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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves
of Capital to Vote Their
Own Emancipation

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A GAG CONVENTION -- THE CONSTITUTION DEFIED

The Fourth of July witnessed a Revolution in the Socialist Party of the State of Washington. The Straight Socialist delegates walked out of the Convention, held in the G. A. R. Hall at Everett, and proceeded to a clearing in the woods where, under the open sky, they organized a REVOLUTION AGAINST GAG LAW IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THIS STATE.

There were over thirty of these Revolutionists, representing twelve Locals, besides members-at-large and including the State Secretary, four members of the State Committee, together with both the National Committeemen, the State Lecturer and the Organizer for the Woman's Committee, in fact, almost the entire working force of the State organization.

THESE COMRADES DID NOT LEAVE THE PARTY, but they retired from a Convention WHICH REFUSED TO ALLOW DEBATE. Eleven of them had gone to jail for the Right of Free Speech on the streets of Capitalist Seattle, and they did not propose to surrender that Right on the floor of a Socialist Convention.

Never before in the history of the Washington Socialist Party has the Right of Discussion been denied. But Chairman John Barth, of Tacoma, wilfully and arbitrarily REFUSED TO ALLOW ANY DEBATE WHATSOEVER ON THE MOTION TO ADOPT THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES. And in this action he was sustained by a majority of the delegates present.

When the motion was made to indefinitely postpone consideration of this committee's report, Chairman Barth refused even to entertain this orderly motion, and commanded the maker of it to sit down. When delegate after delegate demanded to be heard on appeals from the chair's decisions, they, too, were refused the floor and ordered to sit down. Everybody was made to sit down and THE MOTION PUT WITHOUT ALLOWING A WORD OF DISCUSSION.

A motion to refer the proposed rule which violated the constitution, to Referendum of the Party Membership, was voted down.

Then the following Declaration of Protest was read and the Thirty Comrades "took to the woods," where they laid plans to submit the question at issue to the entire membership of the Party.

"WHEREAS, THIS CONVENTION HAS DELIBERATELY VIOLATED THE PARTY CONSTITUTION BY SUPPRESSION OF DEBATE AND ADOPTION OF A GAG RULE AND HAS ALSO REFUSED TO SUBMIT THE QUESTION AT ISSUE TO A REFERENDUM VOTE OF THE ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP, WE HEREBY REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE LONGER IN AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, WHICH, BY ITS ACTION, CEASES TO BE A SOCIALIST CONVENTION. WE CALL UPON ALL THE DELEGATES OF SIMILAR MIND TO JOIN WITH US. WE BOLT THIS CONVENTION BECAUSE THE CONVENTION HAS BOLTED THE CONSTITUTION."

The Proceedings

It was a Mob Convention from the outset. When Acting Secretary Waynick called the delegates to order Saturday morning there was present in the hall a crowd of lobbyists, mostly "Independents" from Seattle. These people, not members of the Party, pushed into the seats intended for delegates and plainly proposed to participate in the election of temporary chairman. Waynick was nothing loath. He was about to allow everybody to vote, when McCorkle of Seattle made the point that those only should take part who had proper credentials from organized Locals and recognized by the State office. It required a motion to get Waynick to do what he should have done at the beginning, that is, read a list of those entitled, according to his official records, to seats in the Convention. The plain intention was to rush into the chair, by a mob vote, the choice of the Opportunist faction. But the Straight Socialists were not to be caught so easily. The game was too raw and only those with credentials were allowed to vote.

The Caucus At Smith's

As told in "The Woman's" column by Mrs. Piset, a caucus was held Friday night at W. W. Smith's house at Everett. The significant thing about this caucus was the presence of the "Independents" from Seattle, including Dr. Brown and the notorious Mrs. Parks, expelled months ago by Local Seattle. At this caucus were State Committeemen Smith, Bostrum, Hale and Roeder. Here, in alliance with expelled members of the Party in Seattle, plans were laid for conducting the Convention on the following day. Barth was chosen as their candidate for Chairman, a Committee on Credentials was also chosen and other details provided for.

The holding of a factional caucus is not the significant thing, but the conspiracy of State officials and delegates with expelled members of the Party to run the Convention is certainly a striking exhibition of anarchy in Socialist ranks.

The whole question of Seattle's regularity in the organization had been settled months ago by a Referendum vote in the State. This Referendum vote ordered that all matters at issue in the Seattle fight should be "tabled indefinitely," thus leaving Local Seattle to fight its own battles as the regular representative of the Party in that city.

Yet here were four members of the State Committee in open alliance with

that Opportunist faction which has been fighting the Revolutionary organization in Seattle for many years. At this caucus of those opposed to Local Seattle, opposed to Secretary Krueger, opposed to "The Socialist," opposed to the Proletarian policy of the Washington Socialist Party, it was decided to put up John Barth, of Tacoma, for chairman and to rush him in by the Mob Method of voting. As Gordon of Port Angeles said on the floor of the Convention, "Any one who is a Socialist has the same right here, has as much right here as any one who has signed this constitution. These delegates hold to the old capitalist idea of party membership, to that idea which W. T. Mills advocates in his chapter on "Organization," the idea that "every one who votes the ticket has a right to membership in the party."

Likewise, as these Mob Socialists attempted to put in practice at this Convention, the Constitution can be ignored and defied when it interferes with the will of a temporary majority. As Pettys of Georgetown called out in the Convention, unrebuked by Chairman Barth, "To hell with the men who made that Constitution." Yet "that Constitution" was made by those who compose the Socialist Party in Washington, has been in force for several years, passed upon and amended by several conventions and adopted by several Referendum votes of the entire membership.

What Barth Has Done

As Chairman of the Executive Committee of the State during the past year, John Barth has done his best, or worst, to prevent the progress of the Socialist Party. Instead of cooperating with Secretary Krueger, who fully understood the State organization and whose efficiency had been established by the splendid results of his two years' incumbency, Barth began, from the first, to treat Krueger as a mere clerk of the Executive Committee and instituted by his arrogant ignorance that contest between the three who were the majority of that Committee and the Secretary, which has lasted all the year and prevented attention to the work

of organization. Under his management and that of Smith and Hale, who agreed with him, the party has steadily declined throughout the State. Instead of seeking to learn conditions from the experienced Secretary, Barth acted like a bull in a china shop and has smashed things generally by his bullheaded ignorance.

When the Seattle "Independents," led by Lawyer-Dentist Brown, brought their silly charges against Local Seattle, Barth allowed Brown and Parks and others to use up hours and hours of the meetings of the Executive Committee with their endless communications and protests. Thus he kept Local Seattle busy defending itself against contemptible charges which a competent committee would have dismissed at once. Barth could have completely headed off the last Seattle fight by brushing aside as too trivial and personal for Party notice, all the Brown foolishness. At last, after Local Seattle had not only beaten off the "Independents" and "Insurgents" backed by the "P.-I.," but had secured the endorsement of its tactics by State Referendum and was doing magnificent Propaganda work as shown by Secretary Biscay in another column, then, to crown his incompetency with treachery, Barth goes into a combination with the expelled members at Seattle, to capture the State Convention for Fusion, Compromise, Middle-classism and Opportunism—and SUCCEEDED BY THE MOB METHOD AND THE GAG RULE.

What Barth Stood For

Barth is the man responsible for the Tacoma City Platform, on which he ran for Alderman. This Platform was published in "The Socialist" a month or two ago and contrasted with the Seattle City Platform. THIS BARTH PLATFORM DID NOT ONCE MENTION THE WAGE CLASS OR THE CLASS STRUGGLE, but put forward exclusively the one issue, "INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM," a measure which will benefit chiefly the Middle Class and may even prove a boomerang for the Working Class. Barth is himself a workingman, but one of thousands of workingmen who have never grasped the first principles of Socialism, but are still soaked with bourgeois notions. In Barth's case, this ignorance is combined with such conceit as to forbid learning. It is such a dangerous type of man who was picked out by the "Independents" of Seattle to act as Chairman of the State Convention at Everett.

The Defection of the Finns

Emil Herman, one of the ablest and best instructed Socialists in the State, was the choice of the Straight Socialists for Chairman of the Convention, after it was found that J. G. Brown, ex-president of the Shingle Weavers International Union, their first choice, could not be present.

A conference had been held with the delegates of Finnish Local (No. 2) of Seattle, the largest Local in the State, and a slate had been prepared and agreed upon by the Revolutionary Delegates. This slate was as follows:

For Chairman of Convention, J. G. Brown, of Olalla.
For Secretary of Convention, C. W. Garrett, of Centralia.

