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# The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves  
of Capital to Win Their  
Own Emancipation

Tenth Year—No. 441

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, October 4, 1909

Price Five Cents

## SOCIALIST PARTY THE SWEDISH STRIKE TO DATE

By Arthur Jensen

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The Socialist Party in the United States has put itself on record in its highest court, namely, the Referendum vote.

By this vote, closing Sept. 7, 1909, and announced by the National Secretary on Sept. 11, the National Platform was amended and the decision of the National convention on the land question reversed.

To amendments were proposed by John M. Work, of Des Moines, Iowa, lawyer, member of the National Executive Committee and National Lecturer of the Socialist Party. Both amendments concerned the same subject, land—that is, the small farmer's land.

Both these propositions of Work's were in substance presented and argued in the National convention at Chicago last May, and the convention rejected the idea by clear majorities. Below we quote Work's own words at that convention, which prove his only object was to capture the farmers' votes for the Socialist Party. Now the Referendum has endorsed Work's views and committed the National Party to a farmers' vote-catching plank. Practically, this fact transforms the Socialist Party into a Populist Party.

The two amendments amount to the same thing. They declare for the private ownership now and in the transition period and under Socialism, of land not used for exploitation.

It is a miserable and politic makeshift at the best. It has no meaning for the future. For no one can possibly predict the future arrangements as to land ownership, though it seems clear that, as Delegate Downie says in the

debate quoted below, no private production for sale will remain in the co-operative commonwealth. Independent farm ownership and production seems inconceivably reactionary when collectivism has become general.

The amendment can only serve for present-day use with small-farm owners. Yet it was carried by a vote of 6,000 to 2,500, over 2 to 1. Wisconsin adopted it by a vote of 424 to 35, thus showing what Wisconsin stands for, and also showing that the amendment is opportunistic through and through.

Only Arizona, Hawaii, Massachusetts, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, South Carolina and Virginia voted it down. Washington (the Brown-Burgess party) voted for it 197 to 22, showing that Berger and Barnes knew what they were doing when they kicked out the regular Socialist Party of Washington. Not a vote was cast on this Referendum in Washington by the regular Party members, as they refused to recognize Waynick as State Secretary.

The Party in the United States is thus clearly committed to opportunism and middle classism. It is to the credit of the Socialist Party in Washington that the National Party has disowned it. While the National organization has gone over to the farmers, the Washington organization will unquestionably go over to the wage workers. We call special attention to the Constitution printed in this issue for consideration by the Washington Locals. "The Socialist" favors cutting out even the "Assistant List" from that Constitution and making the Party purely proletarian. The Washington organization, and some others probably, will meet the agrarian program of the National with an equally open proletarian program.

As far as we have been able to learn, the great Swedish strike is still unchanged. Over 150,000 are still out and there is no prospect of final settlement in the near future. Organized Labor throughout the world is continuing to respond to the needs of the noble heroes composing the Swedish working class. Scandinavian organizations in this country have sent considerable money to their fighting brothers at home. Many unions have contributed small sums from their treasuries.

### SEATTLE, TOO.

In Seattle several unions have shown some class solidarity in the form of financial assistance.

### GREAT OPEN-AIR MEETING.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable open-air meetings ever held in this country was a meeting held on Pike place in this city last Sunday for the benefit of the Swedish strikers. It was held under the auspices of the Socialist party of Seattle (affiliated with the Socialist Party of Washington, but not with the National party). Emil M. Herman, Socialist candidate for Congress in the second district of this State; George Holmes, formerly of California, but now a member of the local Seattle; Jos. S. Biscay, Floyd Hyde and George E. Boomer, all of Seattle, were the speakers. Great enthusiasm was shown repeatedly and the collection, which was taken at the close of the meeting, proved that the enthusiasm was genuine. Sixty dollars and sixty-two cents (\$60.62) was taken up and sent to Sweden. Surely a remarkable collection for an open-air meeting!

This strike has certainly done a great deal towards awakening a feeling of class solidarity in the working class the world over!

And the Swedish proletariat has set a record for united action never before attained in the history of the Labor movement.

Following is a brief history of the strike. It is translated from extracts of a letter published in "Social-Demokraten," Copenhagen.

### LETTER FROM BATTLEFIELD.

"As stated formerly, the settlement made Sept. 3d, between the Swedish workmen and a part of the employers does by no means mean that the strike is over. Over 150,000 organized workmen are still out, and the struggle is not limited to a few cities or a few districts, but is carried on all over Sweden.

### CAUSE OF STRIKE.

"However, before I enter on a discussion of the significance of the settlement, I will give a brief account of the cause and history of this unique conflict on the labor market. (Here follows a rather detailed account of the repeated attempts at reducing wages in various industries, which brought about several minor lockouts. As this has already been treated more or less completely in a former issue of "The Socialist," it will not be included in this issue.)

### FIRST LOCK-OUT.

"As a matter of course, the workmen could not submit to these wage reductions and the employers then declared war July 12, by locking out the wood pulp workers, thus forcing about 13,000 workmen into idleness.

### OTHER LOCK-OUTS.

"This lock-out was extended two weeks later, July 26, to include all textile workers and all employees in kindred industries, thus increasing the number of locked-out members of the working class to about 50,000. Aug. 2 it was again extended to include machine works and like industries, so that now the number of workers thus forced into idleness was about 80,000. And simultaneous with this action the various divisions of the Employers' Association gave their general executive committee authority to further extend the lock-out until it would include 160,000 wage earners.

### WORKINGMEN'S ANSWER.

"In the meantime the workers had been abiding their time to see how far their employers would go in their desperate measures. But when it was finally clear that it was the intention of the employing class to have a great conflict at any price and through that to crush with one blow organized labor, there was only one course left for the executive officers of the workingmen's organizations. It was plain that

the purpose was to kill off organized labor, piece by piece. And as a reply came the declaration of the great strike Aug. 4th.

### STRIKE WAS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY.

"As will be seen, it came as a measure of defense and not as an attack. It came as a necessary emergency measure against the capitalists and the despotism which they attempted to impose on Labor. And it was against this attempt that the Trades Union leaders put up the great strike—a general cessation of work regardless of which organization their employers were members. However, as it was a defensive war the most extreme measures were not taken. The railroads, the mail, and the telegraph system were not stopped, the water-works were not closed, and the banks were not closed, as they would have been had the workmen withdrawn their savings.

"Aug. 4th the strike began and numbered upwards of 300,000 workers.

### UNORGANIZED JOIN STRIKE.

"The bitter feeling against the high-handed actions of the capitalists may best be seen by the fact that the unorganized joined everywhere. They left work in thousands, together with their organized comrades, and a very large number joined the organizations. The Swedish trades unions have admitted over 30,000 new members during the strike.

### ARBITRATION ATTEMPTED.

"At the beginning of the conflict the government's official arbitrator, Allan Cederborg, had attempted to bring about a settlement, but met with no encouragement on the part of the employing class. And the government, which more and more went the errand of the capitalists, made it plain that it would not interfere on its own accord.

### GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO ARBITRATE.

"Aug. 27, the national organization of the Leftists (corresponding to radical Democrats in this country) sent a petition to the secretary of the interior praying for arbitration. Aug. 30 a reply was sent in which the government not alone refused to arbitrate, but also displayed an attitude decidedly opposed to the strikers.

"This reply became, however, the turning point in the conflict. When it was rumored in financial circles it was received with great terror and aroused violent opposition. All business on the bourse was stopped and the greatest possible pressure was brought to bear on the government in order to force it away from its position.

