardly see from the statement made by our National Executive Committee-member Work how they could do anything else. Then, besides, they say, "We have got a constitution." This demand that came to us—which I did not even oppose in the Nebraska case, but I have got serious doubts about its judgment—of reorganizing every state and making threats to the conflicting factions, where will we stop? Let us pass a general resolution and reorganize, and we will be up in the air. We have got a wise provision of state autonomy. Even if you confined the controversy to the state where it exists you will prevent the party as a whole from getting mixed in it. In Washington it seems to me they have a fine lot of fish to fry. I do not admire much, either, the way they work it. Some of the people on either side I am perfectly disgusted with, but I feel willing to let that trouble stay in Washington; I do not want any of it in Illinois, and I do not believe anybody wants it settled except in their own State so that they can work harmoniously. I believe the report of the committee ought to be adopted and get over with it.

Now, as regards the National Organizers and their particular privilege about saying what is wanted, I am kind of long in the movement, and I will tell you that the force that tended to the disintegration of the S. L. P. was too much interference by National Organizers in local affairs. (Applause.) I was State Organizer in this State, and when a National Organizer came in he simply set you aside and he was the boss of the occasion. We have no more of that. Experience has taught us that we want to get away from that kind of game. I believe the report of the committee ought to be accepted as it is made.

Del. Josephine R. Cole (Cal.): If you are going to have a democratic movement, and at the same time have a centralized authority which will continually interfere with local affairs, you will have trouble. Comrades, you cannot settle local affairs by interference from national authority. If you settle it once, it will break out again. We are told that the State of Washington has a constitution that is not democratic. Then I want to say to you that if the Socialists of Washington are not capable of taking hold of that situation themselves and framing a constitution that is in accordance with Socialist principles, you cannot make one for them. (Applause.) Comrades, we might have the same thing happen in California tomorrow. If you are going to interfere with the organization it will tend to provoke a division. This proposition is offered for the sole purpose of having your National Committee interfere with the organization. Leave the local members to settle it for themselves. If a State has trouble let the State settle it themselves, but do not admit a state into your National organization unless it has a constitution in accordance with Socialist principles. See to it that it is admitted, and see to it that it is framed reasonably in accordance with the Socialist program. You cannot settle the affair. You simply throw Washington out. I thank you for your attention.

Del. Lewis (Ill.): Comrade Chairman and Fellow Delegates: Comrade Goebel says, "I have been in Washington." So have I—longer than Comrade Goebel, and especially in the city of Seattle, which is the scene of this conflict. I am sorry to hear any delegate on this floor denounce either of these sides as a capitalist gang. (Applause.) Such a statement, and the fact that Comrade Goebel uses such terms, shows—

Del. Goebel: I rise to a point of order, that I made no such point; that I purposely said both sides were honest, that they were afraid of a capitalist gang stealing them.

The Chairman: The point is well taken.

Del. Lewis: I stand corrected. I apologize to Comrade Goebel for the misunderstanding. (Applause.)

The Chairman: All right; go ahead.

Del. Lewis: I left the State of Washington to come East, or to go South on my way East, because I could not agree to work with the present delegation, so that I am not prejudiced in their favor. But the first day I arrived in the State of Washington to work as a State lecturer for the regular State Committee, the protestants against the present delegation, before I had been in the State five hours, took me into a caucus and gave me to understand that the only condition upon which my work would be allowed to proceed at all in the State of Washington was that I should enter into an agreement with these same protestants to clean out the State office. (Applause.) And as a stranger I was expected to do that; and because I told them I had not come to Washington to enter into any local affairs or add to any existing disturbances, much less attempt to clean out an office, these protestants did all they could to prevent my getting dates through the regular State organization, and more than once they shut me off the streets of Seattle and I had to spend my evenings idle, when I was there for no other purpose than to propagate Socialism on the street corners. Another thing: I noticed in the headquarters at Seattle men who had their faces scratched up. I thought they had been in a cat fight; I thought they had fallen downstairs, or something, and I asked how these men came to have their faces scratched up. I discovered that the man who has traveled all the way

from Washington to protest against this delegation, every time he had a dispute in the city headquarters with any member who would not agree to his proposal, the next thing he did was to scratch up his opponent's face with his finger nails, and the membership in Seattle state that they took it because they owed this man money and he told them that if they did not accept his motions and agree to his propositions he would demand his loan back and put the organization into bankruptcy. (Laughter.) Now, I only mention these things to give you an idea of the state of affairs in Washington.

Delegate Goebel says that if we do not do this there will be another fight in Washington. No matter what you do or do not do, there will be another fight in Washington. (Applause.) And there will be fighting in Washington for years to come, and the best thing you can do in this convention is to keep your fingers out of it. (Applause.)

1 ROUND OR 49

Del. Miller (Nev.): Comrades, I have listened to this debate with a good deal of amusement. I do not know whether it is vital to the decision of this question whether anybody had his eyes scratched or not. I do not think the personal element, either the position of Comrade Goebel or the ideas of Comrade Lewis, amount to anything. There is a fight in the State of Washington and there has got to be one more round. The question is, shall that round be left to the people of Washington to scrap back and fourth through 49 rounds? As a voice, "yes" or shall we have one round under the control of the National organization, and get a final decision? The fact is that a fight is on. There is a certain kind of constitution in Washington which takes the rule of the party in Washington practically out of the hands and control of the local membership of that State, and that is absolutely contrary to every principle of party rule that we believe in. Now, shall we let that thing go on, or shall we say, "You shall take one referendum under the control of our National headquarters and settle it and settle it at once, and those who want to stay out after that are out, and out for keeps so far as the National Socialist Party is concerned." Now, when a State convention arrogates to itself to nominate candidates for State offices and they think they are doing something that they have a right to do as in the State of Washington, some other people in some other State will be trying the same thing, and I believe it is time now, if Comrade Lewis does

not want the same condition in Illinois, or if Comrade Cole does not want the same condition in California, to put a quietus upon the proposition right now.

The proposition is for us to decide, there is no question about it. The national party will have a finger in the pie, whether you will or not. We cannot have a question of that kind drag along endlessly, destroying the propaganda, and the power of our comrades in Washington. I believe the question can be settled and settled right, and it will be settled right when they bring in a report that will settle every phase of the question. It is a resolution deciding nothing would have no effect; it does not change the situation at all. That resolution is a good one. It is provided that there shall be a referendum from the National office for the purpose of ending the State difficulty. It is proper in this case. The National office with far less reason declared the State of Nebraska unorganized, and now there is reason to declare Washington unorganized, when the condition is far much worse. I believe this motion of Comrade Lewis should not carry, and the National Executive Committee should forthwith issue a referendum to every Socialist in good standing in Washington and let the question be settled. I do not know why the comrades are opposed to a referendum vote. Is there any fear of the result? Don't we believe in it? Let them all vote, and when they have voted once it will come up again in the national councils.

