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# The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves  
of Capital to Vote Their  
Own Emancipation

Ninth Year—No. 406

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, January 2, 1909

Price Five Cents

## WARNING!

It has been a long time since the management of "The Socialist" has asked for aid. For months the paper has been subsisting almost wholly on advertising and job printing—and

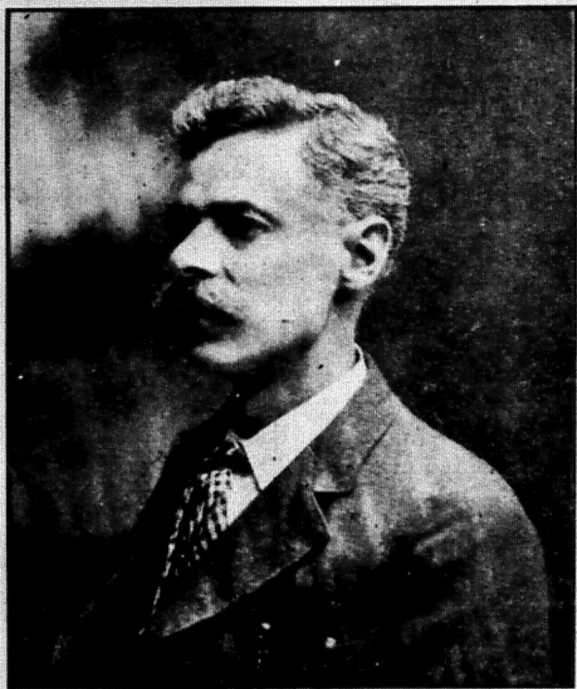
## DANGER!

our credit. Owing to the continuance of the hard times both the job printing and advertising have fallen off. Our credit is worked to the limit. Our boosters, probably because we have not pressed them, have failed to come to the scratch with enough subs to make up the deficiency and we are up against it. You are getting a mighty good paper now. It's the only paper in the country in which you can find out anything about the real work of the Socialist Party. There are lots of you reading "The Socialist" without paying for it—you borrow it from the comrade who does pay. Now it's up to you to get busy. If you want to continue reading this paper you will have to hustle in some cash. We must have Five Hundred Dollars immediately to meet our most pressing obligations. We have pumped ourselves dry. You will have to get this money to us, and you will have to do it quick. Send subs, donations or loans—we'll pay you back the latter as soon as we can. Fill out the blank in the corner of this page. And work quick.

## A SOCIALIST YEAR BOOK

"The Socialist" takes the greatest pleasure in forwarding Hanford's project of a Socialist Year Book. It will supersede the necessity of "Campaign Books" and provide an indispensable Reference Book for all Socialists. Hitherto we have had to use Bliss' Utopian "Cyclopedia of Social Reform," and a dozen Capitalist "Almanacs" and dictionaries, with little satisfaction at the best. Hanford will give us something worthy of the movement which will also be an authority for use by Capitalist Editors and writers and libraries.

Ben Hanford was forced out of the "Red Special" and other campaign work by his illness contracted in Socialist work. The Socialist Party would be foolish and heartless if it did not, now, do its best to compensate him, and to employ his splendid facilities in the Party's service. By the way, there is now a Mrs. Hanford who deserves congratulations as well as "Our Ben" himself.



BEN HANFORD

### OUTLINE OF THE PLAN

243 E. 68th St., New York, Dec. 9. Mr. J. Mahlon Barnes.

National Secretary, Socialist Party. Dear Comrade: I ask you to submit in due form the following motions, with my comment and the accompany- ing letter and prospectus, which are necessary as explanatory matter.

Fraternally submitted, (Signed) ALGERNON LEE, Nat. Committeeman for New York.

#### Lee's Motions.

1. Under the provisions of Article IX of the Constitution, authorizing a Literary Bureau and giving it the right to "publish works on Socialism or for the purpose of Socialist propa- ganda," I move that the National Secretary and the National Executive Committee be instructed to undertake the publication of a SOCIALIST YEAR BOOK in conformity with the general plan and scope outlined in Comrade Hanford's letter, the same to be issued not later than May 30, 1909.