Three or four members of the two main Committees, on "Constitution" and "Resolutions," were selected from Comrades known to be undoubtedly Revolutionary and including one Finnish delegate on each Committee, to be selected by the Finnish delegates themselves. The Finns were deemed thoroughly reliable, as they have never failed to stand by the Proletarian Policies.

But the Finnish delegates from Seattle disobeyed the instructions of their Local, to abide by the Constitution at all hazards, and violated their agreement to support Local Seattle No. 1. It was their change which turned the Convention over to the Opportunists. The vote which elected Herman as temporary chairman over Ranke (Barth missed connections and did not arrive till noon) the Opportunist candidate, was so close that the Finnish vote settled it. All during Saturday afternoon in the long parliamentary wrangles and divisions the

Finns voted solidly with the Revolutionaries. It was during the supper hour that they changed front. The delegates took their meals in the dining hall underneath the Convention Hall. The Everett comrades provided same at 25 cents a meal. The "Independents" from Seattle, dozens of them, who came to lobby with all doubtful delegates, were welcomed at these tables just as much as any delegates and decidedly more than the Revolutionary delegates. It was at this supper table and after, that the Finnish delegates were captured by the Opportunists. Mrs. Cory, of Sedro-Woolley, was the chief instrument. They were told that Dr. Titus said the Finns were like sheep, they would vote as he ordered, they were just voting machines. This taunt worked on them as it has worked in so many other instances. So, to prove their independence of Dr. Titus, they voted against their own convictions, disobeyed their Local's instructions and violated their own agreement. They did not go to Dr. Titus to find out whether he ever said any such thing or not. The fact is, no one has had a higher respect for the Finnish Socialists in Seattle and the United States than the Editor of "The Socialist." He has always spoken, in private and in public, in the most enthusiastic terms of their efficiency, loyalty to Proletarianism and value to the American Labor Movement. "The Socialist" has done more to draw attention to the work of the Finnish Socialists in America than any other paper published in English.

Had the Finnish delegates at Everett been able to understand English it is quite probable they would have remained true to their principles and to their pledges. But the fact remains they were swept off their feet by falsehoods and sneers so diligently circulated by the Opportunist faction. It was their votes that turned the tide, which elected Barth chairman and gave the Convention into the hands of the Middle Class element.

There were about 50 votes in the Convention. The Straight Socialists had about 20 solid, not counting the Finns. The Opportunists had about the same. The Finns had 7 votes from Seattle, 1 from Pearson and 1 from Winlock. Then there were a few floating votes, liable to go with the majority, which ever way it went. After the Finns changed, the latter voted with the majority practically all the time. They were not strong enough and clear enough to walk out of the Convention when the gag was applied. They remained in a half-hearted way, though some of them went home disgusted and discouraged. On Monday the Convention had only 28 delegates left. Some of the Seattle Finns declined to remain.

A Splendid Exception

One exception to the Finnish defection should be noted. The delegate from Winlock, Leo Leino, voted steadily with the Revolutionaries and left the Hall when the Gag was applied and the Convention ceased to be a deliberative body. His heart was broken and he cried like a child at leaving his countrymen. Every one was touched to see the strong young man weeping. But he never flinched. He was entirely unknown to any of the withdrawing delegates, but he displayed a noble courage worthy of the strongest praise.

Influence of Lies

The readiness of the delegates to believe lies accounts for much, as in the case of the Finns. A new edition of "Suppressed Facts," as well as other circulars, were distributed constantly among the delegates by the Seattle Fusionists on the ground. Men were so honest themselves and unable to believe that lies would be manufactured wholesale, that they became confused and suspicious. Here is a sample lie told by Dr. Brown. He said the State Treasury had just been looted again to replenish Dr. Titus' pocketbook by having 10,000 copies of the State Constitution printed at the Trustee Printing Co., the fact being that the State Constitutions were printed nearly a year ago. In any event, Dr. Titus' total income from the Trustee Printing Co. the last year is less than \$2 a week. In the same way, the most unscrupulous falsehoods have been circulated

throughout the State for the last year and outside comrades filled with distrust, especially if they have recently entered the party. The Revolutionary comrades have been charged with paying too little attention to these lies and with allowing them to go uncontradicted. The answer is, the Straight Socialists are too busy doing Socialist work to chase thousands of falsehoods. They would never be doing anything else, for the Lie Factory never closes. "The Socialist," by nine years of publication, has won its record for truth-telling, and here and now it repeats with full sense of responsibility, that the wholesale and retail falsehoods of Brown, Parks & Co. are thick as mosquitos in Jersey. When you crush one there are millions more. Life is too short to chase them. Put up your petting. Keep at work and let them buzz.

The Seattle "Independents"

Another sample of untruthfulness appears in the Two Hundred Application Cards presented by the "Independent Socialists" of Seattle. Out of the whole bunch of 198, even their friends, left after the Revolutionists retired, found 146 too old or too defective to be considered, leaving only 52 apparently good, instead of that boasted "One Thousand People" ready to join the Socialist Party in Seattle, but prevented by the "Titus crowd." It was reported all these 198 had been refused admittance by Local Seattle. The truth is, they never even applied.

Down With Organization

The "unorganizable" constituted the Opportunist forces at the Convention. They had no conception of organization or regularity. A minority report of the Credentials Committee was presented by W. W. Smith of Everett and Halbrook of Outlook. They recommended that the Seattle delegation in the Convention, consisting of McCorkle, McLarrow, Hyde and Titus, be unseated and the six "Independent" claimants of Seattle be admitted on equal terms with the regulars, all having a voice, but no vote. Phillips, of Everett, in favoring this report, said: "If Local Seattle No. 1 is accepted and seated, then this Propaganda Club should be seated. There is no argument for one that is not good for the other, not a single argument in a thousand years." The man who could say that might well vote down every provision of the State Constitution. Local Seattle is in every respect a regular organization, paying dues on its full membership and recognized by the State Committee and State Secretary. The Propaganda Club has no standing whatsoever in the State organization. If such a method of admitting delegates to a Socialist Convention were to prevail, then it would only be necessary for Democrats to organize a "Propaganda Club" in Everett or Tacoma or Spokane, sign up Socialist application blanks, call themselves "Socialists," elect delegates to the Annual Convention of the Socialist Party and be admitted on same terms with the regular Locals in those cities. Certainly that would be lovely for the Capitalists, for they could very easily capture every Socialist Convention and run the Socialist Party from the inside. Yet this proposition was supported by Smith, a member of the Executive Committee.

In the same loose way, rendering organization impossible, the Convention accepted irregular credentials from irregular Locals. Local Colville for months had only three members, but the three paid dues for six, three "dummies," simply to hold their charter. Local Spokane has carried a much larger local membership than it has paid dues on, thus defrauding the State office. Local Burlington had not paid dues sufficient to put them in good standing with the State office. Yet these facts were glossed over by the acting secretary and delegates admitted regardless.

These instances reveal the anarchistic spirit which prevails among so many so-called "Socialists." They know nothing about the necessity of orderly procedure. Yet only by the observance of regularity can any real organization be effected or preserved.

The Gag Applied

The climax came Sunday noon. The Opportunists had discovered they had a reliable majority. They therefore determined to support a rule which no deliberative assembly can adopt and remain deliberative. It provided for the suppression of debate, by a majority vote.

To those unfamiliar with parliamentary procedure, it sounds good to say, "The majority should rule." Do not Socialists believe in majority rule? Why, then, object to a rule providing that all motions shall be decided by majority vote? The Revolutionists agreed to this, with one exception, namely, the Motion for the Previous Question, which means a Motion to Suppress Debate and proceed to vote. The words, "Previous Question," as every one knows who has even a smattering of knowledge of Parliamentary Rules, have nothing whatever to do with the question previous to the pending one, but mean simply, the pending question shall now be put without debate.

If such power to suppress debate be given to a bare majority, it will be terribly misused to refuse the minority any chance to speak. Especially is this true if the majority is small or wavering and a speech or two from the minority might win over a few votes, enough to change the minority into a majority.

This was the exact case at Everett. Barth was afraid some of his majority might be convinced if they allowed Delegate Herman or Titus or McCorkle or Hyde to be heard. In one word, they were afraid of debate. THEY FEARED DISCUSSION. Hence they adopted a rule which a bare majority could use to suppress debate and prevent discussion.

This is contrary to Robert's Rules of Order, which fortunately are adopted as a part of the Socialist Party State Constitution in its very last section. This book provides that debate cannot be shut off except by a majority of two-thirds, so that discussion cannot be stopped so long as at least one-third of the assembly desire to have it go on. At Everett two members of the committee reporting the gag rule did not know what it meant. Both Phillips and Gordon declared they never meant a Majority vote should forbid the minority from speaking on a subject. Phillips even shouted his conviction that 99 delegates out of 100 should not be given the power to shut off the other one from speaking. But when they afterward learned in the progress of the debate what a tremendous advantage the rule would give to the "bare majority," both Phillips and Gordon voted for it. By means of it they could shut Dr. Titus' mouth and prevent him from convincing any delegate on any subject or from defending himself from slander.

