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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves
of Capital to Vote Their
Own Emancipation

Eighth Year--No. 355

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, December 7, 1907

Price Five Cents

MAYOR MOORE'S FAKE LABOR TICKET EXPOSED

THE EGAN HALL MEETINGS

When the Seattle Socialists were turned out from the Labor Union Hall by the "Union Labor" Political clique, which represents not "Organized Labor," but Moore-organized Labor, the effect was not what said clique expected.

The Socialists profited by their opponents' blunder. Instead of the small hall at the Labor Temple, seating only three or four hundred and on a side street at that, they now have a hall holding three times as many in the very center of the city. They have it leased for a year of Sundays.

Some thought the price pretty steep, and no doubt Moore's "Union Labor Clique" thought the Socialists would be afraid to tackle it, especially when Walter Thomas Mills stood ready to take the vacated Union Hall and fight the Socialist Party therein.

But the Straight Socialists have been justified and the Moore-organized Labor Leaders put to shame, while poor Mills has taken to "barking on the street corners" to procure an audience for his meetings in the Labor Hall from which the Socialists were expelled.

The Socialist Party meetings in Egan Hall have proved a tremendous success, even exceeding the Harper meetings in the same place a year ago.

Beginning with the "Meeting for the Unemployed," Saturday night, Nov. 23, followed by the Sunday night crowd, Nov. 24, who listened to an address on "What Is Socialism?" at both of which meetings hundreds of people stood through the two hours' sessions, the climax was reached last Sunday evening, when two hundred extra chairs failed to supply the demand and at least a hundred remained standing throughout.

This last audience was attracted by a debate which was hoped for on the School Election issues. Prof. J. Allen Smith, one of the "Labor Mayor's" candidates, was challenged by Hermon F. Titus, one of the Socialist candidates. But the University professor failed to appear and the audience was addressed by our proletarian attorney, H. M. Wells, and by the two Socialist candidates, John Downie and Hermon F. Titus.

It was a most enthusiastic audience and they testified to their appreciation of their treatment by a collection amounting to about sixty dollars. This was contributed to meet the expenses incident to the School Election and to go toward the hall rent.

The Seattle Socialists, in spite of the Fusionist defection, led by Mills, have thus begun to do things in a decided way. They are providing first-class musical talent to attract and hold these great audiences. The finest contralto singer in the city, Lois Feurt, is engaged permanently. She is the star pupil of Mrs. Horn-brooke, the remarkable teacher of Voice Culture, who also provided another of her "finds" last Sunday, Miss Muriel Window, with her bird-like soprano. The audience went wild over duets by these two singers.

The "Telegraphers' Trio" of instrumental music was scarcely less noticeable, while the violinist Doyle and Mrs. Titus at the piano, gave popular selections at intervals. After the regular audience was dismissed the Socialist young folks had an informal dance.

The idea is to furnish a first-class entertainment and give straight Socialist instruction at the same time. It is evident the working class appreciate our efforts. They come, some in their overalls and work clothes, and through the beautiful hall even as early as 7 o'clock. They constitute a magnificent audience, and the singers say no other audience is so responsive to good work and so inspiring to sing to. There is no formality, but frank good will and keen attention.

The speakers relate the same experience. These audiences are eager to hear any man who has something real to say on real topics of the day. They are thoughtful, earnest workmen, bent on finding out what is the matter with society and not content with "hot air."

The Egan Hall Sunday night meetings have already become established as the Workingmen's Sunday Home, and are a splendid success. For next Sunday the Socialist Party has challenged the "Seattle City Party," the new name of Mayor Moore's Municipal Ownership-Union-Labor-Reform Combination, to debate this question.

Resolved, That the Platform of the "Seattle City Party" does not represent the interests of the Wage Workers.

have been selected to represent the Socialist Party and the challenge has been sent to Mayor Moore, State Senator Geo. F. Cotterill and to several "Labor Leaders," including Rust, Listman, Frank Cotterill and Maloney, former organizer of the Carpenter's Union, now "Labor Mayor" Moore's Supt. of Streets and especial organizer of the Chain Gang.

We don't suppose any of them will have the courage to appear before this audience of a thousand workmen and discuss these questions like men. "Labor Mayor" Moore and his Moore-organized Labor Leaders prefer to put their opponents in jail instead of meeting them in open debate before the workmen.

WHO NOMINATED SMITH AND WILKIN

Notices are being sent out to Union men urging them to vote for Smith and Wilkin as the candidates of Organized Labor.

These circulars are calculated to mislead Union men.

For Smith and Wilkin were never named by the rank and file of Organized Labor in Seattle.

On the contrary these so-called Labor Candidates were named by Moore's Man Murphy, a "Labor Leader" who was given the job of Library Commissioner by Mayor Moore. It was Murphy and a half dozen other "Labor Leaders" who constitute a political cabal to mislead Labor for the benefit of the present administration of Seattle, who got together in a private room in the Labor Temple two Sundays ago and selected Smith and Wilkin for School Directors.