2. I move further that Comrade Hanford be employed as editor, and that he be paid Twenty-five dollars (\$25) per week as wages, the expense of typewriting to be paid by him; and that he be allowed Fifty dollars (\$50) or such part thereof as may be required for postage, printing, circulars, and stationery, he to render an itemized account of such expenditures to the National Secretary for his approval. This motion not to be effective unless the preceding motion is carried.

#### Comment.

It is with great pleasure that I comply with Comrade Hanford's request to lay this matter before the National Committee. The proposed Year Book will be of immense value to the move-

ment. There is a constant demand among our editors, writers, speakers, organizers and secretaries, and among the comrades generally for just such a compendium of information. And I do not know of any able man who could be expected to do the work so well as Comrade Hanford. His very large fund of information, his general familiarity with the subject, enabling him to gather more information in the best manner, and his scrupulous accuracy especially fit him for the task.

857 East 34th St., Flatbush, Brooklyn, N. Y., Dec. 8, 1908

Algernon Lee, Member National Committee, Socialist Party for State of New York. Dear Comrade: I enclose herewith a proposition, together with the motions necessary to give it effect, and if they meet the approval of your judgment request that they be transmitted by you to the National Committee and the National Secretary of the Socialist Party.

It seems to me the Socialist movement in America has long needed what I would name the SOCIALIST YEAR BOOK and what might be described as a Socialist Almanac and Campaign Book. That such a book should be issued at year intervals, and that the National Office should undertake the work. That the date of its publication should not be later than May 30 of each year, thus giving opportunity to include official declarations of the Biennial National Conventions. That the regular publication of such a work would save the Socialist Party from the necessity of providing a Campaign Book on such short notice as to render its proper preparation impossible and causing its publication at such a late day in the

campaign as to seriously curtail its usefulness. That there should be no effort to make a profit from the publication, but loss should be avoided if possible, and in my opinion loss could be avoided after the first issue, and probably even on that.

As you will see from the prospectus enclosed, and which I would request you to transmit to the National Secretary and your fellow National Committeemen with this letter, the task is a great one, calling for the services of the best available man as editor. On many of the subjects to be treated data are available, but it is not in statistical form, and will have to be collected for the first time and at great labor. So soon as the first SOCIALIST YEAR BOOK is off the press the editor should begin work on the next one, though the motions herewith submitted provide only for the first issue. The prospectus nevertheless is drawn up in contemplation of a series of annual publications.

Many topics named in the prospectus suggest the names of comrades who have made a careful study thereof, who are universally recognized as thoroughly equipped to treat the subjects referred to, and whose services, if possible, should be secured to prepare the articles thereon for the Year Book.

The general divisions and subdivisions noted in the prospectus are, of course, tentative. Before the book appears (should it be undertaken) they will be subject to change and change again. It must also be noted that lack of time will make it impossible to prepare the copy for all the topics named and were they prepared lack of space would prevent their insertion in the first issue. Also that subjects not named will be treated, both because of their special interest and as data come to light before the date of publication.

In conclusion, let me say that I do not desire that yourself or any other committeeman should favor or vote for me to take charge of this work if it is decided that it should be undertaken) through any consideration of personal regard for me, or from any desire to provide for my economic security. I have no wish to be a pensioner on the Socialist movement. At the same time, if there is some useful place that I can fill in the movement I shall be glad to do so. Should you consider it wise to publish such a book as I have outlined, you have to consider if the services of some one of the many comrades more competent than myself are available, and if so, it is your duty to employ that comrade. In advance I clearly realize that the editor of the first issue will be keenly disappointed at the necessary difference between his hopes and the results of his work.

Article IX. of the Constitution, which provides that the Literature Bureau of the party may "publish works on Socialism, or for the purpose of Socialist propaganda," declares further that the clause "shall not be construed as authorizing the Bureau to publish any 'periodical.'" In my opinion a yearly almanac would not come within the meaning of the prohibited "periodicals," as I have no doubt that the intent of the Constitution was to prohibit such publications as might come under the generally accepted meaning of the phrase "party press," and having to do with the influencing and making of the policy and tactics of the party. But, be the

construction of the clause what it may, you will note that I have so drawn the motion providing for a Year-book as not to violate it in the letter or spirit. The motion provides for one book to be issued not later than May 30, 1909, leaving any subsequent books to be the subject of other special motions, unless in the meantime the provisions of the Constitution should be changed.