This Rule Fundamental

Roberts says (p. 118): "The Previous Question and motions to close or limit debate have the effect of forcing the assembly to take final action upon a question without allowing discussion; in other words, they suspend THIS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF DELIBERATIVE BODIES, namely, that the assembly shall not be forced to final action on a question until every member has had an opportunity of discussing its merits. The very idea of a deliberative assembly is that it is a body to deliberate upon questions, and THEREFORE MEMBERS MUST HAVE THE RIGHT OF INTRODUCING QUESTIONS, AND OF DISCUSSING THEIR MERITS BEFORE EXPRESSING THEIR DELIBERATE SENSE UPON THEM."

This is no technically, no rule of detail. It strikes at the very roots of Democracy. To forbid debate is autocracy, the very essence of tyranny. The central rule of all rules, without which no other rules would be of any use, is that which allows free discussion.

It was because Chairman Barth, supported by his bare majority of Opportunists, ABOLISHED THIS FUNDAMENTAL RULE, explicitly ordained by the State Constitution of the Socialist Party that sixteen delegates refused to remain and be gagged. They thus declared their purpose to appeal to the Party mem-

bership to stand by them in their Fight for Free Speech in the Socialist Party Councils.

Not only was the Constitutional and Democratic Rule directly abolished by the adoption of another in conflict with it, but Chairman Barth, without even taking a vote, refused to allow a regular and orderly motion to be put. He also refused to allow any discussion of the motion to adopt the new and unconstitutional rule. THE REVOLUTIONIST MINORITY WERE ABSOLUTELY GAGGED. That is why they call it The Gag Convention, or the Anarchist Convention. It certainly was not a Socialist Convention. And it is unfair to the Anarchists to call it an Anarchist Convention, for they are always jeering at the "Tyranny of Majorities," which never received a better illustration.

The question is, Will the Socialist Party of Washington stand for such Gag Law? When the Referendum reaches you, will you vote to approve the acts of such a Convention? If you do, you will justify the Anarchist jeers. Not a single act of such a body should receive the approval of a single Socialist. It is not merely a question of Revolutionary or Opportunist Socialism. It is the question of Liberty or Tyranny, Democracy or Autocracy, organization or no organization, Constitution or no Constitution.

LINE UP

Up to the Locals to Divide and Decide

Every Local of the Socialist Party in Washington must now decide for itself. The division which has existed in Seattle for years must now extend into every other Local.

The Socialists must separate from the Anarchists. The Socialists are those who believe in organization. The Anarchists are those who defy constitutions and resent restraint.

Those who remained in the Gag Convention, some 25 to 30, after the straight Socialists withdrew, were themselves divided into two factions, the Impossibilists and the Opportunists. The Impossibilists were mostly Proletarians, like Barth, Smith, Bostrum and Roeder.

The Opportunists were Middle Class people, like Mrs. Cory, Judge Harkness, Jory of Sunnyside and Chamberlain of Aberdeen. For appearances' sake they had to unite in a general way, yet there was an undercurrent of antagonism. Both sides nominated representatives on their proposed State Committee and both sides have candidates for State Secretary and National Committeemen. The only thing which united them was their opposition to the Middle-of-the-Road Socialists who have always been in the ascendant in the Washington movement.

Both sides are Utopian. For instance, Impossibilists, like the Roeders, advocate the I. W. W. as a representative and practicable Union organization and oppose the American Federation of Labor as a Capitalist body. That is, they try to make the Unions correspond to the Ideal Union which will sometime be accomplished and toward which all Unions are tending in the progress of Evolution. This is Utopian. On the other hand, the Middle Class people, like Mrs. Cory, cherish a scheme of society in which Collectivism shall displace Trustism and they expect "all the people" to see its advantages and vote to introduce it. This also is Utopian and reactionary. In this impracticable adherence to ideals, schemes, Utopias, both the Impossibilists and the Opportunists are able to unite. In all other respects they are as wide apart as the poles and this divergence appeared in their Gag Convention in many ways. For example, almost at the very moment when the Straights withdrew, Jory took his seat beside Chairman Barth on the platform. Barth, the Iron Molder and Jory the Farmer, the ignorant wage worker and the level headed bourgeois.

These same divisions should run into all Locals in the state. The making of such distinctions and the discussions arising therefrom, will prove the best possible education in Proletarian Principles.

Line up! Where do you stand? Are you a Straight Socialist, choosing Revolutionary Principles and

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY

What It Stands For

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring over larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class

cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class. (As adopted by the National Convention, this should read after the words, "present order": "or from the dominant class of society.")

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climax of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and

has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society: The small farmer, who is today exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist Party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist Party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

PROGRAM

"As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

General Demands

"1.—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforestation of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour work day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to States and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

"2.—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.

"3.—The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

"4.—The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

"5.—The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

"6.—The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

Industrial Demands

"7.—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

"(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productivity of machinery.

"(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

"(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

"(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

"(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all unsanitary products.

"(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

Political Demands

"8.—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.

"9.—A graduated income tax.

"10.—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

"11.—The initiative and referendum.

proportional representation and the right of recall.

"12.—The abolition of the Senate.

"13.—The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

"14.—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

"15.—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

"16.—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

"17.—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

"18.—The free administration of justice.

"Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government. In order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance."

SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE TRADES UNIONS

The following is the address to organized labor drafted by the committee and adopted by the Socialist National Convention:

"The movement of organized labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and wage-earners under the capitalist system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages, hours, and other conditions of labor is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working people and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

IT DOES NOT DICTATE.

"The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization and methods of action.

"In the history of the recent Moyer-Haywood protest, participated in by unions of all sorts and by the Socialist Party, it finds reason to hope for closer solidarity on the economic field and for more effective co-operation between organized labor and the Socialist Party, the two wings of the movement for working-class emancipation.

CONFRONTED BY GREAT CRISIS.

"Organized labor is today confronted by a great crisis. The capitalists, intoxicated with wealth and power, and alarmed by the increasing political and economic activity of the working class, have as a class undertaken a crusade for the destruction of the labor organizations.

"In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska and elsewhere law and constitution have been trampled under foot, military despotism set up, and judicial murder attempted with this aim in view. Where such violent methods have not seemed advisable, other means have been used to the same end.

"The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workers; it is backed by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

COURTS ALWAYS HOSTILE.

"The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in perverting the law to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, the payment of union benefits, or even any attempt to organize unorganized workmen in certain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary decrees dissolving unions under a pretense of their being labor trusts.

"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestering their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in case of employees killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workmen to belong to unions.

"While affirming the right of employers to bar organized workmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor question is the rule that capitalists have a sacred right to profits and that the working class has no rights in opposition to business interests.

DANBURY HATTERS CASE.

"In the Danbury hatters case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with

its infamous 'Dred Scott decision' of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the Anti-Trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasuries, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

"By this decision the Supreme Court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice, not of social justice. If this and other hostile decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its efforts toward a peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the capitalists and their courts in this assault upon the labor movement would be a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

BALLOT IS A WEAPON.

"At this critical moment the Socialist Party calls upon all organized workmen to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands, and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme Court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the military can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workmen on election day.

"Workmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support of the party of your class. Vote as you strike, against the capitalists. Down with military and judicial usurpation! Forward, in one solid phalanx, under the banners of Organized Labor and of the Socialist Party, to defeat capitalist aggressions, to win immediate relief for yourselves and your wives and children, and to hasten the day of complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation and misrule."

WASHINGTON PLATFORM

The Socialist Party of the State of Washington endorses the Principles of International Socialism and of the Socialist Party of the United States.

For the campaign of 1908 we present to the voters of this state the following declarations of our principles and program:

1. The Socialist Party is primarily the party of the Proletariat.
2. We recognize the Class Struggle between the Proletarian Class and the Capitalist Class as the supreme fact of modern civilization.
3. We recognize this struggle as a struggle for the possession of the world's wealth and for all the benefits of human progress.
4. We recognize the historic mission of the Proletariat to be its own economic emancipation through its political victory over the Capitalist Class.

The growing solidarity of the Proletariat industrially in Labor Unions and politically in the Socialist Party is a sign of this ultimate victory.