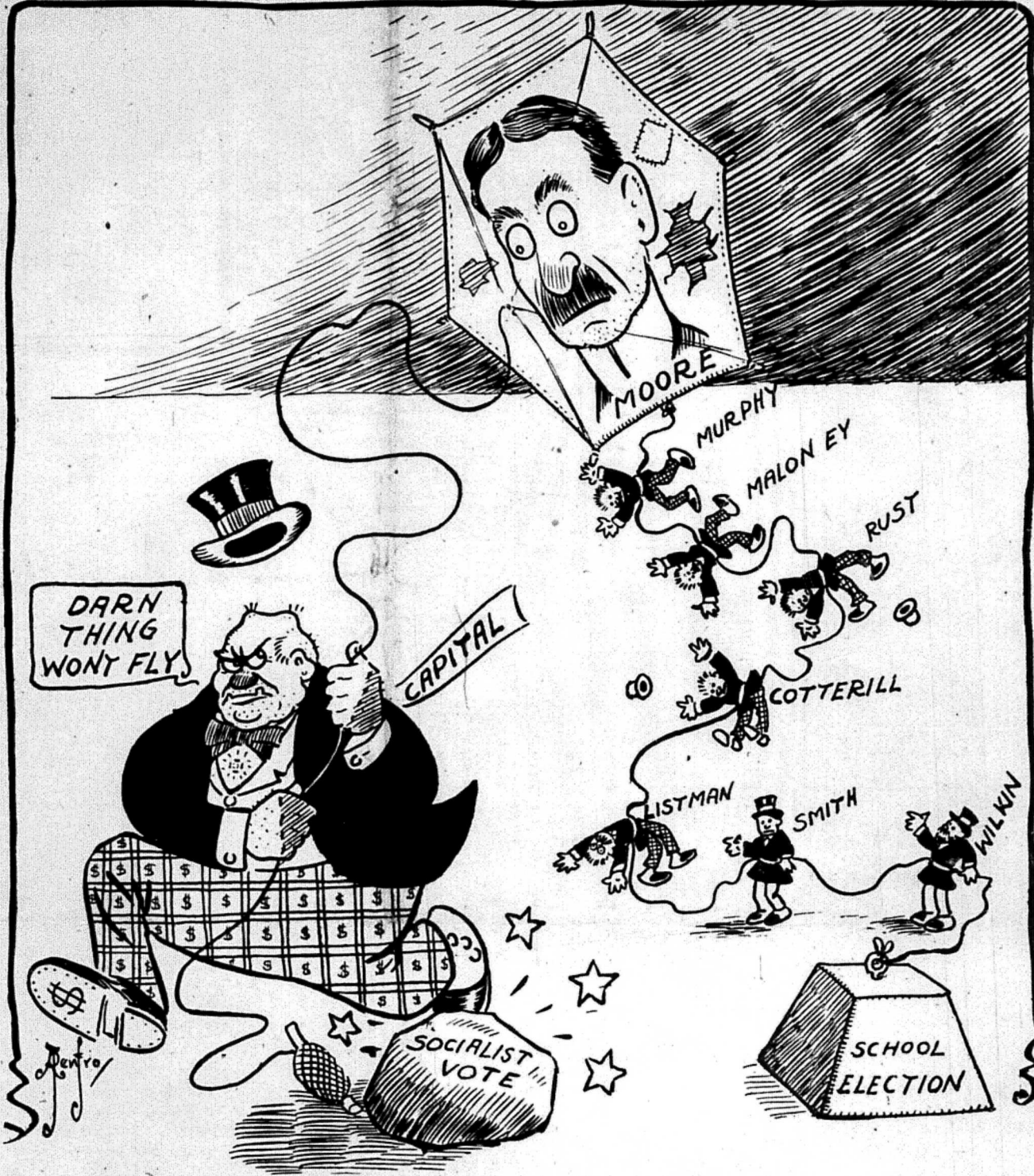
It was not Organized Labor but Moore-organized Labor that named these candidates.

Prof. Smith was put on as the direct representative of the "Reform" wing of the piebald, spotted party behind Mayor Moore. Kidd of the Typographical Union, a "Mills Socialist," expected to run as mate to Wilkin, who was to represent the Building Trades. But Joe Smith, a straight "Reformer" and Municipal Ownership man, wanted J. Allen Smith instead of Kidd.

The nomination of Smith and Wilkin was never endorsed by the Central Labor Council, though "The Star" published as news that they were "unanimously" endorsed by the Central Council. As John Downie, the Socialist candidate, is a delegate from the Carpenter's Union to the Central Council, it is hardly likely any endorsement of Moore's candidates was "unanimous."

But the truth is, no motion to endorse Smith and Wilkin was ever introduced in the Central Labor Council. The motion was only aimed to recommend all unionists to register for the School Election, as Union men were greatly interested. No one was likely to vote against that, but with their usual indirectness, the Moore Clique of "leaders" claimed the motion as favorable to themselves and their schemes. They have "The Daily Star" as their organ and can by means of it cheat hundreds of the rank and file who take that paper and read no other. Years ago, as far back as the street car strike, "The Socialist" warned the wage workers of Seattle to trust no capitalist daily, particularly not such reactionary middle class sheets as "The Star" and other Scripps papers throughout the country which cater to the "Labor Vote."

Now that Labor is inclined to go into politics on its own hook, such dallies as the "Scripps-McRae syndicate" and the Hearst tribe and certain "Democratic" papers everywhere, affect to represent Labor. In fact, they are Labor's worst enemies, as an open enemy is always less dangerous than a hidden one, a pretended friend.



It's a Bum Kite with Too Much Tail

SEVEN POLITICAL PARTIES IN SEATTLE

Number One, Republican Party.—Composed of the capitalist class and its dependents, lawyers, preachers, doctors, professors, editors, superintendents, agents, etc. Naturally well disposed to the Big Capitalists, the Trusts.

Number Two, Democratic Party.—Same as number one, except naturally disposed to the small Capitalists and business men.

Number Three, Municipal Ownership-Labor Party.—Composed of small capitalists, "Reformers," political non-descripts and hypocrites like Mayor Moore, together with self-seeking and ignorant "Labor Leaders" and such fool workmen as they can mislead.

Number Four, Reform Socialist Party.—Composed of Utopians, freaks and schemers, half middle-class, half working class, having that little knowledge which is worse than ignorance, never knowing their own mind and hoping for the impossible. Neither fish nor fowl.

Number Five, The Socialist Party.—Composed of Wage Workers and those who cast their lot with the Wage Working Class, who understand the class struggle both in principle and tactics, who will not tolerate any compromise or fusion, who cherish no Utopian ideals, but work in harmony with Evolution toward the Proletarian Revolution.

Number Six, The Socialist Labor Party.—Composed passively of discouraged old time Socialists and actively of Utopian fanatics and Pharisees whose only usefulness consists in driving knowledge of the Class War into some heads with a Sledge Hammer.

Number Seven, The I. W. W.—Not political at all. Infected with an Utopian Dream of overthrowing the Class State with its guns and armies, by a Universal Strike.

Fortunately, in Seattle, all these various divisions flock by themselves and every one can be seen in action and known by what he can accomplish.

After awhile two flags will lead all the fighters except the stragglers between the lines. The Capitalist Class will get together for their Waterloo and the Proletariat will stand as one beneath the Red Standard of Victorious Revolution.

DAILY DOINGS IN SEATTLE

Friday Evening, Nov. 29, 1907.

Comrade Titus spoke at University between Second and Third Avenues to an enthusiastic audience of five hundred people upon the school campaign.

After the speech, the crowd went to Pike Place to listen to Comrade Sladden. Sladden spoke for about two minutes and a half and was arrested. Audience entirely favorable to the Socialists.