As to the motion naming the editor, I have only to say that the time is already short; that if the work is undertaken it should be begun at once, and that if the services of some comrade better equipped for the task are available, some member of the National Committee has only to propose his name.

A further word as to probable cost. It seems to me clear that a book such as I have outlined, to be retailed at a price not to exceed fifty cents per copy (except for a limited number of cloth-bound copies) would be in demand by the many persons interested in Socialism who are not Socialists; that it would be a necessity to all those comrades who are actively engaged in propaganda whether by lecturing, organizing, writing or conversation, and that this and all subsequent issues would be sure to find a place in the library of every local and branch. Looking over the field carefully, it is my belief that the work can be undertaken with a reasonable certainty that there will be no loss to the National Office, that there probably would be a small profit, and that the benefit to the Socialist movement and the Socialist Party will be very great.

Yours truly, (Signed) BEN HANFORD.

Prospectus Submitted by Comrade Ben Hanford.

## THE SOCIALIST YEAR BOOK

### SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.

#### THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY—National Platform, National Constitution, Resolutions and Recommendations of National Convention, National Office and Secretary, National Committee, National Executive Committee, Secretaries, State Committees, Etc.

#### LOCALS AND MEMBERSHIP—Numbers, Strength and Character of the Organization, Methods of Propaganda, Organization of Foreign-born Socialists.

OTHER DIVISIONS OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT—The Socialist Labor Party, The Collective Society, The Christian Socialist Fellowship, The Intercolligate and Other Societies, the Rand School of Social Science and Other Schools, Courses of Lectures, Etc.

#### SOCIALISM IN OTHER LANDS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM—International Socialist Congress, Its Resolutions and Recommendations—International Socialist Bureau, Its Officers and Members.

#### SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

SOCIALIST POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORLD—Parliamentary Strength, Strength in Municipalities, Measures Advocated and Opposed—Principal Publications of the Socialist Parties, Chief Writers and Speakers.

#### INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN AND CHINA.

So far as time permits their preparation and space allows their insertion, that part of the SOCIALIST YEAR-BOOK devoted to Foreign Countries should include statistical and other articles of general and special interest to observers of the labor movement in America, as: Militarism, Anti-Militarism, Free Books and Food for School Children, Accident Insurance and Old Age Pensions for Workmen, Sanitation and Model Tenements, Co-Operative Stores, Child and Female Labor, Intensity of Labor, Labor Laws and Their Enforcement, Court Decisions, Notable Occurrences of the Year in the Field of Organized and Unorganized Labor, Woman Suffrage, Etc.

#### ORGANIZED LABOR.

List of National Labor Organizations and Their Secretaries. A. F. of L.—The Railway Brother-

#### HOODS—W. F. of M.—Organizations of Women Workers—Other Labor Organizations.

Wages, Hours of Labor, Intensity of Labor, Conditions of Labor for Organized and Unorganized Workers. LABOR AND COURTS—Blacklists, Boycotts, Injunctions, Employers' Liability Laws, Habeas Corpus, Damages Against Unions, Labor Laws Declared Constitutional and Unconstitutional, Labor Laws and Their Enforcement, Etc.

#### STRIKES, LOCKOUTS AND BOYCOTTS OF THE YEAR.

The Closed and Open Shop. Evictions of Strikers, Bullpens, Deportations, Peonage, Spies in Unions—Pinkertons, Detectives, Deputy Sheriffs, Thugs, Militia, and Federal Army in Strikes.

#### CHILD LABOR, FEMALE LABOR, ORGANIZED LABOR AND POLITICAL PARTIES.

THE UNION LABEL. Eight-hour Day, Arbitration of Labor Disputes, Profit Sharing, Labor Day, May Day, Bloody Sunday, the Commune.

#### ORGANIZED CAPITAL.

Manufacturers' Association, Citizens' Alliance, the Armies of Strike-Breakers, Etc. Corporate Wealth of the United States. The Trusts.

