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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves
of Capital to Vote Their
Own Emancipation

Tenth Year—No. 438

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THE "REVOLUTION OF FOLDED ARMS" IN SWEDEN

By Arthur Jensen

The Great Swedish Strike is still going on with as great force as ever. As near as can be learned from reliable reports, Sweden has proved to be a country without scabs.

LYING RUMORS.

The capitalist press of Europe has been busily engaged in spreading rumors about the strikers returning to work, but thanks to the efficient service of the International Socialist Press these rumors have had but little effect.

SOLIDARITY IN SWEDEN.

The fact is that the Swedish working class is displaying a solidarity never before equaled in the history of the International Movement of the Proletariat. Even the members of the Army and Navy of Sweden are contributing regularly to the support of the strikers, in spite of the fact that their daily wage amounts to less than six cents.

But the Swedish working class could not alone carry on this gigantic struggle. And so we see all over Europe organized labor contributing thousands of dollars daily, and the American working class is also falling in line. The Swedish national organizations have sent Comrades Sandgren and Tholin to this country, authorizing them to solicit aid for the strikers. They are sending a circular to organized labor throughout the country, a copy of which is printed in another column.

A "REVOLUTION OF FOLDED ARMS."

More significant than anything else is the fact that nothing whatever of an exciting nature is happening. Everything is absolutely quiet. It is truly a "Revolution of Folded Arms," as the Scandinavian Socialist press is terming it. The strike is furnishing no material for hair-raising stories of murders, riots or the like. The workmen are taking advantage of the situation and, with their families, go fishing, and otherwise enjoy the beauties of nature, an enjoyment of which factory life deprives them. On Sundays and evenings they have mass meetings at which they discuss the situation. These meetings have been record breakers in attendance. In Stockholm, a city of less than 400,000 inhabitants, there were nearly 50,000 present at a meeting August 8th. One of the main speakers at this monster gathering was C. E. Tholin, who is now in this country representing the strikers.

The following letter, written by a correspondent of "Social-Demokraten," Copenhagen, and published in same, shows the actual conditions as they exist. As the situation is practically unchanged the descriptions contained in this letter still hold good.

INTERESTING LETTER.

Malmö, Aug. 10.
The first week of the General Strike has quietly gone by. The splendid weather has sent its sunshine down

over the city as if Nature wants to keep up the spirit of the workers.

ENTHUSIASTIC MEETINGS.

The city is quiet. Life is found only in "People's Park," when the strikers in the morning gather on the large plaza facing the Theatre to hold demonstration.

Wild enthusiasm is aroused whenever the speakers mention the solidarity and generosity displayed from abroad. Vaerner Ryden, member of Parliament, speaks of the splendid assistance from Denmark. The Blacksmiths' and Machinists' Union sends, for instance, 20,000 crowns (\$5,200) weekly.

The announcement that the Printing trade had joined the strike caused great joy, but we Socialists in Southern Sweden had hoped that an exception was to be made of the Labor

Press. To stop our own press, we consider as cutting off our own tongue. (While it is a fact that all Socialist and Trade Union papers were suspended with the rest, the Unions are publishing a daily Bulletin, "Svaret" ("The Answer").)

MILITARY FORCES RESTLESS.

While absolute quiet and order is prevailing among the workers, it is boiling and seething in the military forces. In but few places has the dissatisfaction reached the surface. In Sollesta, Norrland, the regiment sang "Labor's Sons" (a revolutionary song), and another regiment also sang revolutionary songs and refused to obey orders.

Will Provisions Last?

The great question in Malmö is

well as all over Sweden is: How long will the food last?

There is no immediate danger. We still have bread. Milk, however, is scarce. Meat and vegetables we have in plenty. The strikers have done nothing to prevent the supply of provisions.

The entire commercial life is absolutely dead. The last few days preceding the strike the provision dealers did splendid business. But now the hand of Death is resting on everything, and it can not be otherwise, for the warehouses of the factories are empty. The big Zenith oleomargarine factory has not been able to fill orders since Thursday. The same is true of the large sugar factories.

RAILROAD TRAFFIC PARALYZED.

The railroads are taking off the freight trains, one after the other.

The government railroads have no use for half of their regular employees. On one system, "Eastern Skane's Railroad," there is absolutely nothing but passenger traffic. All freight traffic is stopped.

CAPITALISTS WANT BLOODY WAR.

The big capitalists are raging over this deathly quiet, this "Revolution of Folded Arms." They have expected violent revolt and massacre, killing and imprisonment of hundreds.

But instead came deathly quiet, which acts a thousand times more destructively on the whole capitalist society than bloody fights, assassinations and the like.

Such is the physiognomy and history of the first week's General Strike. GIACOME.

GAG CONVENTION NULLIFIED

Seattle, Wa., Sept. 6th, 1909.
To the State Committee and Membership of the S. P. of Washington: Comrades.—Herewith is submitted report on State Membership Referendum "D" on the proposition "that the annual convention assembled at Everett for violating the Constitution of the Party and the suppression of free debate, is hereby declared illegal and all its acts null and void."

Yes	No
Seattle No. 1 36	0
Seattle No. 2 13	0
Aberdeen No. 1 6	0
Vancouver 4	0
Langley 1	0
Puyallup 1	0
Blain 8	0
Arlington 5	1
Oroville 13	0
South Bend 9	0
Liberty 5	1
Huckley 12	0
Midland 2	0
Yelm 6	0
Lopez 0	6
Westport 11	0
Centralia 9	0
M. A. L. 32	2
Total 163	10

The Secretary of Local Friday Harbor submitted his Local's vote on Sept. 2 with the remark that the vote had been taken on August 29, or eleven days after the vote in Locals had closed, and therefore is null and void.

In view of the fact that this vote by many comrades will perhaps be taken as an index of our present strength in this State, signifying the number of Socialist party members who in future will support a Revolutionary Proletarian program, I deem it my duty to draw your attention to certain facts which the tabulated vote will not disclose.

First, by reason of the fact that the Finnish translator in the National Office, Victor Wadla, refused to translate this referendum and to submit the same to the Finnish comrades in their own language, as they expected would be done in due time to allow an intelligent vote, these comrades failed to vote, and thus a large number of voters have been disfranchised, in entire harmony with other acts of National Officers, in violation of the Constitutions. It may safely be as-

sumed that with respect to the Finnish comrades coercion will be the method practiced and directed from the National Office to prevent free expression upon issues involved at the present time in this State.

Second, a number of Locals in the State of whose loyalty to the present Socialist Party organization unmistakable evidence is at hand, have failed to vote. Of the Locals in the mining regions this can readily be explained. For months past all their attention has been absorbed on the industrial field; this, together with their natural interest centered around their recently held district convention, will explain matters. Some other Locals, although they have paid their dues to the State Committee, also have failed to vote for some reason; nevertheless their loyalty cannot successfully be questioned.

Third, a large number of new comrades in the Party did not vote for obvious reasons, and no effort was made to get their vote on this question.

Fourth, unlike the opposition tactics, our Locals have been advised to restrict their membership rather than to admit new members into their ranks during the recent turmoil and while the settlement of the question was pending in the courts.

On the whole we have reason for satisfaction regarding the vote as cast with reference to numbers and otherwise. As said before, our Locals have not been advised to rapidly increase their membership, or what in this instance referred to, meant the same thing—to send in tally sheets with a large vote recorded regardless of the individual's right to vote. We could not afford to do so. No organization will inspire respect that will not insist upon enforcement of discipline within its own ranks. We can not allow ourselves to play monkeyshines with the Party. The lookers-on who belong in our camp will justly believe that we will at some critical moment allow capitalists to play monkeyshines with us; they would not respect us, and their accession to our ranks will be delayed.