Saturday, November 30.

Sladden called into court room at 9 a. m. No one present but His Honor the Court, and a few court attaches. No public audience whatever, as court is not yet in session.

The Court assumes a wise look, says: "Sladden, you may go."

Sladden goes in wonder. No trial; no bonds required. It's a discharge.

Tonight at 7:30 Comrade E. J. Brown addressed an audience of 200 people at Second and University for more than an hour on the school campaign. Audience was appreciative and paid closest attention. Sladden succeeded Brown on the stool and announced that thought it was reported Wappenstein and Moore had left town on a hunting trip, they had left their orders behind, and invited the audience to march to Pike Place and see it demonstrated. Everybody went and witnessed his arrest after a speech lasting fully 30 seconds.

An instance occurred this evening which shows the attitude of the patrolmen towards us very plainly.

I sat opposite a gentleman in a restaurant who spoke to me and smiled very pleasantly. I spoke in return, but failing to recognize him in civilian clothes asked where I had met him. A very bland smile overspread his face and I recognized him as an officer who had arrested a number of speakers. We talked about the

street fight and he said: "Tomorrow I change shifts and I'll be out of this and I'm glad of it, you people are making monkeys of us, but we can't help it."

Sunday, December 1st.

Secured Sladden's release on property bonds approved by Judge Gordon at 4 p. m.

Monday, December 2nd.

Titus and Sladden went to Ballard to speak on street on the school election, but too rainy to hold meeting. Also rained in Seattle too much for meeting on University street by Comrade E. J. Brown.

E. T. ALLISON, Secy.

CALLS ON THE WOMEN.

Whereas, in the city of Seattle, Washington, conditions relating to freedom of speech and public assembly have become as bad as in the domain of the Czar of Russia, and

Whereas, The MEN of Seattle have forgotten the blood spilled by their forefathers to establish American independence, and make no protest against these menacing conditions, therefore be it

Resolved, By Biloxi Local of the Socialist Party of the U. S., that we call upon the WOMEN of Seattle—(if there be any there who believe in the liber-

ties that our revolutionary foremothers suffered to help obtain), to go before the powers that be in the city of Seattle and denounce them for their usurpation of that power which the people never authorized them to assume (the suppression of free speech and peaceable assembly) and demand the instant respect of the rights of all men and women without regard to their political affiliations.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be furnished the Seattle "Evening Times" and the "Seattle Socialist."

J. P. LIGON,

Secretary Socialist Local of Biloxi, Miss.

SPLENDID LETTER FROM THE STATE ORGANIZER

Tacoma, Nov. 30, 1907.

To the Membership of the Washington Socialist Party: Dear Comrades: We are not quite there yet. There is ever so much work still to do, ever so many workmen still to educate. Thousands more meetings will have to be held. Thousands of dollars will yet have to be spent. Thousands of Socialist Party locals will yet have to be organized, bringing into the regular army thousands more workmen. And to do this all effectively, to do it all so that it will "stick," we must be organized.

There are two ways to organize Socialist Party locals: 1. Send a speaker with more or less ability to an unorganized town to hold a Socialist meeting. Let him raise enough disturbance to secure five or more signatures to a charter application. Have the applicants meet that same night after the propaganda meeting to elect temporary officers. All are in a hurry to get home. The speaker is in a hurry to get out of town to make his next date. The meeting adjourns, every one is jumping sideways, no one has a clear conception of anything. The acting secretary receives the charter. He looks it over and files it with other rubbish. Everybody informs everybody else about the meeting. Some attend. Maybe they just stand around and talk and then go home. Maybe they do elect a chairman. Maybe the chairman does all the talking. Probably one of the members has saved an extra amount of hot air for just this occasion and talks all others to sleep. Maybe no one knows how to make a motion. The chairman does not know how to put a motion. The secretary does not know how to enter a motion, or probably he has not even a minute book. Not one of the members has read the state or national constitutions, much less studied them. Nobody knows what to do. Everybody gets tired. Maybe they meet again. Only three or four come. They may try to meet again. Then they forget. The end.

2. An organizer, after having convinced at least five good Socialists of the necessity for organizing, secures their signatures to a charter application. A meeting is called. A chairman is elected. The members are advised in making motions. The chairman is instructed in putting motions. The motion before the body is the election of officers. A member arises and is soon talking about "green cheese." He is told why he is out of order. One question at a time must be considered. Business must be transacted with dispatch. The remarks on the motion before the house must be "short and sweet." A secretary is elected. He is in-

structed as to his duties. The organizer and financial secretary are likewise instructed. Copies of the state and national platforms and constitutions are given the members with the request to study them. Two or three Socialist papers which advocate organization are recommended and yearly subscriptions are solicited for them. Good literature is recommended. The organizer tells what he knows about arranging for propaganda meetings, how to advertise and conduct the meetings. He tells of the necessity for regular business meetings. The women and children are interested. Advice on the admission of new members is given by the organizer. Don't allow anyone to join that is looking for business. Workmen should join. They should be class conscious and understand the wage system.

Results: The charter is received. It is framed and hung in a conspicuous place. Every member boasts. The women and children tell other women and children about the Socialists. Discussion meetings are held. The town is challenged to debate. The town "sits up and takes notice." The officers of the local do their duty. They learn by doing. Everyone has the cause in mind. Everyone makes of himself an advertising bureau. New members are added, the right kind. The local begins to "cut a figure" in politics. It is succeeding. It remains continuously affiliated with the state organization, a constant source of income for its own benefit, to the state office, and to the national office. It is with us to stay. With us till we are victorious, one of the outposts that mark the beginning of the end of capitalism.

To organize a local in the above manner takes no less than three days and maybe a week. But it has paid. To do this kind of organizing money is required now. We want to so build up our membership that the income from dues will be sufficient to pay the expenses of further work. Not only is it necessary to organize new locals that are permanent, but some locals now in existence must be made permanent. They need instructions in how to become alive.

I am fairly well convinced, being State Organizer, that I am elected to do some real organizing as I understand it. I do not know it all. Am very willing to learn more and to unlearn mistaken ideas. But what I do know is yours for the asking. If you need my services, if you know where my services are needed immediately, write the state office. Information by mail will be gladly forwarded. I am ready for work.

