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AZEF, THE SPY

Astonishing History

Readers of "The Socialist" have already heard of the great sensation created by the disclosures of Azef's double activities as Russian police spy and Revolutionist.

The capitalist press has, for obvious reasons, paid but scant attention to these history making disclosures.

A brief summary of this man's activities will give an idea of how far into the depths of depravity some humans will allow themselves to sink in the search for gold and power.

Azef is about 38 years old, tall, strongly built, with closely cut hair, broad nose and protruding ears. He is a Jew, a fact which he always attempted to hide, for some unknown reason.

For years he has been one of the most if not the most prominent leader of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party.

Although he had played a prominent part in the fighting organization of the Party since 1902 he resided undisturbed in St. Petersburg. Last summer he was often seen, either alone or in company, at places of amusement where he always seemed to have an abundance of money. He went to Paris often and, when there, always resided in the Latin quarter. He was always elegantly dressed, often in tennis costume.

Azef is a man of great will power and exceptional mental activity, hence his great influence in the Revolutionary Party. He spoke but little at conferences, but often had the last word on questions under discussion.

Being the recognized leader he was familiar with all details in the movement and practically every step taken by the fighting organization was for the last few years under his direction.

He was always regarded by the younger element in the Party as the very incarnation of heroism. While very young he was known to be an extreme Revolutionist. He had no patience with the methods of the Social Democratic Party and attacked it as bitterly as he did Czarism.

He was on an organizing tour through Europe for the purpose of forming an international organization of terrorists and meanwhile he taught the art of manufacturing bombs to his comrades in the various countries.

He never spoke at any large meeting and was never in the limelight. He prefered to act. He was very successful in squelching all suspicions as to his connection with the police.

In 1903 he took part in a number of conferences in foreign countries. The details of the program worked out in these conferences were according to his plans.

He has for several years received a yearly salary of $30,000 from Ratchkowsky, chief of police in St. Petersburg, for his work as a spy.

He was the leading spirit in the assassination of von Plehve, Secretary of the Interior, and of Grand Duke Sergius. In both of these deeds he had the co-operation of Ratchkowsky.

Azef planned the killing of his rival, Father Gapon, the spy. He had the plans for the shooting of police prefect, General Lausitz. He was the guiding hand in the blowing up of a train, carrying Grand Duke Nikolajevitch, and he led in the assassination of Trepoff.

In 1906 he planned a pretended plot against the life of the Czar as a consequence of which the second Duma was dissolved and a large number of the Socialist deputies exiled to Siberia.

He acted as secretary of a Revolutionary conference in Finland from which he sent daily reports to Prime Minister Stolypin.

He betrayed his most intimate friend, Osahl, Socialist member of the Duma from Riga.

Gershuni, well known among American Socialists, was another intimate friend and co-worker of Azef. In fact, Azef and Gershuni were for a time the two most prominent leaders of the Revolutionary Party. Azef betrayed Gershuni, who was condemned to death, though later his sentence was commuted to deportation to Siberia. As we know he escaped to San Francisco in a sauerkraut barrel, creating a veritable sensation. Last year he died in Paris and his funeral was one of the memorable events of the year.

SUSPICIONS AROUSED.

The fact that Azef was seemingly beyond danger while very often the other conspirators were arrested, executed, exiled or imprisoned, finally aroused the suspicion of many of the Revolutionists.

He was called to appear before the Revolutionary tribunal in Paris January sixth.

He did not appear, but after sufficient evidence had been introduced to substantiate his guilt he was promptly sentenced to death. Members of the Social Revolutionary Party are now looking for him in all parts of the world, and woe unto him when they find him!

The close relationship which existed between the Russian government and Azef is shown in an interview with Bourtsef, a Revolutionary editor, published in "L'Humanite," the Socialist daily paper in Paris.

Shortly after the first disclosures of Azef's activities, Loupoukine, former chief of police in St. Petersburg, was arrested, charged with being an accomplice of Azef. It is now developed that his successors, first Ratchkowsky and later Gerasimoff, the present incumbent, were far more intimate with Azef than Loupoukine.

It was not with the latter's personal approval that he used such men as Azef.

Loupoukine was discharged from his position as police chief in January, 1905. He was given the office of Governor of Esthland, but already the fall of the same year he was dishonorably discharged without pension. He further gained the hatred of the authorities by giving information to his brother-in-law, Prince Urusof, liberal member of the first Duma, regarding the fact that proclamations, encouraging massacres, were being printed in the shop of the Department of the Interior.

Since he realized that his life was in danger is seen in a letter in which he appeals to Prime Minister Stolypin for protection against the secret police.

LOUPOUKINE'S LETTER TO STOLYPIN.

The following is the text of the letter:

St. Petersburg, Nov. 21, 1908.
Your Excellency:

On the evening of November 11th I was visited at my residence by Eugen Azef with whom I was connected as chief of police, from May, 1902, to January, 1905, in his capacity as secret agent of the Russian police in Paris. Azef, who came in without being announced, told me that several members of the Revolutionary organization of which he himself was a member had discovered that he was an agent of the secret police and that consequently he would be called before the Revolutionary tribunal to be tried in the near future. He knew that the Revolutionary tribunal would come to me for information about the case and that his life therefore was in my hands.

Today I was visited by General Gerasimoff, the present chief of police, who told me that Azef had requested of him to inquire of me what I would answer if the members of the Revolutionary tribunal, which had jurisdiction in the case against Azef, should seek information of me. Gerasimoff added that he wished me to know in advance that everything done at the trial, the names of all witnesses and their testimony, would be promptly reported to him in detail.

As I feel convinced that Azef's inquiry in connection with Gerasimoff's statement that he would be fully informed of everything coming before the tribunal, contains a direct threat against me, I consider it my duty to inform your Excellency of these facts and most respectfully to ask you for protection against the persecution with which I am threatened by the secret police. Should your Excellency desire a conference about the matter, I am at your service.

A. LOUPOUKINE."

In Loupoukine's letter we see the unique sight that a Revolutionary tribunal goes to a former chief of police for information.

The tribunal was composed of Prince Peter Kropotkine, Miss Vera Figner and a man by the name of Lopatin, all three leading members of the Social Revolutionary Party.

Azef was justified in suspecting Loupoukine. Shortly after the date of the letter, Bourtsef went to St. Petersburg in person, visited Loupoukine and secured the desired information. He returned to Paris with convincing proof of the guilt of Azef.

February 19th Loupoukine was sentenced to eight years of hard labor.

The following extract of the interview with Bourtsef in "L'Humanite" speaks eloquently:

BOURTSEF'S INTERVIEW.

"It is my belief that the police department purposely ignored the part Azef had in the great assassinations, and I have incontestable proofs to back up this fact. Only the big chiefs of the police, like Ratchkowsky, knew what Azef was really at—he was only an instrument in their hands.

"About the end of 1904, for example, the police knew perfectly well in advance that Azef had sent into Russia three squads of terrorists—one to kill Grand Duke Vladimir, Trepov and the Czar himself; one to kill Grand Duke Sergius in Moscow, and a third to Kiev to kill Governor General Klopela.

"The first expedition and the third were halted by the police and the squads met short shrift."

"How do you explain the success of the Moscow squad?" asked Longuet.

CZAR WISHED SERGIUS KILLED.

"Ah, there Loupoukine was in charge and he closed his eyes to the matter until too late. Perhaps the Czar wanted Sergius killed. One does not know. The police department completely ignored this move in Moscow, just as they had ignored the existence of the press which printed the handbills exciting the massacres of the Jews.

"The truth of this was brought out later to the great stupefaction of the police (?) at an inquest started by Witte.

"In my opinion the central committee committed a great error in basing its charges against Azef solely upon the testimony of Loupoukine. In the conversation which I had with Loupoukine some six months ago I became

Continued on Page Four

A DANIEL COME TO JUDGMENT

By Arthur B. Callaham

Judge Gay, of Seattle, the "Friend" of Labor, the "People's Judge," has discovered a new and interesting bit of law. The point is absolutely novel, and his Honor is receiving the congratulations of his friends upon his powers of initiative. It is young men like this who go to the Federal bench.

It was, largely, the Labor Unions who, more than any other factor, secured his election. I was a member of the Central Labor Council when a committee was appointed to visit the Labor Unions and ask them to get out and vote against Albertson and for Gay. While none of us Socialists who were members of the Council had the slightest idea of voting for any other than the "ignorant" workingmen whom we had nominated for judicial "honors," we made no opposition to the motion, knowing that it would only irritate and inflame. And certainly, to the last man of us, we sympathized with our brothers the machinists, who had suffered enough at the hands of Albertson. He had issued a most arbitrary injunction against them when they were on strike; and then for a year, he had refused to even consider a motion to dissolve it. I can remember that I felt a little sympathy for our Milwaukee comrades who, in a similar case, had refrained from making any nomination.

Afterwards, the rising young lawyer, now "Labor's" judge, came before the Central Labor Council and spoke.