The Reform Socialists have spoken through their mouthpiece, the "Seattle Post-Intelligencer"; they have announced the men and women who they believe will play an important part in a movement for the emancipation of the wage-working class, and it is claimed that these Reform Socialists, business men, mill owners and employers of labor, and some farmers, constituting a committee, have been elected to their present position by more than 400 Socialists (?) in Washington for the purpose of shaping the destiny of the organization. Comrades we should not be disturbed in the least, and there will not be any need to analyze their posture in relation to the whole column of the American proletariat. Suffice it to say that the reform movement here in Washington with its new central directing power, composed of members of a class which is the most bitter foe to the working class, and especially one revolutionary in character, carries within the poison that will soon kill it. They carry the poison of disintegration that must break them up, and in the end will deprive them of all power for mischief; while the power of the revolutionist to accomplish results grows with the gathering strength that its posture insures to him.

We have had our struggles in the past; we will have some in the future. We know that in struggles of this kind personal feelings, unfortunately, play a part; we cannot prevent that. Let the other side, the reformer, fill the role of malice that its weak position drives it to. But let us fill the role of the square-toed revolutionist. If there must be amputation, let us do it nobly, but firmly.

With malice toward none, with charity to all, let us reorganize to a purpose.

R. KRUEGER,
State Secretary.

THE WOMAN

By Bessy Fiset

In the September number of the American Magazine there is an article by one W. J. Thomas entitled "Woman and the Occupations."

Mr. Thomas starts out by saying: "The appalling conditions in our competitive industrial system are at first sight almost sufficient to make us doubt the fundamental goodness of human nature and the integrity of mind," and from that he goes on to describe the position of woman—not alone industrially—and indeed he seems very much in earnest in all that he says. So much so in fact that one reads forward with great anticipation of what stand he is going to take for the abolition of such "vicious" and "outrageous" treatment.

When he makes the emphatic statement that "in London women are still working nineteen hours for one shilling, and shirts are still being made for seven and a half pence per dozen," and that "these distressing conditions are well known and they are actually a source of great concern to employers," it is time to sit up and take notice. Something is surely going to happen, and eagerly one scans the succeeding lines to see what these "concerned employers" and Mr. Thomas are going to put forth as a panacea for these ills.

Then, oh! what a shock! Here it is: "I do not believe that anyone in the world has a program that would immediately set these matters right, nor that any committee of persons could of any hand formulate a program. The only way is to work point by point, by legislation" (the passing of laws that are not enforced) "sentiment" (the "concern of employers" as mentioned above, I reckon) "experiment" (while our girls in industry are swarming into prostitution), "education" (the teaching of patriotism and loyalty to your employer), "by the development of good-will" (yes, so glad to have you rob us of that four-fifths, Mr. Employer; take it and God bless you), "and the substitution of simpler standards of living among the more fortunate (?) classes." (That last, isn't it a peach-cream?)

Too bad Friend Thomas has to be writing pot boilers. He should really set about the task of teaching "mawh simple living to the mawh fawhunate clawhnes," don't ye know!

It is positively shocking the way "woman has invaded practically every trade and profession." Why, women seem to swarm out of the ground in hordes and grab every job in sight. What is to be done about it? There are so many millions of them at it now that you can't stop them. But, yes, there is one way, too. Make home so awfully attractive that the woman will be crazy to stay there. Let her have her bedroom all in blue and white, with a dandy big polar bear-skin before the hearth where she can lie and play with her baby. Let her have all the conveniences so that the care of the house is reduced to the minimum. Let her have a big shady yard, where she can read and work and expand. Let her have a living room with music and warmth and beauty there. With homes like this how many women will rush out to get the privilege of working in the terrible atmosphere of the textile mills? How many will clamor for the three-fifty de-

partment store jobs? and the thousand other positions women are striving for?

Some day women are going to have these things. The Socialists are going to see to it that they do, and when that day comes—well, there won't be any wages then—but if there were women would have to be given exorbitant pay if they were to be coaxed away from home, because they would have homes that were worthy of them and not hovels unfit for dogs.

THE WARREN CASE

Resolutions Passed by Tenth District U. M. W. A. Convention.

President Wm. H. Taft, Washington, D. C.
Hon. Sir—

Whereas, Editor Fred D. Warren of the "Appeal to Reason" has become the victim of a conspiracy hatched by the supposed servants of the people of this great and free country of ours, who have used the power of the courts to brand him as a felon, and

Whereas, Editor Fred D. Warren is now confronted with a sentence of imprisonment and a heavy fine as a penalty for daring to stand unflinchingly for human rights, and

Whereas, The power and influence of men in Federal positions have been utilized to convict him, with the sole object of strangling to death the journal of which he is the editor; and

Whereas, Editor Fred D. Warren and all times stood for the uplifting of the poor and persecuted workers and have always been the defenders of the oppressed among the producers of this great and free country of ours; and

Whereas, We do not consider it a crime on his part to offer a reward for the kidnapping of a fugitive from justice when this is being practiced continually by the various bank officials, sheriffs, railroad officials and other public servants and private citizens all over the United States, and therefore we fail to understand, if his offense is a violation of the laws of the United States of America, why the United States of America does not prosecute other officials or private citizens who are continually committing the same offence by sending through the United States mails and causing to be posted in the postoffices and city offices rewards for the capture and handing over to justice of men who are suspected of having committed a crime against the United States laws; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the delegates of the convention of the United Mine Workers of America of the State of Washington, held in the city of Seattle, being citizens of the United States, that if Editor Fred D. Warren is sentenced to prison and also has to pay the fine imposed by Judge John C. Pollock of Kansas City, Kan., that every other person in the United States of America who issues a similar reward to the one issued by Fred D. Warren be meted out the same kind of justice, and that the United States government take immediate action and prosecute every citizen so offending, whether he be a public servant or private citizen; and be it further

Resolved, That as United Mine workers, we will call on our entire organization and also our affiliated labor organizations throughout the United States to demand at the hands of the United States of America the immediate dismissal of the Warren case, unless every other person so offending and is being allowed to so offend at the present time without any attention paid to the offence by the authorities of the United States of America, be brought to justice and be given the same punishment as is now being meted out to Fred D. Warren, editor of the "Appeal to Reason." We demand these resolutions be considered that

THE LINES DRAWN

At last there are two parties in Washington, both claiming to be "Socialist."

Two Referendums have gone out, been returned and counted. Both resulted exactly as every one knew beforehand they would. Krueger's, regular, constitutional, legal, was voted on only by those who stood for the Proletarian basis of the Party as represented by those who bolted the Everett Convention rather than be gagged. This Referendum declared the gag convention null and void.

Waynick's Referendum, issued by a man who had been removed as Secretary of the Party, and had no more right to issue a Referendum than any other Party member, was supported and voted on by all who were opposed to the strict wage class program. By this illegal Referendum certain men and women have been chosen to official positions in a Party which will now have to hunt a name for itself. It certainly is not "The Socialist Party of Washington." The courts have decided that name belongs to the Krueger organization.

So at last the lines are drawn. There is a One-Class Party, represented by Richard Krueger as Secretary-Treasurer. And there is a Two-Class Party represented by Frans Bostrom as Secretary-Treasurer. We shall now see who can do the best educational and organizing work.

The P.-I. announces the officials of the Bostrom-Brown-Burgess-Barth organization. They are Cory, Jory, Barth, the two Roeders, Chamberlain, Cook, Barber, Halbrook, Sax, Wood, Gordon, Satterthwaite, Thompson and Crosby, as State Committee.

