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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves
of Capital to Vote Their
Own Emancipation

Ninth Year—No. 424

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, June 5, 1909

Price Five Cents

Several thousand copies of this paper will be distributed free at the great Haywood meeting to be held at Dreamland Rink, Seattle, Sunday evening, June 6, and it will constitute, in a manner, a souvenir of the meeting, containing, as it does, so much interesting matter about the man Haywood and his family. . . . "The Socialist" is peculiarly fitted to present this matter because of its close connection with the historic trial which foiled the conspiracy of the mine owners to put Haywood and Moyer and Pettibone out of the way and thus make it easy to disrupt the Western Federation of Miners. The Editor of "The Socialist" was the first friend to greet Haywood after his arrest and kidnaping to Idaho, and from that time until the trial was over "The Socialist" furnished the working class of the country with the most complete, reliable and interesting reports of the proceedings against these representatives of the working class. We are again giving in this issue some of the material gathered during the progress of this battle in the war for the emancipation of the working class. . . . For nearly nine years "The Socialist" has fought the battles of the working class on every field. In the Street Car Strike in Seattle in 1902 "The Socialist" was published daily for several days in order to meet the falsehoods of the capitalist press as soon as they were uttered. . . . More recently, in the great Lumber Strike in Portland in 1907, "The Socialist" had its representative on the ground almost as soon as the strike began and gave reports of the progress of that fight as it developed. The Portland strikers had no way of reaching the public with their side of the story, and "The Socialist" supplied them with the means. It was during this strike that Haywood wrote from the Boise jail, "Keep it up; you are doing good work. Help the strikers all you can." . . . Hundreds of you who read this do not take this paper regularly. You may, perhaps, subscribe for other Socialist papers, but many of you take none. This article is written with the express purpose of reaching you. You are residents of Seattle. You know the constant stream of capitalist misrepresentation that the other papers in the city turn out. You know the need for a strong, live, reliable paper that will voice Labor's needs, both politically and industrially. . . . We have told some of you what "The Socialist" has done. With a thousand more readers in Seattle, we could make the capitalist class in the city sit up and take notice every week, and we could compel them to constantly grant concessions to the working class that could not be gained except through the influence of a powerful local working class press. . . . We have all the things necessary to the start of a working class daily as soon as it is needed. . . . The Trustee Printing Company, which owns this paper, is a group of working men and women, together with trades union organizations and Socialist party locals, who have got together and given of their scanty means to build up a working class printing house. The company is equipped to do all kinds of job printing, and is now printing two weekly papers and two monthly papers, the latter being official organs of unions. We are doing job printing for a great number of unions and for Socialist party locals all over the country. . . . Here is the only working class printing office in the city. . . . Now we know what you should do after our showing. . . . You cannot invest a dollar better than by subscribing for a year for this paper. You will be repaid in the higher wages and better living conditions you are able to force from the boss because of your support for this paper. . . . You will find a subscription booth at the side of the hall. . . . If you have no money with you, leave your name and our collector will call, or you can send the money to The Trustee Printing Company, Box 1908, Seattle, Wash. . . . The sooner you act, the sooner you will get results.

"BILL" HAYWOOD -- THE MAN



HAYWOOD'S MOTHER

Who died shortly after the acquittal of her son. Her death was hastened, if not directly caused, by the terrible strain through which she passed while the trial was in progress.

HAYWOOD AT HOME

Here is a photograph of Haywood's home at Silver City, in Southern Idaho. It is the first picture ever taken of this miner's cottage on the bleak hillside. The editor of "The Socialist" had it taken Sunday, July 22, when he was in Silver City to address the miners.

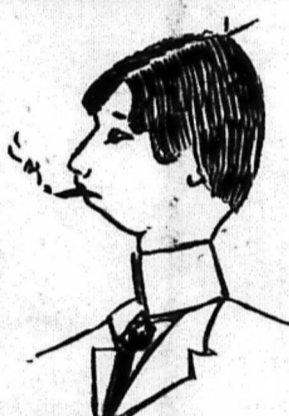
It was in this cottage that Haywood lived from 1895 to 1901, working all those years steadily in the mines underground.