It was a charming embarrassment. "I—I—," he said, hesitating in the most graceful, self-possessed way, "I thank you for this honor." A long sweet pause. "I have always been proud of my friends in organized labor. Labor is prior to capital and superior to it." Another nice Prince Albert, broadcloth pause, as he looked at the floor with an endearing absent-minded smile. Then suddenly he pulled himself together, straightened himself up to his full heigh, and said again, this time more vivaciously:

"I thank you for this honor."

I am not sure that these were his exact words. Anyway, he said nothing.

It must have been gratifying to him that his audience understood him so well. What he wished them to understand was, that he was their "Friend." They were endeavoring to turn out a judge who was not their friend, and to put Him into the office. And he wanted our votes. Oh, he was all right. There was, no doubt, welling up in his heart a tremendous desire to tell us how he would show his love for us, when he felt the woolsack beneath him. But it wouldn't do,—it is the height of capitalist impropriety to thus show partiality for any future litigant before election. Such a course would give democracy an opportunity to express itself on the bench, and it would lose him the respect of his brother lawyers.

And he was elected. Hundreds of our union brothers worked hard for him. I am not sure but that the Workingman's Political League contributed to his campaign fund, out of money voted by several unions for the election of its Friends.

This is not intended as a criticism. I know well enough that there are many sincere Union men, earnestly desiring the good of labor, and nothing but that, who supported Labor's "Friends."

Of course, there are always others who support Labor's "Friends." Some employers thought that it was all nonsense about Gay being Labor's Friend. But, of course, Gay's Union friends knew that these employers were Fall Guys.

Judge Gay was elected. Incidentally, Judge Albertson was also elected. I forgot to say that there were six judges in all to be elected. Albertson alone was marked for slaughter by the Labor Unions. Still, he was elected.

And now about this wonderful judicial achievement of Labor's Judge. It's this:

A week ago last Wednesday, "our" judge made the ruling,—made the law,—this is the way most of our law is made,—that in personal injury cases, on the application of the defendant in the case,—the Seattle Electric, the Great Northern, the Roslyn Coal Company or any other employer, who may be sued by an injured workingman,—the plaintiff must submit to an examination by a physician selected by the defendant, or upon refusal of the plaintiff to undergo such examination, he or she shall be barred from personally testifying as to injuries received.

These physicians, chosen by the defendant in personal injury cases constitute a distinct division in the medical profession. There are numbers of them who have practically no other source of income. They are paid large,—sometimes enormously large,—fees for examinations. If these fees were paid for testifying, it would be bribery. And to pay them for the examination serves the same purpose. A physician who does not testify right, soon finds that there is nothing stirring in the expert examination business. All these experts know on which side their bread is buttered.

"The decision will have the effect of discouraging 'fake' claims," says one of Judge Gay's brother lawyers in the "Times." From the standpoint of the employer, all suits for damages for personal injuries are based on fake claims. The honest claims are always generously paid without bringing suit.

I am of the opinion that had our Socialist candidates been elected judges, they also would have made novel, even startling decisions. They, too, would have shown initiative. But they would have been different.

Some day, Labor will learn what their employers already know,—that the first question the courts ask themselves is:

"What effect is it desirable to produce by this decision?"

Then the law is very easily found. If it cannot be found, it can be made, and it is as easy to make law,—by judicial decision,—as it is to make horseshoes, or bread, or houses, or hats,—easier, really. Then we will elect for judges men who do not aspire to play bridge whist with Jim Hill, or Jacob Furth, or J. J. Farrell. If we are to elect men who are going to make laws for a class, why not elect men who will make laws for our class?

And even before we find that machinists and bakers and hatters and carpenters can make laws just as good as anybody,—better, for us,—our capitalist judges will glance askance at the growing vote of Socialist nominees and make the incidental discovery that a decision may be very good law, and yet not favor quite so much the capitalist class.

"P.-I." REJOICINGS

The "Post-Intelligencer," Republican Standard Oil organ in Seattle reported joyfully last Monday as follows: "For the first time the insurgents scored a victory before the meeting of the State Executive Committee yesterday." The big headlines read thus: **"Insurgents Score as Titus Wing Committee Orders Hearing of Charges Over Secretary's Protest."**

This report was based on the fact, recorded in the minutes published elsewhere in this issue, that new "Charges" were presented to the committee against Local Seattle, signed by 23 (significant number) "Insurgents," led by Jesse Day, but backed up by Brown and Parks. This list of 23 included only some half dozen new names, though Day, Brown, Parks & Co. have been holding meetings twice a week, pledging large sums of money and scouring the city to influence and capture new recruits against the regular organization.

They realize it is now or never. They know the moment Local Seattle is let alone, it will grow and succeed by leaps and bounds as it always has when the Proletarian element has been in control. To cheat the unthinking this list of 23 excludes all but wage workers They give a new meaning to "P.-I." Proletarian Imposters, for they are working hand in glove with all the Middle Class elements represented by Mills, Mallory, Brown, Fuhrberg & Co. In fact, their organ, the "P.-I.", reported that the "Day Insurgents" turned down as poor policy a proposition from the "Mills Independents" to hold a mass meeting on April 11 in the "Independents'" Hall of all "not in sympathy with the Titus policy." "Action," says the "P.-I.", "was **postponed."**

The sole hope of the various "P.-I.'s" is to overawe the inexperienced State Executive Committee until they can get the entire party in the State involved in controversy about the Seattle situation. The "P.-I." is using all its influence as a great daily organ of Capital to encourage quarrels among the Socialists. It takes advantage of the petty jealousies which exist among Socialists the same as in all societies, and the simple-minded fall an easy prey.

The new "charges" are outrageously false. The fact that Local Seattle has not yet paid the national office the entire amount received from the Debs meeting, owing to a question whether said amount should include the whole or the collection or only half of it, is seized as a pretext for all kinds of malicious insinuations about "Defaulters" and "Grafters." Local Seattle has been engaged in a fight for its very existence during the last six months, a fight begun and conducted by Mills, Brown & Co. They plunged the Local into deep expense and debt, from which it has emerged triumphantly, paying everything except this amount to the national office and another bill for campaign literature due the Trustee Printing Co. These bills will be paid in due time, despite the combined attacks of Opportunists and Impossibilists led by the Republican "P.-I."

When the Executive Committee gets its eyes opened and its backbone stiffened up, it will learn what everyone in Local Seattle knows, that the charges of "Rottenness" and "Misuse of Funds" against Local Seattle and against Secretary Krueger are as groundless and false and malicious as if Krueger was to charge Chairman Barth with being paid by the "P.-I." to make his rulings.

"The Socialist" has made its reputation as a responsible reporter of the truth about things. We do not hesitate now to asure our readers that these charges of Misappropriation of Funds by either Local Seattle or by Secretary Krueger are entirely without foundation. The Party will waste its time and energy if it pays the slightest attention to them.

The only result of months of investigation by the State organization will be to bring to light the facts as stated in this editorial and to reveal the utterly frivolous, irresponsible and unscrupulous character of the opposition to the Revolutionary Socialists in Local Seattle.

The State should be spared this ordeal by its Executive Committee or by the State Comittee behind and above the Executive. What else are our Committees for, except to do the work which the Party at large cannot do expeditiously on account of its great size and wide distribution.

If the State Committee will say the word and let Local Seattle alone for six months to fight out its own battles, that Local will give a good account of itself and the "P.-I." will stop rejoicing over its success in promoting dissension among Socialists.

MORE FACTS ABOUT EMPLOYMENT SHARKS

Seattle, Washington.
Editor of the "Socialist."

I would like to use the columns of your paper once more and expose some more of the employment sharks of Seattle. A little over a year ago I shipped out with some other workingmen from Lillymans & Renards, employment sharks, to work on the North Bank of the Columbia River.

When we arrived at Vancouver, Wash., it was dark and we had to wait until the employment office opened the next morning and we got our tickets for the boat. When we got to the place we were sent to, we went to the time keeper and showed him the tickets, and he said: "We have no orders in for men."

We had supper and breakfast. The next morning they gave us a job with a pick and shovel. Then they sent me and my partner over to another camp for another company. We stayed till we earned $3.00 apiece, then I quit and my partner got fired, and we went back to the camp we were sent to and we asked the time-keeper to sign our employment tickets. He said at first, " don't know how to sign 'em."

So I said to him: "You said you had no orders in for men. Why not sign our tickets that way?" and he said, "All right." So he signed our tickets like this:

"We have no orders in for teamsters and could not use this man."

(Signed) "PORTER CO."

And his own signature at the bottom of the company signature.

So I and my partner went down and got on the boat and went to Portland. Tillyman & Renards have an office in Portland, Oregon, Vancouver, Wash., Seattle, and Spokane.

When we got to Portland we went in to the sharks' office and asked for our money back. He said he could not give us our money back, but he would give us another job for the employment tickets, but as we had been hunconed out of our money we refused to take any more chances.

Then we went over to Vancouver, and they told us if we wanted our money back that we should go to the Seattle office. Now we are nearly broke, so we made up our minds that we would come back to Seattle and fight the employment sharks.

So we went into Union depot yard in Portland. We beat our way to Tacoma, and we paid our fare on the boat to Seattle. It was 6 o'clock when we came into the shark's office and I said to my partner "You hold on to your employment ticket as the shark might grab 'em and tear 'em up."