5. We recognize the increasing incapacity of the Capitalist Class to control Society.

The industrial crisis which this country is now experiencing, and of which a financial panic is the least significant feature, has in this state as well as all others reduced the dependent Proletariat to such desperate straits that it is inconceivable that they should tolerate their condition, did they rightly comprehend the underlying causes. The exploiting of the Proletariat of a part of their labor product results in their inability to absorb the wealth they have created. This is known as the failure of markets and a so-called period of over-production is followed by a reaction of which the present industrial stagnation is an example. The improved methods of production which should logically result in shorter work-hours and better living wages for the workers actually results in a smaller number being employed. Thus there is a permanent unemployment problem which is intensified by the recurring periods of industrial reaction. As these crises result in acute misery to the Proletariat and are wholly the result of the capitalist mismanagement of industry, the enforced idleness of the workers must be relieved by immediate employment of jobless men on works of public utility.

This failure of the Capitalist Class in their conduct of the affairs of society is a sign of approaching social dissolution.

6. We assert the victory of the Proletarian Class over the Capitalist Class will not only emancipate the victorious class, but abolish all other classes as well.

Society will then be organized as one class, all enjoying together the splendid fruits of human invention.

7. We propose that the Proletariat shall conquer political power and use that power to take possession of all such wealth as is now used by the Capitalist Class to force the Proletariat to surrender the wealth it creates.

The ownership of the instruments of wealth production, such as factories, mines, railroads, machinery and land, gives the Capitalist Class its power to amass all wealth in its own hands. The Socialist Party proposes to transfer that ownership from the Capitalist Class to the Proletarian Class and to use political power to that end.

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THE COMING REACTION

BY HUBERT LANGEROCK

We all have class interests, material interests common to ourselves and others belonging to the same social class. They regulate our conduct. Sometimes the ministry of those whom the Capitalist keeps for that very purpose benumbs our mind to the extent that we forget our own interests to promote his.

To act under the impulse of material interests is our common fate, but to know that we are acting that way and why is to be class-conscious.

Few men are class-conscious, and still smaller than the number of class-conscious men is the number of those who dare to speak their class-consciousness openly and frankly. That this number is now increasing is a good omen, a progressive sign of the times.

In the trial of Abe Ruef a prospective juror said: "I shall not convict Pat Calhoun, he belongs to my class; his interests, his social set, his mode of life are mine; I would not convict him."

There we have a sample of Capitalistic class-consciousness. Then there is Proletarian class-consciousness, of which Roosevelt said it was a crime.

And now the Middle Class is becoming class-conscious. It feels itself threatened by the trust, by the lords of high finance. Its profits are cut down, its existence has become precarious, its ruin is in sight. It has decided that it would not die, it wants to remain what it is, and prompted by the consciousness of its purpose, it is lining up to defend itself and its very existence.

For that purpose it has gathered all the advantages of its own position, the tenacity of purpose, the endurance of long years of pioneering, the will to survive. It has draped itself in the historical trappings of the past. It has elected to follow leaders some of whom have talent, others of whom make up for the talent they should have by spectacular antics, lion-hunts or wordy speeches void of sense.

Washington State Platform

Continued from Page Two

ies must all be captured by the Proletariat in order to effect its appropriation of all property used as capital.

9. But we propose to force from the Capitalist Class, while it is still in power, such concessions as we can. Whenever Socialist Party Candidates are elected to office, the Party guarantees they shall advocate every measure which will alleviate the poverty of the Proletariat and improve its conditions.

10. As such measures calculated to improve Proletarian conditions under Capitalist rule and to assist the Proletariat in achieving its complete triumph, we advocate and demand:

(a) Immediate public employment of the unemployed at the State's expense at full union wages on such works as irrigation, reforestation and road building.

(b) Preservation from capitalist destruction of natural resources such as mines and forests, in order that abundance may be preserved for social use after the Revolution.

(c) Abolition of Court injunctions in Labor disputes.

(d) Abolition of all Oriental immigration which is subsidized or stimulated by the Capitalist Class and all contract labor immigration.

(e) An eight hour day and a five and a half day week for all classes of labor and further reduction when that concession has been secured.

(f) Abolition of employment of children of school age.

(g) Reduction of residence qualifications necessary for the franchise in a state to two months.

(h) Absolute freedom of press and speech.

(i) Equal suffrage for men and women.

(j) Initiative and referendum in order to protect against continued Capitalist corruption of representative government.

11. We recognize that the class of small farmers is also a working and producing class, exploited, as well as the Proletariat, of all its product except a bare living.

We point out to the small farmer that his exploitation is due directly to the great capitalist combinations known as the Trusts.

We also point out to the small farmer that the Trusts derive their greatest income from exploitation of the Proletariat and will, therefore, continue to exist in full power so long as the Proletariat remains a subject and exploited class.

In a word, the small farmer can only secure his own emancipation by joining the Socialist Party and thus assisting in hastening the Proletarian Revolution.

12. The small capitalist is doomed. The Trusts by the laws of competition are destroying and proletarianizing the old-fashioned "Business Man." The wise among this class will recognize the facts, accept the inevitable and join forces with the Proletarian army in its march towards the World's Emancipation.

"Proletarians of all lands, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

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and civilization require that they should succeed?

As Others See Us.

Observing foreigners who have of late traveled through this country and used their faculties of observation to middle-class-consciousness as to the coming reaction. Klein, Ferrero, Vilani, many others who recently visited us point to the reactionary character of the movement. One of them remembers the Boers. It is not enough, he writes, that people should be just, kind, hospitable—they must understand the laws of social evolution. If they do not, all their good qualities are not going to keep them from bumping their heads against the wall of facts. Their attempt will remain ridiculous as long as it remains vain; it will become dangerous in the same rate as it may succeed. The Middle Class man of today was once the general rule. Out of his midst arose a few men who understood what new social relations the change of the tools of production was to bring about. They rose together with the development of mechanized production and became the ruling class.

Alongside of them exist still today living automatons, specimens of a technically dead mode of production. These want to live and they are eager to use every weapon to defend themselves and to remain as they are.

In this last purpose lies the basis of their reactionary feature, their ignorance of the changes taking place everywhere around them, their reluctance to adapt themselves to new conditions.

The Wage-Worker's Point of View.

Why should a wage-worker sympathize with their claims? The wage-slave who has worked for a big concern with absentee stockholders has seldom been able to perceive any difference between his treatment at the hands of a corporation or of an individual employer. Neither the small farmer nor the retailer is as a rule a kinder, better, more generous employer. Factory laws, labor laws are not more strictly enforced at his hands, wages are not higher, hours not shorter. Very often the unpersonal corporation represented by an employe relatively free through the compulsory decentralization of big enterprises contrasts vividly with the narrow-mindedness of the ever-present, always goading, small profit-hunter.

For both are in for profit and for profit alone, and when they fight about the size of their respective shares the wage-worker, from whom the profit is filched, may well lie aloof and enjoy the sight of the fray, he is paying the expense of the performance.

The medium-sized profit-hunter's walls and cries may be pitiful; they still remain comic, for were he given the opportunity he would do the same thing. He is wholly lacking in sincerity.

Sincerity in Trust-Busting.

Not very long ago a man who had charge of several railroad construction camps went to a jobber to buy a bill of provisions. He was asked if he was a licensed retailer. When he told the wholesaler that he was not, he was offered a list of retail grocers, but the firm refused to sell to him. In vain did the intending buyer mention the fact that the consumption of his camps amounted to a good deal more than the volume of business of an average retail store; the jobber was obdurate.

To settle the argument the wholesaler volunteered the explanation that he and others in the business had agreed to guarantee the retailers their profit, which means that the retailers through combination had made sure of a profit as reward for a socially useless service. To his visitor, the wholesaler further told that if he investigated he certainly would find some retailer ready and willing to transmit his order to the jobber for half the usual profit.

This was combination with a vengeance.

But every sane man will fail to understand how people willing to enter into any kind of a pool or an agreement to make sure of a profit while maintaining a system of production and distribution eminently wasteful on account of the duplication of its agencies, can manage to have a right to knock and to try to run down a system based on unity, elimination of waste, technical perfection and economy of general expenses as that realized by our leading trusts.

The shouting of the Middle Class man is mainly due, not to the fact that he abhors looting, but to the fact that he does not get what he thinks his fair share of the loot.

A Middle Class Nation.

Since the new party is putting before us as an ideal an artificial return to the status of a nation of Middle Class citizens, we may well ask ourselves in the light of historical and economical experience what stamina such a nation would offer.

The lesson of history is that farmers and tradesmen of the Middle Class type never created a great state and never were able to free themselves from any form of tyranny.