#### REFORM MOVEMENTS.

Populism, the Independence League, Prohibition, Single Tax, Initiative and Referendum, Proportional Representation, Etc.

#### SPECIAL TOPICS.

THE STRUGGLES OF ORGANIZED LABOR. THE UNEMPLOYED. Chronology of the Labor Movement. Calendar of Capitalist Crimes Against the Working Class.

Industrial Diseases, Railway, Mining and Industrial "Accidents." Necrology. Power—Steam, Electric, Water, Animal.

Land Grabbing, Land Frauds, Owners of Large Landed Estates. Cost of Army, Navy, Pensions, Militia, Armories, Etc. Naturalization Laws.

LABOR COST OF STAPLE COMMODITIES. COST OF LIVING. RAILWAY STATISTICS.

Wealth of the United States and Its Distribution—Economic Classes in the United States and Their Relative Numbers—Occupations and Numbers Engaged in the Various Machinery and Its Development.

#### GENERAL INFORMATION.

This department must contain the available data as to Emigration, Immigration, Schools and School Children (Health, Eyesight, Free Food, Free Books, Etc.), Municipal Statistics (Tenements, Sanitation, Police Courts, Government by Commission, Evictions, Graft, Traction, Etc.), Poverty, Charity, Adulteration, Prostitution, Crime, Lunacy, Drunkenness, both as to the United States and Foreign Countries, and topics too numerous to mention here, but which immediately come to every mind considering the work here outlined.

### NEXT SUNDAY NIGHT, JANUARY 3

All comrades and friends who usually attended Sunday night Socialist meetings at Labor Temple are invited to assist the Three Street Meetings to be held next Sunday night instead of the one Hall Meeting, on condition the weather is not too cold or stormy.

Gather at office of "The Socialist" at 7 p. m.

Speakers will meet there with Literature Agents and others, divide into three squads and proceed to 4th and Pike, 2d and Union, and 2d and University.

Literature will be sold, collection taken, questions answered, etc.

These street meetings afford an opportunity for best aggressive work. It will do all members of the Party good to see what our local speakers can do. We have now some 12 good men and women who have learned how. Come and stand by them.

We may have a new headquarters by Sunday night. The committee is hard at work.

Will the subscriber in Blaine, Washington, who sent in a yearly sub card to "The Socialist" send in his name and address? He forgot to enclose his name, so will have to wait until I get the matter straightened out. The card was sold by Emil Herman and is numbered 2.

## "WE DON'T PATRONIZE"

### GOMPERS IN THE CLASS WAR.

Unless you recognize and understand the Class Struggle as the basis of all Social Problems, you hold no key to any current event.

The Injunction, punishment for Contempt of Court, the Boycott, the Strike, Property-rights in a "Business," the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case, the Buck Stove and Range Co.'s fight against a Free Press, all these matters of latest discussion are mysterious and baffling unless you bear always in mind that which underlies them all, namely, the Class War.

Everything in Society centers about this War between the Classes, between the Capitalist Class and the Wage Class or, in brief, between Capital and Labor.

On this one point the Socialist and the non-Socialist separate. Gompers and Debs divide at this point. Debs sees the Class Struggle. Gompers holds to the "Identity of Interests" between Capital and Labor.

Yet Gompers at this minute is in the grip of the Class Struggle.

The Buck Stove and Range Co. got an Injunction against the American Federation of Labor restraining President Gompers, Secretary Morrison and others from publishing the fact that said Buck Stove Co. was on the "Unfair List" and thus injuring the "Property" of the Buck Co. as vested in its Trade or "Business."

Why did Gompers publish in "The Federationist" a list of business firms under the heading, "We Don't Patronize"? Because these firms refused to recognize the Labor Unions and insisted on the "Open Shop."

The "Open Shop" means a "Closed Shop" to Union men. It means that Labor united will not be dealt with by Capital and therefore "Organized Labor" must go down in defeat. Better wages shorter hours and improved conditions generally become impossible. Capital will dictate its own terms to Labor. Labor will cease to be an antagonist and become a Suppliant. The Class War will be ended by the Victory of Capital and the Surrender of Labor.