Del. Boomer (Wash.): I want to ask Comrade Miller if he has read the constitution of the State of Washington?

Del. Miller: I have.

Del. Boomer: We deny that it conflicts in any way with the National constitution.

FIELDMAN COPIES MILLER'S ERROR

Del. Fieldman (N. Y.): Comrades, I am an absolute stranger to both sides of this question, and I do not believe I have got to prove that statement. I have come to a certain conclusion on the basis of the arguments that I have listened to here on this floor. I knew very little indeed about the question until I heard the comrades on each side, and I am very much impressed with what the delegate that spoke last stated here. Both sides of the discussion admitted that it is time now, if Comrade Lewis does

We devote almost this entire issue of "The Socialist" to a reproduction of the full debate on the Washington case at the Chicago National Convention, last May (1908). It is pretty late news, we admit. The only reason we have not printed it long ago was, the "Proceedings" were not published earlier. For some unexplained reason, it took nearly nine months to publish these "Proceedings" instead of nine weeks which should have been the extreme limit. (There was no impossibility in getting them out in nine days even.) John M. Work is the Editor and must be held responsible.

Late as it is the book should be read in full by all Party members. We can never have an intelligent conduct of Party affairs until the rank and file acquaint themselves with all the details of Party management. For example, the Texas amendment to the Constitution, just voted on, providing for a most cumbersome, expensive and unintelligible method of electing our National officers, has quite likely carried. If it has, the reason is, the individual members of the Party are so "easy" and ignorant of practical Party politics that they vote for anything anybody proposes.

That is the kind of "democracy" which politicians of the old type always like. Demagogues shout for "democracy" in order to destroy Democracy. An ignorant rank and file can always be "worked" by demagogic politicians and selfish leaders.

Therein lies one evil of a Big Party, including "all who vote the Socialist ticket." Such a pronounced unenlightened membership can always be handled by a few unscrupulous conspirators, just as the Republican and Democratic parties are necessarily handled.

The rank and file of those parties, with or without Primary Laws, are helpless, precisely because those organizations are so loose and unorganized. Their conventions are cut and dried, registering the will of the few, accepting Platform and candidates previously agreed upon, followed by 70 minutes of manufactured applause, a hideous nightmare of Democracy.

The Opportunist Ideal of a Socialist Party, loosely hung together, no dues paying, free for all, no "discipline," no quarrels, no hard and fast rules of any kind, everybody free-lancing, all individuals enjoying "liberty" this ideal would result in the same undemocratic control by the scheming few as exists in the Capitalist parties.

Our only salvation is a rank and file which thinks, studies, becomes intimately acquainted with Party tactics, a membership in fact of trained Socialist politicians. That is why Union men make good Socialists. They have learned what Organization means. They know the ropes. They cannot be duped by bourgeois tricks.

So we say, let every Party member "get next" to such proceedings and discussions as are found in this issue of "The Socialist." This paper's first aim is now, as always, to educate the membership of the Socialist Party in those principles and tactics which will consolidate an invincible political organization, knowing exactly what it is after and able to act as one man, to seize what it is after.

The same fight on a smaller scale is on now in Washington against the Proletarian organization which was conducted so long by Hutcheson. Only now a new emissary, Parks, spends all his time and energies to create dissension and prejudice exactly as Hutcheson did for so many years. It will be noticed that Hutcheson's plea to the National Convention given below might well find its place in Brown's "Suppressed Facts." The two are as like as two peas in the same pod.

We believe much of the vigor and growth of the Washington Socialist Party is due to the repeated struggles it has undergone to prevent the management from passing into the hands of the Reformists. If the Party in Illinois, for example, had put up the same Proletarian fight as we have in Washington, it would now be as conspicuous in organization and votes as Washington is, instead of having to explain its deterioration. Chicago and Illinois are led by Opportunists just as Seattle and Washington are led by Revolutionists. There everything is peaceful. Here everything is militant. But the Proletarian fighters will get there, as they always will when they fight intelligently. And the Middle Class peacemakers and "Christians" go the way of their class—to Oblivion.

situation in the State of Washington, and they both admitted, or claimed, rather, that what was wrong with the situation of the Socialist Party in the State of Washington is that a certain number of comrades or some member of a committee, or commission, if you please, has the power to determine the methods and manner in which questions are to be decided or voted upon or determined in that State. That is to say—

Del. Brown (Wash.): A point of order. No member from Washington has presented his case, and those are not the facts; there is no such power in the State of Washington.

WANJIS "THE LAW"

Del. Fieldman: It was stated on this floor that some sort of a committee had control of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington. It does seem to me that those who have come here with that charge should have armed themselves with the detailed facts. What is the law? I am anxious to hear that law, and on the basis of that it seems to me we ought to act. If it be true that the Socialist Party of the State of Washington the membership has no power to control the acts of the whole party, that they cannot submit questions to a referendum vote whenever they see fit to do so, then it is up to us to settle that question. If it is possible for any number of members that are in a minority to absolutely control the will of the majority, or rather defeat the will of the majority in the State of Washington, then it is impossible to settle that fight in Washington unless the National organization takes charge of the question and submits the proposition to a referendum in that State under its control and thereby learns the opinion, the will and the desire of every member in the State of Washington of the Socialist Party. (Applause.) I submit, Mr. Chairman and delegates, that it is necessary that the opinion and desire of every member of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington be known before it is possible to settle this proposition. Now, if there be any one person here that has the law that is referred to, that it is claimed makes it impossible for the membership to govern the Socialist party in the State of Washington, I demand that that law be read here.

Del. Brown: We have it.

Del. Davies (Pa.): Let us hear the law of Washington.

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A Delegate: A question of personal privilege. Can't we have this read so as to save time?
Del. Hoehn (Mo.): Mr. Chairman—The Chairman: Comrade Hoehn has the floor.
Del. A. M. Simons (Ill.): A question of information. Will not Del. Hoehn permit this section of the law to be sent up to the secretary and read? I ask that it be sent up and read so as to avoid the chance of any comrade being mistaken.
Del. Hoehn: Very well.
The Chairman: I think that is fair. A sheet containing the State constitution of the Socialist Party of Washington was sent to the secretary, and it was decided that the secretary should read it.
Del. Spargo (N. Y.): I rise to move that the protesters be asked to read the passages to which they object. There is absolutely no sense in asking a man who is absolutely unfamiliar with the constitution and the law to pick it out at a moment's notice. He either must read the whole thing and depend upon our picking out the passages as he reads, or we do not have any assurance that his selection will be the wise one. Now, the protesters make certain statements and charges. They contend that they have in that document a justification for their charges. It seems to me that the only logical thing is to call upon them to read the passages which they charge sustain their objection. Therefore I move that they be called upon to read the passages to which they make objections. (Seconded.)