Sincerely,

A. WAGENKNECHT, State Organizer.

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A full line of Staple and Fancy Groceries. We buy in carload lots, enabling us to sell below our competitors on goods that are not listed. We invite your inspection of our Meat Department at any time. Our new department includes Boots, Shoes, Rubbers, Rubber Boots, Men's Gloves, Toilet Articles, Notions, Etc. And owing to a delayed shipment of Underwear we are selling at a big reduction. A fine line of Confectionery and Stationery, Hardware, Paints, Oils, Hay and Grain, Etc. We are agents for Miller's Keyless Locks. All goods not paid for will be sent C. O. D.
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A TESTIMONIAL.

Roselake, Idaho, October 8, 1907.

Our son, Gifford, Jr., was ill for five months steady in bed with an illness that we knew nothing of. We had 3 of the best doctors in the west who said nothing could be done for him—that he was beyond human aid. He had convulsions at three different times and the last time he had 4 in one night. The result was that it left him paralyzed on the entire right side for six weeks afterward.

His life was despaired of all summer. He could not eat nor even take a drink of milk. By chance we heard of Mr. Lange's Rocky Mountain Mineral. We thought it useless, but thought we would give it a trial. The result was that in three days after taking he could eat and kept gaining right along, and is today as well as ever, with the use of his right side.

It is a medicine that can cure where all else fails—a grand medicine for a weak stomach.

After an illness of five long months our boy is now as well as ever, is hearty and has the use of all his limbs. This is truly a wonderful remedy. We know it has saved our boy from the grave, and we can only thank Mr. Lange for that wonderful cure.
Respectfully yours,
JAMES L. WATERBURY.

Mr. H. W. Lange, of Uim, Mont., proprietor of the Rocky Mountain Mineral Water, has arrived in Seattle and located at 2318 First Avenue he is now ready to attend to patients who are suffering from
RHEUMATISM, STOMACH TROUBLE, FEMALE COMPLAINT
And all kinds of blood diseases. If you are a sufferer from cancer, please come and see what I can do for you. I guarantee a cure for any running sores. Testimonial letters from all over the United States can be seen at my office.

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VICTORY FOR FREE SPEECH IN SPOKANE

By J. F. Mabie of Mont.

After a hard-fought battle, lasting two days in the Superior Court of Spokane, before Judge Sullivan, a brilliant victory for Free Speech on the streets of Spokane was won. The test was made in the case of Ida Crouch-Hazlett, editor of the "Montana News," who was arrested by an officious policeman while speaking on the corner of Stevens and Riverside avenue on one night of September of this year, tried before a police judge and fined \$5.00 and \$11.00 costs for blocking the streets. The case was appealed by Comrade Hazlett to the Superior Court of Spokane.

The second trial began on Saturday, November 10, at 10 a. m. Realizing the importance of the trial, and knowing how bitterly it would be contested, James D. Graham, state secretary of Montana, went out to Spokane and spent a week there arranging every detail, so that when the forces were lined up for the final struggle every precaution had been taken to insure success. The trial lasted until Monday at 4 p. m., when the jury retired to reach a verdict.

Comrade Hazlett sat in the court room beside her attorneys, Kirby and Pence, and took an active part in carrying on her defense.

Every prospective juror was closely questioned as to his politics and his views on Socialism, and if he showed any sympathy with the Socialists, or declared that he was a Socialist, he was promptly excused from service on the jury that was to decide the right of free speech on the streets of Spokane. The jury was composed of eight Republicans and four Democrats. The prosecution put seven witnesses on the stand and attempted to prove that the streets were impassable and that the store of R. J. Hard could not be entered from either Stevens or Riverside streets, and that there were at least two thousand people standing on the streets for an hour and a half listening to Comrade Hazlett's address.

One man by the name of Anderson went on the witness stand and testified against Comrade Hazlett, and on being asked by the prosecuting attorney what his politics were promptly declared that he was a Socialist. On cross-examination this man showed that he knew nothing about Socialism, nor was he a member of the party, but on the other hand had all the earmarks of a Pinkerton detective. Imagine any Socialist assisting the police in an attempt to throttle free speech. No member of Local Spokane knew the witness Anderson or had ever heard of him before.

Fourteen witnesses testified on behalf of Comrade Hazlett and proved that while she had a large audience that it was not a mob and that she had perfect control of the crowd until the arrest was made.

It was clearly proved that the Socialist committee that had been appointed to keep a passageway open on the sidewalk and street had done their duty well and that pedestrians and vehicles were not prevented from pursuing their course, and that the doors to the store of A. J. Hard, who made the complaint, were perfectly free of access.

It was amusing, and did the hearts of the Socialists good, to listen to the prosecuting attorney go after the Socialists, asking them how long they had been Socialists and why they were Socialists. Every chance the Socialists got when they were on the witness stand they used it for propaganda purposes, and the prosecuting attorney soon took a tumble and asked no more questions about Socialism except to ask if the witness was a Socialist.

The attorneys for the Socialists put a local judge and the county attorney on the witness stand, who testified that one man, Rice by name, who had testified against Comrade Hazlett on behalf of the police of Spokane, was an unworthy character and could not be believed under oath.

Another witness for the police, a clerk in the store of A. J. Hard, was impeached, and it was shown that he was in the court testifying against the Socialists in the interest of his master and that his testimony at the previous trial of Comrade Hazlett was entirely different from the evidence he gave at the second trial.

Comrade Hazlett went on the stand and testified in her own behalf and stated that she had finished her lecture when the policeman came to her, asking her to clear the sidewalk. Comrade Hazlett did everything the policeman requested, but when the crowd cheered her this was too much for the police officer and he lost his temper, jerked her off the box she was speaking on and placed her under arrest.

On cross-examination Comrade Hazlett was asked if the crowd was unruly. She answered that the crowd was an orderly one as long as it was her crowd, but when she was arrested it was no longer her crowd, but the policeman's, and that he could not handle it. It seems that Policeman Dister, who did the arresting, is an overbearing sort of a fellow, who handled Comrade Hazlett rather roughly, and the audience resented his ungentlemanly acts.

Judge Sullivan's instructions to the jury were very favorable to the Socialists, and his whole conduct, during

the trial showed that he was acting in a fair and impartial manner, and was an advocate of the right of free speech.

The jury was out six hours and then asked for further instructions, as they could not agree, eight being for acquittal and four for conviction. The four for conviction were mixed up on the instructions of the court. After being put right by the judge they retired to the jury room and in ten minutes' time had agreed on a verdict of not guilty.