Economically, small farming, that is, family farming, offers no surplus which can be used for the sustenance of the non-agricultural part of the population. In the past, crop failures amongst such populations have always produced famines on account of the great number of people depending on the products of the soil.

In past ages, before the nature of the tools of production compelled the capitalist to reinvest a part of his profits in new improved machinery, the only possible investment for the investment of the returns of trade and usury-capital was the purchase of land.

Therefore capitalistic accumulation came everywhere in opposition with the free middle class farmer and everywhere it wiped him out. Marx has shown the utter technical inferiority of the slave-economy and still the latifundia with their basis of slave-labor made short work of the Roman peasants and the investment of the returns of merchants' capital changed the social texture of Israel from a race of small farmers to a race of semi-wage-laborers.

In no instance, therefore, has small farming proved any power of resistance, and this is also true in the America of today, where long before the looting of the free soil by private individuals is finished the increasing percentage of tenant farmers brings the proof that small farming by individual owners is a disappearing form of husbandry.

Victims of An Illusion.

Why, then, is a mode of agricultural production technically inefficient maintained by capitalism?

Many people think that capitalistic interest always brings about technical progress. This rule is not general. Where technical progress is not sure to lead to a large profit, capitalism will stand by the antiquated methods. The patent office in Washington has hundreds of devices which would improve our telegraph and telephone service; they are not used because the cheapness of men makes an adequate return on the required investment doubtful.

This is also the rule in agriculture. Why should the land owner take chances in bringing into practice the latest results of agronomical science, when small farmers are raising numerous families to provide cheap labor and high rents are paid out of the flesh and bone and blood of underfed and stunted rural classes?

The capitalist hangs up before the American farmer the profit idea, the fancied independence, the health of country life. Volumes are written to dilute the verse of the old Latin poet: "How happy the farmers, if they only knew their blessings."

But it is all for outside consumption. Once in a while a remark is made which shows the real state of mind of the capitalist. Speaking to the Methodist general conference, Theodore Roosevelt recognized that the material condition of the early pioneers of the West was so wretched and miserable that it endangered their physical and moral existence.

Of course there is an advantage for the lords of high capital to have a huge population of would-be capitalists, justly chasing the will o' the wisp of wealth and dying paupers on account of hunting a chance to be a millionaire the full length of their lifetime.

Capitalism is bound to thrive as long as the retailer and his family, ill-fed, ill-clad, glory in the illusion of an imaginary independence and despise the employe of the branch store across the road who works for wages and has no cares, no bills to pay and no false appearance to keep up.

Capitalism borrows its strength from the illusions of those would-be profit takers, unable to feel how they are being bled on account of their desire to bleed others and who have already before they are capitalists surrounded themselves with all the religious and political conservatism of the master class to which they are so anxious to have access.

The Willing Givers.

To own tools of production, where-with to extract surplus value from wage slaves is the dream of many. The capitalist notices it and the eagerness of these people affords him a new opportunity for profit.

In several countries hard battles had to be fought to compel the land hogs to sell their holdings. What nonsense. Put advertisements in the paper with florid talks about opportunity and easy fortunes. It does not matter if they are on their face a swindle, an attempt to defraud that should be barred from the mails. They will do. Very few will get the tracts on which many will lose the first payments. The few who reach the goal

will then take their place in that naturally conservative body, whose class-conscious outbursts the capitalist knows too well to be moved thereby.

Is not the United States government itself leading in this direction?

You know the stock argument of the social quack: put the landless man on the manless land. The Roosevelt administration was specially generous in getting up all kinds of schemes to increase Teddy's popularity with a purposely created middle class.

All the howling did not, however, keep Garfield, Roosevelt's advance agent in this game, from finding out that there were far more settlers than homesteads. Irrigation lands would be opened to entry, but the government had no money to irrigate. So the settlers were told to organize water users' associations, assessing themselves for a given amount, duplicating this with an equal amount of labor, when the government would match this with an equal contribution in cash and issue certificates for the farmers' investment, which it would later accept in payment for water rentals.

On the strength of such representations thousands of settlers staked their all on arid land. The irrigation works were everywhere delayed and now Attorney-General Wickesham has decided that the certificates given to settlers for hard cash and harder labor are illegal and worthless.

With such an example at hand, why

should not every real estate shark try his hand at some scheme offering free acres to the middle class world?

Will Middle-Class Reaction Succeed?

In the long run middle-class-consciousness is bound to be a fizzle; it might run high for a while, unite Roosevelt and Bryan, La Follette and Chamberlain into a national party which might rejoice in a small measure of short-lived success, but it will go no farther. It carries within itself the germ of its destruction. It can unite on a negative slogan, but must split as soon as it contemplates some positive achievements. The lasting individualistic character of its components will then reduce it to hybrid conglomerate of dissenting elements.

Long before it comes to this it will have lost leader after leader on account of their evident connection with material interests which do not apply to the generality of the middle class. Already a few days ago, the country had a sample of this when in the senate during the discussion of the wool schedule, the astute old Aldrich put La Follette in as pretty a hole as a reform or insurgent leader ever found himself in.

If it ever materializes, the middle class party will be powerless and short lived.

The Effect on Socialism.

Numerous though are the dangers which the constitution of such a party would offer to Socialism.

First, the young and vigorous Socialist organization, with no failures in power to explain, looks good to middle-class-consciousness and with Professor John B. Clark, of Columbia, they believe that they might travel a certain length of way with the Socialists and be ready to part company with them at the critical moment.

For the half-baked Socialist, the sentimental void of a realistic conception of Socialist doctrine, the idealist who sees in collectivism nothing but a cut and dried system of popular metaphysics, the ward heeler fond of power and deprived of principles, the temptation will be great to cater to middle-class-consciousness by twisting Socialist doctrine into attractive schemes of petty reformism.

Did we not see at our last national convention a non-agricultural element urging a program of agricultural reformism, while real farmers stated their intention to stand squarely on the broad basis of Socialist principles? The same question has for years agitated the Socialist world. There has been an attempt to dilute Socialist principles into homeopathic doses for special use of farmers; it was christened neo-collectivism and very short lived. It bubbles up rather

weakly, from time to time. In his last very interesting book, Van Der Velde thinks that small farmers working their own land ought to be free to join the co-operative commonwealth of their own free will. I am not sure that when we shall be that far, there will be any middle-class farmer left, but if there are, I do not think it would be logical to talk about compulsory appropriations of large concentrated industries of a high degree of technical development, with or without indemnity and allowing the inefficient, unprogressive forms of agricultural production to suit themselves.

When the Socialists of Austria used the ballot for the first time and polled more than a million votes, it was pointed out how they had succeeded best in the provinces where concentrated farming had developed an agricultural proletariat, but had relatively failed amongst the small farmers of Higher and Lower Austria.

Stretching of Socialist principles to please middle-class-consciousness is as dangerous as it is useless. The congress of the German party at Breslau kept our German friends on the right track of proletarian tactics and principles. The international congress held in London in 1895 upheld the integrity of Marxian doctrine. Now is not the time to change our attitude on this matter in order to please the dead horse of middle-class-consciousness.

HUBERT LANGEROCK.

WHEN WILL WE HAVE SOCIALISM?

By Jos. S. Biscay

Many of the comrades outside of Local Seattle are surprised at the work we have done in the past few months. During our fight against the disruptionists, we were holding more meetings than any other local in the state. Every attempt was made to block our activity and failed. At this time others, not looking at themselves, asked, what is the matter with Seattle? We had a breathing spell since the latter part of April. Did we breathe our last when the disruptionists were whipped? It was expected that it was all over with us and some were already shedding crocodile tears.

But upon hearing that we held 41 street meetings and sold \$114.25 worth of literature in May, even crocodile tears ceased and the air was filled with curses which floated by harmlessly. When it was known that we were doing better in June, the heat generated from the skulls of the disruptionists, caused the mercury to stand high in our neighborhood for some time.

Our sales of literature for June were \$160.52. All this was at street meetings and does not include the thousands of free leaflets distributed throughout the city.

In a letter early in June, Chas. H. Kerr, of Chicago, stated that Seattle had taken the lead in literature sales. In another letter dated July 2, Kerr states that we have broken all records. If, by the fruit you judge the tree, then we are ready to be judged by this.

Many of us went to Everett where a convention of the brains of the working class movement was to be held. We expected to help fire the town with Socialist propaganda. I wrote inquiring about literature and offering to help out along with other comrades. No, our offer was not accepted. I received an insulting reply, giving us to understand that our propaganda of Socialism would be unwelcome. Its needless to say that there was no attempt to hold meetings on the streets during the convention and none had been held for months.

I went to the convention expecting to see the intellect of the working class of Washington mapping out the future plans. Here again I was sorely disappointed.