GOEBEL AND MILLER CHALLENGED

Del. Slobodin (N. Y.): I move to amend, that Delegate Goebel of New Jersey be requested to point them out. He is the one who made the charge here, and Delegate Miller or Nevada, and it is up to them to point out the passages in the constitution and not to ask outsiders.
Del. Spargo: We accept that amendment.
The Chairman: It is accepted as the original motion. It is moved and seconded that Comrades Miller and Goebel point out the passages which they want read.
Del. Goebel: Is this debatable?
The Chairman: It is debatable.
Del. Goebel: Then I want to suggest that those who ask me to do that know perfectly well that I can't do it right now, and that is why they ask me to, unless I am very much mistaken. Now, I want to make a fair proposition, as I see it. I have made a statement and I challenge those that I have named on the Washington State delegation to deny it. Inside of twenty-four hours I have referred this very passage of the constitution to Comrade Boomer and Comrade Brown, and they have both admitted that I was right about the matter about the election of State officers, and both confessed they thought it was wrong. Both confessed to me it was wrong. Therefore they confess that what I have said is true. Even though I do not have a copy of the State constitution of Washington in my hand, I have no interest in either side. We want to act for the best interests of the National Socialist Party. I suggest that instead of having further debate from Miller, myself or anybody, we allow the Washington delegates to name somebody to take ten minutes for them to put before you their side, and then allow the other side ten minutes, and having heard both sides, then settle it.

GOEBEL STUMPED

Del. Hillquit: I do not think we ought to take this position offered by Comrade Goebel, Delegate Goebel says he cannot point out the objectionable portion. I say that any delegate who is prepared to make a charge in open convention ought to be ready to point it out. (Applause.)
Del. A. M. Simons: There is only one section there, and it will only take half a minute and it will be over with.
The Chairman: There is a motion before the house, and your chairman can do nothing but put it.
Del. Stedman: I ask now that that section be read as a point of information by the reading clerk. You always have a right to information before you vote.
The Chairman: That is correct. Your motion is to read?
Del. Stedman: I am not making a motion. I am asking for a point of information. A section has been referred to. I ask that the section referred to be read.
The Chairman: The motion is to read it. All in favor of reading say aye. Contrary. The ayes have it.
Del. Miller (Nev.): This platform is in detached pieces, but I have it marked and I am going to read it. (Reading.) "Section 8. The State committee shall elect a chairman, a

secretary-treasurer and such other officers and assistants necessary to carry on the work of the State and translate the proceedings of the State or organization into foreign languages if necessary. It shall employ—when it thinks advisable—lecturers in organized States."
Section 17 refers to the same thing, the same officers.
A Delegate: Read it.
Del. Miller (reading): "The State Secretary-treasurer, Organizer or other assistants elected by the State Committee shall, for cause other than party treason, be removed by said committee from office, subject to the same procedure." These two things are all I can find.
Del. Herman (Wash.): What is the procedure?
Del. Miller: The same as in case of troubles and—
Del. Herman: All right, we want to know what that is.
Del. Miller: Wait till I find it.
Del. Krueger (N. J.): A point of information. Our delegates would like to know how the State Committee is elected.
Del. Hoehn (Mo.): I am in favor of the adoption of this report. I believe that the report is a splendid document and I also believe it is the duty of the National organization to build a fence as high as the Rocky Mountains around the State of Washington until they are through with their fighting.

BERGER'S "ANGEL WINGS"

Del. Berger (Wis.): My voice is not in very good condition and you will do me a great favor by giving close attention. I am not going to keep you very long.
Under the present constitution the National Executive Committee could not make any different decision. It is queer also that those who opposed State autonomy so bitterly seven years ago are so very much in favor of it now. But since I am one of the originators of State autonomy that is rather flattering to me. It seems to me we have it and it is working so well that I could keep it even if it does work a little injustice in individual cases. And so it does. Here is a case where about 700 Socialists who would like to belong to the organization are kept out—and don't know why. One crowd says the other crowd is bad and then the other crowd says these are bad people. I believe to some extent they are both right. (Laughter.) I mean to say that they are both good and bad. I don't see any angel wings flapping on the delegation, when they rise as they have done. I could not help just telling my neighbor Hillquit that they knew the ropes, and when I heard the other man yesterday—he is a cook by trade and a good union man, and so forth—he has not learned the art of politics in any way, shape or manner. I thought if such a thing should happen in Chicago or New York it would be done on a different scale entirely.
A Delegate: Or even in Milwaukee.
Del. Berger: It seems to me that this is all we can do. It is all that we can do under the conditions. Their case is different from the case in Nebraska. In Nebraska there was one man with whiskers, and one man with a mustache, and one with nothing. That was about all there was left of the party in Nebraska. They did not pay any dues or anything. On the other hand, those three men kept out about 150 Socialists. Of course we could not do anything else but declare the State disorganized, because it was a fact. The State had been disorganized. But there we have a strong organization—whatever you may say about that crowd, they know how. They have an organization of about 1500 members.
Del. Brown (Wash.): Two thousand.
Del. Berger: Be careful, Brown, you only pay dues for 1500. They have an organization of 1500 and that has to be respected. In war and politics, as on the economic field, it is the real power that counts; nothing else counts. If they had only five or ten members we could have made very short work of it; but they are 1500 and you cannot do that. On the other hand, it would be a disgrace and a shame to the party if being 1500 of them they could not have sense enough and justice enough after they cooled off a little to take in the other 700.
Why, comrades, as one of the members of the Executive Committee remarked, that is a good deal more than the entire Socialist Labor Party—larger than the entire Socialist Labor Party in the entire country. (Applause.) Give me all your attention and save your applause until I am through. There they have about 700 men fully as good Socialists as the others, and they are kept out! I don't know why, it is not like them, it is not like Krueger. It is not like Brown, although he is a lawyer, and as a rule I don't like lawyers, but they are all good fellows, but it seems to me they ought not to keep out so many hundreds of Socialists. If there is any possible way let us get them in. And that is why the National Executive Committee offered its good services to unite them. Of course I would not make a very good angel of peace. I am not supposed to be a very peaceful man as a rule. I never heard my own wings flapping very hard, but we can find some suitable man to go out there and unite them. Goebel is very much of my own make-up. He is a good effective organizer, but he is too good in his opinions on a good many subjects, just the same as I am. So let us have somebody else, somebody who can unite both forces, both sides, into one strong body, so that instead of having 1500, you will have not merely 2200, because the 700 will bring 2,000 more.
I move that you accept the report of the committee, but before you do so, in justice to both sides I would ask the comrades to hear the representative of the constants. He has no horns and no hoofs. I have looked all over him. He has a good looking face as I have seen anywhere, although I am not an Irishman. Give him a chance to be heard for ten minutes, and then the other side for ten minutes, and it will not hurt anybody. I say accept the report of the committee, that is, without any change.
The Chairman: Would not our friends from Washington agree to that proposition to allow the representative from the one side to talk and then allow Washington to close the debate? Will they not consent to that? I ask the question of the delegation through Comrade Brown.
Del. Brown: I ask permission to