The clean majority of these is middle class, and includes some of the most prominent Mills supporters in the State. No doubt they will soon have Walter Thomas Mills, Carl D. Thompson, John M. Work and other preachers and lawyers to build up the Two-Class Party in this State. It is up to the National Executive Committee to show what they can do, having undertaken to down the regular Socialist Party in the State.

On the other hand, the Socialist Party of Washington has called an organization conference, to meet at Seattle, Sunday, Sept. 19. Here will be proposed for Referendum of the Party a new Constitution, a new State Committee, and such other constructive plans and work outlined as should have been accomplished at the Everett Convention if free discussion had not been suppressed.

The times are ripe for a Wage Labor Party. The Socialist Party of Washington has, by means of the National Executive Committee, been fortunately relieved of all those opposed to such a One-Class organization. It is now up to those who are left in the Party to conduct, without disturbance from the the Two-Class Party advocates, a campaign of education and organization such as has never been seen in this nation. We shall be well flanked. In British Columbia, where, outside Victoria and Vancouver, the population is almost exclusively Proletarian, the Socialist Party is also clearly Proletarian. In Oregon, too, in spite of a vigorous middle class, the Socialist Party is purging itself. It seems to be the destiny of this Northwest Pacific America to hold aloft the One-Class standard.

We cannot but greet with cheers this high destiny, like a regiment selected to charge the enemy's front.

we consider the persecution of Fred D. Warren as an attempt to bankrupt and strangle to death a paper that at all times has dared to publish the truth, same paper being known as the "Appeal to Reason;" and still further

Resolved, These resolutions be sent by mail to President Wm. H. Taft, Judge John C. Pollock of Kansas City, Kan., the senators and congressmen at Washington, D. C.

SLADDEN CALLED FOR.

La Grande, Ore., Sept. 4, 1909.
To the Editor of the "Seattle Socialist"—Dear Sir and Comrade:

In a recent issue of the "Seattle Socialist" I read the copy of Unter-mann's letter to your paper and its reply by the editor, and I want to say that it was one of the best articles that I have read in this paper for some time past, i. e., I believe it was one of the best propaganda articles for the enlightenment of the rank and file of our party.

Now my object in writing you this note is to ask if you will put a reply, or allow published a reply by T. A. Sladden on the subject that is contained in that letter of Unter-mann's, and also your comment. (Sure, it appears in this issue.—Ed.)

I only wish I was able to put in writing my ideas, views, etc., to Unter-mann. I am confident with what little scientific knowledge I have on Socialism and our movement, that I could make that Unter-mann article look like 30 cents. That's the weakest thing I ever saw. And it from the pen of a comrade who is supposed to be posted and up-to-date.

Why, he has merely the conception of a child of the issue he wrote on.

And I also want to say that your answer to his was excellent. Yours for revolution,

GEO. W. HILLMAN,
State Committee-man of Oregon.

California, Aug. 27, 1909.
Comrades.—Enclosed find W. F. M. O. for \$5.00, to be paid on my share of stock. This makes us square once more.

I am glad there is one paper in the United States that is worth while. Trusting this will cheer you up a little, so you will be fresh for the next scrap, because I want you to win that, too, and that you will continue to win your fights as long as there is left any one to scrap with the S. P. of Washington, I am,

Yours for the cause,
P. B. C.

HERRON ENDORSES SLADDEN

La Primaia, 15 Via Benedetto da Maliano,
Florence, Italy, December 29, 1908.

Dear Comrade Sladden:
I merely wanted to say to you that no Socialist writer has expressed so true and deep and far an insight into the social forces making for the future as you have in your article in the December "International Socialist Review." I have read nothing so real and so well said in a long time. It is upon my faith in just such a process of revolution as you signify that all my hopes for mankind are based. If the revolution does not come through the forces you indicate, it will not be a revolution. It will be something imposed upon mankind, rather than something springing up from within mankind itself. Except it come in this way it will be merely another dreary process of reform. You have clearly disclosed the roots, and the only roots, of social freedom. That freedom must come from the human soil, from the human drift; or, to change the metaphor, it must come from the human class that has been spiritually freed by the mechanical or industrial forces. It is only this true proletariat, utterly cut off from the past, without any interest whatever in the preservation of past conventions, that can bring freedom to any of us. In Him is all my hope.

With warmest greetings, faithfully yours,
GEORGE D. HERRON.

THOUSANDS TO BE SUPPORTED

The Swedish strike, now in its fifth week, continues with unabated energy. Recently C. E. Tholin and John Sandgren, the Swedish delegates who were sent to America by the strikers to collect funds, received the following cable dispatch:

"Stockholm, Sweden, August 31, 1909.
"In their struggle for their right to organize, the Swedish working class has now conducted its general strike for four weeks.

"Hitherto the government has remained passive, but now it and society outside of the workers have openly turned against the strikers. Reckless lies are being circulated against the working class.

"In spite of this, in spite of threatening hunger, in spite of all that the ruling class may do, we are determined to stick it out. The situation remains unchanged, and unbroken ranks of workmen confront the employers.

"The class spirit is strong, and the strikers are determined on 'no surrender' up to the last ditch.

"We are cheered and sustained by what the workmen of all European countries are doing to aid us. They are devoted to our cause and support it magnificently.

"Looking toward America we are counting on the sympathy of our class brothers there. We DARE to count on their powerful economic assistance, which is now necessary for us in our struggle.

"LANDSSEKRETARIATET,
"HERMAN LINDQVIST,
"ERNST SOEDERBERG."

All appropriations and contributions should be sent to Landssekreteriatet, Stockholm, Sweden.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

What It Stands For

Platform of the Socialist Party of Washington

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.

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 unemployed 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.

8. This is the Proletarian Revolution.

9. We know that such a Revolution cannot be accomplished in any one state. We must win full political power in the entire nation. Executives, legislatures, courts and armies must all be captured by the Proletariat in order to effect its appropriation of all property used as capital.

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."

Statement of Principles of the National Party

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 machines owned by all other classes decreases, their power in the

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 lawless 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 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.

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 workers

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.

"The Socialist party stands with organized labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression or to wrest from the capitalists any improvement in the conditions of labor. It declares that it is the duty of every wage-worker to be an active and loyal member of the organized labor movement, striving to win its battles and to strengthen and perfect it for the greater struggles to come.

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 under taken 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 workingmen; 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, 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 certain 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 treasury, 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

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Socialist Party and 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 workers

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 workingmen 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.

"Workingmen 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."

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Communications intended for the Editor should be so addressed. Rejected manuscripts will not be returned unless stamps are enclosed.

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HERMON F. TITUS, Editor; ERWIN B. AULT, Managing Editor; ARTHUR JENSEN, Assistant Editor; WEBBY FISKE, Assistant Editor; HATTIS W. TITUS, Manager; LULU AULT, Circulation Manager; RYAN WALKER, Cartoonist; JOHN F. HART, Cartoonist; THOS. J. COONROD, Idaho State Editor; THOS. A. SLADDEN, Oregon State Editor.

Special Contributors. EMIL HERMAN, Socialism and the Farmer; C. W. BARZEE, Socialism and the Middle Class; MRS. FLOYD HYDE, Socialism and the Home; A. B. CALLAHAN, Socialism and the State; ERNEST UNTERMANN, Socialism and Science; EDMOND PELUSO, French and Italian Translator.

FOR NEXT ISSUE.