So I said to the shark, "What do you mean by trying to receive money under false pretenses?" He said, "We don't try to receive money under false pretenses." So I showed him my ticket and he read it and said, "I will give you your dollar back." I said, "Nothing doing, as you shipped us down where we might have missed lots of meals, as we only had 16 cents between us and no trains on that side of the river, and we spent a dollar apiece for boat fare to Portland. You may have huncoed lots of working men out of their money because you knew that they would not come back to Seattle, but would stop in Portland. You can't swindle us out of our money."

He said to us, "Give me a chance to go down and investigate this matter." We said, "All right."

Monday we went up and saw the Labor Commissioner and he told us that we could collect for the railroad and boat fare and office fee, which amounted to $7.60.

The shark came back and he offered us $6.00 apiece. So I went up and saw a lawyer and he told us that we could collect wages for going and coming in the shortest possible time and transportation and office fee. So our lawyer notified the shark that he was engaged by us to fight him.

He begged to give him another chance to investigate our trouble. Again we gave him another chance.

The shark came back and he hired a lawyer and sent telegrams and other expenses.

He came up and settled up with us. We each received $14.85.

Our lawyer asked what was the trouble down there, and he said that they had a wise time-keeper. I suppose he meant that the time-keeper was not on to the game of holding one hand behind his back and receiving presents from the sharks.

Rudensey and Rudensey.

Today there is an employment shark by the name of Rudensey & Rudensey, who runs two employment offices, one by the name of "Pioneer Employment Office" and the other by the name of the "Scandinavian' American Employment Office." They have a sign out that reads like this:

"Men wanted for Fairbanks, Alaska, at $5.00 a day and board. Pick and shovel work. Work guaranteed by contractors."

This all sounds nice, but the miners in Fairbanks are on strike for an 8-hour day with old scale of wages, which is $5.00 per day and board.

About a year ago these same so-called "Friends of Labor" sent men to Fairbanks over the trail. Many of them froze their feet and suffered all kinds of hardships. When they arrived at Fairbanks they were met by the striking miners and told about the strike. The Western Federation of Miners took a whole lot of the men in the union and cared for them, as they were nearly all broke. Some started to come back to Seattle again and of course had to go to work, as there are no railroads so they could not beat their way, as we can in the states when we get buncoed by the sharks.

Early in the spring the shark starts in hiring men again for Fairbanks. Some of the men heard that there was a strike on. They were told that they were not sending men to the place where the strike is on; and for further proof they said that the Chamber of Commerce of Seattle would not give any one contracts to work as strike-breakers, as the Chamber of Commerce is composed of business men.

The shark charged each man $5.00 and the fare, $65.00. When the men landed in Fairbanks they found out the same as the men that hiked over the trail, and saw how they had been buncoed by these slick-tongued employment sharks.

At it Again.

Now these sharks are trying their old tricks over again. Men go up and ask for a job to go to Fairbanks. They ask, "Is there any strike on." The shark tells them, "No," and that the union and non-union miners work together. All these things sound fine as work is rather scarce and poor pay in Seattle at the present. These same sharks are sending men to Treadwell, where the Western Federation of Miners are on strike.

They tell the men that the strike is settled and that they can join the union if they want.

Mine Owners' Union.

But the union that men can join when they go to Treadwell is a union formed by the mine owners and business men to fight the Western Federation of Miners.

When the strike broke out in Fairbanks and Treadwell, the union miners sent pickets to Seattle, and they stopped a lot of workingmen from going up there to take the place of the miners. That made the sharks sore, as that meant that they were not getting so much money. So they hired a thug to beat up the pickets.

One day one of the pickets was telling some men in front of the employment office not to go to Fairbanks or Treadwell as the miners are out on strike. "The thug said to the picket, "Cut that out." The picket turned around and smiled. The thug said, "We'll put that smile on the other side of your face." The picket said to the thug, "I don't heard better men than you and try to do it." Before he knew, the thug hit him in the face, but the picket gave him a black eye and cut up his face.

Both men were arrested for fighting. The trial was to come of the next day. The thug was in the hall of the police court where the trial was to come off, but the sharks had hired a lawyer to protect the thug. The lawyer had the case put off for a week, but the thug got fined $10.

Juneau Too.

These same sharks sent a man to Juneau, Alaska, to work as a baker. When he arrived there he was told by the man whom he was to work for that he had cancelled the order for a man long ago. The man came back and he brought suit against the shark for $58.00.

These same sharks sent a man to Auburn to work. He knew the foreman of the job and the foreman told him he had never had any orders in that office for men. The man came back and asked the shark to pay him for his time he spent going and coming from the job and street car farce and office fee.

The shark wanted to see the employment ticket. The fellow showed him the ticket. The shark grabbed the ticket and tore it up. The fellow grabbed the shark by the neck and made the shark dig up $5.00 for his trouble. These same sharks have had lots of trouble with the public employment office and their names appear on the books in the Public Employment Office as they have had more trouble with working men than any other employment office in Seattle.

All I ask you who read this is: Do all in your power to keep men from going to Fairbanks or Treadwell.

Alaska. H. WARNER,

We will Furnish You any Book Published at Regular List Price. Write us. Box 1908 Seattle.

TRAMPS & HOBOES

A Nine Months' Study By a Woman

Being in a thoughtful mood tonight I thought I would jot down the results of a nine months' close study of tramps and hoboes.

Our house is close to the railroad track and when we moved here nine months ago, our good neighbors gave us lots of advice gratis on how we must treat the tramps. Under no consideration must we feed them, or treat them as human beings, but must keep everything under lock and key, have a dog or two, a few guns and revolvers and be ready night or day to make desperate resistance. All were desperate criminals ready to rape, rob, and burn at any moment while some were devils incarnate and would abuse and kill just for the sake of doing it.

Pleasant news, this, for a not overstrong woman, with three little children, all under seven years of age, whose husband would probably be away for weeks together, but having been taught as a child, "You must believe all you hear," I concluded I would wait and see for myself how such appalling creatures acted, and not die of fright until I had to. I decided that one 38-cal. gun, plenty of cartridges, a cool head and steady hand was all I would need under ordinary conditions, and I am still waiting for cause to use the said gun. Also I have come to the conclusion that if I do have to use it, it will be on the aforesaid capitalist neighbors and NOT on the tramps of the track.

Experiences

Now, one of the most frequent pleas was, "They won't even give you a bit of wood to pay for a meal," and when I found afterwards (as I did) that "a bit of wood" means running a dull cross-cut saw through a four-foot log till a rick or so of wood was sawed, before they could eat, I didn't blame the men a bit. I'd go on a strike too, and I rather think the "strike" would reach the man(?) who had demanded it.

So when, a few weeks after we were settled, and scores had passed peacefully by, my little boy and our morning, "Mama, here's a man coming," and on looking up I saw an unmistakable "bo" coming towards the house. I began to wonder what would happen. As he reached the porch I stepped to the door. I sized him up. About 30 years of age, of muscular frame, hard grimy hands, frayed overalls, a coat once good, now threadbare and shabby, a long, hungry face, with eyes that had a half-defiant, half-pleading look. He somehow didn't impress me as being very awful, so I said, "Good morning." A look of astonishment flashed across his face, then the defiance died from the grey eyes, and a look of respect took its place, while the hand went instantly to the battered Fedora. "Good mornin', ma'am! I come in to see if I could cut a bit of wood for you or do something to pay for a bite to eat." He paused, then continued earnestly: "I'm a tramp ed and looked for work for weeks and weeks steady, and can't get a job anywheres, and the last three days I've only had what some men along the track could divide up with me. I'm nearly starved."

He looked it, so I said, "All right, cut me a bit of wood and I'll give you some breakfast." His hand went again to his hat by the time I could clear away the dishes from our own breakfast and make a cup of fresh tea, he had a pile ready near the chopping block. When I called him to come in, he washed his hands, carefully cleaned his shoes, smoothed the tumbled hair as well as he could before coming into the kitchen. I had given him just such a breakfast as I would have put on for my husband had he come home unexpectedly: bacon, eggs, fruit bread, butter, tea with cream and sugar, if he wished; plenty of all. And the way the poor fellow ate was an eye opener to me.

Instead of standing and watching him as though I thought he would steal half the things on the table, I just went on with my work, but soon opened conversation by asking if he met many men looking for work. He said, "Yes, a fearful lot of them, and most of 'em like me, dead broke, and yet just can't get work, no how." I said, "Why, the rich men and the newspapers say there is work for every man that wants work."

Quick came the passionate reply, "They're damned liars, ma'am, to say it. I beg your pardon, ma'am, for swearing, but a man just can't help but get mad when he knows such lies are being told, and, too, when he goes to a good-sized house and asks for food, to be told he's a lazy scoundrel and is threatened with the dog or a bullet. It's more than human nature can stand very long, and be quiet."

I said, "Yes, it looks that way, but what are you going to do about it? How will you change it?"

"The Lord only knows," was the gloomy response.

I walked to the table to refill his cup as I said quietly, "ah, that's where you are mistaken, my friend. The Lord knows, it is true, but a few humans know also and I am one of them."

He looked up half scared as though he thought I was going to kill him, but I smiled as I told him if he would listen to the Socialists and learn their plan of action he would soon know, too.