### GOVERNMENT ON KNEES BEFORE WORKING CLASS!

"And the government could not hold out against the money power. Only two days after having sent out its sensational refusal it was forced to send its official arbitrator, Mr. Cederborg, to the office of "Landsekreteriatet" to offer the government's arbitration, and to ask the workmen to make change of front by the government the first step, so that the sudden change of front by the department of the interior would not be too plainly apparent!

### SITUATION AT PRESENT.

"This is the situation, then: "The executive council of the organizations has permitted that work may be resumed for those employers standing outside the Swedish Employers' Association. But the fight is continuing against the latter organization. It is estimated that altogether 163,000 are still on strike.

"However, the government has placed itself under obligation to arbitrate for these also, and there is hardly any doubt but that arbitration would lead to results. It is impossible to say when it may happen, and until the struggle is over the fighting Swedish workers will need all the help they can get.

### HELP THE STRIKERS.

"The employers are calculating that the help from abroad is about to cease so that they can force the workers to accept worse conditions. If they can

deprive the Swedish workmen of their pecuniary power of resistance they will have won.

"But that must not happen! "The struggle of the Swedish workers has become an example of the power of organization. It has become a grand and instructive manifestation of what the solidarity of the Working Class is capable. And it will for a long time to come have destroyed all capitalistic illusions of an autocratic employers' despotism.

"Therefore the world's organized workers must not cease with their help until the last hour of the fight has struck and victory has been gained!"

Send all contributions to "LANDSEKRETERIATET, FOLKETS HUS, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

Send in 25 cents for one, or \$1 for 5, subscriptions to The Socialist with story of the Swedish strike in every paper as long as strike lasts.

## THE WOMAN

By Bessy Fiset

In a current magazine is a Symposium by leading churchmen upon the all-important question, "WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH THE CHURCHES?"

Judging by the answers to this burning question by the intellectual lights, I would venture the opinion that the consummate stupidity and ignorance of most of the soul-steerers has something to do with the diminishing attendance at divine service.

Charles F. Aked (John D.'s special) says the church needs "better paid preachers"—"Double salaries; catch up with civilization."

Rodney Smith, national evangelist, says "we need another Pentecost." That will solve the problem how to reach the masses, because the church will be brought back to her apostolic experience and atmosphere!

F. M. Worth says the church needs nothing but time.

I hope the wage workers' movement won't need over two thousand years to come into its own!

This may seem like a bit of middle-class sentiment, but something has impressed me very forcibly during the last week, and I can't help mentioning it. Comrade Mildred Hyde, aged three, passed out last week and was laid away last Friday.

The Woman's Committee made two red pennants, with "I'm a Little Socialist," painted across them in white. These flags were crossed on the casket, but when the burying ground was reached the two flags were stuck in the mound of earth at the side. Comrade Emil Herman spoke for a few minutes, and while he was speaking a light breeze sprang up, growing gradually stronger, until one of the little flags was flying bravely almost without a wrinkle. Until the little grave was filled in that red flag kept waving, and after it was placed at the head of the tiny grave, still kept up its valiant challenge. It seemed to say: "In spite of the poverty, in spite of the hunger, in spite of the suffering—and finally death—of the members of the working class; yes, because of these very things, the spirit of freedom, of which I am the symbol, will keep the fight going until victory is won!"

It is strange that the putting away of a child could have been so impressive, but I know all the comrades who were there will always remember it as one of the times when courage took a fresh hold of them and gave them a new impetus for the future.

Send in lists of names of Swedish wage workers.

If you want results from the working class press you will have to support it. One best bet is to send it your printing and to use all your influence toward getting it your union printing—and everybody else's printing that you know of. A good profit is made from job work, which goes toward the maintenance of "The Socialist" and will enable us in time to get out that daily paper in the greatest city in the Northwest that we have been working for these many years.

Get subscriptions from your Swedish friends!

## First Amendment

(Carried by 5382 Ayes to 3117 Noes.)

Extract from Platform, Socialist Party—"General Demands":

"No. 2. The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamboat lines, and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land."

Editor's Note.—This ought to have carried, as the phrase "and all land" should never have been introduced into the "Immediate Demands." No one favors the present public ownership of all land as a "measure of relief forced from capitalism." Yet the debates in the convention assumed the ownership in question was to be "under Socialism," so much fog prevailed on the floor. Doubtless an equal fog prevailed in most members' minds when they voted the Referendum ballots. They probably imagined they were voting against collective ownership of all land "under Socialism."

## Second Amendment

(Carried by 5926 Ayes to 2565 Noes.)

Extract from Platform, Socialist Party—"Principles":

"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."

Amend by inserting the following paragraph:

"There can be no absolute private title to land. All private titles, whether called fee simple or otherwise, are titles that must be subordinate to the public title. The Socialist Party strives to prevent land from being used for the purpose of exploitation and speculation. It demands the collective possession, control or management of land to whatever extent may be necessary to attain that end. It is not opposed to the occupation and possession of land by those using it in a useful and bone-fide manner without exploitation."

Editor's Note.—There is doubt as to whether this last means "amend by inserting" this land proposition in place of the two quoted paragraphs, or after them. It would have been quite easy to have said: "Amend by inserting after the last paragraph the following paragraph."

But in either case, the result is the declaration that the Socialist Party is "NOT OPPOSED to the occupation AND POSSESSION of land" in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

## Work's Speech

What all this really is for is shown by Work's speech in the National convention, as follows (See "Proceedings," p. 176):

Like Comrade Furman, I have had

a little experience in speaking on the subject of Socialism, not only on the streets of Chicago, New York city, and on Boston Common, but also in the villages and hamlets in the East and in the Middle West, and in some portions of the far West, and I know the greatest objection which the Socialist agitator has to go up against in those places and which the local comrades of the Socialist Party have to go up against in those places is the fact that the farmers think that we want to deprive them of their little farms, which they are using on their own account. I don't want a paragraph, or word, inserted in this platform which will uphold the idea that we are going to expropriate the little farmer, because the little farmer is not an exploiter. We have stated in the body of this platform which we adopted yesterday that the small farmer is exploited, not in the same manner, but none the less effectively, as the wage worker. We have already adopted that proposition, and therefore we have taken the stand that the small farmer is not an exploiter, if he is not an exploiter and is not using the land for exploitation, why should that land be publicly owned? We do not need to make it publicly owned for the purpose of carrying out our object. If we declare for the collective ownership of that land, then we bar all of that great section of the working class out of the Socialist movement, because they will not stand for it. The farming industry has taken on an altogether different course of development from the other industries. It has been demonstrated by actual experience that the great farm cannot compete with the small farm, and therefore the collective farm is not scientific or economic.

Cries of "No, no," and "I don't believe it."

Del. Work: Furthermore, the fact that the farmers do operate their farms privately, that material fact, the material surroundings of the farmers, have their necessary psychological effect upon them and cause them to be opposed to the collective ownership of farm land, even if it were economic. The farmers are a portion of the whole working class, and we want the whole working class in the Socialist movement. We should not make a declaration in our platform which will bar out any section of the working class, but should try to attract the whole working class to our movement. The farmers of the United States can be attracted to the Socialist movement if we will simply use a little common sense in order to state our position clearly so that they will not misunderstand it and will not think that we intend to take away their little farms.

## Thompson's Resolutions

And here is what the Wisconsin preacher and "Socialist" legislator proposed in that convention (p. 178). If these are not "Populist," we should like to know what is. The convention did not adopt these resolutions, but the Party has by its Referendum virtually endorsed Thompson's position. He really stands for what Wisconsin, Berger, Barnes, Work, Simons, Hunter, Floaten and Spargo stand for.