Untermann sends in a reply to all his critics, entitled "HERETICS, DOGMATISTS, MIDDLEHEADS AND THE REVOLUTION." It will be printed next week. Sladden also promises more from week to week.

THE REVEREND MR. STELZLE.

Who keeps this Labor clergyman going? Many have asked that question. For years he has done nothing but cultivate Labor Unions and dabble in Labor Politics. He has made it his business to prove how great a friend of labor he is.

The following words from one who knows tells the secret:

"I want to call your attention to the recent trend of Mr. Stelzle's articles in labor papers. This sky-rocket seems to have found a universal patent medicine for the cure of all social and economic evils of the working class. He is not preaching temperance, but absolute prohibition. We are convinced that he is well paid out of the funds of the Anti-Saloon League. These people have at present 250 university graduates, amongst them lawyers and preachers of all denominations, on their pay roll, paying salaries from \$1800 to \$2500 per year, and expenses. Stelzle sends his articles weekly to all Labor papers."

A "JUDGE" JUDGED.

A subscriber asks us to reply to an article in the "Blue Grass Blade" on "Historical and Declaratory Socialism," by "Judge Parish B. Ladd," of Alameda, Cal.

It is impossible to reply to a "Judge" who writes "Blank" and "Marks" when he wishes to refer to Louis Blanc and Karl Marx. This "Judge" refers to workingmen as "the least fitted to manage their own affairs, much less the affairs of all others." Yet we don't know a workingman who would make such an exhibition of his ignorance as to write "Blank" for "Blanc" or "Marks" for "Marx."

Everything this "Judge" says in a three-page article, given a leading place in a journal devoted to "Freedom of Thought," and now in its eighteenth volume, betrays the same amazing ignorance as his references to Louis Blanc and Karl Marx. How the editor of the "Blue Grass Blade" could ever have been so imposed upon as to admit to his columns such an idiotic attack on Socialism, can only be understood by supposing he thought a "Judge" must know what he is talking about.

The only reply needed to the "Judge" is to say that not a single one of his representations concerning Socialism and its history has any foundation in fact. Let him or his editor or his readers get, for instance, Schaeffle's "Quintessence of Socialism" or "Sombart's Socialism," both written by opponents of Socialism who know what they are writing about, and then discover how these great scholars and professors entertain the highest respect for the facts and theories of Socialism. For example, Werner Sombart, professor in the University of Breslau, whose work was introduced to the American public by Prof. John B. Clark, of Columbia University, New York, opens his book with this sentence:

"When Karl Marx began a communistic manifesto with the well-known words, 'The history of all society thus far is the history of class strife,' he uttered, in my opinion, one of the greatest truths that fill our century." But our wise Judge probably never heard of Schaeffle or Sombart or Clark.

INTERRUPTED ARRESTED.

A drunken capitalist "buted in" at George Holmes' meeting Tuesday night. Result, the cop ran him in.

Socials were present as visitors for the very purpose of attacking Socialism and defeating such Resolutions as these. But they beat themselves by their coarse attacks and only helped our cause.

HOW WILL YOU DO IT?

United Mine Workers Pass Socialist Resolution.

Whereas, in the light of the industrial depression that has haunted America for more than a year, millions of willing workers have been forced into involuntary idleness, thereby being denied access to the means of life; and,

Whereas, a class of predatory rich, who scarcely know the limits of their wealth, are co-existent with the countless thousands whose poverty is directly attributable to their failure to find some owner of the means of production to employ them; and

Whereas, the denial of the opportunity to willing workers to engage in useful labor springs from the fact that the means with which the necessities of life are produced, are owned and controlled by private individuals, who are not necessary factors in the field of wealth production, but whose only function is to profit by the activity of the working class so long as a market can be found where the product of the workers can be disposed of; and,

Whereas, the workers receive in the form of wages only a small share of what their labor-power, with the aid of machinery creates, thus preventing them from buying back out of the markets the equivalent of what they have produced, necessarily causing a glutted market; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the United Mine Workers of America, in district convention assembled, recognize and declare for the necessity of the "public ownership and operation" and the "democratic management" of all those means of production and exchange that are collectively used, that every man or woman willing and able to work can have free access to the means of life and get the full social value of what they produce.

While the "Independents" in Seattle, including all the old Mills supporters, are holding forth once a week on Sunday nights to a measly audience of one or two hundred, mostly their own crowd, in a hall which can seat a thousand, the Revolutionists are holding two street-meetings every night in the week, and frequently three, every one attracting hundreds of strangers and selling Socialist papers and pamphlets to them by the thousand. Ever since the fair weather began, Seattle Socialists have conducted by far the most remarkable street campaign ever seen in this city. No attempt has been made to rush in new members, but wage-class Socialism has been driven home. Comrades Holmes, Rosta and Boomer have been the chief speakers the last two weeks.

Honolulu, T. H. Editor Socialist:

Please send as many copies of your paper as enclosed order will pay for. The papers are for distribution in the Pacific fleet. The fleet is due here about Sept. 11th.

Yours fraternally, CHAS. M. ALBRECHT, Honolulu, T. H.

Another. St. Petersburg, Fla., Aug. 20, '09. Dear Comrades:

Enclosed find one dollar in P. M. O. Just extend my subscription a year and get the use of this dollar about your sticher. See?

Am watching the Party movements in Washington with intense interest. If you can come out on top this time I think you will have one of the best developed Locals, if not the best, in the country. I am with you.

Yours for Proletarian Socialism, S. W. BAKER.

Note.—Comrade Baker had paid for the paper up to February, 1910. He extends the subscription to February, 1911, to give us the use of the dollar right now, when we need it most, to make payments on our plant. Oh, for a thousand more like Comrade Baker!

FROM C. W. GARRETT—A COMPARISON.

In taking a look at Socialist conditions in general, it seems to me that the whole thing is taking shape—a shape which I can best illustrate by comparison, viz.:

Capitalism is represented by social forces and class interests in their several grades by the Republican Party, the Democratic Party and the lesser political organizations.

Socialism, by the time it is realized in any general form, will likely be represented by two principal and some lesser political organizations.

The dying portion of the middle class and others of the same disappearing middle class, will likely seek to ride into power on their conception of Socialism, thinking they can thus muster the working class vote.

The real working class—and there are enough of them to know what they want and the best way to get it—will certainly be on the firing line to show that the "real thing" is what they will fight for to the last. Then there will likely be some lesser hangers on who cannot align themselves with either of the others, just as the little capitalist parties are.

C. W. G.

The United Mine Workers held a notable convention in Seattle last week. The daily press gave them scant notice, except to lie about them more outrageously than usual. We are printing several Resolutions passed by this convention which were discussed thoroughly, and really express the sentiments of the delegates. From Montana and Wyoming prominent of-

Editor's Note.—We are publishing the two following communications, hoping they will be enjoyed by our readers as much as by the editors of "The Socialist." It is not often that we get a chance to publish really first-class jokes. But Brown-Burgess, on the one hand, and Barr, on the other, have here given us the two juckiest jokes we have read in a long time.

JOKE NO. 1. Seattle, Wash., Sept. 1, 1909. Comrades: (1) The Socialist Party is without a mouthpiece in the states of Washington, Idaho and Oregon. (2) There is great need for a So-

CALL FOR A CONFERENCE

To Reorganize the Socialist Party of Washington—Seattle, Sept. 19, 1909

The Socialist Party of Washington, Office of State Secretary, Seattle, Wn., Sept. 1st, 1909.