confer with the Washington delegation.
The Chairman: That is a sensible proposition if they agree to it. All in favor of permitting a conference of the Washington delegation say aye. The ayes have it and the permission is given.
Del. Strickland: I move that the previous question be ordered after the Washington comrades have presented their case.
A Delegate: I second the motion.
The Chairman: You have heard the motion. Shall the previous question be put at that time? All in favor will say aye. The ayes have it and it is agreed to. You will understand that the two sides are to speak and then the previous question will be ordered and then there will be four speeches to bring the debate to a close.
Del. Brown (Wash.): I submit, Mr. Chairman and delegates of this convention that Washington has been hearing its affairs discussed, and Washington has not opened its mouth in its own defense. In justice to myself, in justice to the Socialist movement in Washington in its relation with the Socialist movement throughout the world, I now ask that Washington be given an opportunity before this convention to wash its own linen, and after your minds have been disillusioned of the charges that have been made, you can give us your cool solid judgment, and Washington will yield to the judgment of the Socialist Party. But we want an opportunity to be heard in our own defense, and we ask that we be not shut out until we have had that full opportunity.
Del. Krueger (Wash.): I second the motion.
Del. Morgan (Ill.): I move that the Washington delegation, this being a trouble in their own state, to place their whole case before the convention.
The Chairman: How much time?
A Delegate: Ten minutes.
Del. Morgan: I think they ought to have as much time as they deem necessary to place the facts before the convention.
Del. Strickland: I move to amend by making it twenty minutes for each side.
A Delegate: I second the motion.
The Secretary: It is moved that the Washington delegation have twenty minutes and that the other side have twenty minutes also. All in favor of the amendment will say aye. Those opposed, no. The amendment is carried. All in favor of the motion as amended will say aye. Those opposed, no. It is agreed to. The protesting side starts off. Who speaks for the other side?
Comrade Hutchison: I wish to speak on that side.
Del. Brown: Mr. Chairman, a point of information. While Comrade Hutchison is taking the platform I wish to ask if the Washington delegation will have twenty minutes and our accusers twenty minutes and then after the question has been put there will be two five minute speeches on each side?
The Chairman: That is correct.

TITUS DID IT

Comrade Hutchison: In the state of Washington there has been a controversy going on for a good many years. That controversy first started when Dr. Herman F. Titus entered the Socialist Party. It has been going on ever since, but not so bitterly during the time that he left and took his paper from there and went to Caldwell; but after he came back again the old bitter fight was taken up and it is on now. There are certain things that we comrades who are on the outside of the party deem illegal there, and we think that we are illegally deprived of our rights to be members of the Socialist Party.
Comrade Herman last night stated before the National Executive Committee that I was an undesirable, and should not be a member of the Socialist Party, and they did not want me as a member of the Socialist Party, and others he named there who are with us.
Now I want to state a few facts here to show why there is a contention that there is an illegality there in the State of Washington.
In 1906, about June or July, the unions and some others held a convention. It was called a labor union convention. A great many of our boys were anxious to see what the rank and file would do in a party called the Labor Temple. When they got there they found they could not enter, as an individual was standing there handing them cards on which was written "I, the undersigned, pledge myself to support the candidate or nominee, nominated at this convention," then giving the name, address, occupation and date. Well, they were stumped, but one of the boys said "Pshaw, I am going to write a fictitious name, a fictitious occupation, a fictitious address, and go in." So he did. Comrades Wagenknecht and Callahan charged against three of those members. We tried two of them and it was proved by Comrade Wagenknecht's own statement that when a division of the house, was called for so they had to show who was taking part in the convention, these comrades—not only these three but some nine or ten or eleven others, got up and walked out of that convention, and showed in that way that they had not been taken into the convention.
The charges against the comrades were treason. We rendered a verdict that they had not committed treason. The only two votes against that were those of Comrades Callahan and Wagenknecht. Comrade Wagenknecht was the chairman of the local quorum. That is made up of five members of the state committee. And Comrade Wagenknecht took the decision up from the local to the local quorum, and there they had a resolution to revoke the charter of Local Seattle, and the state committee revoked the charter of Local Seattle by a vote of something like nine to six. There are fifteen members.

Prior to the revocation of the charter of Local Seattle, Comrade Wagenknecht was a member of Local Seattle. He took a transfer of his membership from membership in Local Seattle, which was under charges, to membership at large. Two members of the local quorum denied him that right. Two members gave him that right; so there was a tie, and he as chairman voted himself a membership at large and thereby retained himself as a member of the Socialist Party, giving himself the right as judge and jury to decide our fate. Now, there was nothing in the state constitution that deprived us of the rights of voting, and nothing in the national constitution, but there are passages there that state that any

member in good standing shall have the right to vote on referendum.
They did not deny Local Spokane—when they revoked the charter of Local Spokane—the right to vote whether they should be put out, but when it came to Local Seattle, Local Seattle that had 388 members in good standing and some 500 or 600 more that would have been in good standing, they denied us the right to vote on whether or not the state committee should be sustained in revoking the charter.
They refused to send ballots to us. There was a referendum sent out asking that question of the rank and file, and the rank and file decided that we were to be deprived of that right. Another referendum was called as to whether or not Comrade Wagenknecht should hold the chairmanship of the Local Quorum, and transfer it to membership at large, and that they voted down, voting "No." There was another referendum as to whether or not Comrade Wagenknecht's action in the Local Quorum could be sustained or not; and it was not sustained.
Now, during this time some members of Local Seattle who were on the other side, Comrade Callahan and others, not Comrade Wagenknecht, because he was a member at large, they asked for a charter for a local in Seattle, pending the time when the rank and file should decide whether our charter was revoked or not. Two members of the Local Quorum gave them the right, and two voted against it, and Comrade Wagenknecht as chairman, and an interested party, gave them the charter. Then he transferred the membership to membership at large and he was a member in good standing as judge and jury in our case.
At the 1906 convention a resolution was passed stating that in the opinion of this convention all acts of the Local Quorum and of the State Committee where Wagenknecht voted and where his vote was a decided factor, were illegal and void. That was passed by referendum. I think they have it over there.
Now, when this question came up whether or not another charter could be granted to a local, a referendum was called on that and the rank and file decided it could not. Therefore, there did not exist a second local in the city of Seattle, but this referendum was counted the evening before the state convention. The next morning at nine o'clock the state convention convened.
Some time after the counting of these referendum votes, between ten and eleven o'clock or possibly near twelve o'clock in the morning, after one member, J. C. Robbins, had left the Local Quorum, Comrade Wagenknecht and some others re-granted this charter to a few that were there and had by a resolution ratified the delegates that the organization had elected previously as the delegates to the state convention.
The next day at the state convention, they, with the aid of the members at large, had a majority in the convention so that these members at large had full power there, and by that they organized the convention, elected their own credentials committee, seated themselves, and went to work to fix up the situation and everything there to suit themselves.
I will admit, comrades, that we have been easy. It takes a working man a long time to learn some of these things and we have had against us Comrade Titus, one of the slickest parliamentarians, assisted by a few more like himself, that ever came into the pike. When there is a motion put before the house, they can bring up more points of order, more subsidiary resolutions, amendments, and amendments to the amendment, than you ever heard of. And we often didn't know where we were at.
But we have learned a good deal. We have graduated from that school. We have got to the point now where we cannot get into this party any more. By their acts, they say, that it is impossible for us to get back into the party. They state that I am undesirable and they don't want to have me in.
When one of the members of the National Executive Committee asked him if there weren't a good many of the seven hundred who were all right, he said he thought that some were, and then when he asked if the makeup of the seven hundred was any different from the makeup of their party, well, he said he couldn't say that they were.
Those who want an organization in the State of Washington of 1,500, but of 4,000 or 5,000, or 6,000, we, who have given him his health and we, who are not against them, we are asking admission to the Socialist Party. We want admission to the Socialist Party, and that is what we are going to get, I don't care if it takes two or three or four, or five, or even ten more years.
You can turn us down in this convention, and I will tell you, we will come back here four years from now, if we are not then in the party, fighting to get in again." (Applause.)