The Capitalist papers have circulated stories of Haywood's life in Silver City to the effect that he was a dangerous "agitator," and "walking delegate," stirring up strife and living off his fellow miners. It would not be safe to tell that kind of a story in Silver City, where even the bosses speak of him in the highest terms. The truth is, that Haywood never

missed a work-shift in years. He was not dissipated in the least. He was one of the best workmen in the mines, though some of the bosses, notably ex-Lieut. Governor "Joe Hutchinson," disliked him because of unionism.

It was out on the stony canyon-side above this cottage home that Haywood was accustomed to carry his invalid wife in his arms of hot summer evenings after his day's work, that she might be cheered and refreshed by the cooling air and purple sunset.

It was out of this six years hard miner's experience and faithful struggle to maintain a home, that Wm. D. Haywood was called to become Secretary of the Western Federation of Miners. He knew every detail of the wage workers' dreary existence. He was strong and young. He had ambitions and hopes and love and thoughts. He felt the awful impossibility of the working class position. It was no dream but a year's long fact, "Nothing to lose but his chains," even in Silver City, miles away from a railroad. Seven thousand feet above sea level.



"AFFIDAVIT" VAN DUYN

A character study of the Prosecuting Attorney of Canyon County, who swore that of his personal knowledge Haywood was on the ground at Caldwell at the time of Steunenberg's murder. This cartoon was drawn by Haywood and was first published in "The Socialist" November 3, 1907. This is the first time it has ever appeared with the name of the artist given.

It was in this mountain mine, where Capital drew its millions from Labor whereby to supply its wives and children with health and travel and education and beauty, that the young man Haywood, carrying his crippled wife in his arms to the occasional theatre, learned the iron fact of the Class War and enlisted himself in the Emancipation Army of Labor.

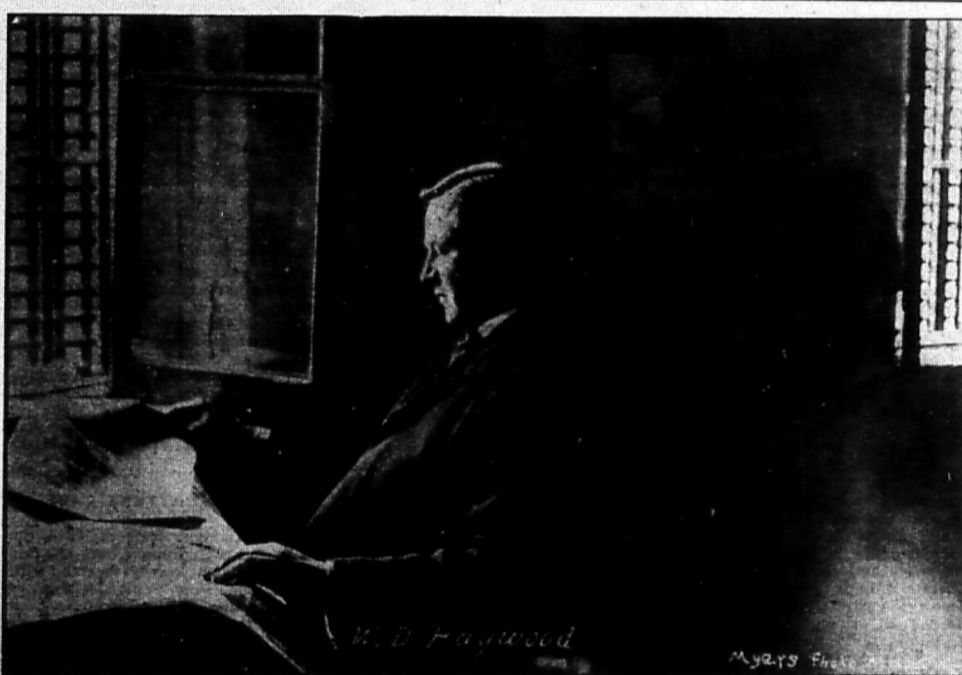
It has also been falsely reported that Haywood's influence has been to create violent disturbance in the conduct of Union affairs. As a matter of fact, in the course of his administration as Secretary of the Miners' Union in Silver City, there was never anything approaching throughout. There has scarcely even violence. The utmost good sense and peaceable conduct prevailed been a strike of any magnitude in the Silver City mines. Yet it is a strong Union town, has 8-hour shifts and as good wages as in other places.