This report of the Farmers' Committee of the convention was agreed to by every member of that committee except Barzee of Oregon, who had the courage to present alone his minority report, which was adopted by the convention. But the convention is now turned down by the regnant Referendum of the Party membership.

## The Populist Resolutions

Del. Thompson (Wis.), chairman of the Farmers' Committee, presented the following report:

I would like to say, first, that we have here a majority report, and that one member of the committee will present a minority report, so that you will have both aspects of this subject be-

fore you. This is the resolution which we recommend:

"Resolved, by the Socialist Party, that the general program of Socialism will in itself, aside from any specific reference to agriculture, bring a very great measure of relief to the agricultural working classes.

"The socialization of industry, carrying with it as it will a vast improvement in the condition of the wage working class, raising their standard of living, and thereby increasing their power, will render more stable the market for farm products.

"The collective ownership of the railroads and the great industrial monopolies, by destroying their power of oppressing the wage-earning class, will at the same time destroy the power of the capitalist to exploit the farming class, thus securing to them immediate relief and advantage.

"With reference to the specific application of Socialism to agriculture, the first steps in the program of Socialism should be taken against the great industries which are ripe for collectivism and already form a virtual monopoly. The farm machinery trust, the beet sugar trust, the oil trust, the land monopoly, and any other private monopolies that may arise within the agricultural sphere will be socialized among the first.

"And as for the ownership of the land by the small farmers, it is not essential to the Socialist program that any farmer shall be dispossessed of the land which he himself occupies and tills."

Del. Thompson: On behalf of the committee I move the adoption of this resolution.

## Washington Against It

The delegation from this State was dead against this Populist proposition which Wisconsin had cut and dried to push through the convention as a report from the Farmers' Committee. John Downie summed up in the following brief but comprehensive words:

## Downie's Speech

Del. Downie (Wash.): They have talked to you a great deal about the difference in trustification of industry in manufacture and industry in agriculture. Simons, in his book, "The American Farmer," points out the reason why the trustification in agriculture has not taken the same course as it has in manufacture. And why hasn't it taken the same course? One of the principal reasons he points out lies in the fact that the farmer and his wife and his family working together can produce and put on the market farm products in competition with a higher state of production.

Now, I ask you, comrades, do you stand for any such condition as this degradation and lack of opportunity on the part of the children of the rural communities. I tell you, comrades, we are just as much opposed to children working on farms as we are to children working in the factories, and we stand to abolish the whole present system of production.

## The Populist Vote

Farmers' Land to Be Privately Owned Under Socialism. (Adopted by National Referendum of the Socialist Party of the United States, Sept. 7, 1909.)

	1st amend't	2d amend't
	Yes	No
Arizona	14	37
California	348	207
Colorado	29	...

Conn.	86	9	82	13
Florida	40	38	59	19
Georgia	9	...	4	5
Hawaii	3	7	10	...
Idaho	100	42	105	37
Illinois	325	354	378	327
Indiana	160	109	218	53
Iowa	137	54	166	34
Kansas	241	114	292	65
Kentucky	49	25	47	25
Louisiana	12	31	41	1
Maine	32	28	35	25
Mass.	218	279	190	223
Miss.	11	...	11	...
Mich.	80	62	83	58
Minn.	198	87	165	116
Nebraska	88	26	95	17
N. H.	70	1	69	2
New Mex.	21	28	22	26
New York	383	560	443	508
Ohio	704	260	829	145
Oklahoma	152	40	137	44
Oregon	121	212	124	208
Penn.	604	169	660	167
So. Car.	4	7	4	7
Tennessee	64	22	70	18
Texas	396	352	458	98
Vermont	16	26	24	18
Virginia	15	20	...	21
Wash.	166	65	197	22
West Va.	77	7	84	1
Wisconsin	424	35	407	50
M. A. L.	10	4	13	2
Totals	5382	3117	5926	2565

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## Next Week

We have a number of good things to announce for the next issue.

Ernest Untermann comes back with an article entitled "SLADDEN'S ROUGH-NECK SCIENCE." It is not dull.

Cartoonist Hart, of Philadelphia, sends one of his raciest cartoons, which he labels "THE EFFECTS OF READING TOM SLADDEN'S REPLY TO UNTERMANN." Neither is this dull.

Herbert Langerock also has something to say about Sladden.

And the editor of "The Socialist" will try to get in a word or two about them all.

Jensen will continue his translations concerning the Swedish strike.

And the great discussion over the coming wage-workers' party in the United States will occupy our attention for weeks to come.

Now is the time to get your proletarian friends to read "The Socialist." No other paper in America is covering the ground this one is.

Send in lists of names of Swedish wage workers.

## The Proposed Constitution

[See Page Two]

Every comrade and Local in Washington should carefully read and study the Constitution printed in this issue. For the next few weeks "The Socialist" expects to print considerable pro and con concerning this document. Don't be too hasty in reaching conclusions. Hear all sides. The Washington Party is now on trial before the entire world. What it does will need to be unassailable. Yet we should not hesitate to strike out for the best irrespective of what any critic may say. For organizations as well as for individuals, Dante's and Marx's motto holds: "Follow your own course and let the people talk."



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# PROPOSED CONSTITUTION

Originally outlined by Richard Krueger, State Secretary-Treasurer of the Socialist Party of Washington, after the model of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Amended, edited and rewritten under authority of the Socialist Party Conference held at Labor Temple, Seattle, Sept. 19 and 20, 1909, now published for discussion by membership with a view to submitting same to Party Referendum when called for by five Locals, as provided in present Constitution.

## ARTICLE I. Name and Object.

Section 1. The name of this organization is The Socialist Party of Washington. Its object is, To organize the Slaves of Capital to win their own emancipation.

## ARTICLE II. Membership, Organization, Dues, Reports.

Section 1. Any wage worker over eighteen years of age who subscribes to the principles of the Socialist Party of Washington and signs the following pledge, is eligible to membership:

**Pledge.**

I, the undersigned, recognizing the Class Struggle between the Wage-Working Class and the Capitalist Class, and the necessity of the Wage-Working Class constituting themselves into a Political Party distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied class, hereby declare that I have severed my relations with all other parties, that I endorse the platform and Constitution of the Socialist Party of Washington and here-  
 by apply for admission to membership in said Party.

Sec. 2. The membership of this organization shall be divided into two parts, Active Members and Assistant members.

From the Active List shall be excluded all professional men, farmers, business men and all those who are not Proletarians as defined by Engels in the Communist Manifesto, as follows: "The Class of modern wage laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor-power in order to live."

The Assistant List shall be composed of all others who are eligible to join this organization.

Sec. 3. Local organizations may be formed, consisting of not less than five (5) persons who have subscribed to the Party Pledge and have been granted a charter by the State Committee.

Sec. 4. The Local organization, known as a "Local," shall pass on the question of membership for applicants residing within its chartered jurisdiction.

A duplicate of the accepted application shall be submitted to the State Committee for final action. Pending such action, the applicant shall be entitled to all the rights of a member.

Sec. 5. Any person living in a locality outside the jurisdiction of a chartered Local may make his application for membership direct to the State Committee and be accepted as a Member-at-Large.

Sec. 6. The Locals and M. A. L. in any county shall unite into a county organization. The county organizations comprising a Congressional district shall unite into a district organization.

Local, County and District organizations shall conduct all affairs of concern to them alone respectively, independently under their own Constitution, which, however, must be submitted to the State Committee for approval or rejection, and must not conflict with this Constitution.