LET WASHINGTON ALONE

Del. Brown (Wash.): I do not see why any men, or set of men who have fought themselves out of the Socialist Party should not be able in the same manner to fight their way back into the Socialist Party. (Applause.)
Now, gentlemen, with your kind attention—give your applause afterwards—every incident that Comrade Hutchison has related to you happened long before the national constitution was amended so that the national body could step into the State of Washington and declare our state unorganized.
What are the facts there? He has talked about Titus. Titus is the one man in the State of Washington who has given his all, his health and everything, to the Socialist movement. I am not a friend of Titus, but I am a Socialist.
Now listen, comrades. The matters concerning Wagenknecht, and what he did, let us consider that. What was the condition of the Socialist party then? The Socialist party had something like 300 or 400 members. What was the condition then? Could any one get in then? I say no and I live there. What is the condition of the Socialist party now? We have 1,500 members accounted for, dues-paying members. We have the widest organization, and the largest membership as compared to population of any state in the union.
What Comrade Herman said or what the National Executive Committee said, you can hear in them. They are here. You have not heard the evidence. You have not heard the evidence. You have heard declarations by the man interested in the final determination of this ques-

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NO PLACE FOR HISSING
Del. Wagenknecht (Wash.): I am
not going to make an oration, and I
hope you will clear your minds of
all prejudice. This is not the place
for hissing or whistling. If you are
prejudiced you cannot think, and no
Socialist should be prejudiced. Hav-
ing prejudice, you cease to think
scientifically, because no prejudiced
man is able to consider anything
scientifically.
Comrade Hutchesson claimed that
we had an autocratic organization in
Washington. The question whether
we have an autocratic organization in
Washington is not the question. The
question is does the rank and file
rule. If the rank and file rule, then
we have democratic rule, and you
vote for us. If the rank and file does
not rule, you vote against it.
Your national organization no more
than two years ago had its National
Secretary elected by the National
Committee. Your National Commit-
tee, if I am not mistaken, elected the
National Executive Committee, and
that same principle we had in Wash-
ington with the exception that our
State Committee is nominated by the
State delegate convention. They
nominated the State Committee and
the names go to a state referendum
vote. And these state committeemen
are elected by a majority vote of the
membership in the State of Wash-
ington.
I don't care what happened before
1907. We fight in Washington when
we fight, and we take all the advan-
tages we can. There is no use say-
ing anything about it. Tell me the
truth. You have all had your scraps.
You are not going to allow a man to
draw a gun on you, if you can pre-
vent it, and we do not fight that way
in Washington.
In 1906 we had a love-feast.
Hutchesson came in with us; they
helped us. But after that they were
again expelled. Expelled for what?
Expelled for refusing to try one of
their members for compromising.
That is the reason. I claim in Wash-
ington that you are either for fusion
or against fusion, and the two fac-
tions line up on that principle of
tactics.
If you should decide in favor of
Comrade Hutchesson, and that you
want him in your organization, you
can have him, but we don't want him.
Why don't we want him? We don't
want anybody, and we don't want
him, who is going around the state
organizing locals against us. He went
one place on the pretense of organiz-
ing a local of those who were ex-
pelled for voting the capitalist ticket.
We don't want him.
A Delegate: He is undesirable,
then?
Del. Wagenknecht: Certainly, he
is undesirable.
We do not ask you to listen to
orations on this matter. We ask you
to use your common sense. Comrade
Miller is a good orator. Comrade
Goebel is probably second to Com-
rade Miller, but the fact remains that
they have made assertions where
they have no proof. We make as-
sertions which we can prove.
We have our state constitution and
we know our state laws, and here is
the question: Is the Socialist Party
of the United States a party based
upon the interest of the working
class, if the Socialist Party of the
United States is a party based on the
class struggle, then the Socialist
Party of the United States must fol-
low the tactics that result from the
principles, and those tactics are anti-
fusion and no compromise.
If the Socialist Party of the United
States is that kind of a party, then
this convention must vote with the
National Executive Committee, be-
cause the regular party in Wash-
ington is anti-fusion and uncompromis-
ing.

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tion. But the National Executive
Committee has heard the evidence;
they have scrutinized the evidence;
they have passed judgment upon the
case, and they are fully competent
after hearing all the evidence and
weighing it, to pass judgment on the
case. And now you are to come
before this convention and make idle
declarations—he does—tell you
what the evidence is, but he wants
you to pass upon those idle decla-
rations in the absence of the absolute
evidence. Well, gentlemen, I can't
believe you will do it.
(At this point a low whistle was
heard from one of the delegates.)
Del. Brown: I accept that whistle,
too.
The Chairman: Perfect courtesy
will injure no man's cause; so let us
have it.
Del. Brown: The present Socialist
party of Seattle has never allowed at
any time an election to go by—they
have never at any time assembled in
convention that the labor movement
has not been always considered.
We had our headquarters in the
Labor Temple of Seattle until one
Walter Thomas Mills, by an intrigue,
drove us from the Labor Temple;
and Comrade Hutchesson was there,
aiding and abetting that work. Then
as soon as we were driven out of the
Labor Temple in Seattle, Walter
Thomas Mills took up his work in the
Labor Temple of Seattle until the
labor movement drove him out before
he had given three lectures, and we
had had that temple for months.
Five locals in the State of Wash-
ington made demand for a referen-
dum, and mind what I tell you, we
are not afraid of a referendum, al-
though we don't care for a referendum
every day before breakfast; but we
are organized and the only reason we
don't want at this time a referendum
is because the fall campaign is com-
ing on and we believe it will have
the effect of disorganizing the grand
work that these boys have done in
the months of the past.
Those things that have passed,
have passed. I tell you, if Wash-
ington is let alone, she will solve her
own problem. The Socialist party of
Washington is entitled to as good an
organization as they are competent
to get. And they are bound to have
an organization, and the only organ-
ization that can do the work in Wash-
ington is the kind of organization
they have there now.
Comrade Goebel made some re-
marks about the 'delegation from
Washington, and I presume I was the
target, but notwithstanding those de-
clarations I want to say to you that
we have been lined up and organized
upon as straight, scientific proletar-
ian and Socialist lines as exist in
the United States, or in the world.
Let us alone and we will wash our
dirty linen and wash it clean.