"Are YOU a Socialist," he asked.

I said, "Yes, for the last seven years."

Laying down his knife and fork he looked me full in the face with such a thoughtful, puzzled expression, that I couldn't help wondering of what he was thinking; for a full minute he looked at me, then he said slowly, "Say, is it the Socialist doctrine that makes people have a little humanity and kindness in their hearts for a poor wretch when he is down and out?"

I answered him with another question, "So, I'm not the first Socialist you have met?"

"No, by gosh. The only ones that's given me a kind word or any help was Socialists, but I thought it was just a coincidence. Are all alike?"

I said, "Yes, if they are true Socialists, that the trouble is there's lots call themselves so, and pose as such, that really are only advocates of municipal ownership or step at a time reform and consequently know nothing of the true platform and methods we urge and are fighting for."

He resumed eating, but he was also thinking, and thinking hard, so I filled his mental space with a straight talk on our platform, on the danger of being switched off on some side issue by the old parties, who are getting horribly scared at the results of our agitating and urged him to use his own brains and think matters out for himself, instead of letting his "bosses" think for him.

He asked a number of questions about the organization and locals, then said, "Well, I've always voted for the Democratic party and thought they were the friends of the laborer."

I said, "Did you ever stop to think of labor conditions in the solid South, where democracy has reigned supreme since the Civil War?" I referred to the various strikes when Republicans and Democrats had united to crush labor. I read a few extracts of life in the stockades in Georgia; I asked why W. J. Bryan had never dared utter one word on behalf of labor, for fear of the results at November election. He finally said, as he rose to his feet, "I can't begin to thank you, ma'am, for that good breakfast, but I owe you a still greater debt of gratitude for opening my eyes to my craziness."

I told him I would be more than repaid if he would turn sensible and vote for himself and party. Never will I forget the tense earnestness of his reply: "Ma'am, I'll not only make good myself and vote it, but every man I meet and can influence whether much or little, shall at least see things as they are and learn to vote for their own interests, and I'm going to join a local as soon as I can get a job and earn a dollar."

He again thanked me as I handed him two copies of "The Socialist," and promised to hand them on when he had read them.

I watched him as he walked away going north, and my feeling would be hard to describe.

So this was one of the awful creatures I had been warned against. This was one of the sort who were to overthrow the present excellent conditions of laws, and turn the world into pandemonium? As I looked at the broad shoulders, the powerful limbs, the independent, determined swing as of one who has a new and pleasant prospect opened before him in place of misery and despondency, I said to myself, "If that is all it needs to change these wild beasts into thoughtful, sensible men, why, I'll try again, when I get a chance. It may add a few members to the party and help to make the heartless wretches who drive them to such conditions wriggle and squirm with increased uneasiness."

Since then I've had several chances to repeat my experiences and in each case I have at least set them to thinking.

Not all were as ready to take up the cause and be sensible, but every one agreed that a change of some sort HAD to come before long, men were getting too thoroughly desperate to stand it quietly much longer.

One of the few gifts I have (or think I have) is an ability to size any one up quickly, and it will stand a student of economics in good stead to practice this habit, as meeting so many people of different tempers and surroundings one needs to avoid the dangers of false impressions. Then, too, I have found it a splendid education for myself in economic matters. The arguments they bring up, the thoughts they utter, the anecdotes they tell of life, or in their class, of "jungling up," of uniting forces to cook a "mulligan" with which to scrape each have, and provide a chance to force home the truths of co-operation both in work and pleasure, making and provide them with subjects for their "after-dinner speeches."

A Tough Customer

I had one particularly tough customer. He was a hard-shelled Republican and though terribly bitter at existing conditions, he insisted that Roosevelt would so use his power as to force the owners to give men work enough to keep them from starving. His only why "Teddy" hadn't already done it were as weak as the argument.

After forcing the admission that he might fail, I asked what men would do if he should. He sullenly replied, "Help themselves and not be over particular about it, either."

I then showed him the anarchistic trend of his own thought and compared them with Socialism.

He quoted the old say that, "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." I told him that was just what we thought, but I had observed lately that "All play and no work went about in a SILK shirt, an automobile, fat mond studs, and patent extension belt to his pants, guaranteed as elastic as his conscience. "Yes, by gum," he said, laughing, "That's what it does. Us tramps have ragged shirts, but our lives aint all play by a long way."

Just as he left he said, "Thank you, ma'am, for the papers (some "Daily Socialists") I'll read 'em and hand 'em on, when a bunch of us gets together nights and jungles up, we have to gas a bit afore sleepin' and every little while we get a Socialist in the gang. I was with one the other night and his talk was like your'n, mighty hard to get around. May be Teddy aint the only pebble on the beach, after all."

I gave him my opinion of Teddy and he went away laughing. A vastly different expression than the sullen, ugly, half threatening look on his face when he came!

And so it has been the whole time. A rapid sizing up of their mental caliber, a friendly greeting, and some warm, good food, a few diplomatic questions as to their opinion of things and the rest is plain sailing.

Gen. Booth has often said, "If you want to fill a man's mind, fill his stomach first," and there is more truth than poetry in that practical suggestion. I have been asked over and over, "But how do you know they read the papers?" How do you know they get the food?" I answer, "My mother used to say, 'If you meet any one in trouble and need, don't probe the past, simply give by word and act all help you can in the present, and if possible show them a way to a brighter future, and you can safely leave the rest to Providence.' This is my method with the tramps. If any one knows a better way, I'd like him to tell me."

Three Classes

During my study of them I have put them in three distinct classes:

1st. The Novice; usually young men just out of work, still full of hope, with a good roll of blankets. They pass along in groups of from two to eight, laughing, talking, joking and giving every evidence of unbounded faith that THEY can get work whenever they want and wherever they choose.

2nd. The Crushed, disheartened man. He has only a shabby roll, may be none at all; his clothes are threadbare, his form gaunt, he steps with a dogged, obstinate tramp that plainly says, "What's the need of hurrying? There's little chance for work, and I've nearly used up my strength anyhow, hunting for a job." And in the sunken eyes, the pale, sullen face, is such a heart-breaking look that could the man who said, "Hope springs eternal in the human breast," but see it, he would own to being mistaken.

Then the 3rd. Good God! How can words describe them? Mostly middle-aged men (or they look it) with gleaming, savage eyes, that remind one, invariably, of the eyes of the caged lion in Portland city park, unkept, with slouching, shuffling tread, nor doubt the sight of them is what gives rise to the terrible stories told of the tramp as a class.

But even in the face of all this, if they are given a pleasant greeting, are met with a frank, fearless look, a distinctly human expression will cross the face of any of them in nine cases out of ten. The hand will go to the hat, and a civil greeting is returned

A Bad One

One of this class came just a short time ago. I saw him before he reached the house and I thought: "Here's a tough proposition, and no mistake. He was very dark skinned, black hair and eyes, rather short but powerfully built. He would, indeed, have been a dangerous assailant; and another one waiting for him on the track was a good match for him. But his face was cold and pinched and to any one with eyes the man was really in need of food.

"Is the gentleman at home, mum?" was the abrupt greeting, as I opened the door.

I said, "No, I don't just know when he will be back. Did you want to see him particularly?"

"No, I just wanted to ask him for something to eat."

I smiled and said, "Why, it makes no difference whether he is home or not, we never turn a hungry man away from our door, anyhow. Is that your friend on the track?"

"Yes, mum. we've been chums for over six months."

I said, "Very well, if you will oblige me by splitting a little wood, I'll put up a lunch for you both."

A stubborn, hard look came into his black eyes and his face set as though he meant to refuse, but I added, "My head is aching badly, and I've been dreading the increasing pain the job of splitting wood would bring." He looked hard at me for a few moments, then his face flushed as he muttered, "You do look kind o' sick," and swinging around he grabbed the axe and went for the wood so viciously that in spite of the pain I was suffering I had to laugh to myself as I put up the lunch.

Not feeling equal to talking that day (and I don't think he would have come in, anyway), I simply handed the man to him with the two papers ("Socialists"), remarking that after they had eaten, the papers would, perhaps, give them a few new thoughts. He pulled his forelock like a sailor as he thanked me and walked away, with something of a sailor's rolling gait. They, too, were going north. Scarcely were they out of sight when one of my neighbors came over. He had been seeing about his orchard, and he asked, "Did you feed them cussed dagoes?" I said, "I don't know whether they are cussed or not, but I certainly fed them." He replied, "By gosh, they came to my house, but you bet I didn't feed the devils. I just told 'em I'd set the dog on 'em if they didn't git."

My feelings were much the same to this individual as was Comrade Bessy Fiset's to the electors after the school fight, and I didn't hesitate to express them.

I asked him if he or I were likeliest to suffer if they wanted vengeance for their suffering? I demanded whose form-fed dog was more in the power of appalling conditions. Whose men offered the best solution of the very question. How shall we live? And warming with my subject I expressed myself more emphatically than I ever had before, which is saying a good deal, as I've cornered him more than once.

But now I must stop. This is my study of dealing with tramps.

Can any one tell me a better?