Sec. 7. County and District organizations shall elect executive committees to carry out the purpose of their respective organizations. These committees shall report to the State Committee their election and an outline of the business done at all their meetings.

Local organizations shall report monthly to the State Committee on or before the eighth (8th) day of each month, on blanks provided for the purpose by the State Committee, and shall remit therewith the dues of the Local for the month preceding.

Sec. 8. Organizations having women members should give them representation on their Executive Committees. The women committee members, in conjunction with the State Committee, are to promote agitation among women.

Sec. 9. The amount of monthly dues to be paid by each member shall be left to the various Locals, but in no case shall the monthly dues be less than twenty-five (25) cents.

For Members-at-Large the monthly dues shall be not less than forty (40) cents.

Sec. 10. Before an application can be acted upon the applicant must have deposited with the organization he makes application to, at least three (3) months' dues, together with an initiation fee of twenty-five (25) cents.

Sec. 11. At least twenty-five (25) cents of the monthly dues received from each member by the Local shall be paid over to the State treasury.

Sec. 12. Every person shall receive free, at the time of his admission to membership, a copy of the Local and State Constitution, and a Party Button. During the time he remains a member in good standing he shall receive free every issue of the Party organ.

Party organizations begins July 1 and ends June 30th.

All sub-divisions of the Party shall render a yearly report to the State Committee not later than July 15th, upon blanks provided by the State Committee, with space thereon to answer questions relating to method of organization and of propaganda, number of Party members, number of Socialist voters, the amount of monthly dues collected, amount of total receipts, and purposes for which money was expended. County or District organizations which have received money for campaign or other purposes shall render an itemized account of receipts and expenditures.

## ARTICLE III. Conventions.

Section 1. The Delegate convention is the highest authority in the organization except as the Referendum is hereinafter provided for.

The following are entitled to participate in the convention:

(a) One delegate-at-large from each Congressional district and one from each county; each of these delegates-at-large to be chairman of the delegation within his respective district.  
 (b) One delegate for every ten (10) members or major fraction thereof in a Local organization, and one for every ten (10) members or major fraction thereof in the body of members at large.

The number of such delegates to which a Local or the Members-at-

Large are entitled shall be calculated on the average monthly number of members during the business year preceding the convention, said average to be based on the records of the State Office. Apportionment to be published by the State Committee not later than Aug. 15 of each year.

To be eligible for election as a voting delegate the candidate must have been a continuous member of the Party in Washington for at least one year and of the Local he represents at least four months. Locals organized less than six months prior to the convention shall be entitled to one delegate, such delegate, however, not to be entitled to mileage or vote.

(c) The members of the Control Committee.

(d) The members of the State Committee, who shall have a voice and vote on all questions except matters affecting themselves as members of the State Committee, on which they shall be given voice but no vote.

(e) The State Committee shall have power to call before the convention members of the Press Committee or others who in their judgment should be heard, to have advisory voice only.

Sec. 2. The convention shall examine all credentials of delegates and participants, elect its own chairman, and determine its order of business. All acts to be legal and final must receive an absolute majority of all

Continued on Page 5

# 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.

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

The industrial crisis which this country is now experiencing, and of which a financial panic is the least significant feature, has in this state as well as all others reduced the dependent Proletariat to such desperate straits that it is inconceivable that they should tolerate their condition did they rightly comprehend the underlying causes. The exploiting of the Proletariat of a part of their labor product results in their inability to absorb the wealth they have created. This is known as the failure of markets and a so-called period of over-production is followed by a reaction of which the present industrial stagnation is an example. The improved methods of production which should logically result in shorter work-hours and better living wages for the workers actually results in a smaller number being employed. Thus there is a permanent 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.

This is the Proletarian Revolution.

8. 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.

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

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

- (a) Immediate public employment of the unemployed at the State's expense at full union wages on such works as irrigation, reforestation and road building.
- (b) Preservation from capitalist destruction, of natural resources such as mines and forests, in order that abundance may be preserved for social use after the Revolution.
- (c) Abolition of Court injunctions in Labor disputes.
- (d) Abolition of all Oriental immigration which is subsidized or stimulated by the Capitalist Class and all contract labor immigration.
- (e) An eight hour day and a five and a half day week for all classes of labor and further reduction when that concession has been secured.
- (f) Abolition of employment of children of school age.
- (g) Reduction of residence qualifications necessary for the franchise in a state to two months.
- (h) Absolute freedom of press and speech.
- (i) Equal suffrage for men and women.
- (j) Initiative and referendum in order to protect against continued Capitalist corruption of representative government.

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

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

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

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

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

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

# 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 working people and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

## IT DOES NOT DICTATE.

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

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

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

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

## DANBURY HATTERS CASE.

"In the Danbury hatters case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with its infamous 'Dred Scott decision' of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the Anti-Trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasures, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

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

## BALLOT IS A WEAPON.

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

"Workmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support of the party of your class. Vote as you strike, against the capitalists. Down with military and judicial usurpation! Forward, in one solid phalanx, under the banner 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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# WHAT IS THE WORKING CLASS

**EDITOR'S NOTE.**—The author of this letter is one of the sincerest supporters of Socialism in America, as most readers of "The Socialist" know. And one of the best friends of "The Socialist." Yet we have to differ with him in some ideas presented here. He certainly has got befogged on "Working Class" and "Producing Class." He, too, needs to re-read his "Communist Manifesto" and find out where the North Star shines. Get your bearings once more. Our North Star is the Wage Class, NOT the Working Class, NOT the Producing Class. They are too indefinite, as Rose's comments show. And he is but echoing the prevailing views found in nearly all our "Socialist" periodicals. The result of these views and corresponding tactics is seen in the recent National Land Referendum which virtually proves the Socialist Party a Farmers' Party. To be sure the Farmers will come our way if we go their way. And we have now gone their way. But when you have got that Public Ownership which will give the Farmers relief, what about the Wage Class? They will still be slaves.

As to what will happen "After Socialism Comes," we are rather surprised to have an old reader of "The Socialist" arguing from that future state of co-operation back to this era of Class War. Everything now depends on that Class War and everybody, however honest, sincere, brave, must be aligned with respect to that titanic struggle. Yes, read again and yet again your "Manifesto." For the general outlines and principles of our Proletarian Fight there is nothing like it yet.

## WHAT IS THE WORKING CLASS?

By Sumner W. Rose.

Biloxi, Miss., Sept. 17, 1909.  
Editor "The Socialist":

I herewith enclose \$1.00 to pay for my paper one year from the time my subscription ran out. I have been "a man out of a job" for some months and more sorry than I can tell you because unable to assist "The Socialist" and the balance of our press, when assistance has been so much needed.

I have been much affected over your troubles in Washington, and if not an infringement on your time, I will give you the impression made on my mind by it. If your time is too valuable to read what doubtless has been many times written you before, merely cast this letter in the waste basket, and I will not resent the act, as I am by trade a (union) printer myself and will know the "why" of your act.

It seems to me that in Washington you have at least two classes of Socialists—one too loose in political action, and one too tight-laced for political purposes. Working class political purposes should be the capture of and the administration of government for the working class.

In heaven's name, what is the working class? To my mind, the "wealth producing class" is a better term than "working class," as many a man works but produces no wealth thereby. For instance, a lawyer, a banker, a man who lives by profit, interest or rent. Also many men who might be called proletarians—the man who sets type for advertising matter. The vast majority of advertisements are unnecessary apart from the capitalist system. Advertising adds not one cent to the worth, but does add many cents to the price of the goods. The maid who dresses the lady's hair, the man who keeps his master's horses or automobiles in order adds nothing to the world's wealth, although he may be a proletarian.