HERMAN ANSWERS GOEBEL
Del. Herman (Wash.): The charge
is made that the organization in
Washington is not democratic and
that our constitution is autocratic.
They have not gone so far as to say
that it is in conflict with the national
party constitution.
I wish to say first that the consti-
tution of the State of Washington
was not drawn up to suit George H.
Goebel, or Miller, or Nevada, or any
other individual. The constitution of
the Socialist Party of Washington,
was drawn up to suit the Socialist
Party membership of the State of
Washington. Goebel says that he
does not like the state committee of
the Socialist Party of Washington,
and the state committee of the So-
cialist Party of Washington does not
like George H. Goebel; and there are
other members in the State of Wash-
ington, outside of the state commit-
tee, who do not like George H. Goe-
bel, and the reason is that when
George H. Goebel came into the
State of Washington he wanted to
instruct the state committee on what
terms he should tour the state of
Washington, and the state committee
decided that they were the ones who
had authority, and they would in-
struct George H. Goebel as to the
terms under which he should tour
the State of Washington, and the
state committee of the Socialist Party
of Washington won out as it always
has done.
Del. Goebel (N. J.): If these state-
ments are made about me I shall de-
mand an opportunity to be heard in
reply.
Del. Herman: It is not a ques-
tion of whether we have a perfect or-
ganization. We are not looking for a
Moses, the wage workers of the
State of Washington who are organ-
ized in the Socialist Party, and those
who are in sympathy with the wage
working class who are organized in
the Socialist Party of Washington
need no Moses to lead them out of
the wilderness. We do not need
Herman F. Titus, or Walter Thomas
Mills, either—but in justice to Titus
I want to say this: That no man
who has been upon this platform can
point out a single instance where
Herman F. Titus has ever been disloyal
to the Socialist Party or a traitor to
the working class. That is all the
distance I want to go in respect to
Herman F. Titus.

WALTER THOS. MILLS
However, we have to fight these
people, this reform element, that is
inside the Socialist Party, and we
have fought them since the time
when the Socialist Party was first
organized in Washington. We have
fought them and beaten them in
every instance from 1900 up to 1907.
In 1906 they were taken back into
the organization, and it was through
the influence of that so-called "Little
Giant," Walter Thomas Mills, after
he had extracted from the Propa-
ganda Club, which was composed of
expelled members of Local Seattle
about a thousand dollars' worth of
property, and then when they got
into the Socialist Party the same
Tribune Publishing Company, through
the same agency, Hutchesson and
other lieutenants, sold back the lit-
erature which had been collected out
of the nickels and dimes of the work-
ing class of the City of Seattle, sold
back to the party that literature
which Mr. Mills got for nothing.
Now, this last time they thought
they had somebody who could lead
them to victory, but Walter Thomas
Mills found that in the Socialist Party
of Washington he was to meet his
Waterloo, and that he could not in-
troduce his reform ideas; and when
he was expelled from Local Seattle,
because Local Seattle refused to try
him, it was then that this element
went outside of the organization, and
now, instead of fighting from the
inside and trying to win there, they
work from outside the organization
and try to tear down what it has
taken eight years to build up.

BOOMER ON REAL ISSUE
Del. Boomer (Wash.): I don't want
to take up five minutes, but I do
want to state the reason why I have
aligned myself with the comrades of
Washington who are in the state
organization. Underneath all these
arguments, underneath all these
things that pertain to the individuals,
if you look closely you will find that
there lies underneath the question of
fundamentals the question whether
it shall be a working class movement
or a middle class muddled movement.
I have not lived in Seattle for five
years. I have been out of touch with
the so-called Titus faction and the so-
called Mills faction. I have been try-
ing to run a Socialist newspaper in a
strong Republican community.
While I lived there we all had our
little arguments occasionally, each
insisting on his conviction, yet no
reason I stand with the comrades
here is because the facts have come
to my knowledge that the organiza-
tion which now controls the party in
the State of Washington is by far the
safer, by far the more representative
of the working class movement, than
are the men who are the protestants
here, those who represent the other
side.
Mr. Hutchesson, who came down
through the valley, seeking to organ-
ize locals, paper locals, so as to make
a protest to the national committee,
he came to our town, and in the
presence of myself and my wife, who
is a member of the local, gave us
one of the reasons why he opposed
the present organization in the State
of Washington that he did not believe
a state committee should have the
power to revoke the charter of a
local, even though that local endorsed
the Republican or Democratic ticket;
and because of that I will fight bit-
terly to the end any faction, any in-
dividual, any so-called Socialist, who
stands for one moment for such a
proposition.
I have talked with those men on
the other side, and I have found that
they do not believe in the class
struggle, do not believe in drawing
the class line, and believe that it was
all right, many of them, in case the
Socialist Party had no ticket in the
field, to vote for some "good man" on
the capitalist tickets. Those are the
kind of men who are trying to break
into the Socialist movement in the
State of Washington. We do not
deny admittance to any man or any
woman, no matter what their pro-

feccion or trade, if they can prove to
the satisfaction of those who have to
vote upon them that they are not
only Socialists, but understand what
Socialism is.
I shall object as long as I have a
voice to admitting Comrade Hutch-
esson or admitting any comrade who
refuses to acknowledge the fundamen-
tals laid down by the working class
of the world in their conventions,
and refuse absolutely to admit men
who believe that a Socialist may still
have a right to vote a capitalist ticket
as it may suit their convenience.
In Prosser, Washington, some time
ago we had the necessity forced upon
us of crossing off the names of two
members of the party because at the
last city election at Prosser, despite
the fact that every member was to
write the word "Socialism" on the
ticket, because we had no ticket in
the field, two of the members delib-
erately voted for one of the capitalist
candidates, and acknowledged that
they had done it. We crossed their
names off the local. Comrade Hutch-
esson protested against such auto-
cratic action on the part of Local
Prosser and on the part of the mem-
bers of the local.