MRS. EFFIE L. ARMSTRONG,
Warren, Oregon.

In France they seem to have as many brands of Socialists as we have in Seattle.

At a recent election filling a vacancy in the city council of Paris the Socialist candidate was elected, receiving 2,804 votes.

In opposition to the Socialist Party were an Independent, receiving 1,422 votes; a Radical-Socialist, with 1,122; a Patriotic Socialist, with 1,016, and one without any party, receiving 137 votes.

Until a couple of years ago the Austrian Parliament was noted for its violent scenes, the disputes between the parties representing different nationalities often ending in physical encounters. Since the advent of the large body of Socialists (90 of them) the nationality quarrels have been relegated to the rear and the labor question has been in the foreground.

The German and the Czeckish nationalities have finally succeeded, however, in raising another row and on February the 5th it came to a riot in which one of the participants had his clothes torn from his body. The result was that the Parliament was sent home.

Local Seattle is holding interesting discussion meetings every Sunday night at the new headquarters, 711 Olive.

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THE STATE HEARD FROM

Garrett of Centralia Comments On the Seattle Situation -- Mrs. Gatchell Scores the "P.-I." -- Morris Says, "Vote Yes"

I have taken note of the insurgent move among so-called Socialists in Seattle as it has progressed, as well as some of the "reformist" moves that preceeded it. Have noted the efforts of the "P. I." and how well it appeared to be supplied with willing tools masquerading as Socialists.

We had a little touch of capitalist newspaper experience here in Centralia this winter and the result was that our republican daily was served with a good mess of crow by the Socialists—and it was eaten. Thanks to an uncompromising, revolutionary and proletarian bunch of comrades who sat down upon compromisers, fusionists and opportunists posing as Socialists who would like to see the Socialist party composed of the "better class" of people and grow big a la Republican party. For one I would rather lose the best job I ever had—and I have held some good ones (?)—than to see the Socialist party prostituted by an element that is only fit to remain in one or more of the old parties where there are plenty of the "better class" of people, plenty of free-for-all, wide open, loosely hung together mushroom excuses for organization where discipline is unknown and where fundamental principle is sacrificed to selfish interests.

If we are to pattern our party after old party models which some of these fake socialists seem to love so well, we had better prepare for burial in the tiger's stomach at once.

We have here in Centralia one or two isolated cases—and they are isolated—of hornless, unclass-conscious toadies who really think they are Socialists; but they hate Titus and do not hesitate to circulate lies about him and the state organization (these lies come from Seattle). "To hell with the red card," one of them says, "Cut out the charters." "We want to get the business men and professional men in the Socialist party, it would grow faster." This is the kind of disordered mentality that crops out of the muzzles of these, the ——I was going to say, the worst enemies of the Socialist party. They are not entitled to be termed enemies. They are far beneath a real enemy in principle. I have very little respect for people who profess the Socialist faith and then turn around and spit upon and knock the only real organization that is being built up through struggle and sacrifice by comrades of the Socialist faith.

The application card and pledge issued by the National Committee of the Socialist Party, on which a new party member pledges his faith and recognizes the class struggle is clear enough, and if anyone is in doubt as to what class they belong in or intend to cast their lot with, they are hypocrites for signing it. If they feel that they cannot sign it, then let them not meddle with the business of a party to which they do not care to belong. The party members will attend to that. Then if the party principles do not suit them they are at liberty to vote with the old parties.

Since there are twenty million wage workers in the United States, there is the very acme of unbounded hope for the Socialist party as a working class party with working class principles the only goal of which is nothing short of absolute Socialism.

Let petty business interests and individual interests look to some other party.

The writer of this article has tamped ties at $1.25 per day, and has worn out $2.25 shoes counting other ties. He has held jobs that kept him in touch with the middle class, and has had the affrontery to dine at the home of a millionaire banker (this was an accident). He therefore has no trace of a doubt as to which class he belongs to.

In the first person I will here state that I am no henchman of Titus or any other man. I have no more interest in Titus personally than I have with Dick Maple, Victor Berger or any other Socialist of national repute. The fight that Titus has made and is still making is to my interest as well as to the interests of thousands of others as proletarians. I shall therefore stand behind Titus or any other Socialist who stands for uncompromising working class principles. What fighting I may be able to do may be only a wiggle. Very well then; we will wiggle these traducers of the Socialist party of Washington to the last wiggle. I believe in standing behind the truest weapon possessed by the working class of Washington; and that weapon is the state and local organizations of the Socialist party, even though they may not yet be perfect. Perfection is not human. It is Utopian; and I am no Utopian hairsplitter.

C. W. GARRETT.

Centralia, Wash., Feby. 23, 1909.

MRS. GATCHELL SCORES "P.-I."

North Yakima, Feb. 28, 1909.

Comrades of the State of Washingt
Comrades of the State of Washington:

I believe it time the comrades in the state take a decided stand against longer being abused and maligned by expelled and non-members of the Socialist Party.

We now have the ridiculous proposition of E. J. Brown, a lawyer aligning himself with a capitalist editor, backed up by a capitalist paper, therefore capitalistic throughout, demanding admittance into the Socialist Party.

E. J. Brown makes the charge against Comrade Herman that he carried the Arlington Resolutions to Arlington and had them accepted. Comrade Herman, when he asked if such were true, declared it a "plain, ordinary lie" and I believe Comrade Herman.

Comrade Secretary Krueger makes a monthly statement and at no time has there been a deficit of $120 as charged. A deficit of $60, due to the State Constitutions lying in the State office, was statement made by Secretary Krueger.

The "P.-I" and incidentally E. J. Brown charge that $275 have twice disappeared. Once is quite sufficient for all such funds to disappear. I receive the National Bulletin every week and there are no charges preferred against Comrade Ault or Local Seattle, through the Bulletin, for embezzlement of funds.

E. J. Brown and the "P.-I." are not going to conduct Washington affairs alone, but also National affairs! Huh! The "Down with High Rent" card proposition on which Brown continually harps is of no consequence as compared to handing the State and National affairs over to the care of the "P.-I." and E. J. Brown and the entire Republican Party. Such a proposition the Socialist Party will not stand for!

Therefore, I believe it to be the duty of every Revolutionary Socialist to vote in the affirmative on the Arlington Resolutions.

Yours for the Revolution,
ADA GATCHELL,
State Committee Member.

MORRIS SAYS "VOTE YES"

Arlington, Wash., Feb. 28, 1909.

To the Socialist Party of Washington:

Comrades:

Local Arlington is willing to leave to history the "honor" of the authorship of the Arlington resolutions. "Suppressed Facts" claims that Comrade Krueger wrote them; Brown writes me that Comrade Callaham wrote them and sent them to Arlington by Comrade Herman, and the "P.-I." claims that Comrade Callaham wrote them. It is not denied, however, that Local Arlington was the first to adopt them. When the votes are counted we have no doubt that there will be "honors enough for all."

At the present stage it is not the Mills fight, although he has just been in Seattle with his assistance and advice; it is not the Brown fight and it is not the Burgess fight. The fight is now waged by the "Post-Intelligencer," a paper which fights Organized Labor in every strike. This paper, recently purchased by the Standard Oil Co., has furnished a reporter who is an anti-Socialist to act as organizer for the disturbing element in Seattle. Bitter attacks under large headlines and filled with vicious falsehoods are printed almost daily. The "Post-Intelligencer" will find it quite impossible to succeed, however.

The only question is: How EMPHATICALLY will the Socialist Party tell the "Post-Intellizencer" to mind its own business?

The size of the affirmative vote will mean much. Make out your referendum ballot and give it to your local secretary IMMEDIATELY. See that the votes of your Local are in on time.

Let us give the "P.-I" and all other capitalist papers to nuderstand that it can have no influence in Socialist Party affairs.

Fraternally,
J. W. MORRIS,
Member of the State Committee.

MORE CHARGES

The Socialist Party of Washington, State Executive Committee.

Seattle, Wash., Feb. 28, 1909.

Regular meeting was called to order by Chairman Barth with all members present. Minutes of the previous meeting were approved as read.

Comrade Chas. J. Zetterquist was admitted to membership on transfer. New members admitted were Ole Christensen, S. P. Harvey, D. F. Newill, Walter C. Houghton, T. W. Johnston, A. Carlson, J. J. Dausen, James M. Johnston, Fred E. Ballinger, Cloud C. Jackson, Ralph Myers, Alex Wills, Sam Spevok, Chas. Lantz, Emil Pearsin.

State Committee Referendum "F" submitted by Steele, seconded by Morris, Longmire and Gatchell on the proposition: "Resolved, by the State Committee of the S. P. of Washington, that the State Executive Committee should permit the State Secretary to be heard on all matters relating to the work of the State office pending before the Executive Committee, and to answer all attacks on the State office by non-party members and those party members who are now making a fight on the State organization. Barth and Martin were elected tellers to canvass the vote and reported as voting "Yes," Steele, Martin, Longmire, Gatchell, Jonas and Morris; total 6. Voting "No," Whiting, Smith, Hendrickson, Hale, Bostrom, Roeder; total 6. Not voting, Russell, McNeil and Barth; total 3.

Report was accepted, no action being taken. Chairman Barth ruled that the same referendum be resubmitted.