Who would have expected a body of men representing the foremost organization of the working class to go back on their rules, on their own constitution and principles they were supposed to be representing? Who would have thought it possible? But it was not only possible, but actually took place. This body began by violating the very laws that made organization possible. The constitution was trampled under foot and law and order abolished. "To hell with the constitution and the men that made it!" some delegates remarked. Another said, "we don't understand the rules or constitution and won't abide by it." Are these the men who are to frame the future plans of the state?

The membership of the State understood the constitution and adopted it as a rule for the organization in this state to follow. The representative body would not do this, they could not understand the necessity of law or order. To make sure that the law of the membership would not be quoted or discussed the chairman put the vote denying the floor to members who wished to discuss or make

a motion and a vote was taken which prevented free speech in an assembly of Socialists. The delegates who stood by the constitution voted against this, protesting that they were not allowed to speak. The protests were entered on the minutes and afterward stricken off.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

By Eleanor Maurer Herman

When the Socialist State Convention of 1909 was called and delegates and visitors prepared to attend it, the organizable orderly ones, at least, expected to attend a Socialist Convention. At the outset it still seemed to be a fairly good representation of proletarian Socialism. But, lo and behold! Before the evening of the first day it was clearly evident that proletarian Socialism was no longer being represented but that the petty bourgeois and anarchist element was pretty generally represented.

Having attended every State Convention since 1903, I expected that things would be done, as in the past, tending toward, or rather in line with, the propaganda of the Socialist Party, the emancipation of the proletariat through the abolition of the wage system. Instead of this not a thing was done but the trampling under foot of the constitution of the Socialist Party of Washington.

Comrades of Washington, who did not attend this particular convention but who have attended other conventions in the past will hesitate to be-

lieve that up until 2 o'clock of the second day the convention had not yet acted on the report of the committee on Rules and Order.

In past conventions the proletarian element has always been accused of dilatory tactics by the opposition. But remember that this opposition was in control and they could not get on any faster than that.

While the proletarian element was in control there was some hope for this convention to continue a Socialist convention, but when the anarchist (I use this term advisedly) element got control they soon showed their real colors and it was utterly impossible for any Socialist with the true Revolutionary Spirit to remain and take part in the deliberation (?) of that body. To remain longer in that assemblage would have been traitorous to the wage-workers of Washington.

Briefly the situation was this. The proletarian element stood out for the constitutional provision for a two-thirds vote to shut off debate on any motion. The anarchist element (which includes both the utopian and impossibilist elements and of whose

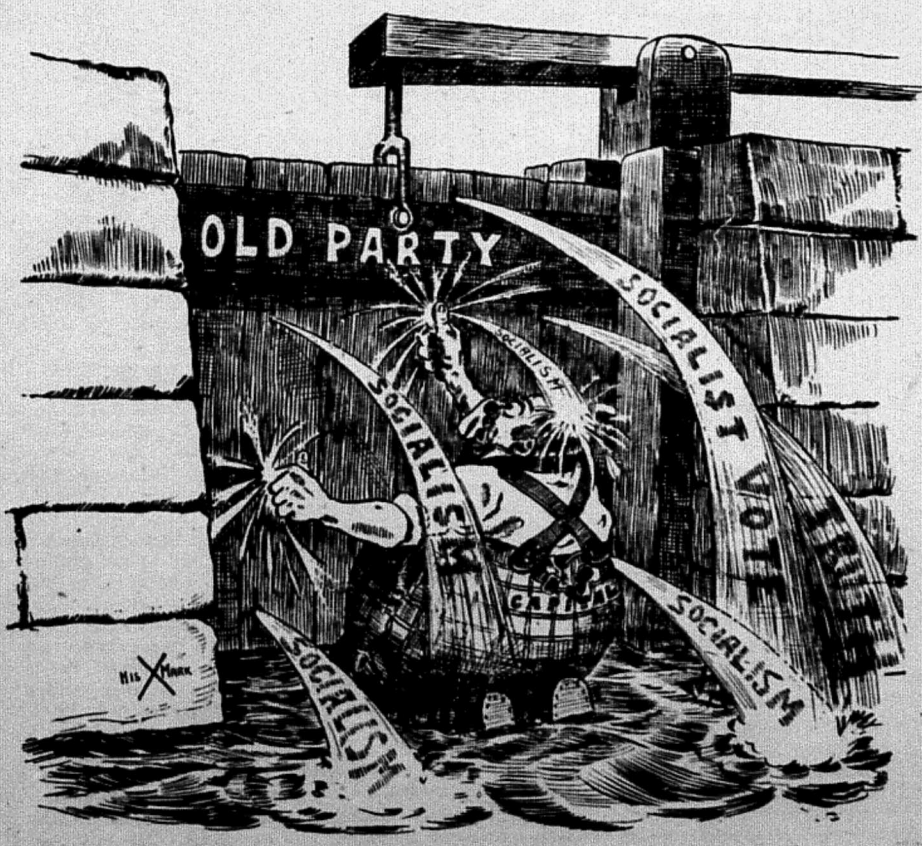
hob-nobbing with the insurgents and independents we have proof positive) stood out for only a majority vote to shut off debate, thus kindling the minority from expressing an opinion on any question whenever the majority saw fit to so hinder them. This being clearly a violation of the Socialist Party constitution—both State and National—the delegates representing the proletarian element tried to get the crowd who with the constituents have been howling themselves hoarse for democracy as against "Ring Rule" and "Gag-Law," to see that they would put themselves without the pale of the Socialist Party by adopting such a course—all to no purpose. Still hoping that there might be some sense of common decency among the others, ours, i. e., the proletarian delegates, tried to get them to submit their action to a referendum of the Socialist Party membership, which is the highest authority in the State. When this fair-minded (?) crowd refused even to do this there was nothing left for our delegates to do but withdraw and refuse to take part in any further proceedings of that so-called convention which by its own act obliterated itself.

We have come to a parting of the ways. We have been too mild in our reproof of those who over and over have shown themselves to be individualists and anarchists. There is no place in the Socialist Party, which so far has been and still is the political expression of the working-class, for those who willfully violate the principles and constitution of that Party.

The lesson this curtailed convention teaches us is so plain that he who runs may read. We must continue our policy of admitting to membership only wage-workers and those who clearly understand what we are striving for and why we are striving for it. The class-struggle must be thoroughly understood and the basis of our fight with the masters and the abolition of the wages-system must be understood to be and must be our goal.

ELEANOR MAURER HERMAN.

CAN'T STOP THE LEAKS



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No Local should recognize the Gag Convention or its unconstitutional acts in any way whatever.

Vote no approval of its actions.

A, NOT THE, CONVENTION

The Proceedings in Detail By Arthur Jensen

Section 1 of Article V of the State Constitution of the Socialist Party of Washington reads as follows: "The State Convention shall be held annually." If instead of this it had read: "A State Convention shall be held annually," the letter of the law might have been said to have been followed in Everett July 3-4-5.

One thing is certain: It was not THE Convention of the Socialist Party which was held in Everett July 3-4-5. Individuals without any connections whatever with the Socialist Party were given a voice, while regularly elected delegates from regular dues-paying Locals of the Socialist Party were denied the right to introduce motions in a regular manner.

It was a Convention, all right, but instead of being the annual Socialist Party Convention, it was an Anarchist Convention.

During the convention it was made absolutely clear that, regardless of the fact that during the late controversy the opposition always held that they were ultra-revolutionary, all of those who have for years represented the middle class element in the Socialist Movement were working hand in glove with the "Revolutionary" opposition to Local Seattle and the State office.

When the convention was called to order Saturday morning, it was evident that a movement was on foot to cause confusion in the temporary organization. If the "Independents" could only get an opportunity to vote in the election of a credentials committee, they realized that they would have everything their way. If they could get a credentials committee that would refuse to seat the delegation from Local Seattle No. 1, and instead seat the "delegation" from the "Independents," they saw that they would have clear sailing. Therefore it was very unwelcome when Delegate Titus from Seattle introduced a motion to the effect that the temporary State Secretary read off the names of those delegates who had duplicates of their credentials in the possession of the temporary secretary, and that these delegates move forward to the front of the hall as their names were read off, and, following these, that all other duly elected delegates with regular credentials also move forward after having their credentials inspected by Comrade Waynick. The motion was so plainly just and logical that no reason could very well be found for voting against it, so Mrs. Cory of Sedro-Woolley

came to the assistance of the non-plussed "Independents" by introducing an amendment that the question as to whether or not the people who were present were entitled to participate be referred to the Credentials Committee. After a rather lengthy discussion this amendment was ruled out of order by the chairman and after a few more interruptions the original motion carried unanimously.