HUTCHESON FAVORS NOTHING FUNDAMENTAL
It is because of these things that I
stand where I do in the party organiza-
tion of the State of Washington. It is
a fundamental question, a question
whether you want an organization
there that stands for the wage work-
er, for the proletarian movement of
the world, or whether you want an
organization there that favors nothing
that is fundamental, that pays at-
tention to nothing except the mat-
ter of getting a large vote regard-
less of who they are or what they
know or believe about the movement.
That is the reason I stand with the
Socialist organization of the State of
Washington, because I believe that
they represent the real, true working
class expression in the Socialist move-
ment in the State of Washington, and
the others do not.
Del. Vandel Porten (N. Y.): I
listened with great interest to the
arguments on both sides of this ques-
tion, and I was deeply interested in
the statement by Comrade Hutchesson
respecting the position that they oc-
cupied in the State of Washington,
but I have concluded that the Na-
tional Executive Committee have done
the only thing possible in view of
the conditions that exist, and in view
of the statement of Comrade Hutch-
esson that he is going to break into
the Socialist Party if it takes him
ten years. That position is a mis-
take one, for neither Comrade
Hutchesson nor Comrade Mills can
break into the Socialist Party if we
and every member of the National
Committee will remember that the
time has come when we are not seek-
ing to enhance our strength by all
sorts of dickers and combinations,
having men pass through the country
organizing all the opposing factions,
using all their power to destroy our
recognized and organized locals, as
has been done in this case and in the
case of Comrade Mills in his tour
through Canada.
The principle that is involved in
this fight is the same principle that
caused the expulsion of this comrade;
it is the same principle of opportu-
nism where people demand the right
irrespective of their view or the limits
of the movement of becoming polit-
ical. I say that from what
has been said upon this floor today
there is nothing left to this conven-
tion but to endorse the action of the
National Executive Committee and
declare most emphatically that we,
the Socialist Party of America, stand
always for the class struggle, stand
always for the Socialist movement,
and the men who have given their
lives, who have given their health,
given everything they have in behalf
of Socialism, have not watched it de-
velop to the position which it now
occupies for the mere purpose of turn-
ing it at this late day into a middle
class bourgeois institution.
If an emphatic, clear declaration of
the position of the Socialist Party is
ever required, this is the time, this
is the moment; and while we are gain-
ing strength, to all politicians and all
aspiring individuals who find the
ranks closed against them in the
other political parties, whose hopes
have been blasted in the capitalist
political parties, and who think that
the Socialist movement is a good
vehicle to land them in the places
they aspire to, we say no. The class
struggle is the fact that we are mak-
ing, and individuals count for very
little. Dr. Titus may have been a
great factor in Washington, Comrade
Herman may have been a factor in
Washington, but the only real inter-
est we have in this matter is the
matter of principle, the matter of
policy, whether the Socialist move-
ment is going to be served by allow-
ing them to be brought into the party
who should be out of it. Let us
recognize clearly that under no con-
dition, whether it be Washington or
Wisconsin or New York—under no
condition is there any place in the
Socialist Party of America for that
kind of opportunism; and let it be
said further that when this declara-
tion is made we make it in order
to give the voters an opportunity to
vote upon it if they want to.
Del. Goebel: I wish to speak
against the report.
Del. Woodby (Cal.): A point of
information. It has been charged
that the parties on both sides are
not Socialists. I want to know
whether the parties in each combina-
tion signed the party pledge. I want
to know whether they did or not.
The Chairman: We cannot settle
that question.
Del. Woodby (Cal.): Unless we
know that—
The Chairman: I don't think we
can settle that question. These mem-
bers must sign an application.
Del. Brown: Anybody can sign an
application.
Del. Woodby: But, on the other
side—I want to know whether both
sides signed our application recog-
nizing the class struggle.
The Chairman: I cannot answer
that. Delegate Goebel has the floor.

GOEBEL SAYS "I AM BEST"
Del. Goebel (N. J.): I believe in
state autonomy, and if you stand by
the majority report state autonomy
wins the victory, so I win either way;
therefore, I am smiling.
I want to say a word or two on this

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matter. So far as I am personally concerned, I am going to say very little. Comrades sitting all over this country know Goebel, and whether he is simply hitting the high places or low places or fighting. National Secretary Barnes will tell you that I have an explicit understanding with him by which I could outline in some measure the line of work I was to do. I said to Barnes, "I am out to get in new locals. We can get them if you give me a chance." Barnes had the brains to give me the chance. He tried to get the state secretary to work with him. However, I got sixty-three—nothing to my credit—simply Barnes gave me the chance to work and get them in my own way. Two days before election Comrade Burgess, knowing I was coming in the state, although he knew I was coming months in advance, he kept me in suspense and then suddenly, two days before election, when he knew I was exhausted, he wrote me a list of dates when I was broken in voice and body, for the deliberate purpose of making it look as though I could not fill the requirements. They dared not turn down a man who was known all over the country as one of the best, so they had to find a substitute. Then I said, "This can't be done," and Barnes said I could rest fifteen days, and I wrote back a letter—I was not very sweet—my God, when a man has given the best he has, when he has given his life to the movement, why shouldn't he be nervous and irritable at times? I wrote the letter asking Burgess if there was anything against me personally, and if so, to write back and I would ask Barnes to put me in another state. He wrote back, "No, you are all right. I think you are one of the most effective organizers in this country, but you must know that we have got to use caution as to the men sent by the national office, and they must use caution as to whether we ought to have them." I wrote back taking exception to this, and the dates were all cancelled, and it looked then as though I wasn't good enough for Washington, in spite of a letter sent by Hermon F. Titus, addressed to Spokane and received by me, in which he says that he understands that I have no dates, and that if I am free they would be glad to have me tour the State of Washington under the auspices of "The Socialist" of Seattle, soliciting subscriptions for them, and speaking in their interest. You see, I was not good enough to represent the national office, but I was good enough, if I would solicit subscriptions for a sheet that had the gall and nerve to abuse and publish a ridiculous attack upon men like Berger, men who had given their lives to this movement, and a capitalist's politician, and I wanted to reach those people for my purpose, I would say, "I believe in the class struggle; the other fellows are opportunists," and unless they look closely into the substance of it, it would get them.

"Declare State Unorganized"

This is the point I wish to make. It is not a question of Goebel; it is a question of the right thing. Both sides have proved themselves as able politicians as there are in the movement. You cannot deny that. Both of them have shown clearly that they will not stop at any method to win out. One side says, "Mills is the Moses"; the other side says, "Titus is the Moses"; and then you have a capitalist's politician, and I want to reach those people for my purpose, I would say, "I believe in the class struggle; the other fellows are opportunists," and unless they look closely into the substance of it, it would get them.