Communication from National Secretary with reference to placing Organizers and Lecturers, and asking questions on a blank form provided tending to ascertain the wishes of the Washington State Committee in the matter were read; the State Secretary was instructed to communicate with the National office and inquire what had become of the motion passed by the N. E. C. to the effect that National Organizers and Lecturers be denied the State of Washington.

With reference to a projected tour of the state by Comrade Wm. D. Haywood some time during May or later, the State Secretary submitted a plan by which meetings in practically all cities promising an audience of 250 people or more may be had. It is proposed to send the organizers through the large unorganized territory of the eastern part of the state, provide them with blank forms upon which to report all the details pertaining to prospective meetings, to make the preliminary arrangements where possible in addition to the regular organization work, so that in places without locals the state will receive 50 per cent of the net proceeds, Comrade Haywood 50 per cent, in cities where locals or labor organizations will make all the preliminary arrangements, the latter to receive 25 per cent, the state 25 per cent, and Haywood 50 per cent, the state to furnish all the advertising matter. Committee approved of plan.

Communication from State Secretary Schneider of Kansas was read requesting about ten dates in June for Comrade Geo. F. Hibner; accompanying letter was a recommendation from Comrade E. V. Debs. Request was granted providing State terms are satisfactory.

A similar request from Phillip Engel of Colorado was rejected.

State Committeeman Gatchell of North Yakima submitted motion for a State Committee referendum, calling for the election of an auditing committee to audit the books of Local Seattle No. 1, owing to the fact that charges of dishonesty were alleged against that local in the capitalist press. A request similar was read from Local Seattle. Chairman Barth ruled both to be laid over until other matter with reference to Local Seattle could be heard.

Copies of communication to the National Secretary and the Minnesota State Secretary with reference to the proposed legal contest in the U. S. Court and the attitude of the Washington State Committee on the proposition sent by the State Secretary were read and concurred in.

A number of communications from E. J. Brown were read, one with reference to a tender of 1,000 copies of "Suppressed Facts" formerly made; one tendering his offices for committee meetings; and a third criticizing the committee generally. All were filed.

Communication from John Szako with reference to an action by Local Seattle suspending him from membership of that local, was referred to Local Seattle No. 1.

Numerous communications from D. Burgess were read, censuring the committee in one; in another protesting against the unconstitutionality of electing an investigating committee; a third in which Burgess himself asks for the election of a committee named by him. All were filed.

The following charges against D. Burgess were preferred by Chairman Barth: "I hereby prefer charges against Comrade D. Burgess, said to be a member of Tacoma local for misappropriation of funds, said charges based on investigating committee's report to State Committee, dated Feb. 7, 1909." Charges were accepted.

A lengthy communication was read, signed by a number of suspended members, some not members at all, others members of a few months standing, in which charges of various kinds were made against Local Seattle No. 1. A motion was made and seconded that charges be accepted; amended that the same be referred to Local Seattle. Amendment carried. Action on original motion was not taken, but the Chairman ruled the charges accepted.

Committeeman Gatchell's motion was ordered submitted for endorsement. (Same having since received the required endorsement, is now being voted upon by the members of the State Committee.)

Local Seattle's request that auditing committee be elected to audit that Locals book was filed.

A lengthy communication was read, the names of the signers thereto being signers of the charges against Local Seattle, in which State Secretary Krueger in substance is charged as follows: 1. Embezzlement of Party funds, having paid E. B. Ault $120.00 to cover up his deficit to Local Seattle. 2. Being a gambler. 3. For using the State office to drive wageworkers from the Party. 4. For holding an official position in Local Seattle and participating in meetings of that Local. 5. For forming a political party seeking the destruction of the Socialist Party. 6. For being instrumental, aiding and advising and for entering into a conspiracy with the Seattle ring; for sending certain resolutions to Local Arlington calling for a referendum of this State. Motion to accept these charges was amended to elect an auditing committee which also is to be a Grievance Committee. Amendment was carried. Committee elected is Comrades Myers of Olympia, Bohn of Tacoma, and Green of Everett.

Lettish comrades presented charter application. Charter was granted. New local to be known as Local Seattle No. 3 (Lettish).

Fraternally submitted.
K. KRUEGER,
State Secretary.

Box 52, Seattle, Wash.

OFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF "CAPITAL."

HELSINGFORS, Finland—The department of politcal economy of the Finnish Commissioners of Literature, instituted in a recent session, has undertaken the translation of Marx's "Capital."

J. Forman, with the assistance of P. Kastrin, has been selected to do the work.

EXTRADITION OF GORKY DENIED.

ROME—The request of the Russian authorities that Gorki be arrested and returned to Russia, was completely ignored by the Italian government.

Gorki is at present living on the island of Capri.

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ANARCHIST SOCIALISTS

Emma Goldman in a debate in Seattle with a Socialist railed at the Tyranny of Majorities. It is the custom of all Anarchists to eulogize The Minority. Their ultimate minority is The Individual. Action by Society in which the individual will and judgment are merged and submerged is rendered impossible by this Anarchist Individualism which will not submit to the social decision. Max Stirner, the original Anarchist, hit the nail on the head when he said, "For me there is nothing above Myself."

You cannot organize such people. If by chance a number of these Egos agree on some course of action today, they will disagree tomorrow when some Ego wants for Himself what another Ego does not want for His Self. They fly apart like steel particles similarly electrified. Egoism is negative electricity rendering union impossible.

Such regnant Individualism finds it best expression in Modern Capitalism. For this reason Anarchism has flourished during the last century while Capitalist Production has reigned. "Every man for himself and the Devil take the hindmost" is the motto of Capital. The boasted incentive of the present system has always been, "Equal Opportunity for all." The lowest may become the highest. James J. Hill, Rockefeller, Carnegie, were all poor boys. Any boy may become President.

Under such conditions, anti-social characteristics are best adapted to succeed. The kind, the just, the scrupulous, the conscientious, go to the wall. Altruism is utterly impracticable. The powerful individual, like Hill and Rockefeller and Carnegie, for whom "Nothing is above Myself," is fitted to this competitive environment, while the social individual or the ethical individual or the weak individual is unfit to survive in such a fierce struggle for existence and sinks to the bottom of society.

You would expect, therefore, the Capitalist system to develop and multiply the most selfish individuals and to eliminate and destroy the unselfish and noble. Were it not for the Weismann Law of Reproduction, by which any new generation may bring forth the most ancient characteristics, the human race might become hopelessly degenerate. But, thanks to that beneficent law, the Slum children of East London may beget some old Viking like Henry M. Stanley and the Penal Colonies of the South Seas become Australasian Republic.

This scientific law explains the presence among us of Noble Individuals like Socrates and Jesus and John Brown and Tolstoi and a great multitude of the unknown, besides the presence in all of us of some altrustic tendencies which at least recognize the Social Standard.

For there was a time in human history when Society outranked the Individual, when the Social Man was best fitted to survive, when rank Individualism of the Anarchist type was as impossible in the contemporaneous environment as Altruism is impossible in the Capitalistic environment. That time was a very long time compared to modern times. That early Communist era must have lasted at least Ninety-five Thousand Years, if we reckon the modern Civilized Competitive era at Five Thousand Years. Out of that Ninety-five Thousand Years of what we complacently stigmatize as Savagery and Barbarism, when the Individual was compelled to be social or die, we have inherited, some of us more, some of us less, those inalienable social, ethical, unselfish, truthful, noble, sincere, hospitable, reverent, altruistic characteristics which distinguish a few individuals supremely, many individuals preponderatingly, and all individuals slightly.

In this fact, as scientifically established as the fact of inheritance itself, lies the hope of the race. Mutualism is the sole basis of organization as organization is the sole basis of Class Victory. You cannot get any kind of an organization out of Individuals whose inheritance is predominantly anti-social or Anarchistic. But the majority of the disinherited in modern society are unfit to compete in the terrible struggle against the unscrupulously strong. This majority is Proletarian mainly because not born with those qualities of shrewdness, hypocrisy, meanness, duplicity and determined self seeking, a combination commonly misnamed "ability" which is essential to success in the Capitalist environment.

The Proletarians are consequently organizable. They can by nature subordinate self to society. This fact shows in the growing industrial combinations of the Wage Workers. They are better organized than the Capitalists. No such Capitalist organization, democratically administered, exists on earth as the American Federation of Labor with its two to three million adherents, or even as the United Mine Workers with their half a million members.

It is frequently charged against these Organizations of Labor that the rank and file are like sheep, that they act automatically as a whole, that they are controlled by their "leaders." But in this very solidarity lies their strength. It is the subjection of the individual to the social organism of which he is only a unit. The Anarchist, anti-Social Spirit would destroy Organized Labor like a blight. The ability and the consequent willingness to subordinate the individual interest to the Social interest is the indispensable prerequisite to organization and alone insures its success.

Apply these considerations to the organization known as the Socialist Party. It is self evident that the Anarchist must be excluded, that is, the extreme Individualist who is by nature non-organizable, for whom there is "Nothing Above Myself."