Comrade Hazlett was discharged from the custody of the court at 11 o'clock Monday night, November 18.

Local Spokane rallied to the defense of Comrade Hazlett in first-class style and too much credit can not be given to the active, aggressive Socialists who stood by her all through the fight, ready to give whatever assistance they could render. Comrades Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Nichols, J. S. Lichty, Kingston, B. Thompson, Stevens, Silverberg, Fredrickson and W. E. Barber, the general secretary of Local Spokane, were among the most active. With such aggressive workers in Spokane as the foregoing it is safe to say that there will be no more police interference with Socialist meetings in that burg.

The trial cost the Socialists \$150, and will cost the city of Spokane at least \$225 for monkeying with Socialists and their right of free speech.

After the trial Comrade Hazlett returned to Rathdrum, where she is reporting the trial of Steve Adams, being the only Labor or Socialist press representative at the trial.

[Editor's Note to Above.—The Montana Socialists stood nobly by their comrade and Editor, Ida Crouch-Hazlett. Except for the Free Speech Fight going on in Seattle the last eighteen months, involving very large expense, the Washington state organization would have been able to appropriate funds to assist in the Spokane contest. As it is, the Washington comrades rejoice in the valiant work done by Secretary Graham and the Montana organization behind him. Mrs. Hazlett also never flinched, even when apparently abandoned, and the victory reflects great credit upon her.]

THE NEBRASKA CONTROVERSY

(Continued from Page Three)

In my opinion the proper solution of this question, so far as the National Executive Committee is concerned, is to suspend both sides until such time as the state of Nebraska shall have settled its internal difficulties and gotten its organization into such shape that it will not burden the national organization with continual complaints and controversy.

This seems to be the proper solution for two main reasons:

First, your organization will be of little use to the national organization in its present shape, and is more likely to hamper us in the coming presidential campaign than to help us. Even if we endorsed your side, Roe and his wing would continue their work against you, and instead of doing effective propaganda work in the national campaign you carry this element of disruption into wider fields. On the other hand, if we suspend you both, the national campaign will go on without the least regard to your dissensions.

Secondly, by suspending both sides to this controversy and having you pay dues directly to the national organization, each local as a local at large of the Socialist Party, you will all receive an equal opportunity to show what you are made of. If you are sure you are right and Roe wrong, go ahead and continue your active work. Your statement that Roe is held above water by nothing else but national stamps, fits ill with your other statement, that you have the overwhelming number of Socialists in your party, have a party organ, have a hall and reading room, and are carrying on a very active campaign. If that is really so, you have practically won out already and it can only help you, if the national organization keeps hands off and gives you a square opportunity to lick the opposition to a finish.

When you finally win out by sheer merit, you will have no difficulty in getting recognition at the hands of the National Executive Committee.

In the meantime I suggest that you put the members of the National Executive Committee on the exchange list of your paper, so that we may judge for ourselves what sort of Socialism you are teaching.

With fraternal regards,
(Signed) ERNEST UNTERMANN.

NOTICE!

Don't forget, while you are hard up these panicky times, that this paper has to pay its bills just the same. If you are out of a job, why not get out and send us a few subs. We need them, as there has been a big falling off in cash.

We have a fine chance to secure a Printing Press, just the kind we need and must have one of these days. If you know any one who has \$500 or \$1,000 lying away in some hoarding place, we can give him good interest on a safe investment. The Trustee Printing Co. is really supporting "The Socialist." If we had this big press of our own, no matter what "hard times" come, or how much the capitalists persecute us, we can never be driven from the field. Help us, if you can.

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You are perfectly safe in buying at the Grote-Rankin Store, as every effort is put forth to see that store service is the best, that goods are marked fairly, and that every customer is satisfied, no matter how small or how large his purchase.

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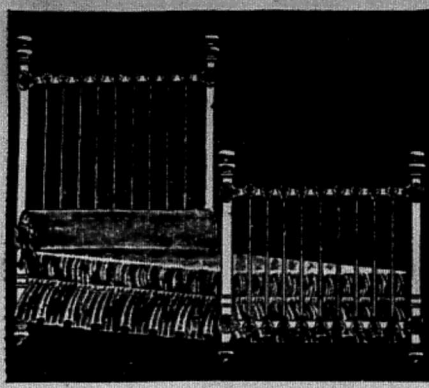
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SHALL THE SOCIALIST PARTY OFFICIALLY OWN ITS PRESS

A DELUSIVE APPARITION

Editor "Socialist":
In your issue of Nov. 9th Inst. I notice that Comrade Burgess takes exception to some of my remarks on the party press subject, especially the one where I characterized the party press advocate as a "visionary." Not wishing to cause any Comrade any mental anguish without due consideration of the principles and facts involved, I think a more critical examination of the subject-matter in dispute is due those Comrades who reject the above characterization as inadequate proof of their philosophical position.

In this disquisition we shall also consider the tautological and superficial statement, that the present unsatisfactory conditions extant in the movement are due to the present management of the press, as there are many Comrades who never tire in rehashing this delusive apparition in cheap, long-winded editions.
Since both opposing parties as to the subject-matter in dispute are entrenched on common grounds, with a common ultimate aim, the disagreement is merely on the methods employed to bring about the desired result, viz., a more uniform and revolutionary movement.

Revolutionary sentiment and uniform progress too slowly for the one party, and they seek to accelerate it through a change in the management of the press, which would nullify unofficial opportunistic sheets and enthroned revolutionary Socialism.

The other party's aim is identical, only they scoff at the idealistic scheme by which their Utopian Comrades seek to accomplish it. They return to the well-established ground which is common to both and which distinguishes proletarian science from the theory of the bourgeois apologist and proceed to analyze the chimerical and metaphysically tainted ideas of their dualistic Comrades, with that critical inductive "instrument"—"historical" materialism, "which," says Dietzgen, "forms the bed-rock of Scientific Socialism."

This theory tells us that ideas do not fall from the sky, or evolve out of the heads of men who reveal them through printing presses, but they grow out of the material and productive forces extant in his environment. Which is the primary cause of all intellectual and social variation.

The great industrial revolution which took place during the last century and which completely transformed production from the individual to the collective or social scale, brought in its wake a new world psychology, one that rebels against the old established property relations and social traditions which have become an anachronism.