To the State Committee, Local Secretaries and M. A. L. of Washington:

Comrades.—One of the affirmative actions of your State Executive Committee in session August 29th is as follows:

"That we call a meeting of the State Committee for Sunday, Sept. 19, at 10 a. m., place of meeting to be designated by Secretary later. That we request of all loyal Locals in the State that they elect representatives for the purpose of attending this meeting of the State Committee as an advisory board, and that we extend an invitation to the M. A. L. generally to attend this meeting in the same capacity. The purpose of this meeting to be in particular to devise ways and means; to lay out a specific program for a revolutionary proletarian organization; to formulate a practical plan with reference to an organ which officially may represent the party in this State, and to transact such other business as properly may be brought before this meeting."

In pursuance of this affirmative action of the State Executive Committee in a regular session August 29th, a meeting of the State Committee is hereby called to meet in Seattle on Sunday, Sept. 19th, 10 a. m. (Place of meeting will be designated later.) All loyal Locals are requested and are hereby directed to elect representatives to represent them at this meeting; and to the M. A. L. a general invitation to attend is hereby extended.

To have voice or vote at the meeting the membership book of a comrade must show him to be in good standing and his loyalty to the Party as now constituted must not successfully be questioned. It is desired that Local secretaries notify the State Secretary how many and whom their respective Locals have elected to represent them previous to the meeting Sept. 19th.

For a Revolutionary Proletarian Party, fraternally yours, R. KRUEGER, State Secretary.

P. S.—Your attention is hereby directed to "The Socialist," No. 437, of Sept. 4th, which was mailed to all secretaries of Locals and the M. A. L. The same contains the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting August 29th, which should be read at the next business meeting of every Local, as well as the Address to the Washington Socialists. Should your next meeting be too far distant, a special meeting of your Local is suggested.

Club of thirteen, one year, \$5.00. Send in your subscriptions at once. "Do it now." Write for terms to agents.

Edwin J. Brown, editor, 713 First Ave., Seattle, Wash.; D. Burgess, assistant editor and general manager.

JOKE NO. 2. Ban's remarks to the above letter: (1) The first lies I consider a falsehood.

(2) The main body is true. (3) If that is true, then I do not belong to the present Socialist party, as I have always had it in my mind that the wage workers should and do have control of the true Socialist Party; at least, that is the party that I belong to. As it is, the wage workers that must unite in order to free themselves.

(4) The name should be the World's Affray. (5) Now I have grave doubts as to whether the writer of the above letter is capable of publishing a true Socialist paper, for it requires a person that has control of the very best of intellectual wisdom, but judging from his motto, his mind must be overtaxed with intellectual ignorance. Now, my way to treat liars and fools, if I were able, would be to furnish them with a copy every month of the National Ripsaw and urge them to read it and study the foundation principles that it teaches.

(6) Now, if I understand this paragraph at all, I must say that if a publication undertakes to teach seven kinds of Socialism, there will be no true Socialism in it at all.

(7) A book and literature department will be conducted. A speaker's column will be devoted to giving names of speakers and their addresses. All competent and accredited speakers will be listed, so that every local may know the address of all such.

(8) A list of all locals and the name and address of their secretaries will be printed every three months, so as to give a quarterly account of each local's work and growth.

(9) The magazine will have no paid editors until the subscription list reaches 25,000, but it will then become a weekly magazine. Its size will be about 7x10 inches, and the magazine form will be given because it will do better service.

(10) The name, "The World's Referee," is given because the referee is a privileged character and is entitled to judge all conflicts, all battles, mental, legal, scientific and political, and battles with powder and lead, as well as battles for bread and butter, and the battle between the People and the Plutocrats must be refereed; also the supreme conflict between the wage slaves and their masters must be refereed. In fact, the whole world needs a referee, and we have the job. It's a big one, but who has a better right?

We want an agent in every town and in every town in Washington, Idaho and Oregon. An army must be organized to do the work. The magazine will be sold in combination with every other Socialist paper and magazine published.

Send in the names and addresses of all speakers who are able to dish up a good warm lecture on Socialism.

The subscription of this magazine will be fifty cents a year until a circulation shall be reached which will command advertising at rates that will permit of a reduction. Four cents a month is not much to anyone, yet if one million people send in four cents a month for one year we will have a half million dollars to do our work with, so let's see just who does and who does not want a Socialist Party in Washington, Idaho and Oregon.

Single subscription, six months, 25 cents. Single subscription, one year, 50 cents. Club of six, one year, \$2.50.

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BY NO MEANS CONFIDENTIAL

The Class Struggle In the Socialist Party

By THOS. A. SLADDEN

Sladden's Reply to Untermann's Criticism Presented In "The Socialist" of August 21

The "Class Struggle" is the foundation upon which must be built any Socialist movement whose name is not to belie its character. This class struggle is best pointed out to my mind by Labriola in his essay on the "Manifesto." I can do no better in defending my position than in quote a few paragraphs from this author. He may not be as well versed as Untermann, but in lieu of a better one we shall be obliged to fall back upon him. Among other things, he says, in referring to the "Manifesto":

The vital part, the essence, the distinctive character of this work, are all contained in the new conception of history which permeates it and which in it is partially explained and developed. By the aid of this conception communism (Modern Socialism), ceasing to be a hope, an aspiration, a remembrance, a conjecture, an expedient, found for the first time its adequate expression in the realization of its very necessity, that is to say, in the realization that it is the outcome and solution of the struggles of existing classes. These struggles have varied according to times and places, and out of them history has developed; but they are all reduced in our days to the single struggle between the capitalist bourgeoisie and the workingman inevitably forced into the ranks of the proletariat. The manifesto gives the genesis of this struggle; it details its evolutionary rhythm and predicts its final results.

On speaking further on the question, Labriola gives us the following pointed paragraphs, which it would be well for American Socialists to heed and for them to place in their proper places those gentlemen "who would give us for allies our most open adversaries."

Not one of the previous or subsequent works of the authors of the "Manifesto" themselves, although they have a much more considerable scientific learning, can replace the "Manifesto" in the same scientific efficacy. (But that bunch of yaps, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, has discarded as useless this same "Manifesto.") It gives us in its classic simplicity the true expression of this situation; the modern proletariat exists, takes its stand, grows and develops in contemporary history as the concrete subject, the positive force, whose necessarily revolutionary action must find in communism its necessary outcome. And that is why this work, while giving a theoretical base to its prediction and expressing it in brief, rapid and concise formulae, forms a storehouse, or rather an inexhaustible mine of embryonic thoughts which the reader may fertilize and multiply indefinitely; it preserves all the original and originating force of the thing which is but lately born and which has not yet left the field of its production. This observation is intended especially for those who, applying a learned ignorance when they are not humbugs, charlatans or amiable dilettanti, give to the doctrine of critical communism precursors, patrons, allies and masters of every class, without any respect for common sense and the most vulgar chronology. Or again, they try to bring back materialistic conception of history into the theory of universal evolution, which to the minds of many is but a new metaphor of a new metaphysics. Or again, they seek in this doctrine a derivative of Darwinism, which is an analogous theory only in a certain point of view and in a very broad sense; or again, they have the condescension to favor us with the alliance or the patronage of that positive philosophy which extends from Comte, that degenerate and reactionary disciple of the genial Saint-Simon, to Spencer, that quintessence of anarchical capitalism, which is to say they wish to give us for allies our most open adversaries.

Capital can only take possession of production by converting laborers into proletarians, and it cannot continue to live, to be fruitful, to accumulate, to multiply and to transform itself except on the condition of paying wages to those whom it has made proletarians. The latter on their side can only live and reproduce their kind on the condition of selling themselves as labor power, the use of which is left to the discretion, that is to say, to the good pleasure of the possessors of capital.