Yet it is precisely these practical Anarchists who flock to the Socialist Party for their political refuge. They are those who cannot work with anybody, who are commonly known as "Freaks." They are abnormally independent of all authority. In the name of Democracy, that is, the Rule of the People, these extreme individualists clamor for such "Liberty" as will overthrow all rule of the people. They are, in fact, pathological, in the terminology of the alienists they are Megalomaniacs, afflicted with the delusion of their own exalted importance.

This sort flocks to any new movement whatsoever. They are veritable "cranks." As pioneers they serve their purpose to blaze the way and attract attention. But as Organizers they are utterly impossible. The Anarchist Socialist has no place in the Organized Movement, or the Organized Movement will cease to be.

The Socialist Party aspires to be the Political Organ of the Proletariat. But it cannot be the political organ of anything or anybody if it is mainly composed of Anarchists. Even if it contains only a moderate percentage Anarchists, they will serve to keep up eternal dissensions and thus discourage all but the very strongest and most devoted.

The hope of the Party as at present constituted lies in its assimilation of The Organizable to such an overwhelming extent that the poisonous Anarchist will become harmless. The present practice of accepting into Party Membership all sorts of people without respect to character must be changed if the Party is to be preserved as a real factor in political life.

It is evident that a successful organization cannot be framed out of people who simply know the tenets of Scientific Socialism. The most insubordinate Anarchist in the world may know his Marx like a book. Membership Committees must look deeper into the history of applicants than their replies to any Proletarian Catechism. For instance, the fact that an applicant has been for years a good member of a Labor Union is a far better recommendation than any amount of academic acquaintance with the "Theory of Value." We have known some frightful Scabs who could mouth those phrases by the hour.

On the other hand, we have no intention of underrating the value to the Party Membership of Scientific Knowledge, without which the Party is like a vessel without a compass.

Were we to conclude with a statement of the essentials of a good Socialist Party membership, we would name three.

Let them be (1) **Proletarian;** (2) **Scientific;** (3) **Mutualist.**

The Anarchist Socialist will kill the Socialist Party.

"BOB HUNTER"

A New York Criticism

New York, Feb. 25th, 1909.
To the Editor of the "Socialist,"
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrade:

I was exceedingly amused to read your comment on the election of the seven members of the National Executive Committee. The proletarian eleemnt in the Soicalist Party may be guilty of many crimes, but they are never guilty of "classifying" Robert Hunter, as one who will represent them in the new National Executive Committee. I am at a loss to understand how "The Socialist," claiming as it does to stand for revolutionary tactics, can be so little informed about some of our prominent statesmen in the party, as to give credit to comrades of the type of Robert Hunter, as standing for a revolutionary party, when their activity in the party, their writings, and above all their actions, have long shown them to be more opportunistic than Berger himself. If you will consult the report of the National Convention you will find that this addition to the proletarian National Executive Committee, was the only New York delegate, who did not vote for Debs. Debs was not proletarian enough and under the circumstances his vote was cast for the only revolutionary candidate, Rev. Carl D. Thompson of Wisconsin. He is recorded as having voted for Hanford as the candidate for Vice-President, but as a matter of fact, he left the hall before his name was called, and some of the other New York delegates, cast the vote which Hunter would have probably cast for Lawyer Steadman. Have you not read Hunter's eulogy of the Independent Labor Party? Have you not noticed that a banquet was recently given by Hunter in honor of Keir Hardie, at which all the corrupt labor leaders of New York City were invited, ostensibly to rub elbows with Hardie, but originally intended as an excellent idea to create a sentiment for a revolutionary party here on similar lines as the I. L. P. of England? You can rest assured that Comrade Berger will have no better and more loyal supporter in the new Executive Committee than in his friend "Bob Hunter." Your comment on the election is nothing else but adding insult to injury. No one must have felt more amused by it than our Wisconsin friends and this time the joke is entirely on the proletarians and the paper which is reputed to stand for a true proletarian party organization. It is high time that you begin to investigate matters, as you may find that some of those labeled by you as "revolutionist" have always been considered in their own states, as the spokesmen of an opportunism that would not be tolerated even in Wisconsin.

Fraternally yours,
G. R. M.

Editor's Comment. We don't know why the author of this letter should be unwilling to sign his name. He is a very prominent party worker in New York City and his name would have added strength and meaning to his words.

However, he has increased our store of information concerning Hunter only in a single item, that he voted for Thompson instead of Debs. That is a black eye, it must be admitted. We are hit on that one.

All the same, we still believe Hnuter an improvement on Thompson, judging by his writings. The fact that he is openly seeking to steer the Union Labor Political Movement into the Socialist Party confirms our opinion that he recognizes that Socialism is essentially Proletarian and must get the support of Organized Labor in order to be Proletarian.

We shall judge Hunter by his actions on the committee. If he succeeds in assisting that committee and the Socialist Party to cease the scattering shot gun policy of trying to reach "all classes" and to concentrate their attention on a rifle bull's eye policy of capturing the organized Proletarians of America, he will justify his election.

"The Socialist" is Revolutionary, but not Impossibilist, Comrade New Yorker. We classified Hunter with Hillquit. As to their views with respect to Keir Hardie's Party, the following from Hillquit's new book, "Socialism in Theory and Practice," date of Jan. 10, 1909, page 347, shows the author to be practically at one with Hunter.

"The outspoken Socialist organizations in England are not a factor of great importance in the political life of the country, but it would be a great mistake to measure the strength of the Socialist Movement in England only by its organized portions.

"The Socialist sentiment in England largely expresses itself in the radical or "new" trade unions. These trade unions together with the Independent Labor Party and the Fabian Society, constitute the Labor Party, which has 32 representatives in the House of Commons. The Labor Party has recently adopted a very radical declaration of principles, and it is the masses behind that party which must be considered as the main factor making for Socialism in England."

We are aware our correspondent does not consider Hiliquit a Revolutionary Socialist and his words imply that "The Socialist" is only "reputed" to be such. But the International Bureau and Kautsky agree with Hillquit's judgment of the situation in England. On the other hand, Herron and Walling decidedly disagree.

We do not profess to know as much as our New York correspondent. In fact, we know enough to know our own ignorance, or some of it, and on this question of Socialism in the English Labor Movement or in the American Labor Movement, "The Socialist" suspends judgment for further evidence.

Of one thing we are dead sure, the Socialist Party will not become Proletarian or Revolutionary by calling itself such but only by being such. If Hillquit and Hunter and Spargo can act as one to lead the Socialist Party into a genuine control of two million Proletarian voters, they will be forgiven ten thousand minor errors, and those voters will see to it that in the future the Party has a Proletarian executive and a Proletarian program.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

By Bessie Fiset

Where is the backbone? Where is the staunch independence? Where is the straight from the shoulder blow that one has a right to expect to find in the Socialist Party of the State of Washington?

Of all the disgusting, low down, **dishonorable** exhibitions, the one going on in this state at the present writing walks off with the velvet!

I have never claimed to belong to any but the middle class, but I want to say right here that the middle class man or woman who will allow a friend or comrade to be maliciously attacked and who never raises voice against such injustice, is considered a contemptible cur and a sneaking coward! I have always felt that the close bond uniting the whole proletarian fellowship had produced a higher sense of loyalty, a more rugged and honest comraderie than was possible in any other class, and for that very reason the spectacle on view in this state at present is an eye opener to me.

So far I have not been attacked by the Insurgents, so what I may say can in no way be laid to a sore head.

To start off with: If there are such people as "Titusites" I say here and now that I am a "Titusite"—so much for that!

Any one who from jealousy or with "malice aforethought" insinuates that Hermon Titus, Arthur Callaham, Arthur Jensen, Richard Krueger, Harry Ault or Emil Herman are grafters and party traitors and what not rot, are unscrupulous and are the greatest possible menace to the S. P.

It is not that it happens to be Titus, Callaham, Jensen and the rest at all—it is simply that malicious attacks are being made against the most faithful and conscientious members of the party in Seattle.

I have been in the Socialist Party for less than two years, but since I have been in it I have learned the following about the comrades concerned:

That Comrade Hermon Titus has always been anything but dictatorial where the business of Local Seattle has been concerned, only becoming aggressively forceful where the Revolutionists and their Revolutionary Policy were being stabbed in the back.

That Arthur Callaham has stood by the Party when every material interest (which the Insurgents are so prone to talk about) when every material interest was distinctly against such action of his.

That Arthur Jensen has simply given up all thoughts of having any thing—even bare necessities—for the sake of working day and night for the Party and giving to the movement here his clear-headed understanding of Working Class Principles and Organization.

That Harry Ault has worked for the Socialist Party as he has worked to maintain the Seattle "Socialist"—to the point of break-down—making an old man out of himself before he has had a chance to be a young one!

That Richard Krueger is one man out of ten thousand for the position he occupies! His executive ability is unquestioned and he is always to be found on the side that is to the best interests of the Workers, and in spite of being harrassed from all sides and always having an enormous amount of work to do, he never for a moment takes his hand off the pulse of the Washington movement.

That Emil Herman is one of the strongest Proletarian speakers to be found any where, and of such stuff that one never has to wonder what position he will take on any question (thank the Lord the state has some such!) and that he doesn't have his wife out in the rural districts teaching school for her health while he is away soap-boxing all the time for the development of his voice.