Just at this point, the student of affairs, who holds the Class Struggle Key, as Gompers unfortunately does not, will unlock all these sophistries about "Protection to Property Rights" and about "Submission to Law," which Capitalist editors are preaching at us.

The Socialist Scientist, that is, the Socialist, replies, "Whose Property Rights, Whose Law, do you mean?"

Capitalist Property and Capitalist Law, of course. The Buck Stove and Range Co. are Capitalists, not Proletarians.

But what about the "Property Rights" of Labor, of that enormous Class of Wage Laborers known as the Proletariat, represented in organized form by the Two Million members of the American Federation of Labor?

Do you not see that this whole contest is a War over Property? The Open Shop, the success of this Buck Injunction against the Boycott, the suppression of the rights of Labor, even to tell who its enemies are, means simply low wages for high wages, means big profits for Capital, a mere "living wage" for Labor. It means millions more for Capital and millions less for Labor.

It comes down to this, then: Which shall get the Wealth of the World, Capital or Labor? In one word, Whose is the Property created by Modern industry?

This is the naked Class War, of which the Gompers-Morrison-Mitchell arrest is a conspicuous incident. It is a War for Property. Who is to get possession, Capital or Labor?

Capital is organized. It has the Government in all its branches. The Laws and the Courts are part of Organized Capital.

But Labor is creating its own organization. Its advancing army is striking terror into the ranks of Capital. The last presidential campaign was only a skirmish in this all embracing Class War which convulses Modern Society. Roosevelt sees it. His final message to Congress talks of nothing else. Half unconsciously, all writers and workers, even the most bourgeois and commonplace, glow with a sense of this irrepressible conflict.

Shall we then cringe before the "Dignity of the Law?"

Whose law, their law or our law? Away with this preachment about "Right" and "Justice!" The only question is, fundamentally, Which Class in Society will win? On whose side is Historic Progress ranged? Whose is the future? Which class is backed by the Forces of Evolution?

For that Class to which is entrusted the destiny of mankind is the Class which will make laws and courts and "Justice" and "Rights"—and "Right" itself.

Therefore in the interest of the Proletariat, whose organization Gompers represents, old laws are to be despised and disregarded. They have no sanction of Justice. Those laws which only represent Capitalist Property and deny Proletarian Property are but earthworks erected by Capital for its own protection against the oncoming hosts of Labor.

Don't talk to us of "Sacred Laws," the "Dignity of the Courts," the "Observance of Order," and all that rot. We, who understand the Class Struggle, know that the "Eternal Principles of Justice" are now and for Five Thousand Years have been the Principles of the Class in Power, whose "Property Rights" needed such "Principles" for their own protection. Slavery also had its "Eternal Principles" preached from pulpits and maintained by all the respectable "Friends of Order," including Courts and Armies.

The "Property Rights" in their own "Business," claimed by the Buck Stove and Range Co., upheld by the Judges in the District of Columbia and sure to be sustained by the U. S. Supreme Court, when the appeal reaches it, are diametrically opposed to the "Property Rights" of the American Proletariat represented in this case by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

Therefore we repudiate all the alleged "Rights" of the Buck Stove and Range Company, which stands for the "Open Shop" and the destruction of Organized Labor.

Proletarian Law is the only law we recognize. In the name of the Proletariat, we denounce and defy Van Cleave and his Buck Company, not as individuals, but as officers in the ranks of the Capitalist Class, the antagonist of the Wage Class and the enemy of Mankind.

If Gompers goes to prison for a year, he may learn all this, as Debs did in the Woodstock Jail.

## Hard Times New Year Boost

To show my appreciation for "The Socialist" I send herewith \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help boost over hard times and enable you to start the New Year right.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_  
Subs, \$\_\_\_\_\_ Donation, \$\_\_\_\_\_ Loan, \$\_\_\_\_\_



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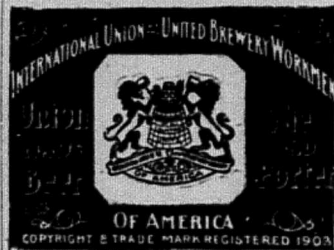
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# Socialism, the Hope of the World

By John Spargo

From Sir William Petty, who lived in the seventeenth century, and whom Karl Marx calls "the Father of Political Economy," to John Stuart Mill, every one of the great economists of England held it to be a cardinal fact in economic science that all wealth is produced by labor applied to natural forces. And Benjamin Franklin, who alone of American writers added anything to economic science, laid a great deal of stress upon that same primary fact.