The laboring mass, where it has developed politically, has made and is making its own democratic education. It is choosing its representatives and submitting their action to its criticism. It examines and makes its own ideas and the propositions which these representatives submit to it. It already knows, or it begins to understand according to the situation in the various countries, that the conquest of the political power cannot and should not be made by others in its name, and especially that it cannot be the consequence of a single blow. In a word, it knows, or it is beginning to understand, that the dictatorship of the proletariat which shall have for its task the Socialization of the means of production cannot be the work of a mass led by a few, and that it must be, and that it will be, the work of the proletarians themselves when they have become in themselves and through long practice a political organization.

"Socialism has forced itself into the situation. Those semi-Socialists, even those charlatans who encumber with their presence the press and the meetings of our party and who often are a nuisance to us, are a tribute which vanity and ambitions of every sort render in their fashion to the new power which rises on the horizon. In spite of the foreseen antidote which scientific Socialism is, the truth of which many people have not come to understand, there is a group of quacks on the social question, all having some specific to eliminate such or such a social evil: land nationalization, monopoly of grains in the hands of the state, democratic taxes, statization of mortgages, general strike, etc. (reforestation, municipal coal, etc.) But social democracy eliminates all these fantasies because the consciousness of their situation leads the proletarians when once they have become familiar with the political arena to understand Socialism in an integral fashion. They come to understand that they should look for only one thing, the abolition of wage labor; that there is but one form of society which renders possible and even necessary the elimination of classes—the association which does not produce commodities, and that this form of society is no longer the state, but its opposite, that is to say, the technical and pedagogical administration of human society, the self-government of labor."

And yet there are those who still say, "We need them all—the workers." If such is the case, where does the class struggle come in, outside of a few parasites who are not workers? Rockefeller is a worker, and a hard worker. Every Captain of Industry is a worker. There are but few parasites. It is not that people do not work that concerns us, but the way they work. A burglar at times is a very industrious and well-mannered and costumed person, and at times on the street cannot be distinguished from a parson, or any other member of society, except a wage worker. A wage worker can readily be distinguished on account of his inability to dress up to the standard of the "better element of society," and he usually has corns on his hands. His mode of dress is determined by what he gets in an envelope on a Saturday night, and you are not likely to see him in a spike-tailed coat and a high hat.

A proletarian, according to Ernest Untermann himself in "Science and Revolution," is the "industrial wage worker!"

But in dealing with Untermann it would be a waste of time to quarrel over the word proletariat. If Comrade Untermann wishes to place in the category of proletarians bankers, lawyers, ranchers (big or small), college professors, millionaires, department store owners, preachers, doctors, editors, shoe-string peddlers and what not, well and good. We will not quarrel over a matter of terminology.

THE ROUGH NECKS.

We will call ourselves in contradistinction the mob, rough necks. I know Comrade Untermann will not want to descend from the realms of rural respectability, from the ranks of the professionals, to the ranks of the undesirable mob.

So we will deal with the matter from the standpoint of one of the mob, who do the greater part of the useful work of society, and of one who has no hankering after capitalist respectability. To be with the mob means to be with the majority.

Now, as a matter of fact, the mob precludes the possibility of being the slum proletariat, for no nation on earth could support the mob—the third estate—the mob must necessarily support the nation, and the productive workers do support the slum proletariat and all other parasites.

The slum proletariat is usually a man with business instincts; he believes, as do all capitalists, in obtaining a living without laborious work, and usually succeeds. In many, if not most, cases, he is a business man that has failed. The slum proletariat usually makes a living by preying upon the real proletariat—I am forgetting myself—I mean the mob. Others do the same, the preachers, the lawyers, the business men—Socialist and otherwise—but the distinction between the slum proletariat and a capitalist is that the capitalist preys upon society in a legitimate manner; the slum proletariat is not so particular. I might also add that of the two the slum proletariat is the most courageous, in that the slum proletariat takes the chance of breaking into jail, while the capitalist has a chance of breaking into the legislature, as La Thompson, if he peddle the right kind of "dope." After the slum

proletarian gets into jail he becomes a producer, no longer living off the hard earnings of the "mob," while the legislator not only remains a non-producer, but he often becomes even a positive nuisance.

WHO IS THE PROLETARIAT?

Now who is the mob? In the Federal Census of 1905, of the laborers working in the manufacturing industry in the United States, we find that out of 3,297,819 persons employed, 3,139,391 earned less than \$20.00 in any one week, and that 2,284,149 earned less than \$12.00 in a given week. We find that the average weekly wage of the men employed in the turpentine and rosin industry was \$5.23, of steel workers in rolling mills \$12.58, blast furnaces \$11.71, foundry and machine shops \$11.88, lumber and timber products \$9.25, furniture, \$10.16, cotton goods \$7.71, boots and shoes \$11.89, men's clothing \$12.23, women's clothing \$13.51, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes \$11.14; newspaper and periodical printing and publishing \$13.13, and glass \$14.10.

Now the mob of whom I speak is not the bums that hang around saloons, nor the bums that go to the legislature, but the average wage worker who is actually engaged at industrial labor. He is the one in whom our hopes of the future are to be centered. It is he who has everything to gain and nothing to lose in an industrial revolution of the methods of producing and distributing wealth, and it is he that is bound from the pressure of modern capitalism to be the only revolutionary force in society. "All other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry."

"ECONOMIC DETERMINISM."

On the theory of "Economic Determinism" is placed my belief of a time coming in the near future when capitalists will be destroyed and a state of society inaugurated wherein the "State as a special repressive force" will have disappeared.

But what is "Economic Determinism"? Again I shall have to refer to Labriola and take his definition:

A certain definite action, that is to say, not a certain mass of individuals, but a plexus of men organized in such and such a fashion by natural relations of consanguinity, or following such or such an artificial or customary order of relationship and affinity; or by reason of permanent proximity; this nation, on a certain circumscribed and limited territory, having such and such fertility, productive in such and such a manner, acquired through certain definite forms by continuous labor; this nation, thus distributed over this territory and thus divided and articulated by the effect of a definite division of labor, which is scarcely beginning to give birth to, or which has already developed and ripened such and such a division of classes, or which has already disintegrated or transformed a whole series of classes; this nation which possesses such and such instruments from the flint stone to the electric light, and from the bow and arrow to the repeating rifle, which produces according to a certain fashion and shares its products conformably to its way of producing; this nation, which by all these relations constitutes a society in which either by habits of mutual accommodation or by explicit conventions, or by acts of violence suffered and endured, has already given birth to legal-political relations which result in the formation of the state; this nation—which by the organization of the state, which is only a means for fixing, defending and perpetuating inequalities—by reason of the antagonisms which it bears within itself, renders continuously unstable the organization itself, whence result political movements and revolutions, and therefore the reasons for progress and retrogression; there is the sum of what is at the bottom of all history. And there is the victory of realistic power over all the fantastical and ideological combinations.

But how is it that the great capitalist, the one in one thousand, is able to govern the nine hundred and ninety-nine?

Now is it that the wage workers do not abolish the wage system and free themselves from economic slavery? We know that at least 75 per cent. of the people are wage workers.

And right here I must correct a statement of Untermann's that I would bar out of the Socialist Party the skilled mechanics. I would not, and did not; I simply stated that they would not and could not constitute the revolutionary element of the working class. I would even go farther and include in the ranks of the wage earners the preachers and professors; they are paid wages (salaries); if you wear a white collar at your work it

is salary), but I would also include them in the category of those "who from the nature of their occupations" are dangerous to any organization (political or industrial) of the wage workers.