To think that a body of men and women supposed to be composed of the Thinking, Intelligent members of the Proletariat will sit apathetically by and allow comrades like these to be maligned, scorned and slandered is almost past belief—and such action is a disgrace, not only to the Socialist Party, but to the Class to which they belong!

Not content with fighting these men comrades in their attempt to wreck the Revolutionary ship, these scuttlers here included a woman in the category of those picked out for expulsion! Whether it is because this woman bears the ire-riling name of Titus or whether it is because she is getting an occasional measley $3.00 from the State Woman's Committee is not just known. One thing is sure! Let any man or woman on the Revolutionary side of the Party prove any degree of proficiency and the cry goes up: "Put 'em out," "Grafter," "Traitor" "Hypnotist," any old thing to kick up a row!

If the straight Revolutionary bunch of this state would get over being afraid they were going to acknowledge a "Leader" every time they gave any body credit for being of some use in the Movement, and would take an unflinching stand, we would have no repetitions of these spasms that are becoming chronic.

For the sake of our Movement, for the sake of the strong Revolutionary State Party which has been built up so laboriously, for the sake of the oppressed every where, Comrades, let us stand up and "Be a man!"

The "P.-I" has it that we are only 16 in Seattle. May be, but I am one of that 16 and I can tell you that when there is any fighting to be done those 16 are going to do it, and we are going to win out or die fighting. If you are content to sit by, because you are afraid to fight, until the right to fight is denied you, well and good. But if you have any backbone, if you have the progress of the Movement at heart, if you have any rational or sane ideas of organization, if you ever expect to accomplish **anything**, for the love of **SOMETHING** get up and show what is in you.

BESSY FISET.

A few weeks ago a member of the reactionary group in the Swedish Parliament asked the prime minister if the government were aware of the destructive efforts of the Socialist agitation and if the government intended to take any steps to stop it.

The prime minister in his reply declared that the Socialist Party is not a "Citizens'" (Capitalist) Party and that alone for that reason it was the duty of the government to work against it. He admitted that the Socialist movement had originally grown out of the unfortunate conditions under which the workers were living. He said, however, that it was quite otherwise now (!?)

The government itself was working on the solution of several of the questions included in the Socialist program.

"The greater progress the Socialists have, the sooner we will have a national renaissance toward true freedom and religion.

"But the Socialist agitation should not be allowed to go on unhindered when it finds expression in breaking existing laws. Special care should be taken that the agitation does not reach into the public schools and among the soldiers.

"The government feels that the existing laws give sufficient means to meet all acts of violence. If the Socialists attempt to carry out their program through violence, they must take the consequences." (Great applause from the reactionaries.)

While the prime minister made his speech great droves of unemployed passed through the streets of Stockholm to ask the government for work. Their prayer was answered with the clubs of the police.

PROPAGANDA BY PHONOGRAPH.

Of late the revolutionists of India who were dissatisfied with the English rule, carried on an unusual agitation when all the ordinary means were frustrated. They procured from America and Japan a large number of phonographs and used them in spreading revolutionary propaganda, under the guise of "Educational Demonstrations." By making their own records of songs and speeches and allowing the machine to do the rest, they were able to do a considerable amount of agitation without arousing the suspicions of the English authorities who were on the lookout.

When the authorities found out to what use the phonograph was put, they began to confiscate the machines and dole out "justice" to the undesirables. In Calcutta alone several thousand of these mechanical agitators were confiscated.

LOCKOUT IN POLAND.

LODZ, Poland—Out of a total of 4,320 workers affected in the lockout at the Krushe & Ender plant, only 1,709 people signed contracts submitting to the cut in wages. The officers of the company finding the force too small to run the plant profitably, closed down for an indefinite time. The whole force of 4,320 is out of work, with little prospect of employment, as other plants in Lodz have taken a similar step in the past couple of months.

AZEF, THE SPY

Continued from Page One

convinced that he knew nothing personally of the movements of Azef.

"I know that he knew nothing about Azef's part in the murder of Plehve. Loupoukine's role seems to have been to forget everything which happened in the way of assassination in Russia. Loupoukine could not be made to believe that Azef was merely the tool of the high functionaries of the Russian police in the crimes which he instigated and carried out, and this I will be able to prove."

BOURTSEF IN A RAGE.

Longuet here injects an interlude. "I was impressed by the face of Bourtsef as he spoke. His face is a mask, a real mask, but when he spoke the name Azef the mask fell and the flame shot from the deep set eyes, the sunken cheeks turned red and even the beard quivered with rage."

"Azef," continued Bourtsef, "was always under the direction, the personal direction, of Ratchkowsky. He was Ratchkowsky's agent for seven years before the foundation of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party. He entered that party as the personal agent of the chief of the Russian foreign police. Ratchkowsky, and Ratchkowsky alone, knew all the designs of Azef. He knew of the plot to kill Grand Duke Sergius—and did nothing.

"Ratchkowsky had been disgraced by Plehve, and after the latter's murder he rose to the chief place in the Russian police. Having left Azef behind him he forced himself upon Stolypin and made himself the strong man of the police department because he possessed in Azef the one weapon with which to absolutely crush the Russian Social Revolutionary Party.

"He had frequently personal interviews with the emperor himself. Thus we see the assassin of the uncle becoming the friend of the nephew, one of the beautiful phases of the Russian system."

To Bourtsef and Bakay, former chief of detectives of Warsaw, is due the credit of uncovering Azef in his relation with the Russian police.

Bakay resigned from this office in 1905 when ordered to torture some political prisoners. He was deported to Siberia but escaped later to Paris. Here he met Bourtsef and by comparing notes they became convinced that Azef was a traitor.

Their findings were reported to the Revolutionary Party, but the rank and file did not trust the information coming from a former chief of police.

A WORLD SENSATION.

As a matter of course, the disclosures have created a great sensation throughout the world. In the Duma the Socialist and Radical members have caused wild scenes by their vigorous scoring of the government.

Bakay claims that at least nine-tenths of the unsuccessful plots are laid by police spies. That their work is bearing fruit is seen by the fact that 627 Revolutionists were hung during the year of 1907 and 792 in 1908.

Two hundred thousand political prisoners are pining their lives away in the prisons as a result of the contemptible work of these spies.

The gruesome story of Azef shows that the Russian spy system has reached a development hitherto unheard of.

It shows to what lengths the ruling class will go in order to retain their supremacy.

It should teach us to be careful in our organizations, industrial as well as political. That we have a well organized spy system in the U. S. was revealed in the Haywood trial at Boise. It was shown that the master class have emissaries in the Socialist Party as well as in the Trades Unions.

The story of Azef should serve as a warning to every true Socialist and Trades Unionist.

Let us be careful of the man who always has a great deal to say but who never does anything in the interest of the organization.

Beware of the man who is always wanting to make the organization better by fighting it!

Beware of the man who is always busy spreading rumors without substantiating them!

Let us learn a lesson from Azef and the Social Revolutionary Party.

WILD CHARGES -- A SAMPLE

Bangor, March 2, 1909

To Whom it May Concern

This is to certify that I was financial secretary of Local Seattle on November 19, 1908, and for some months before and after that date.

That during part of that period Comrade Ault, as treasurer of the committee selected by the local to have charge of the Debs meeting, held $275.15, by direction of the committee, pending the setlement of the question as to how much, if any, belonged to the National office, $315.70 having already been paid to the National office.

That about November 19, he was instructed by the local to turn the money over to the regular financial officers of the local.

That thereupon the money was promptly turned over to me as financial secretary by Comrade Ault.

That I then turned the money over to the treasurer, John Gehrke.

The statement that Comrade Ault was at that or any other time a defaulter is not true.

(Signed) E. T. ALLISON.

The Undesirable Citizen

A New Weekly Revolutionary— Vigorous, Unique Will be enjoyed by "REDS" and read by everybody

Will issue March 6th, 1909

Subscriptions: One Year, One Dollar; Six Months, Fifty Cents. For Sale at all News Stands. Special Inducements for Advance Subscribers sent by Socialist Party Locals. Address THE UNDESIRABLE CITIZEN Room 611, 93 and 95 Fifth Ave., CHICAGO, ILL.

WASHINGTON COMRADES!

Various Locals in the State owe the Trustee Printing Company the sum of $256.20 for stickers printed for last election and for campaign literature for the various County and School campaigns of last fall and winter; Walter Lohrentz of South Bend, former Secretary of the Longshoremen of the Pacific Coast, owes $88.70 for printing done nearly a year ago—a total of $344.90 owed by Socialist Party organizations and members—and for lack of $200.00 "The Socialist" will not appear next week and perhaps not the week after.

All of this work was done for the bare cost of material and labor. It **represents a cash outlay of that amount on the part of the company. We are in our present straits because it has not been paid. All those owing, with the exception of Local Seattle, are able to pay in full immediately. Though they have been repeatedly told that their neglect is killing "The Socialist" they have not responded.**

By extraordinary effort we have gotten out this paper.

We can do no more.

It is for you to act.

Do you want this paper to be with you in the fight against Opportunist Socialism which is just now opening in this state.

Your answer must be in cash.