I am inclined to laugh when you propose in sober earnest to fire Dr. Titus. Ye gods! When Dr. Titus cannot be a Socialist, who can?

Is not a real doctor a wealth producer. If he is not, who is. Merely because he gets a fee, or don't get a fee (an irregular wage), according to whether the day wage worker is able to pay him or not, does that throw him into a class of those who must not assist Socialism to come? Boys, if this is your idea, you are gone daffy, and no mistake. As I understand Dr. Titus, he's "all wool and a yard wide," and as he is, so is every honest man who wants Socialism. I have all my life been a printer, till the past half-dozen years I have kept a little 2 x 4 store, till capitalism broke that up. According to your theory the last half-dozen years I have been a "capitalist," but I have also been a Socialist, and I will defend that proposition with the most scientific man that wants to prove to me I should recline quietly on the shelf. I will never do it. I have stood for Socialism too long. If capitalists cannot make me "back track" with the threat of a "living" to be lost, my own class can not throw a scare into me by denying that I belong to the ranks of the "proletaire."

Great horned cats! What are we going to do with these so-called "professionals" (in reality useful workers) after Socialism comes? If they are denied political influence and looked down upon, how long will we have any professionals? The question with me is not, "Is a man a professional?" but, "Is his profession a useful one, and is he a worthy member of it?" If so, he is a wealth creator, and as a wealth creator he has all the rights of every other wealth creator.

After Socialism comes, as there will be no capitalist class, evidently we must all be considered "workers" or "wealth creators," and as we cannot possibly get along without "professionals," and they will receive only so much wealth as is represented by their product, how can we deny them representation to the fullest extent, just as accorded all other men?

Where do I get my sympathy for the men who stand by "The Socialist"? Right here: I have always loved "The Socialist" for its determined fight for uncompromising, straight-forward party work, for its exposure of those who support movements antagonistic to the Socialist movement, and still pretend to be Socialists and seek to lead in the party. I have no patience with compromise in any form. I can forgive a comrade all manner of ignorance, but I have little use for the man who is untrue to the movement. On this point I am with "The Socialist." I am also with it in its endeavors to make us all more scientific, but I do believe that "proletarianism" is often carried to an extreme; also that there is a dangerous looseness in party work in many quarters. I hope the happy point of harmony will finally be found. It must be, or our movement will not progress as it should.

Relating to the farmer, if he is not

not a proletarian, he is certainly a wealth producer. To my mind he is in the vast majority of cases a wage earner. The capitalist pays the "hand" so much per day. From the farmer he takes so much per day. Each gets a bare living. What is the difference?

In Mississippi it is the farmers who are coming to us most rapidly. "Middle class?" But how long will they be middle class? Don't we preach that the middle class is dying? Must we refuse to accept these men who read Socialism, understand it as well as the average? If so, when will we gain the victory?

If we will not accept the farmer and the professional man, you may be sure capitalism will accept them with open arms.

Besides, after capitalism — what? Will we not all belong to the useful, wealth-producing class?

I am with you in your determination to keep fakirs and compromisers out of the party. But I want every honest, determined man who understands Socialism well enough to desire its coming, and who is brave enough to work for it and to scorn compromise, to be allowed a place in its ranks. It seems to me not to want this is not to want Socialism. For how can we have it except through those who work for it?

Think of Dr. Titus in jail for Socialism, and yet imagine denying him any influence in the party ranks. I know a lot of "rubbernecks" of proletarians hereabouts who parrot the songs their masters sing, and one Dr. Titus to my mind outweighs the whole bunch.

But they will learn? Yes, some day. In the meantime Dr. Titus has learned long ago, and his worth to the movement cannot be figured, and there are many like him, whom to eliminate means vast damage to the movement.

SUMNER W. ROSE,  
Biloxi, Miss.

## WHICH SHALL IT BE

By Jos. S. Biscay

Did you notice who it was that composed the crowd at the mass meeting for the Swedish strikers? Most of the crowd came from Washington street. This same despised proletariat rushed to the assistance of the struggling members of its class while the good intelligent (?) ones were mostly conspicuous by their absence.

The same bunch that listen to our speakers and crowd forward to shake hands after the meeting, when they are told that the working class must organize and stand together exclusively, came out to show how they stood, while the respectable workmen had forgotten that the Swedish workers needed help.

It's these same men that dug down, turning the pocket inside out, to get the last penny. I did not expect a large collection, from those that have so little to give, but the count showed \$60.62. It was a mute testimony of the proletariat down trodden, despised and broke. I am certain that some gave the last nickel and went without coffee and sinkers that evening. They do not brag of the sacrifice for "the cause," they simply "do something," and are sorry it is so little. But is it so little?

You that are trying to compromise and weld together the interests of the oppressors and the victims, complain that the victims do not take kindly to such an arrangement. They are men and feel and know their own interest; you cannot fool them.

Nothing but a wage class organization will do for them. They can take care of themselves. If they sacrifice a few dollars or nickels for their class, it is not wrung from some unfortunate wage worker, but part of their existence, which they give. Neither do they expect any bouquets. This is the "mob," as Sladden calls it, which is waiting for its own organization. It has nothing but hate for all other classes and will not mix. The tiger and lamb may lie down together, with the lamb on the inside. The "mob" is different; it is too strong to be swallowed, and too strong to pretend friendship it does not feel.

To understand, you must be one of them, otherwise you can know nothing. The "mob" does not cater to other classes, it does not mix. You are either a part of the "mob" or its enemy, looked upon with contempt, avoided with repugnant suspicion.

The party standing theoretically for the working class in Washington must either line up with the revolutionary element, the "mob," or it can not be a revolutionary working class party. The lines must be cut so clear and distinct that there can be no excuse or mistake on one side or other. Nothing else will do. The proletariat can not be duped into thinking that you are with it when you are not. The under dog in society does not beg any one to come and save him. He knows his strength, knows and feels his position, far better than the theoretical

wise ones have any idea of. To put the middle class on the assistant list will not do for him. He will not mix in spite of the fine theories to the contrary.

We can have a revolutionary wage workers' party or we can make a false hybrid organization as in the past.

The former is a necessity, the latter is useless and will soon become extinct.

Take our street meetings in different parts of the city for example. The best literature is sold where the poorest workers are found. The most papers are sold there also. When some apologist for the "good system" butts in during the meeting the disturbance does not keep up, as is generally the case in other parts of the city, where the speaker must individually combat the trouble makers. There is generally a growl from the crowd that is significant. If it is not, some one gets handled roughly and everything is quiet, the crowd all attention, as before.

In the respectable part of the city it's hard to get working men to listen; they are the aristocrats of labor, too wise to learn. What do they want emancipation for? Haven't they got a good boss?

They will listen indulgently if you do not denounce the "good boss," and if you tell them about brotherhood of man, Christian Socialism and the mutual interest of boss and slave. Give them the straight dope and your crowd usually consists of very few that stray into the wrong part of town. Sometimes you can talk to a pile of lumber and a telegraph pole. As long as theories are greater than fact we will not change. Sooner or later the facts will loom up so great before us that those of us that have our eyes open may see them if we look.

Suppose we begin to take a look and do something.

The first speaker to be secured by the B. B.'s in Seattle was Bishop Spalding of Utan, Episcopalian clergyman and "Socialist."

Get subscriptions from your Swedish friends!