FARMERS AND BUSINESS MEN.

Again I must refer to Labriola for a key. He says:

It was necessary to arrive at a comprehension of the fact that the state exists and maintains itself in the defense of certain definite interests, of one part of society against all the rest of society itself, which must be made in such a way, in its entirety, that the resistance of its subjects, of the ill-treated and exploited, either is lost in multiple frictions, or is tempered by partial advantages, wretched though they may be, to the oppressed themselves. Politics, that art so miraculously and so admired, brings us back to a very simple formula; to apply a force or system of forces to the total resistances.

Now, where is the friction in present society? With the farmer and small business man it is obvious. His interests and the interests of the wage worker are diametrically opposed. Both confront the wage worker as sellers of commodities. A commodity cannot be said to have been produced until it is in the hands of the consumer. The business man has an article on his shelves, the farmer on his grounds, which they desire to exchange to the "mob" wage workers. Both are owners of a product; and their sole aim is to get as much for it as they can. It matters not if the farm is rented or the store mortgaged. It matters not that next year the sheriff will have a lock on the front door of the store and the farmer be served with a notice of eviction. Both when they confront the buyer demand, the same as "The Great Trust," all the traffic will bear. But the wage worker owns no product. He produces not for himself, but for another. His product, or what he produced, is not his nor ever was his; it is on the fields of the farmer or in the warehouse of the capitalist. All he received was wages, and the payment of wages is the line of demarcation which separates the classes. The workingman (the wage workingman) stands in the relation of a perpetual buyer; the capitalist as a perpetual seller. The farmer, like all other capitalists, is a seller of commodities. The capitalist class has commodities to sell; the wage worker has wages to buy with (sometimes).

The capitalist sells commodities and buys labor power; the working class buys commodities and sells labor power (himself).

Even the farmer and the business man, who at no time buy wage labor (hire wage workers), small, insignificant fraction of society though they are; confront the wage worker as sellers while he is a buyer. The interests of buyers and sellers can never be anything but opposite.

FRICIONS AMONG WAGE WORKERS.

But the wage workers being 75 per cent. of society, why do they not come to a common understanding? It was the friction that exists in the ranks of the wage workers themselves that gave me the understanding of the subject matter of the "Revolutionist."

What are wages, and when are they high and low? What wages are could be easily answered and it would suffice to say for the present that wages are a sum of money paid to a wage worker for services rendered.

But when are they high and low, and what is high and low? Here is the friction in the ranks of the workers; here the temporary or partial advantage which one laborer has over another. High and low are relative terms, and neither exists without the other, or have any meaning by themselves. The skilled mechanic receives \$4.00 a day; the laborer \$2.00. Two dollars are small beside four—smaller beside six.

Two dollars, which the unskilled worker receives as wages, represents the actual cost of producing the average simple labor power, of keeping it in a proper state of efficiency and having it reproduce its kind. It will not buy houses and lots; it will not put money in the banks; it will just about keep this member of the "mob" supplied with a round trip ticket between his home (?) and the factory.

But does it cost any more to keep the mechanic than it does the unskilled laborer—the man who receives four dollars than the man who receives two? Not a cent. So in a year or two that skilled mechanic can, with that extra two dollars per day, save enough to make a flying visit to the real estate shark on the corner and make the first payment on a house about the size of a chicken coop built on a lot out near where the sky hangs on the fence. Now, having made his first payment and having gotten fairly settled, this mechanic starts a garden and begins to work four hours a night for himself after working ten hours a day for his boss. In ten years he is an eminently desirable citizen, with long chin whiskers, a hang-dog worried look, a member in good standing of the Methodist Church, of a suburban boosters' club, howling about high taxes, and ready to take up arms against those lazy Socialists who are

trying to take our property away from us. If he has no bad luck in 15 or 20 years more, he will be able to build another chicken coop on the back end of his lot in Lonesomehurst and rent it to a \$2.00 a day member of the mob. He is now about sixty years old, "lives principally by means of his own labor" and is beginning to get dissatisfied with the grafters in the City Council. He gets hold of a copy of the "Christian Socialist" and is ready to join a local in the party that does not run down the capitalist class, speak disrespectfully of the "cloth" or the Y. M. C. A., and which limits its members to New Thoughtites, Spiritualists, Methodists, members who do not drink, chew, smoke or swear, and which has already developed a woman's Annex, which meets on Friday in opposition to the sewing circle of the Baptist Mission and conducts a Children's Sunday School, which shows how "Christ" was the first, Robert Owen the second and Abraham Lincoln the last great Socialist.

High and low wages are only high and low in relation to each other. If the mechanic getting \$4.00 a day through some method was to bring all laborers up to his standard, it would be equivalent to him dropping to theirs. He would lose his advantage and prestige in the social scale. If every one wore overalls, a man with a spike-tailed coat, silk hat, white tie and a collar buttoned at the back would be put in the bughouse. It is only in this graduating scale of wages at the present day that the high and low in the social scale can be recognized. The wealthy man at the top sets the pace, and down the line they come aping the manners and customs of this snob until they get to the member of the mob. He is not in the aping business—not that he would not if he could—but "Economic Determinism" is his jeans for him. So he becomes uncouth in appearance. He works in a factory or on a job where the boss has found a way of hurrying him. The language of the majority of the slave drivers use would send me to the penitentiary if I tried to repeat it in this article, so I shall have to leave it to the imagination. This member of the mob would not stand for it and does not at first. He quits and gets the same thing or worse. He has a wife and a couple of children at home. He has to think of them, so he is ready not to take offense so quickly. Here is where he gets part of his religion (of hate). He grinds his teeth and says nothing. He also accumulates in time a vocabulary, copied as it were from the member of the better class, which he is predisposed to use on all occasions. His manners and habits are growing on him.

"REVOLUTION AT THE BOTTOM."

But we shall have to carry the investigation a little farther. Making statements does no good unless there are facts to corroborate them. In a given society, producing wealth (and poverty) in a certain manner under certain conditions, certain phenomena are seen to again and again reappear. We see a railroad strike of gigantic proportions spread over the face of the land. We observe that the strike spreads to a large extent only among a certain class of employees. We see that it spreads rapidly among the most poorly paid employees, but we see that it stops short when it comes to the better paid employees, the engineers and conductors. We see the strike of '94 lost because the "better class of employees," as Untermann would say, the engineers and conductors, stayed to work and "scabbed" on the switchmen. We see in practically every union in the United States conservatism at the top, revolution at the bottom. We see the American Federation of Labor arbitrating with a Civic Federation, but we see the poor unorganized proletariat meeting the Pennsylvania Cossacks with bricksbats and bullets.

The nearer we approach "the mob" the closer we come to revolution, the farther we drift from the mob toward the aristocracy of labor, the more conservatism. Just in proportion as a class of workers have nothing to lose, they are revolutionary; just in that proportion are they conservative or reactionary as they have an interest to preserve.

Take all the highly paid trades—the plumbers, bricklayers, locomotive engineers and all the rest of the well paid trades; so long as they can preserve or retain their own "partial advantage," wretched though it may be, just so long can they not be depended upon to join in a concerted class mass movement.

STANDARD OF INTELLIGENCE.

So we seek to find the great organization which shall first stand out for Socialism. If there was a thing to determine intelligence among workers, it must surely be an understanding of the modern Socialist movement.