Implanted in the mind of the proletarian by these insurmountable forces this new psychology found its most concrete expression in the modern Socialist movement, which tends to completely destroy the old property relations and institute those that will conform to the material environment of society.

The revolutionary character which this movement has assumed is not due to the oratorical or literary genius of some saviour who was rebelliously inclined, but is just what historical conditions have made. It is what it is, and no ideological or Utopian scheme can change or accelerate its logical revolutionary course.

It is an indisputable scientific fact, that where the "idea" immigrates prior to the material conditions, it is absolutely ineffective, as its material application is impossible. Any other conception is pure idealism; yes, a belief, if you like it, "in the predominance of the idea over the material or objective facts," a spook of mediaevalism!

Papers are but the modern method of polishing, elaborating, discriminating and analyzing the ideas extant in society. Their existence depends wholly upon their ability to meet the intellectual requirements of their readers, which requirements are generated under the pressure of capitalist expansion. As material conditions change and intensify, these requirements take on more of a revolutionary character, and those periodicals that do not change to meet these requirements are doomed to utter oblivion.

And the Socialist periodical is no exception to this rule, as it differs only in degree.
Thus the attitude of the Socialist Press and movement as a whole is but the reflex of the material phenomena, or the concrete expression of the rebellious tendencies inherent in the material life of the proletariat. The expansion of its revolutionary path depends solely upon the degree of exploitation, not on some specific code of ideas presented in some specific form. "A stream cannot rise above its source." Neither can the revolutionary tendencies of the working class.

The present unsatisfactory conditions in the Socialist Movement are no more due to the present management

ment of its press than the present unsatisfactory conditions in society (the class struggle) are due to the management of the capitalist press.
(The above is written purely from a philosophical standpoint.)
GEO. KUNKLE,
Monaca, Pa.

YES, OF COURSE

As soon as possible!
But in order to own anything it is necessary to take up all the responsibility, the financial burden with all its consequences.

The Socialist Party has no means, no income to establish or to maintain newspapers. The party income is \$1,000-\$2,000 per month. Every cent is needed for the party organization, to maintain the national office and to send speakers and organizers in the field.

So the question: "Shall the Socialist Party own its own press?" is premature and the real question is: "How can the Socialist Party get money enough to own and control its press?"

Every manager and publisher of a Socialist paper would gladly be relieved of the nerve-racking, endless struggle of existence if the Socialist Party would step in and take up the financial burden. Let us hope that the party might get strong enough to do so in the future. At present every paper has to fight for sweet life and do it without any help from the national office, or die.

The "Social-Democratic Party of Germany" paid last year m. 137,866.37 (ca \$34,000) to help 18 dailies whose

income did not cover the expenses. The party spent thousands of dollars for a party news service and in many other forms, everywhere co-operative and helping to maintain the press. Such a party has, of course, the right and the means and the power to control and to own its press.
ERNEST EBEL, Chicago.

CALLS DOWN SINCLAIR

Seattle, Dec. 3, 1907.

Mr. Editor:
As I read Comrade Sinclair's letter in "The Socialist" of November 30th, I could not help but observe that the worthy comrade must have a large and very sore bunion and that I had unwittingly stepped on it.

A careful reading of my first contribution fails to disclose any mention of Comrade Sinclair, but since he says he is mentioned I suppose we shall have to so consider it, although I feel sure his self-classification does him an injustice. For delicacy in the introduction of personalities, in this instance I take my hat off to the comrade.

Now, if he will re-read my article in "The Socialist" of November 2nd, smooth his wrinkled front and scientifically dissect just and only what is said, I shall be delighted.

Read it again, comrade, read it again and fire away. You do not know what my personal belief is on the subject. But be sure to aim at the real target.

U. G. MOORE.

NEBRASKA CONTROVERSY

Two organizations in Nebraska claim to be the Socialist Party, one with Roe as State Secretary and the other with Wells. Roe is proletarian in sympathy and Wells middle class. Roe's organization is recognized by the National office. Work of the National Exec. Com. has twice moved that Wells be recognized in place of Roe. Berger and Patterson voted with Roe. Hillquit and Hanford voted against. Simons refused to vote, saying he deemed it "utterly unimportant."

Untermann's opinion appears in the letter we print herewith, written in reply to one sent him by Wells, of the bourgeois organization.

Especially note Untermann's reference to "Principle," which is the only thing which should be considered by the National organization in settling State controversies. Again we say, numbers of members do not count as against the principles they stand for. Better ten for the proletarian principle than ten hundred for the bourgeois principle.

Untermann seems to undervalue "Tactics" in some of his sentences, which he would probably not do if he were writing on the subject of Tactics. Theoretically correct principles may in practice be denied by tactics inconsistent therewith and often are.

UNTERMANN'S EETIER

Box 97, Grangeville, Idaho, Nov. 15, 1907.

Dear Comrade Wells:
I thank you for your interesting letter of November 1st, which I read with great attention. It is indeed a pity that a good many of the comrades on the National Executive Committee neglect to vote on all questions that come up for discussion. The best remedy against such indifference is to elect comrades to these places who will do their work conscientiously.

I have taken a very lively interest in this Nebraska controversy, partly because, having been a member of the old "Omaha Quorum," I am somewhat familiar with the persons involved in it.

For this very reason I cannot see my way clear to endorsing either one of the present factions. My main reason for this position of mine is precisely that the whole controversy is turning much more around questions of personality than around questions of principle. But it is the principle in which I am most interested.

I have no convincing proof so far that Comrade Roe has violated any of the fundamental principles of the Socialist Party, and unless such proof is brought forward, I do not see how the National Executive Committee can exclude him and his wing from the party.

Each side in Omaha has kicked out the other. Each side has brought charges of corruption, bad faith, lack of activity, etc., against the other. And each side has failed to make its To the N. E. C.

So far the persons involved on each side of this controversy are concerned, I have as much regard for one as for the other. So far as I can see, you are all doing what your past and present environment compels you to do, and you are all working for Socialism as you understand it. The whole condition of the case shows, first, how weak the movement in Nebraska still is, and secondly, how little schooling in Marxian theories the leading men of both sides have had.