## Proposed Constitution

Concluded from Page 2

those participating in the convention and entitled to vote.

Sec. 3. The State convention shall be held annually, and is to be called by the State Committee.

In case the previous convention failed to designate place and date of the next convention, or if it cannot be held at the place so designated, the State

Committee, in conjunction with the Control Committee, shall determine the place.

Sec. 4. The call for the convention shall be published in the Party organ weekly for at least six weeks before the same is to convene, together with the proposed order of business.

Sec. 5. Proposals by subdivisions of the Party or by members for an order of business must be submitted to the State Committee, who shall publish the same in the Party organ at least three (3) weeks before convention meets.

Sec. 6. The duties of the convention shall be:

(a) Reception of Reports from State Committee and Control Committee.

(b) Determination of place of State headquarters.

(c) Election of State and Control Committees.

(d) Resolutions on Party organization and all questions concerning the Party.

(e) Resolutions relating to propositions submitted by subdivisions of the Party or by members.

Sec. 7. A special convention may be called:

(1) By unanimous vote of the State Committee.

(2) By unanimous vote of the Control Committee.

(3) On motion of any subdivision of the organization which has received the support of ten (10) Locals.

Sec. 8. In case the State Committee refuses to issue the call for the special convention regularly petitioned for under provisions 2 and 3 of Section 7 of this Article, the petitioners may, within ten (10) days thereafter, issue the call and set place and time for the special convention.

Sec. 9. The call for a special convention shall be published weekly in the Party organ at least three (3) weeks before date of same, with reasons for call and the proposed order of business.

Sec. 10. Motions for action in the special convention shall be published in the Party organ at least one week before date of convention.

Rules provided in this Constitution for conduct of regular convention shall apply to special conventions.

Sec. 11. All acts of above conventions shall be final and binding unless appeal be taken to a Referendum of the entire Party membership, said appeal to be called for within forty-five (45) days from adjournment of convention by at least ten (10) Locals.

Sec. 12. No Referendum shall be effective unless it receives a clear majority of all members entitled to vote.

Sec. 13. All Referendums properly called for shall be immediately submitted by the State Secretary. Thirty (30) days shall elapse from date of submission to date the vote shall close in Locals, and ten (10) days more until same shall be canvassed by the State Committee.

Sec. 14. Mileage of delegates to and from conventions shall be paid from a fund into which shall be placed ten (10) per cent of the regular dues. Should this fund be insufficient, a special assessment shall be levied on the membership.

## ARTICLE IV. State Committee.

Section 1. The number of members composing the State Committee shall be decided by the convention, but the same must include a Chairman, a Secretary-Treasurer, and at least three (3) other members, one of whom must be a woman.

Sec. 2. The State convention shall choose, by ballot, the Chairman, Secretary-Treasurer and two members of the State Committee, one of whom shall be a woman. Each candidate, to be elected, shall receive an absolute majority of all ballots cast. Subsequent ballots shall be taken in case of failure to elect on the first ballot. The two candidates who received the highest number of votes on the first ballot shall be voted for on the second, and so on. Tie votes shall be decided by lot.

The Control Committee shall elect the remaining member or members of the State Committee.

After all members are elected, the State Committee shall prepare its Constitution and Rules, and publish same in the Party organ.

Sec. 3. In case of a vacancy on the State Committee, by resignation or otherwise, the Control Committee shall fill the same.

Sec. 4. To be eligible to serve on the State Committee, the candidate must have been a continuous member of the Socialist Party for at least three years, and of the Party in Washington at least one year.

Sec. 5. The amount of the salary to be paid the Secretary-Treasurer shall be decided by the convention.

Sec. 6. All members of the State Committee are entitled to travelling expenses going to and from State Committee meetings.

Sec. 7. The State Committee shall

have sole control over all money in the State treasury.

Sec. 8. The State Committee shall transact the Party business and have control over that part of the Party organ which is set apart for the publication of official Party matter except as herein otherwise provided.

Sec. 9. In dealing with very important questions concerning the whole Party, the State Committee should consult representatives of the District and County organizations or should call them for a conference.

## ARTICLE V. Control Committee.

Section 1. For the purpose of controlling the State Committee, and to act as a court to adjudge complaints against the State Committee, the convention shall elect a Control Committee of nine members, to be elected in the same manner as the State Committee.

For the conduct of business the Control Committee shall elect a chairman, who, in the absence of rules adopted by the committee, shall determine the place and time of its meetings.

Sec. 2. The Control Committee shall meet at least once every three (3) months. All communications intended for this committee shall be addressed to the chairman, whose address shall be published continuously in the Party organ.

Sec. 3. On motion of the Control Committee or State Committee, joint sessions of the two committees shall be held.

## ARTICLE VI. Party Organ.

Section 1. "The Socialist," published in Seattle by the Trustee Printing Company, shall be the Party organ. Official notices and official communications shall be published conspicuously in the space provided for the Party.

For the control of that part of the Party organ assigned to the Party, the Party members in the city where it is published shall elect three (3) of their members who are not directors or officers in the publishing company, who shall be the Press Committee.

Sec. 2. The Press Committee in conjunction with the State Committee shall manage all the affairs of that part of the Party organ assigned to the Party, to be known as "The Party Page." In case a difference of opinion arises between the two committees the Control Committee, the State Committee and the Press Committee shall settle the difference, each committee having one vote.

## ARTICLE VII. Expulsion and Reinstatement.

Section 1. Locals may expel members upon presentation of charges and after trial. Appeal may be taken as provided in the following sections. A convicted member shall stand suspended from membership and shall pay dues till the case is finally disposed of.

Sec. 2. From the decision to expel from a Local, an appeal may be taken to the State Committee within two weeks after the verdict was rendered. Sec. 3. All expulsions from the Party shall be approved by the State Committee after the expiration of the time allowed for an appeal, and the name and Local of the expelled member shall be published in the Party organ.

Sec. 4. In case of appeal, a court of appeal shall be established by the State Committee, to consist of seven (7) members, three (3) of whom shall be selected by the Local, three (3) by the defendant, and the seventh member, who shall be the chairman, shall be selected by the State Committee. If the defendant fails to select his three judges within two weeks, he shall be considered expelled from the Party without further redress.

The final verdict shall be published by the State Committee in the Party organ.

Sec. 5. No expelled member shall be reinstated in the Party without the consent of the Local from which he was expelled.

Sec. 6. Except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, Roberts' Rules of Order shall be the recognized authority in parliamentary procedure within the Party organization.

## ARTICLE VII. Change in Organization.

Section 1. A change in the form of organization or in this Constitution can only be made by the convention.

A motion to change shall not be considered unless the same has been made in time to allow its publication in the Party organ at least four (4) weeks before the convention meets.

Exception to this provision is only allowable when at least three-fourths (¾) of the delegates present at the convention are in favor of said exception.

Get busy on this Swedish strike story. We need the money, you need the experience, and the wage workers need to be shown!

## Do You Care

whether "The Socialist" lives or not? Do you care to build up a Working Class press that will be able to cope with every situation that is presented?

## If You Do

you can best help to put us in that position by taking advantage of our job printing facilities and having all your own printing and that of your friends done at our shop. Our prices are right and we put the Union Label on all our work. When you have printing to do

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By GUSTAV BANG of Denmark. Nothing in recent years has been written which so clearly shows up the inconsistent and ludicrous position of the Anarchists and the menace these doctrines are to the working class movement. Should be read by every worker. Price 5c.

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## TO SUBSIDIZE "THE SOCIALIST"

"The Socialist,"  
Box 1908, Seattle, Wash.