In the first place, there is that great mass of intellectuals, college professors, preachers, lawyers, teachers, journalists, etc. Being the most intelligent, they must necessarily have the best organization. Have they? No, not that you would notice. They have none. They would surely be the first ones to declare for Socialism. No, not

this time. Well, perhaps it would be the printers, linotype operators, or some of the skilled trades that have an eight-hour day and plenty of time to study some of the great publications, such as "Marxian Economics" by Untermann and some of the other great (?) books as recommended by the National Committee of the Socialist Party. I am sorry, of course, that Comrade Untermann was not included in the illustrious company of American Socialist Immortals, but then he had not at that time reached the pinnacle of his greatness, and now I feel sure that, after his great letter, he will be included in the company of the great and at the next meeting of the Executive Committee a royal edict will be issued and the great work "Marxian Economics" will reside by side in the library of fame with that other great work, "Constructive Socialism."

But I am drifting. The first great organization, excepting the Western Federation of Miners, who declared for Socialism years ago, to come out flat-footed for Socialism was the coal diggers, the rough neck organization, the hardest worked, poorest paid body of men in the United States. It is a body of men who, as Untermann would say, was composed of the lowest element of society, the slum proletariat—the men that go down to the "slum district" and buy their jobs for a dollar.

If declaring for Socialism is a measure of intelligence, then on the brow of the American Coal Digger must be placed the wreath of laurel and to the ranks of American Intellectuals must be added the honored profession of digging coal. I have been in several coal mines myself, having worked in the Rock Springs District, and from what I know of coal miners and coal mining I do not believe that the coal miner would care to mix with such illustrious company.

We take the farmer. Of course, he, being a friend of labor, will be the first to grant an eight-hour day. No, he grants one closer to 18. But he is a "friend of labor"; according to Untermann, he will bring us Socialism. Yes, he will, in a pig's ear.

We see these things on every hand. We find one class of men revolutionary in condition. They are the poorest paid wage workers who are at bay and fighting because they must. We find another class who are revolutionary—in their mind. This includes the Intellectuals and all the freaks and faddists who "encumber with their presence our press and the meetings of our party."

These are the quacks who have made of the Socialist Party what it is today, a hybrid organization which at the present minute is voting on a proposition which will most likely carry to make it declare for capitalist private property.

We declare for a class struggle and ignore it. We tell the wage worker that a vote for a capitalist is a vote against himself, and then we proceed to put capitalists up for election on our own ticket. This is the work of the Intellectuals.

The Socialist Party will be a real party when it draws the class line and says: No one not eligible to a labor union in the United States is eligible to the Socialist Party, for whatever else the unions have done they at least have drawn the class line. No preacher, doctor, lawyer, professor or any other of the so-called learned professionals shall be eligible to the Socialist Party. No wage worker who owns more property than his own home shall be eligible to the Socialist Party. This will leave us with about 60 per cent. of the people of the United States to draw from; and with a reasonable chance of getting a large proportion of them to join a wage working class movement for emancipation from wage slavery.

WORKING CLASS PROPHETS.

But there are those in the Socialist movement that imagine that a capitalist class failure should constitute a working class prophet—that the bum intellectuals who have been kicked out of the capitalist class and could not make good should be received with open arms by the working class. Now, I shall have more to say along these lines if I can find anyone to publish what I have to say. I shall deal with Untermann, as he is a fair representative of the bum intellectuals that have made the Socialist movement a laughing stock among real revolutionary wage workers. I am ready to give that square head who has practiced an abortion on the third volume of Marx a chance to kick me down the stairs of logic and maybe in the end we shall find out how it is that Marx in the first volume makes even a tenant farmer a capitalist, and in the third volume of Untermannized Marx we have the statement that those are in the working class "that live principally off of their own labor." Perhaps a statement made by Kaufmann about four years ago to me will come true. He said: "I know Untermann. He is a middle class freak. I have read Marx in the German, but I will tell you this: If Untermann translates 'Marx' he will give his own interpretation of it, and the interpretation of Untermann is from a middle class standpoint."

Kaufmann was a scholar and a cigarette fiend. Untermann is a yep. But from the developments of the last month or so we are safe to assume that Kaufmann was right.

Now, in reference to my stand on the artisan. I assume that the translators of Marx, Aveling and Moore, understood the English language. When they put into English the words by Marx that the artisan was a fraction of the lower middle class, I assume that they were able to use the English language. Now the Guilds were formed, we are told, in history by the artisans in the cities. They sold labor power, they contracted for their labor power. In Nuttall's Dictionary, recognized as a standard in the public grammar and high schools, the definition I get of "artisan" is "one skilled in a mechanic art." In Webster's Standard, published 20 years ago, at the time Marx was translated, I get these two definitions of artisan: 1. One trained to manual dexterity in any art, mystery or trade. 2. A handicraftsman; a mechanic. So I will have to apologize if I am wrong for misinterpreting the English language and shall have to ask the Doctor to give me some higher authority. I think that that higher authority is like Untermann's revolution—something which exists only in his mind.

(Editor's Note.—No one has any quarrel with the meaning of the English word "artisan"—or "handicraftsman," as the same German word is also translated in the "Manifesto." But we object to the exclusion on the authority of Marx, of the skilled worker from the ranks of the proletariat. By artisan, Marx means not the skilled worker of today, but a special historic product, which he mentions several times while drawing his marvelous historical sketches. In one place, however, he explicitly defines the time and place of his "artisan," when he mentions "The Property of the Petty Artisan and of the Small Peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form." On the other hand, there is no question that the "proletariat" tends to become all that Sladden claims for it and that Marx' descriptions apply to this generalized wage worker depicted by Sladden, and that the facts Sladden refers to in the present article are incontrovertible and vastly significant.)

But I will have to give the Doctor credit for one thing. He is miles ahead of any intellectual in the movement. He has reached the point where he comes out practically and states that the Socialist movement should be made up of nothing but the wage working class and Doctor Titus. All he must do is eliminate Dr. Titus and he has cleaned the boards for a new deal.

(Editor's Note.—It seems too bad to spoil this gentle joke of Sladden's at the expense of Titus, but the solemn fact is that Titus introduced the following resolution in Local Seattle some nine months ago and tried to secure its passage in three successive business meetings. When it was finally "tabled," Titus declined further to participate in the business of the Party, and has not attended a business meeting of Local Seattle during the year 1909, except twice, and then only when sent for by the Local, retiring at once after making the statements desired of him. It is now up to Sladden to tell Titus what he shall do to eliminate himself and leave the wage workers in sole control. He is perfectly willing to resign altogether from the Party, if they will express themselves to that effect. But he does not wish to shirk any responsibility, and especially not to retire in the face of the foe. He awaits orders.

The Titus Resolution.

Resolved, That the membership of Local Seattle is hereby divided into two sections to be known as the Active List and the Assistant List. "The Active List" shall comprise all who work for wages and those dependent on them. "The Assistant List" shall consist of all the rest and shall take no part in conducting the business of the Party, except as directed by the Active List.)

Let the Intellectuals publish their papers, translate their books and do the work that they can do, but let them keep out of the Party and allow the working class free reign to emancipate themselves or stay in slavery. Let the doctors and the professors submit their "ideas and propositions to the proletariat." They, the proletariat, will examine them and make its own "those which it may think is worth a damn. But the Untermanns will not be the judges, such as he would pose as in my case. The Untermanns will be the judged, and they will be before a critical court of inquiry. That court will be the wage working class.

And now, since the readers of "The Socialist" have received Untermann's opinion of my article, "The Revolutionist," I submit to the same jury the opinion of another intellectual. As the clerk says, you pay your money and takes your choice.

Yours for a Proletarian Revolution,
THOMAS A. SLADDEN.

See page one for letter from Geo. D. Herron, referred to above.