You are mistaken if you think that the mere matter of sending due stamps to one side or the other will make or unmake Socialism in Nebraska. So long as the economic conditions in Nebraska do not change materially, your movement will be insignificant. Of course, the mistakes you and the other side make will retard your progress, and what little encouragement comes from the fact

that you may get due stamps will help you some. But the main reason why the movement is so small in Nebraska is the overwhelmingly agricultural nature of production in Nebraska and the comparatively small population widely scattered, with its pronounced middle class character. You are thus compelled by the environment in which you live to seek support among little shop keepers and farmers, and so long as there is no great number of industrial proletarians to form a solid and overwhelming center organization, the middle class will make a poor addition to your organization. The very men who are to blame for this controversy, are of pronounced middle class type, and this more than any other reason makes it so hard to get them together for a truly proletarian and united action.

Once that the industrial proletariat in Nebraska will become sufficiently class conscious to exert its influence, it will make short work of the middle class control, which has weakened your organization so far.

So far this proletariat has exerted principally a disrupting influence, because it hates the middle class. This accounts for the one per cent resolution, which was passed in Omaha a while ago. It also accounts for the fact that you still find some S. L. P. adherents in your town who continue to worry the members of our party. Whenever the proletariat gets strong enough to realize that the tactical mistakes of the S. L. P. hurt the movement, it will get rid of the S. L. P. elements as rapidly as it will prevent a middle class control of our organization.

In the meantime I do not make so much of the charge that Roe has S. L. P. leanings. He may or may not have them. That is merely a question of tactical difference, not principle. Were it not for the fact that the tactical mistakes of the S. L. P. are so closely connected with certain persons whose incompatibility and narrow-mindedness make them ineligible for orderly co-operation with those who differ from them in the matter of tactics, there would be no reason why the vast number of the present adherents of the S. L. P. should not work inside of the Socialist Party, instead of outside and against it.

Neither has the fact that you are an infidel, or agnostic, any direct bearing upon the matter under dispute. It is true, that your agnosticism makes you more readily accessible for the Socialist philosophy in its wider aspects, and draws you nearer to men like myself, who have emancipated ourselves not merely from the traditional bourgeois doctrines in economics and politics, but also from those of religion, philosophy, ethics and science in general. But this again is no criterion for the eligibility and reliability of a comrade as an organizer and propagandist in our political agitation. A man may be a good agnostic, and yet a poor student of Marxian economics and politics. On the other hand, a man may be a bad agnostic, or a good Christian, as he understands Christianity, and yet make a very able organizer and teacher of the economic and political theories of Marx. Of course, if two men are equally able in these fields, and one of them is at the same time a clear thinker in Marxian philosophy, I should prefer him as the more trustworthy, because a man who has emancipated himself from bourgeois thought in all fields of thought is nearer the proletarian ideal than the other who has emancipated himself only in some lines. But for the controversy under discussion, this distinction is immaterial. None of you are so far evolved in Marxian thought that you can afford to cast reflections upon the other man's knowledge.

If you could prove that Roe and his followers are paying dues, not only to the Socialist Party, but also the S. L. P., then the matter would assume a different aspect. In that case I should be compelled to endorse your faction, and I assure that I should then do so even if you were a Christian Socialist.

(Continued on Page Two)

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LABOR IMMIGRATION BEFORE STUTTGART CONGRESS

By Morris Hillquit

To the Editor of "The Socialist."

Dear Comrade: "The Socialist" of November 16, contains an article of Comrade Untermyer on "American Labor and Special Exclusion," which is entirely devoted to a criticism of the Stuttgart resolution on Labor Immigration and the attitude of the American delegates towards that resolution.

The problem of labor migration is inherently very difficult and complex, but it becomes much more difficult and complex when dealt with by an international Socialist party.

This opportunity to study was as usual fully exploited by our German comrades, who contributed much valuable material for the solution of the problem, especially in the "Neue Zeit," but was on the whole rather neglected by other nations.

To my mind there could be but one answer to the question—that contained in the resolution on the subject which had been adopted by the National Executive Committee and the National Committee of our party for the express purpose of submitting it to the International Congress as the view of the American Socialists.

That resolution, it will be remembered, rejects both extremes: It does not seek to restrict in any way the "involuntary" or "natural" labor migration, i. e., migration induced by the competitive system in the countries of modern production, but is opposed to all forms of IMPORTATION of foreign labor by the capitalist class for the purpose of injuring or destroying the labor movement of the country.

The "imported" foreign laborer against which this resolution is directed may be classified as follows: (1) contract laborers, (2) workmen brought in as strikebreakers in the course or in anticipation of a strike, (3) "unorganized and unorganizable" workmen, who, though not imported for the express purpose of strikebreaking, must from their habits of work, mode of life, etc., be inaccessible to the labor movement and prone to develop into strikebreakers and wage cutters.

years invade China, convert its working class into modern proletarians and draw them into modern brotherhood of the international Socialist labor movement.

These views expressed by our resolution I defended in the Committee on Immigration at Stuttgart, and friend and foe alike will admit that I worked for their adoption as earnestly and persistently as I knew how.

The Stuttgart resolution, among other things, demands the enactment of laws "against the admission of immigrant workmen coming under a contract which deprives them of the right to freely dispose of their labor power and wages," and declares it to be the duty of organized labor "to protect itself against a lowering of its standard of life through the mass immigration of unorganized workmen and especially against the deliberate importation of strikebreakers and SIMILAR ELEMENTS."

The Stuttgart resolution, however, does not see that protection in any "exceptional measures" and more particularly "in the principle of excluding foreign nations or races," but in certain legislative measures calculated to check the importation of coolie and other cheap foreign labor, and the measures specifically mentioned are: "The shortening of the workday, introduction of a minimum wage, abolition of the sweating system, regulation of the house industries, and strict supervision of the sanitary and dwelling conditions."

The issue between us and our European comrades thus narrowed down to a point of methods and expediency. We all agreed that the mass immigration of labor "from countries as yet hardly touched by the capitalist mode of production" (to borrow a phrase from the American resolution) generally results in the lowering of the standard of life of the indigenous working population, and that it is the duty of organized labor to protect itself against that danger.

On these lines the discussion moved in the committee for two full days, and when it came to a vote, we found that on the particular point in issue we could probably count on the support of Australia and South Africa, each represented by one delegate as against almost 900 delegates representing the other twenty-two countries.

And now, what was our attitude to be? Should we, as was intimated by some of our critics, have refused recognition to the resolution of the Congress? Should we have bolted the Congress because the majority of the delegates overruled us on the question of methods of combating injurious immigration? Would the members of our party stand for such a course? Certainly not.