Mrs. Cory of Sedro-Woolley, champion-in-chief of the cause of the "Independents," was elected temporary Secretary, upon which a credentials committee, consisting of John McSiarrow of Seattle, E. E. Martin of Silverdale, C. L. Whiting of Snohomish, W. W. Smith of Everett and Johnson of Tacoma, was elected.

About 3 o'clock Saturday afternoon the committee brought in their report. The report contained the names of all delegates with regular credentials and had, attached to it, a contest against J. C. Harkness of Colville, filed by Floyd Hyde of Seattle. The committee offered no recommendations. The report was signed by McSiarrow, Martin and Whiting. The other two members brought in a minority report recommending that the delegates from Local Seattle No. 1 be given no seat, but that delegates from both Local Seattle and the Socialist Propaganda League be given voice but no vote. W. W. Smith also read a document from the Propaganda League appealing for recognition from the convention. Attached to this were "credentials" for "delegates."

A motion to adopt the minority report was defeated, whereupon a motion to seat all delegates against whom no contest was filed was carried.

During the discussion on these motions the greatest display of poor logic and no logic at all was offered by the opponents of the Revolutionary element and the principles it represents.

Davy of Everett argued against the adoption of the minority report on the ground that it would give Local Seattle, as well as the Propaganda League, a voice.

Comrade Phillips of Everett made a very eloquent speech in the same discussion, in which he stated that "they are both (meaning both Local Seattle and the "Independents") to blame, if either is to blame," and that "they should either both be seated or neither should be seated."

After recess Saturday evening a permanent organization was formed, A. H. Barth of Tacoma being elected

Chairman and Mrs. E. D. Cory Secretary. The permanent organization having been completed, committees were elected as follows: Committees on Rules of Order, Constitution and Resolutions.

Up to this time the convention had had but few opportunities to violate the Party Constitution, and, judging by their actions later, that was the only reason for not doing it, for immediately following the reading of the Report of the Committee on Rules of Order, the anarchistic spirit of the "unorganizable" became evident in their reckless treatment of the will of the Party membership as expressed in the State Constitution. They seemed to forget (if they had ever known) that they were sent there as representatives of the Party, and not as the Party. They evidently thought that the expressed will of the rank and file was of no consequence where they saw an opportunity to hoist the banner of Middle Class individualistic tactics.

The Committee on Rules of Order brought in their report Sunday morning, recommending the adoption of six rules. The first rule was to the effect that the majority should decide all questions. This would have meant that the "previous question" could be ordered by a bare majority, or, in other words, that 26 could close the mouths of 25 at any time if there were 51 present. Such a rule was in direct violation of Section 18 of Article VI, State Constitution, which states plainly that Robert's Rules of Order shall govern where they do not conflict with the State Constitution. Robert's Rules provide that it requires a two-thirds vote to close debate, as it would be utterly unjust to give a bare majority the right to suppress discussion on the part of almost as large a minority. An amendment was introduced providing for a two-thirds vote on a question of closing of debate, but it was defeated. A point of order was raised that the rule was unconstitutional and therefore out of order, but the chairman, "Honest John Barth," held, in effect, that the will of the rank and file was of no consequence. An appeal was taken from the ruling of the chairman, but the convention sustained the chair and thus endorsed the statement made, by one of the delegates: "To hell with the constitution and the men that made it."

Those delegates who respected the will of the rank and file, which they were there to represent more than the desires of a bare majority of delegates who saw fit to trample the constitution under foot, held a conference during the noon hour Sunday, where they decided to leave the convention if it persisted in violating the only document which they were bound to respect, holding that such a convention, "by its action, ceases to be a Socialist convention."

Immediately after the noon recess the gag rule was adopted and following its adoption one of the dele-

gates was denied the right to introduce a subsidiary motion. That was the climax.

Sixteen delegates refused to take part in the responsibility for violating and disregarding the will of the rank and file, and walked out in a body.

INCAPABLES.

Now they had things their own way. One would have expected that they would have accomplished something great. But Anarchists as they are, they found it beyond their power to do any constructive work.

In order to illustrate the "broad reasoning power" of these Anarchists, it might be mentioned that they had a lengthy discussion on a change in Section 1 of Article III of the State Constitution. Where it states that Local Secretaries "shall report to the State Committee the general condition of the Local," some one introduced a motion to substitute the word "general" with the word "actual," but finally it was resolved that it would be "undemocratic" to determine what kind of condition to report, and it now reads that "the condition" of the Local shall be reported.

That the convention is not an executive body was lost sight of and a committee was elected for the purpose of passing on 198 "applications" turned in by the "Independents." The purpose for the "passing" on these "applications" is unknown, as they certainly could not join the convention, and it seems incredible that this "intelligent" body should have taken upon themselves to elect them to membership in some Local. Enough has been said about the "convention" proceedings.

CONVENTION ANALYZED.

It seems to me that after analyzing the situation, three points become clear. First, that the line between the two elements, found everywhere in the Socialist Movement, is drawn tighter and more distinctly in this State than any other place in the country. Second, that the distinguishing feature of all opponents of Local Seattle and the principles it represents, is the individualistic, anarchistic spirit. Third, that this anarchistic spirit is the natural reflection of the Middle Class, petty bourgeois mind.

It is not necessary that an individual actually belong to the Middle Class in order to possess the spirit of this class. It is a well known fact that in every stage of Society we see reflections of all preceding stages, and that in every class in Society we see reflections of the older classes. The Middle Class spirit, the spirit of "independence," the spirit of "everybody for himself and the devil take the hindmost," is found in all classes in Society and is more prevalent in the United States than any other country. It is therefore natural and must be expected that this spirit of

"Jeffersonian Democracy" should find expression in the Socialist Movement and especially in the United States, where the petty bourgeois, the Middle Class, has been, and still is, a formidable social factor.

The lesson taught us by the late State Convention is that the Proletarian element should be extremely careful in choosing its representatives.

The economic conditions in the United States and the great strength of the Middle Class should act as a stimulus for the Proletarian element in refraining from doing anything which might seem inviting to the Middle Class element.

The Gag Convention

Continued from Page One

Practical Tactics? Or are you a Utopian Impossibleist, exalting the individual at the expense of the organization? Or, are you a middle class Socialist, expecting relief from Monopoly by getting all the people to vote for Public Ownership?

Thresh out these things in your Local. It is no question of Titus or anti-Titus, except as Titus stands for

Proletarian control of the Socialist Party first, last and all the time. As between the Impossibleists and the Opportunists, Titus would always support the Impossibleists, for they are at least Proletarian, even though Utopians and Anarchistic. It must be a practical Revolutionary body. Dreams win no battles. The Capitalists fear no dreamers. And dreamers can organize only dreamers.

The proof of the pudding is the eating. That the Capitalists do fear the Straight Socialists of Washington is proved by the way they have persecuted its representatives. That the Straight Socialists of Washington can organize, is proved by these two facts: (1) THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON HAS THE LARGEST RELATIVE MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES and (2) IT HAS THE LARGEST RELATIVE VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Impossibleists have had control of the Executive Committee the last year. What have they done? Run us down to the smallest convention we ever had, discouraged the rank and file everywhere and finally split us wide open by applying the Gag Rule to the Convention. Are these results likely to be improved upon by putting in power the next year these same people yoked up with Middle Class elements pulling backward?

THE WOMAN

By Bessy Fiset

Did you ever see those lemons of Southern California? Those big, fat, luscious, fancy lemons? Goodness, how they make your mouth water and your jaws ache! Well, until the third of July I supposed this particular kind of lemon was confined to California, but once more I was mistaken. The same juicy variety has been found in Everett, and it was the Woman's State Committee which first discovered that this useful citrus fruit was growing in the northwest and that Everett had a bumper crop.

On Friday, July 3, Comrades Eleanor Herman, Hattie Titus and Bessy Fiset, of the Woman's State committee, and Anna Steele, of the State executive committee, boarded the boat at 5 p. m. in Seattle for Everett.