Rip Wakes Up

Del. Waldhorst: I am against the acceptance of the report as submitted. It is for this convention to declare that such tactics as have been pursued in the State of Washington during the last two years are not the right way to make good Socialists. It has been known to all the comrades, it has been known in all the papers, just what has been done here, and I think the National Executive Committee, instead of accepting that report, or making that report as it is, without any recommendation whatever to either side, that they did not do right, and the convention should not follow out the same method. I think we should set our feet down on any proposition such as they have in their state constitution, which is not in the spirit of the International or National constitution. If we want to keep democracy, then we ought to carry it out in our own party first before we go and ask anybody else to adopt it. If they don't want to carry out the initiative and referendum, and they have not denied a single thing that the comrade who was on the platform said—the comrade who spoke on the other side did not deny it—

Superior Simons Shows Us How

There is too much tendency to make soap-box speeches at all times, to appeal at all times and all places and on every question, even on a point of order, to the "fundamentals of the matter." So far as I am personally concerned, I am going to say very little. Comrades sitting all over this country know Goebel, and whether he is simply hitting the high places or low places or fighting. National Secretary Barnes will tell you that I have an explicit understanding with him by which I could outline in some measure the line of work I was to do. I said to Barnes, "I am out to get in new locals. We can get them if you give me a chance." Barnes had the brains to give me the chance. He tried to get the state secretary to work with him. However, I got sixty-three—nothing to my credit—simply Barnes gave me the chance to work and get them in my own way. Two days before election Comrade Burgess, knowing I was coming in the state, although he knew I was coming months in advance, he kept me in suspense and then suddenly, two days before election, when he knew I was exhausted, he wrote me a list of dates when I was broken in voice and body, for the deliberate purpose of making it look as though I could not fill the requirements. They dared not turn down a man who was known all over the country as one of the best, so they had to find a substitute. Then I said, "This can't be done," and Barnes said I could rest fifteen days, and I wrote back a letter—I was not very sweet—my God, when a man has given the best he has, when he has given his life to the movement, why shouldn't he be nervous and irritable at times? I wrote the letter asking Burgess if there was anything against me personally, and if so, to write back and I would ask Barnes to put me in another state. He wrote back, "No, you are all right. I think you are one of the most effective organizers in this country, but you must know that we have got to use caution as to the men sent by the national office, and they must use caution as to whether we ought to have them." I wrote back taking exception to this, and the dates were all cancelled, and it looked then as though I wasn't good enough for Washington, in spite of a letter sent by Hermon F. Titus, addressed to Spokane and received by me, in which he says that he understands that I have no dates, and that if I am free they would be glad to have me tour the State of Washington under the auspices of "The Socialist" of Seattle, soliciting subscriptions for them, and speaking in their interest. You see, I was not good enough to represent the national office, but I was good enough, if I would solicit subscriptions for a sheet that had the gall and nerve to abuse and publish a ridiculous attack upon men like Berger, men who had given their lives to this movement, and a capitalist's politician, and I wanted to reach those people for my purpose, I would say, "I believe in the class struggle; the other fellows are opportunists," and unless they look closely into the substance of it, it would get them.

class struggle," in hope that they will get a hand, which sort of thing ultimately becomes pure demagoguery, no matter how sincere it is, and I think that the best thing that this convention can do is to let it go out to the party throughout the country, as it has gone out very plainly from our discussion here, that we believe that these fellows are good comrades, good fighters, but they are using rather strong methods, and that they would better go back to Washington and try to set their house in order themselves, try to recognize as one of the eyes of the country, I say that the eyes of the country are on some of the things that they are doing, and that they would better get in accord with the rest of the movement. But we have got to keep our hands off officially. We have no business monkeying with that situation. We will do nothing to make it worse and if we try to do something—if we declare it unorganized, we declare a lie in the first place and we would simply make it disorganized, if we make that declaration. So I ask you to support the position of the Executive Committee.

Joker Imitates Simons' Tactics

Del. Davies (Pa.): I am opposed to accepting the report of your Executive Committee, or the recommendation of the National Executive Committee, for the reason that should we accept that report we put a gag on progress. There are lots of people who want to come in and further the cause of Socialism, who want to push the movement, not necessarily keeping a clear line perhaps, but on the other hand there is an element here represented by Comrade Goebel of New Jersey, who want to have the Socialist movement in Washington progressed. On the other hand, there is another element here who want to try and hold the Socialist movement to a clear uncompromising class-consciousness.

Roll Call Ordered

The Chairman: The question is, on the motion that the vote be taken by roll call. Those in favor, say "aye." Those opposed, "no." The "ayes" have it, and the vote will be taken by roll call.

Proposed Amendment

The next section was read, becoming Section 9, instead of 10, as originally numbered:

STATE AUTONOMY

(Afternoon Session, Sunday, May 17, Carl D. Thompson, Chairman; many delegates gone home.)

tion clear. The Nebraska situation would not have arisen if what I wish had been done in that case. So it will be in every state where the question may occur up.

STATE AUTONOMY

Del. Stedman: I now move to lay on the table. (Seconded.)

Herman Opposes

Del. Herman: A point of order. This means to lay the amendment on the table?

Berger Admits Fraud

Del. Berger: Comrade Herman did not add an iota in favor of striking out this proposition. His experience proves the possibility of protecting a minority and at the same time guaranteeing the right of the majority. He was up before the executive board. All of them were up before the executive board. We investigated the proposition right here last week, and finding that a number of members there stated to have been in opposition were not there under their signatures, and, furthermore, listening to different arguments, we declared that we had no power in the premises under the same rule. So, why strike out a proposition which works beneficially in your own experience, Comrade, right over there? They brought over 700 signatures, but not half of them were in the party at the time this happened, and, therefore, we ruled it out of order, that is all. On the other hand, there is a possibility of a small crowd, a small crowd of politicians—for there are politicians also in the Socialist movement, I find that, and pretty tricky ones.

Fraudulent Signatures

Del. Herman: This has afflicted us to some extent. I want to appeal to your common sense. In the State of Washington, under the pretense of getting one-third of the membership in good standing at the time the controversy arose, people have gone out in the state in the name of a temporary committee of the Socialist party and have gotten signatures to petitions, and many of these signatures were of people who were not only not members of the party at the time that the controversy began, but were never members of the party, and I

have in my pocket at the present time a resolution from a local in Hamilton, Washington, that I want to read in connection with this, to prove my statement. A copy of this is on file in the national office.

THE CHRISTIAN TABLES IT

Del. Carr: I do not wish to discuss the question, and as two speeches have been made, and it is perfectly fair to have one on each side, I move that we lay this motion on the table, to strike out. (Seconded.)

THE CHRISTIAN TABLES IT

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day the mover of the proposition has the right to speak after the previous question has been ordered.

THE CHRISTIAN TABLES IT

Del. Carr: I do not wish to discuss the question, and as two speeches have been made, and it is perfectly fair to have one on each side, I move that we lay this motion on the table, to strike out. (Seconded.)

the motion to amend on the table. Carried.

THE CHRISTIAN TABLES IT

Del. Carr: I do not wish to discuss the question, and as two speeches have been made, and it is perfectly fair to have one on each side, I move that we lay this motion on the table, to strike out. (Seconded.)

Editor's Note: Notice that what saved the Washington Socialist Party with the Executive Committee was its splendid organization, its size and efficiency. Berger and Simons and Thompson and Work quite agreed with the blundering Goebel in wanting to declare Washington "unorganized." But it was too glaring a falsehood. As Berger said: Fifteen Hundred members are too great a power to be ignored.

THE CHRISTIAN TABLES IT

Del. Carr: I do not wish to discuss the question, and as two speeches have been made, and it is perfectly fair to have one on each side, I move that we lay this motion on the table, to strike out. (Seconded.)