One of the most vital principles of our movement and of every other democratic movement, is the submission of the minority to the decision of the majority in every case. The man who happens to find himself in the minority on any proposition is not, therefore, bound to abdicate his own judgment; if he is unconvinced, he may still adhere to his opinion and endeavor to prove its correctness, and if he succeeds, the minority of today may become the majority tomorrow.

And in conjunction with this it must be remembered that the International Socialist Congresses do not assume to legislate for the affiliated parties in the various countries; they proclaim general principles and leave their application to the discretion of each country; their resolutions are not specific directions, but general guides.

Such was my understanding of the situation when the resolution on Labor Immigration came up for discussion in the plenary meeting of the congress, and in that sense I presented to the delegates our attitude on the subject. I stated that we did not fully agree with the proposed resolution and briefly explained our point of view, but I also added as a matter of course, that after we had made our fight and lost, we would submit to the decision of the congress, and take the Stuttgart resolution as a guide for our practical action as long as it remains in force.

The question has also been raised as to what immediate effect the Stuttgart resolution should have on our policy toward labor immigration. This question the party may have to answer officially at our next convention. But it seems to me that the subject is by far not as burning as it is represented to be.

Editor's Note.—Aside altogether from the question at issue between Comrades Untermyer and Hillquit as to whether Hillquit was justified in submitting when "hopelessly beaten," there remains another question introduced by Hillquit except in his single suggestion that "race hatred and race prejudice" are not "a legitimate part of the Socialist philosophy."

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT MONSTER UNEMPLOYED MEETING

Held November 23, in Egan's Hall, Seattle, Under the Auspices of the Socialist Party.

Whereas, Thousands of honest working men and women are out of employment, and out of money;
And whereas, At the present time there seems to be no possibility of their finding anything to do;
And whereas, These people are being persecuted by the present "counterfeit reform administration," thrown into a filthy jail for the crime of crawling into a box car to sleep, and condemned to work on a chain gang with insufficient clothes to protect them from the inclemencies of the weather;

PRICE HOT AFTER BURGESS

Outlook, Wash., Nov. 24, 1907. Editor "The Socialist":

In a late issue Comrade Burgess asserts that he is not a dodger. I never accused him of being one, but will do so now.

I have stated that it was not right for the Socialist Party to receive me and other comrades who were guilty of owning our homes as members, and then treat us with contempt and suspicion, as do some of those who call themselves scientific proletarian Socialists.

I did not enter the party under false pretenses. When I joined first in South Dakota, and again later on in this state, I certified that I was a farmer. All the comrades, both here and in South Dakota, told the truth in regard to their occupation when they joined with me in making application for a charter, and we have paid our dues and done other duties called for by the rules of the Socialist Party.

Another question that Comrade Burgess dodges is: Which is worse for the cause of Socialism, for a Socialist to have a little capital, or for a wage-worker to have a big capitalistic mind, as many do?

Please answer those questions, Comrade Burgess.

According to the comrade there are only a few who are true Socialists—a few dozen in this state and a few hundred in the United States—all the rest of us simply think we are Socialists. Of course we many thousands who think we are Socialists feel insulted by the egotistical assumption of the few hundred, but that does not matter, since gods cannot insult those beneath them.

Now if Comrade Burgess thinks I am not nor cannot be a true Socialist on account of my occupation, he ought not to call me comrade. Call me Walter, or Mr. Price, or old man Price if you wish.

Instead of the provision of the constitution which allowed us who have property to creep in, the self-styled, so-called scientific Socialists ought to have a catechism something like this:

Are you a proletarian, and if not will you become one as soon as possible?

Will you, pending your transition to question or murmur to be governed by the proletarian members of the party?

Will you promise to read only such books and papers as are approved by US, the only true-blue, scientific proletarian Socialists, and will you promise to consider as heretical all such papers as the "Saturday Evening Tribune," the "Appeal to Reason" and "Wilshire's," and such books as Bellamy's and Blatchford's?

Do you promise that if any comrade does anything to offend US that you will vote with US to expel him at once on pain of being called traitor and fusionist by us?

Now this sounds sarcastical, but it's the only consistent way for people who believe and act as you do to act when you take new members into your society. Either we small property owners are Socialists and entitled to be treated as comrades, or else we have no business in the party in the first place.

It looks to some of us as if you are willing we should help in paying expenses, and let you do all the bossing, in plain English. Go ahead, comrades, and do all the good for the cause among the wage workers you can, and I will do all the good among the small property owners I can for the cause of Socialism. It will take us all to win, and in the meantime when I meet with you in the press, on the forum or in the councils of our party, I shall treat you as comrades, and you must treat me likewise.

Fraternally yours, WALTER PRICE.

LUND TO THE "APPEAL"

October 21, 1907. Editor "Appeal to Reason."

Dear Comrade: In the issue of "The Appeal" of October 19th last is an article on blatant barnacles hanging to the Socialist movement who are feverishly fierce in their determination to keep the movement right by driving people out of it as fast as they come in.

If I am one of those blatant barnacles please let me know. I was one of those that voted to expel Walter Thomas Mills from the party when charges were made and substantial proof was brought against him from Victoria, B. C., that he in a speech made there on December 28th, 1906, advocated fusion by advocating the election of a man not belonging and opposed to the Socialist party.

I myself consider W. T. Mills an educated and able man, but foxy, an opportunist of the middle class that cannot be trusted in the proletarian movement. He likes to stand in well with Chief Wapenstein and Mayor Moore and the rest of the desirable citizens of the City of Seattle and opposed to Revolutionary Socialism.

If the "Appeal" knows of any more blatant barnacles please bring in a case against them and furnish the proof and let us have them all expelled, as it would be better to have a small movement of the Revolutionary Socialists than a lot of opportunists ready to sell out to the Demo-Republican at a good opportunity for a price like was done with the Populist party.

Yours for Revolution, JAMES LUND, Member-at-Large Socialist Party of Washington.

Buy Stock The Trustee Printing Co. Publishes "The Socialist" and conducts a general Job Printing business, Incorporated for \$10,000. A safe investment. You will get your dividends in the rapid spread of the Principles of Revolutionary Socialism. One hundred more Stockholders wanted. Terms easy 1-10 Down 1-10 per Month \$1 a Share