And what the economists have insisted upon with so great unanimity is confirmed by the life experience of the most unlearned worker. Scan as closely as we may the whole area of our industrial system, no other means of wealth can be found. Even if Manna descended from the skies, as in the Bible legend, still it would not be available without the labor of collecting, a fact which John Stuart Mill insisted upon more than fifty years ago.

## ONLY VALID CLAIM TO WEALTH.

In view of this fact, it is in my judgment evident that only those who labor can have any valid claim to own wealth. And yet, strange as it may seem, the great bulk of the wealth of this and most other countries, is owned by those who do not labor, whilst those who do labor own little or no wealth. Upon this also all writers of authority are agreed, and even were that not the case it would surely be evident to every honest observer.

## "USEFUL CLASS" AND "USELESS CLASS."

This fundamentally is the great "Social problem" about which we hear so much, and it seems fairly obvious that there can be no solution of that problem except that which goes to the root of the evil and destroys the power of the idle parasites to live upon the results of others' toil. Always having in mind that "Labor" in political economy means useful effort whether of hand or brain, the Socialist declares for just such a radical remedy—the whole product of labor to be enjoyed wholly by those who belong to the useful class as opposed to the useless class, the parasites.

"The world for the workers" epitomizes the demands of Socialism. That is to say, that all who are physically and mentally fitted to labor must labor to live.

## NO MAN'S PRODUCT BY ITSELF.

Adam Smith, in that wonderful book, "The Wealth of Nations," argues that "the rightful reward of a man's labor is the whole product of that labor," a principle which the Socialist affirms, though in a higher form consistent with changed industrial conditions. For, as Marx has shown so clearly, it is no longer possible to determine what is the product of any individual's labor. Labor is a social and complex thing, as a brief survey of any department will show. The simplest articles of commerce are produced under a system of divided labor which makes it impossible to determine the share of any individual. Nor is it alone between the individuals engaged in any industry that this complexity is seen. Between the different industries it is equally evident. The miner depends upon the farmer, the blacksmith, the railway worker; and so it is all through our industrial life.

## FREDERIC HARRISON'S ABSURDITY.

Because of this fact we do not demand for any body of men engaged in a particular trade the exclusive ownership of what they produce. That is, to say the least, an absurd view to take of Socialism. Yet no less a person than Mr. Frederic Harrison, the eminent litterateur, has seriously claimed it to be Socialism, and as seriously repeated it. Taking a railway as an example, he says that it is "a favorite argument" of the Socialist that if 10,000 men make a railway in three years, it will belong to the capitalist under present conditions, whereas it ought to belong to the 10,000 men without reference to the surveying and engineering which preceded their labor. Mr. Harrison has not yet seen fit to quote from the writings of any accredited Socialist in support of this view in response to my challenge, nor do I expect that he will do so. Far from that, we should object to the ownership of the railway by the 10,000 men just as we should object to its ownership by Mr. Morgan.

## WHO MAKES A RAILWAY.

For a railway is essentially a social thing. It springs from social necessity and its use or abuse influences not only the lives of the 10,000 men, but of whole communities. In a very real way we are "all members one of another," to use the scriptural language. To give the railway to a minority, whether it consists of ten men or of ten thousand, is to place the rest of the people in a position of servitude. Moreover, a railway cannot be said to be the product of the labor of so many men. In order to have a railway, before a single man could be set to work, there must have been the toolmaker, and before the toolmaker the iron miner and the coal miner, and the farmer to provide these with food, and so on. Before a single steel rail could be laid innumerable workers had borne a share in the sum total of the labor required to make it. Never was intellect keen enough to fully unravel the tangled threads of wealth production. A railway, a ship, a factory, a plow—in a word any one of the varied mechanical contrivances which surround us, is a social product, the result of common labor and common experience. But they are not owned in common. On the contrary they are owned by a comparatively small number of people, who are thus enabled to dominate over their fellows. And to this fact most of the evils which infest society may be traced, whether they be economic, political or moral.