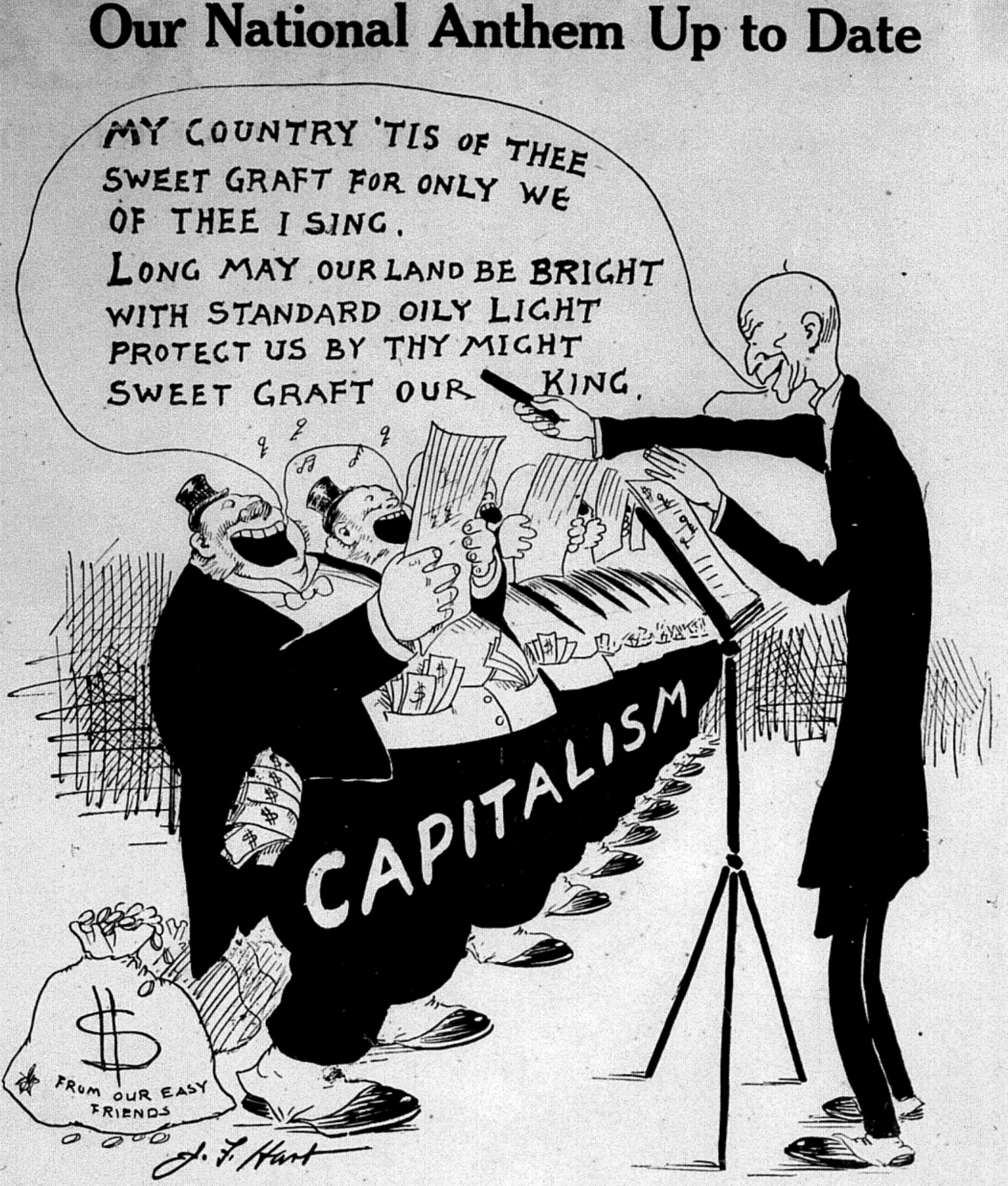
Arriving at Everett we looked around for the glad hand. Being very independent women we would never have thought of having anyone meet the bally boat that runs up there, if it had not been that on the 18th of last April I recall the date because it was my birthday and I celebrated by sitting all day listening to a state committee unconstitutionally depose a State Secretary-Treasurer—but to resume) on the 18th of last April some comrade from Everett—I have forgotten his name, but if I recall correctly,

he had a very large and fierce looking moustache—asked to have the convention go to Everett, giving as his main inducement the fine and noble comradeship of Everett which would be extended to, and indeed lavished on, the comrades coming to the convention from all other states. So emphatically was the statement re-iterated that Seattle did not know the meaning of the word comradeship, and that the icy mitt had been handed out so often by the Seattle "Boonch"—as Comrade Krueger says—that it was time we found out that there was that one thing—Comradeship—in the State of Washington. (By the way, Everett would better corral it. It is running loose up there.) Well, to go back to the boat and the women.

We looked around but encountered nothing but strangers. Not a red button in sight. The two lean ladies assisted the two fat ladies on to a car and we rode up to a hotel and dropped our grips and started on a hunt for our other member of the Woman's Committee, Tillie Roeder.

The night was gorgeous so we walked a long way until we came to said Tillie Roeder's house—Nothing doing!

After getting down on our knees and drinking out of the hose tap, we



started for G. A. R. Hall. I was firmly convinced that sometime, somewhere there was a reception, a practical demonstration of that glad hand business.

We landed at the G. A. R. Hall and were received with open arms—by the M. B. As. Now just who the M. B. As. are we don't know but any how they are not Socialists, but they invited us to a dance and supper—everything free of charge. That sounded pretty good to us, but we felt sure that on getting such a welcome from the M. B. A's, that the real thing was to be found in the Socialist Ranks.

One of the comrades had said she thought may be Comrade Roeder was at Smith's. Forthwith, off we started for Smith's and sure enough there was the reception. Bright light beckoned us far down the street and as we drew nearer voices were heard and forms were seen flitting about.

"Climbing up the steps to the porch—Oh, for a flashlight!

The sight of four members of the State Committee caucusing with the Brown, Burgess, Parks, Ball, Corey—The Lady of the three sciences—Robbins, Wolff "Boonch" was something to be remembered!

Girls, it was rich; it was juicy. We had found the real thing. Four State Committeemen caught with the goods on. And the best thing of all is that no one of them knows how it happened; it just happened, that's all. Don't you know how those things do happen sometimes?

Well, said Smith came out and asked us in (what could a poor man do?) but we told him we were after Tillie Roeder to arrange for a meeting of the Women's State Committee the following morning. Tillie came, with her arms folded as much as to say, "Well, what are you going to do about it?" When she saw that we treated her as usual she held out a hand, which we took. She informed us that she could not meet with the State Committee as Local Everett was to serve meals to the convention. We asked her if she didn't know we were going to meet and she said, "yes, but she couldn't serve the Party with her brains so she would have to do it with her hands."

When one of the strongest Revolutionary Socialist women in the state says a thing like that you simply have to pass it up. The case is hopeless.

After a little confab with Tillie, we sauntered home, wiser by a great deal, than we were fifteen minutes before.

As we were leaving we looked skyward and found the solution of the whole thing. What can you expect from an individual who passes off as a Revolutionary Scientific Socialist who has erected a flagpole in his front yard and hoisted the stars and stripes and then put a red flag underneath? Can a man like that stand up and fight for his principles? Fight and fight and fight until he weakens, falls and dies still fighting for his class and for the principles of his class? Never! Old Glory is still on top—the emblem of the Bourgeoisie—and in his heart is that something that in spite of his class, in spite of his principles, makes him seek alliance with the bourgeois movement.

INTELLECTUAL FLASHES FROM THE CONVENTION.

Barber of Spokane: "What do we want with Robert's Rules of order, anyhow? He's dead and lots of you don't even know it."

Mrs. Stone, M. A. L.: "Karl Marx is dead, too."

Barber: "Well the Socialist Party doesn't follow Karl Marx in lots of things either."

The Man from Mukilteo: "Comrades, I stand for Liberty. When any man tries to—"

Chairman Barth: "Comrade you will have to speak to the question."

The Man from Mukilteo: "Well, I will now speak to the question. Mr. Chairman, what is the question?" (Laughter from the gallery.)

(Overheard in the women's lavatory.)

Mrs. Cory: "Where did you say you were from?"

Mrs. Fiset: "I didn't say. But I am from Seattle."

Mrs. Cory: "A Finn, I presume?"

McCorkle of Seattle: "Mr. Chairman, I call for the previous question."

Chairman Barth: "Will the Secretary please READ THE PREVIOUS QUESTION?"

Mrs. Cory: (Reads the motion which had been carried before motion was made upon which previous question was called). Screams of laughter from the "gallery."

Mrs. Cory: Comrades, I demand order. I am reading the previous question and I guess I know my business." (more hilarity.)

Chairman Barth: "Any one who wants to laugh may leave the room and do it. They can't laugh here. This is no laughing matter!" (Laughter immediately stops.)

Man on the street to McCorkle after Revolutionists had withdrawn: "Well, how are they getting along up at the convention?"

McCorkle: "As well as they can without any Socialists."

John McSiarrow to Dr. Brown: "Well, are you going by the Constitution?"

Dr. Brown: "No, only in so far as it does not conflict with the will of the convention." (Hitting the constitution in high places—as it were.)