Comrades:

I herewith enclose \$..... as a contribution towards subsidizing "The Socialist" in the interests of Proletarian Socialism, and I will repeat this amount each week.

Fraternally,

Name .....

Address .....

(Fill this out and cut it out and mail.)



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

Communications intended for publication should be mailed in time to reach "The Socialist" office not later than Monday.

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 ARTHUR JENSEN.....Assistant Editor  
 BESSY FISET.....Assistant Editor  
 HATTIE W. TITUS.....Manager  
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**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. CALLAHAM.....  
 ERNEST UNTERMANN.....Socialism and Science  
 EDMOND PELUSO.....French and Italian Translator

**Push the Campaign**

We, the undersigned wage-workers of the Socialist Party of Washington and those in sympathy with our aims, recognizing the necessity for political action along revolutionary lines as one of the means for the immediate relief and ultimate emancipation of the wage-working class, hereby pledge our financial support to the amount opposite our names to assist in conducting the campaign of our candidate, Emil M. Herman, for Congress in the Third Congressional District.

Send all contributions to Mrs. Anna I. Steele, Campaign Secretary, 4511 Greenwood avenue, Seattle, Wash.

Name.....Amount.....

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The only way Herman has to live while stumping his district is from the contributions of those in sympathy. Let us stand pat.

**'The Socialist' and the Swedish Strike**

Yes, comrades, I want you to connect these two names as means of propaganda in your minds. We all want the strikers in this, the greatest of all strikes in the world's history, to win. Yet we all know that when this strike does win, capital still remains in power and that the fight is just begun.

"The Socialist" has always stood by every striker since it started, over nine years ago!

In the street car men's strike we issued a daily paper, and "The Socialist" was the only paper in Seattle that dared expose the low wages, the company spies, and the tricks resorted to by the Seattle Electric Co. to kill the strike and the union.

In the machinists' strike in Seattle this paper got out a daily, and again it was the only paper which dared stand by the machinists. In the longshoremen's strike, the lumbermen's strike, the waiters' strike, and every other strike in this city and elsewhere, this paper made enemies and lost money by its fearless support of the strikers, and its exposure of the capitalist methods in suppressing labor.

In the Moyer-Haywood trials, this paper was the first on the ground to represent organized labor in its great legal battle. "The Socialist" was the only labor paper that moved its plant to Idaho and reported the trial on the ground, and fought the capitalist press and capitalist hirelings at close range.

"The Socialist" is getting now the story of the great Swedish strike direct from the battleground, and without doubt this paper is giving the most complete account of the strike as it develops from week to week that is being published in this country.

Our Danish translator, Arthur Jensen, translates from the Danish paper, "Social-Demokraten," the story of the strike for this paper alone.

The "Social-Demokraten" is the largest of twenty-four Socialist dailies published in Denmark. Its circulation is larger than any paper published in Denmark, either Socialist or capitalist, and it is located just fifteen miles from Malmoe, one of the industrial centers of the great strike.

Now you can see we have a clinch on the news of the Swedish strike.

Whatever happens in the course of this strike the Socialists should use this remarkable unification of wage workers in Sweden as propaganda to educate the millions of wage workers in this country.

As long as this strike lasts this paper will give a correct and comprehensive view of the strike.

We want every Swedish wage worker in this country to get the story of this strike and the lesson it teaches, as it appears each week in "The Socialist"!

But, comrades, do you know that it costs money to publish a Socialist paper? "God knows" some of us realize it!

Now, I am going to suggest to you the easiest way possible to give every Scandinavian the benefit of this story of the strike, and we will guarantee that if you follow our suggestion half of the Swedish workmen and women in this country will be Socialists before the strike is over!

Now for the prescription which, if taken according to direction, is warranted to cure. Get the names of all Scandinavians in your vicinity. Get as many as possible to take a three-months' subscription to "The Socialist." In clubs of five, 20 cents for three months. If you can't get subscriptions at first, send us the names and we will send sample papers, then go around a week later and try again. Every comrade who can possibly dig up 25 cents for one, or \$1.00 for five three-months' subscriptions, who does not know any Scandinavians, send us the amount and we will send the paper, as lists of names come in. We have already fifty papers going to one town for distribution.

Why, if we could get the Swedish wage workers in this country to read about Socialism see what the results might be!

You see how these Swedish strikers hang on with a bull-dog grip!

Well, that's the kind we need, that's the kind we want in the great labor movement in this country!

We've had about enough of middle class, half and half, neither one thing or the other. Let's have the real thing or nothing, wage workers in a working-class party, and wage workers with no flim-flam capitalist notions.

Now, comrade, for your two-bit pieces as we say out here in the wild and woolly West! Every 25 cents invested in a three-months' subscription to "The Socialist" sent to some Swedish wage worker, means a lot of Socialists of the right kind to help on in this greatest work of all, the emancipation of all wage workers all over the world!

"The Socialist," Box 1908, Seattle, Wash.

Enclosed find \$..... as my contribution to the "Plant Fund," to apply on the purchase of new machinery and other printing material.

Fraternally,

Name.....

Address.....

(Fill this out and cut it out and mail.)

**POTLATCH, IDAHO, SLAVE CAMP**

**A Weyerhaeuser Lumber Camp — Details Never Before Printed — How the Lumber King Loves the Unions.**

Potlatch, Idaho, is almost a "model" scab-town.

Four years ago this town was started by the Potlatch Lumber Co., whose president is Charles Weyerhaeuser.

At present the lumber mill at Potlatch is one of the five largest mills in the world—the other four being two here on our coast, one up in British Columbia, and one in Sweden—and the population of the place numbers 1,400 souls (owned absolutely, as long as they are in Potlatch, by the Potlatch Lumber Co.).

Everything else in the town is also owned by the company, too, with the single exception of the bakery. How it has ever happened that this unassuming baker has managed to crawl in is still one of the unknowables.

The nationality of the men is fluctuating most of the time. The Swedes and Americans who come there are many of them married, and, of course, come into more intimate touch with the company's store. When things get so bad that there is a general kick on the part of the women, General Manager William Deary (a sweet-tempered Irishman) declares he won't have another married man in camp! So out they all go, and in come carloads of Greeks and Japs. The Greeks are herded in immense tents while the Japs live in the box cars, which are fitted up with bunks.

After a bit, when the company's shacks have been idle for some months and there are no profits from that quarter, away go the bachelors and in come the benedicts again.

So far the Swedes are the only ones who have succeeded in getting ahead of the company in any way. One family will rent a six-room house and live in three rooms and rent out the other three, making their rent free. Then they feed these lodgers, making a good deal of their living that way, so the Swedes are the only ones of the cheaper laborers saving one cent a month.

This, however, has been met by the company. The nearest bank was in Palouse, thirteen miles away, so in order to do a "favor" to the men a bank was started in Potlatch, paying 3-1/2 per cent on savings. At the end of three months, the sawyers, who were saving from fifteen to twenty-five dollars a month, had their wages cut from seven dollars a day to five and five and a half, and every other man who had a savings account was cut proportionately.

The nearest saloons and roadhouses are three, and a half miles away, so the opportunity for wild extravagance is limited to Saturday and Sunday.

Not a union man is allowed to set foot in the place, every stranger being looked upon with suspicion. An

agent, for instance, taking orders for clothes, pictures or what not, being deported within twenty-four hours.

The spy system has been perfected there to such an extent that fear and suspicion is everywhere. The men have given the place the name, "Little Russia-by-the-grace-of-the-Laird (Allison Laird being assistant general manager and really the Czar of Potlatch).