## "THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS."

Socialism (a word derived from the Latin Socius—a comrade) demands that all this great social product shall belong to society as a whole, to be enjoyed by them in common. In other words, that all the means of wealth production, distribution and exchange, shall be owned by the people as a whole democratically organized, and used always for the social well-being.

## MUNICIPALISM A STEP DOWN.

"By the people democratically organized \* \* \* for the social well-being," that is the supreme test, the distinction between Socialism and the so-called "public ownership," which often masquerades as Socialism. It is highly important that there be no confusion between the two. Much of the vaunted "progress" of English municipalities, for example, is in truth a step further into the quagmire of capitalist exploitation. It is easy to see how in this country, if nationalization of the railways should be decided upon, bonds might—and with a capitalist government would—be issued, the interest upon which would equal the present profits. Just as with the "almshouses" in London and other English cities there is scarcely a department of industry where this kind of "public ownership" might not be made even more profitable to the idlers than the present system. And the position of the workers under such a system would be worse than at present. In Italy, where they have government owned railroads, when the workers went on strike the capitalistic government placed them under martial law and effectually broke the strike. Does anybody doubt that a capitalist government in America, whether Democratic or Republican, would do less? Government ownership of anything will not help the workers while Mr. Morgan and his associates own the government.

## THE GREAT "CLASS" ISSUE.

Thus we come in any practical survey of the question upon the great "class" issue. We have seen that the present problem consists in the exploitation of the workers by the idlers and the problem can only be solved by eliminating the idler. Hard as it may appear to some well-meaning Socialists, and would-be Socialists, therefore, it is essentially a "class" question. And the Socialist Party in all lands is a working class party, pledged irrevocably to the interests of labor and influenced by no other consideration. The conscious aim of all its efforts is the absolute overthrow of the idle, parasitic class and the reconstruction of the whole fabric of society upon the right of the workers collectively to the whole product of their labor. In the pursuit of that revolutionary principle, we find the whole of the forces of plundering capitalism arrayed against us, and, whether we will or no, we are forced to recognize the fact that there is a bitter and relentless class struggle in which we are consciously or unconsciously participants. For there are no neutrals. In this war it is terribly and profoundly true that "he who is not for us is against us," which translated into the language of politics means: "He who does not vote for labor votes against it." Let the timid take heart; we wage this "class war" not because we desire it, but because there is no escape from it. If there were no class antagonism, we should not need Socialism, and there would be no social problem.

## END THE CLASS WAR.

Finally, we do not seek to overthrow the present rulers of society in order that we may rule them. That would only be reversing the form of the class oppression and tyranny of today. Equally with those who shudder at mention of the terrible phrase, we abhor the class war. Therefore, we seek to end it by using the powers we possess as citizens to wrest from the oppressors their power, and having done that, we shall be able to say, "Now is the ghoul's strife forever ended and brotherhood made possible." Socialism means human brotherhood—the fulfillment of the ages' dream of "peace and good will among men," but it will only be made possible by the unflinching, unrelenting struggle of the working class itself to secure its own emancipation.



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# PARTY NEWS

## VOTE IT DOWN.

The Proposed Amendment to the Constitution.

Before party members vote on the amendment proposed by Local Tyler, Tex., they should give it careful consideration. On examination it will be found to have some serious defects.

(1) It will not permit members to vote their choice, and will probably elect some whom the majority do not desire to elect.