Haywood's whole record in Silver City is that of a sober, peaceable, thrifty, skillful, hard working man, domestic and loving, but strong and firm.



HAYWOOD'S SILVER CITY HOME

From a photograph taken for "The Socialist" and never shown elsewhere.



STUDYING LAW IN HIS CELL IN THE BOISE JAIL

One of the best photographs of Haywood ever made and published in "The Socialist" before appearing in any other paper. This is especially interesting in view of the announcement that Haywood is ready to take his law examination and thinks seriously of locating in Washington to take up practice.

their own satisfaction, were disconcerted when they found their scientific (?) interpretation reversed. And since then, their "prayers" for Local Seattle have been tinged with a sulphurous expression.

I am proud to say, that along with other comrades, I have had a hand in the work we are doing. We do not expect to be patted on the back. We may be able to do that for ourselves, if necessary. The only struggle we are in now, is the struggle of each comrade to do the most of the necessary work. Instead of putting the shoulder to the wheel and pushing the wagon of agitation, there is a tendency to shoulder it, in order to facilitate the forward movement.

On with the Revolution!
JOS. S. BISCAV,
Sec. Local Seattle.

CALL FOR STATE CONVENTION.

Office of State Secretary, Seattle, Wn.
May 20, 1909.

Comrades:
The annual state convention of the Socialist party of Washington is called to meet in the city of Everett, Saturday, July 3, 1909, at 10 o'clock a. m.

The place of meeting will be the G. A. R. hall, corner of Hewitt avenue and Baker street, Everett. The G. A. R. building has a dining hall, which also has been secured, and arrangements will be made to furnish meals to delegates at as near cost as possible.

Delegates are to be elected on the basis of the apportionment list that is sent with this call.

Credential blanks also are mailed to local secretaries, in original, alternate and duplicate forms. The original credentials are to be retained and brought to the convention by regularly elected delegates. Credentials for alternate delegates shall be issued to comrades taking the places of regular delegates unable to attend, and local secretaries should not fail to insert the name of the regular delegate that the alternate delegate is to succeed. Duplicates should be returned to the state secretary immediately after the election is held.

Members-at-large delegates will receive their credentials direct from the state secretary.

All delegates are required to bring to the convention their red membership cards showing them to be in good standing.

Railroad and boat fare of delegates will be paid in proportion to the amount in the delegate expense fund July 1, 1909.

Any additional information will be cheerfully supplied by the state office. Fraternally submitted,
W. H. WAYNICK,
Temporary State Secretary.

HAYWOOD HEARD IN BRILLIANT SPEECH.

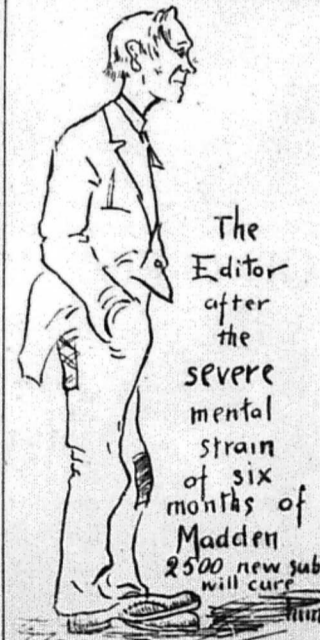
William D. Haywood, the noted labor leader whose sensational trial and acquittal in Boise two years ago of conspiracy to murder Governor Steunenberg attracted the attention of the entire labor world, addressed a huge

audience at Eagles' hall last night, and with his wonderful magnetic personality instilled into his hearers even a greater spirit of social equality than had filled their veins before.