Such a thing as a union or Socialist paper getting into Potlatch through the mail is out of the question, as the company owns the postoffice, and its master, and everything is opened if the company thinks there is any reason for it.

During the first year there was a strike, thirty-five, I believe, going out. These strikers were all put out of the town and others brought in to fill their places, so it didn't even cause a ripple. As Allison Laird said at that time: "During construction days we needed the men and they had their way, but now we have the whip hand and intend to keep it." And how well they have kept it can be attested by any man or woman who has worked there.

Send in lists of names of Swedish wage workers.

Notice how that "stitcher fund" passed the mark set for it, and the short time it took to do it! That's the way "Socialist" boosters can do things when they have something tangible to work on. Just keep up the gait. There is \$80.04 worth of type to pay for in a few days.

"Within the past year the 'Ripsaw' has received several hundred letters from all over the United States, asking us whether we believed in 'Public Ownership' or not. Gee whiz! what would you think of a man asking another whether he liked 'peach cobbler' or not, when that fellow had done nothing but 'slobber' at the sight of that kind of 'grub' for the past fifteen years?

"Yes, we believe in Public Ownership, and we believe in it because it is right and righteous, and because the masses will never get a 'square deal' until we have the public ownership of public utilities. How would you 'suckers' who haven't got sense enough to vote for public ownership, like the idea of turning the postoffice department over to J. Pierpont Morgan."

Above extract from "the best Socialist paper published." Comment is unnecessary. And this is the kind of stuff that is being circulated all over the country in the name of "scientific, revolutionary Socialism."

**THE REAL THING vs. IDEALS**

By Beulah Hyde and Ada Gatchell

"The Socialist" is a paper representing the working class, and when articles are printed misrepresenting the view taken by the laboring class I feel it is up to that class to correct these false views of those who believe themselves loyal and sincere in expressing them.

In "The Socialist" of Sept. 11 there appeared an article to which all working-class women will take exception. The woman's position in the coming epoch, I feel sure, is pictured to us merely as the middle-class ideal. If the comrade who has written that article has studied and clearly comprehended Morgan's "Ancient Society," or "The Origin of the Family," by Engels, she will understand that she has placed woman in the very position she was forced to take at the beginning of civilization, when man had her in his supreme power. Morgan shows where the woman in ancient society held a responsible position in the social world, and Engels states emphatically that until industry develops to where woman is again called out into an active social life, as she is beginning to be today, there is no hope for her emancipation from the rule of man. And again in Bebel's "Woman" you will find this statement: "The basis of all oppression is the economic dependence on the oppressor."

Now, comrade, in the picture you have drawn for us do you not make us dependent not only on the men, but also dependent upon some one to help keep such a home in order, or else bind ourselves closer in the home than we are today, to attend our household duties? Of course, you are looking forward to wonderful improvement in conveniences, but in this luxurious home of yours, do you not make a great deal of work for some one? Let us go over this picture again for the benefit of those who have not seen it.

"Make home so awfully attractive that the woman will be crazy to stay there. Let her have a bedroom all in blue and white, with a dandy big polar bearskin 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." (While with your middle-class glasses you have filled it with things that must make work.) "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 these, 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 department 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 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 going to be coaxed away from home, because they would have homes that were worthy"—of our middle-class woman. We have lots of such homes today, but the mistress of that home lacks the ability of expanding that the proletarian woman has

gained by meeting and dealing with the hard flint facts that arise in her hovel.

No, comrade, the men can never hope to rid themselves of us in the field of industry. We are there to stay. They can never make for us a home so attractive, a home so filled with conveniences and the beautiful refreshments you have pictured for us but what it will be a detriment to our development and a bond upon our freedom.

You have pictured for us a position little less secluded than that of the woman of Greece. and what did she become? She of the most civilized nation of her time? The head housekeeper, with the demoralizing knowledge that she was so inferior to her husband in intelligence, that he sought his companion outside the marriage bonds, among that set of women from whence developed the prostitute today, the woman unhampered by home or protection, the woman who had lived the public life?

We do not know what the future home will be. It will, perhaps, take future generations to decide that, but with our brother comrades we have a battle to fight, a double battle, for we have them and the capitalist class to fight; a treble battle, for we have the men, the capitalist class, the middle-class woman and the men's admiration for the middle woman to fight. They are inclined to do her homage longer than we women, for they are flattered by her notice, while we are jealous of those soft, fluttery refinements that attract them.

We of the lowly mean first to obtain with our brother comrades control over the means of production, and to emancipate ourselves from them at the same time, through the use of the ballot. After this is done we will meet and deal with questions as they arise before us. The first work first.

We waste no time in planning the future home. We leave such things to the adjustment of economic development. The beautiful pictures drawn of the woman of the future state we leave to the idealist, the dreamer. We are dealing with facts, and facts do not arise before we reach them.

I have no apology to make. This is a movement of the working class. If the working-class women will assert themselves, which they will do more and more as they are awakened to the necessity, the middle-class woman will be in a position to offer them as a principle the ideals drawn from the life that the working woman had always respected and envied.

It is hard for lots of us to find time. But, comrades, the time is here when we must find the time to do the work more necessary than our home work. How can we expect to gain any respect for ourselves or our party so long as we leave the way open for the middle-class woman to expound her ideals molded from our long years of suffering? What is our social egress today but the whining, cringing, toadying of our women to their ideals? We have got to come forward and make her take a back seat, just as the men are doing on the other score. Just so long as we give her this place, be-

cause we are too timid to turn the fountain of wrath upon ourselves, just so long will our brother comrades, through their selfish egotism, cater and bow to the views she sets before them.

Gallantry is not for the working class, and when you sacrifice principle for gallantry you are traitors, just as much so as though you had fallen in line with the office-seekers. For we are your comrade sufferers and our cause is one.

We have the progressive factors of society now, yet we are stopping to gaze open-mouthed at the beautiful things made of our degradation, our misery, and our dark days of monotony by a mind born of the gentle refinements of higher life. Are we women going to permit it? No, we are not. A few of us are alive to it, and more will awaken and we will make our voices heard somehow or somewhere.

We have no ill-feeling toward you of the middle class who are offering us these pretty pictures. We know you are sincere, but you must let go the reins, to sit at our feet and learn while we go on with our own work. Do not think that you can even make a figure in the moving force of the coming revolution, for you do not understand our needs; you cannot understand them from your position in life.

Some of you will say, "We have worked for a living." We grant you that, but your environment, your home and social environment have not been what ours have been. Try living with us and see how much in common you have with us. See how many times a day we do and say things that repel you. You may feel that we are too uncouth to carry this wonderful revolution to the higher standard of living; you may feel that in bringing it about alone we will degrade it. But just rest easy, for it is in every human being to wish to become something higher than he is. We know best what holds us down and what is needed to release us to that higher life. We may go about it in methods altogether objectionable to you, but nevertheless, the shortest way to the end.

BEULAH B. HYDE.  
 ADA GATCHELL.

Send in 25 cents for one, or \$1 for 5, subscriptions to The Socialist with story of the Swedish strike in every paper as long as strike lasts.

Ben Hanford has been conducting the One Day's Wage Fund for the "New York Call," the Socialist daily, and is having excellent success. In a recent issue of "The Call" someone criticized the fund because Hanford got 20 per cent of the proceeds. I want to say right here that there is no one in the American movement more deserving of a living from the movement than Ben Hanford, and for every cent he receives from the movement he has and will return to it many, many dollars.

Send in lists of names of Swedish wage workers.