The large hall was filled to capacity with laboring men, followers of socialistic ideas and men who had been drawn to the place out of curiosity to hear the famous labor leader's eloquence.

Haywood took for his subject "The Conspiracy of Labor." He began slowly, elaborating clearly on the more intricate portions of the machinery of the labor grist mill. He told of methods being used to down the laboring man, and of keeping him down. He spoke of the thousands of men who are refused work on account of class differences. And finally, he launched eloquently into a voluble discourse on socialism.

Haywood did not appeal to his audience. That is not his style. He stated facts and then made his demands upon his hearers, and when he was through the entire audience rose in a body and cheered until the rafters vibrated. A vote was taken at the close of the meeting to send a petition to President Taft asking the abandonment of military law in times of labor trouble.—Tacoma Times.



The Editor after the severe mental strain of six months of Madden 2500 new subs will cure

This portrait of the Editor of "The Socialist" was made some seven years ago by Cartoonist Fowler. It may be of interest to know that the Editor's condition is about the same or more so, and that he is suffering from a disease that requires the same remedy that the artist prescribed. See what you can do for him.



THE HAYWOOD FAMILY

This photograph was taken for "The Socialist" in the jail yard at Boise and shows "Vernie" Haywood on the extreme left, sitting beside Mrs. Haywood, who is in the invalid chair. Opposite them are Haywood with his younger daughter "Heinie," and next to them Mrs. Haywood's nurse, Miss Westerman.

IS LOCAL SEATTLE DEAD?

I have often heard expressions against Local Seattle and its inactivity in the past few months. Even the Capitalist papers came out with statements that we were dead, and in an effort to make good their word, lined up against us like true exponents of parasitism. Many of the uninformed comrades are of the opinion that the propaganda work of Local Seattle has fallen flat.

As a matter of fact, the record of the street meetings for the past few months, is something any local in the country would be proud to have to its credit. The comrades through the state know, or ought to know, that Local Seattle was attacked on all sides during March and April. In spite of the fight which forced nearly all the local members to rally and defend our organization, we were as active, and probably more so, in propaganda work, as any local in the state that had no such disadvantages. Neither did we ask for outside help in this line, but depended on our own members.

During March and April we held 14 and 17 street meetings respectively. The bad weather hampered us considerably. At this time we were defend-

ing ourselves against all comers, practically. We were then charged with inactivity and our answer was: "Give us a chance, and we will show what we are made of."

At the beginning of May most of the rubbish was cleared away and we had a chance to go ahead with our regular work. We were ready to prove how "dead" we really are.

The weather prevented us in holding many of the scheduled meetings, but in spite of this we got through with 41 street meetings, chalked up for May. Literature to the amount of \$114.25 was sold that month.

I think this will compare favorably with any local in the country or the combined work of the locals of the state. We expect to make a higher mark for June and only bad weather can prevent, and it will have to be very bad at that.

Of course, we realize what a shame it is to thus smash the prophecy of our enemies.

But we can not be expected to be very considerate, as to the feelings of the opponents of Revolutionary Socialism. Our enemies who dreamed of a funeral and expounded the dream to

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

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WHAT SOCIALISM IS OFFICIAL STATEMENT

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

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

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

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

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

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class. (As adopted by the National Convention, this should read after the words, "present order": "or from the dominant class of society.")

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern pro-

duction is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

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

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

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

PROGRAM

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

General Demands

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

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

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

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

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

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

Industrial Demands

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political Demands

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

"9.—A graduated income tax.

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

"11.—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

"12.—The abolition of the Senate.

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

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

IT DOES NOT DICTATE.

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

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

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

CONFRONTED BY GREAT CRISIS.

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

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

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

COURTS ALWAYS HOSTILE.

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

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

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

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

DANBURY HATTERS CASE.

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

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

BALLOT IS A WEAPON.

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

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

SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE TRADES UNIONS

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

"The movement of organized labor

ALL THE YEAR 'ROUND
Regal \$15 Clothes
Are Worn because they Wear the Year 'Round
THE HUB
Sole Agents
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