The method of grouping the candidates under 7 letters will make it possible that the 7 names a member wishes to vote will all be under one letter. The member will, practically, have to vote against all but one, and under other letters he will be compelled to vote for candidates he does not favor. To illustrate: Take the names of the present Executive Committee, Berger, Simons, Hillquitt, Thompson, Work, Stokes and Ploeten. A member desiring to vote these 7 names may find them all under one letter, and would have to vote against 6 of his choice. It is very likely that the names of at least 3 or 4 candidates that the majority desire to vote for will be under one letter. As a matter of course, only one can be elected and the others will be defeated. Then, again, under another letter there may be no candidate that the majority desire to vote for, yet this amendment will compel them to elect a candidate they do not desire. The result would be that the will of the majority would not prevail and the makeup of the national executive committee will be left to a chance disposition of names under the various letters. Not much democracy in that.

(2) The amendment makes no provision that a candidate must be nominated by a certain number of locals, or locals representing a certain membership.

As long as members will accept a nomination in order to see their name in print, it will be necessary to weed out the candidates in some way. The amendment is not only lacking in this respect, but even provides that individual members may nominate. The present ballot for the election of an executive committee contains over 200 candidates, over half of whom have no chance of election and would be eliminated if nomination by at least two or three locals were required before a name was placed on the ballot. Even though the names are divided in seven groups this amendment will insure a long, confusing list of names under each letter. A cumbersome, complicated referendum tends to make the membership indifferent and neglectful.

(3) Among the minor objections that could be mentioned is the lack of a clear, specific wording of the manner of "designating" under which letter a name shall appear. We would need lawyers and constitution sharps to construe its meaning.

Also, failure to vote a single name will render void a ballot. Many would lose their votes in this way.

Then, too, the possibility of error in compiling the vote is very large. With 200 candidates and a local of 500 members there would be 200 columns of figures of 500 figures to the column. Our secretaries are usually workmen, unused to figures, and while they might get an adding machine, the fact is that the work will be done in the usual way and be subject to all the liabilities of error that go with long columns of figures.

I am not in favor of some parts of our present constitution, but do not believe this amendment will improve matters. It is reasonable to believe a plan of referendum can be drafted that will register the will of the membership. The one now proposed will not do so.

It will not permit comrades to vote their choice, as is above explained, will most probably balk the will of the majority and possibly elect comrades who, ordinarily, would not receive any considerable number of votes. This is a most striking defect in a measure that is proposed in the interest of democracy and majority rule. No other objection should be necessary to defeat the proposed amendment. Let it over carefully, comrades, and I think you will agree that our party will not gain anything by adopting this amendment.

Fraternally yours,  
**OTTO PAULS**,  
State Secretary of Missouri,  
St. Louis, Mo.

## \$1,000 FOR "THE SOCIALIST"?

Seattle, Wash., Dec. 13, 1908.  
J. Mahlon Barnes,  
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade:  
Please submit the following motion to referendum of the National Committee:

**Motion.**  
"That the sum \$1,000 be at once appropriated from the funds now in the treasury of the National Party for the purchase of subscription cards of 'The Socialist' of Seattle. Such cards afterwards to be sold from the national office or by the national lecturers and organizers in the field, thus reimbursing the party."

**Comment.**  
I make this motion in the hope that it will kill a similar motion made by Carl D. Thompson in behalf of the "S. D. H." I reason from the premise that the sooner we threaten the treasury of the National S. P. with bankruptcy the more likely the N. C. is to kill both these motions and others like them, that may be made in the future, and if the S. P. of the U. S. is to be made the financial backer of Socialist publications that "The Socialist" is as much or more entitled to support than the "S. D. H." since it is a leading exponent of Scientific Socialism and Proletarian principles and tactics, while the "S. D. H." teaches reform (constructive) Socialism and Middle Class principles and tactics. I supported the motion of Comrade Lee (to assist the New York "Call") reluctantly, did so only because similar action had been taken in behalf of the "Chicago Daily Socialist," and with the hope that that would end the demand of Socialist publications on the treasury of the S. P. Of all Socialist papers, the "S. D. H." is the least entitled to financial support from the National S. P., because the Wisconsin S. D. P., of which it is the organ, has already received far more than its share of support from the National S. P. For examples, the interview of Comrade Debs, by Lincoln Steffens took place at Victor L. Berger's home, thereby giving undue recognition and advertising to the Milwaukee oppor-

unist S. D. P., and the donating of \$1.00 per day during the campaign. If Thompson has lost any of the other traits of a preacher he certainly has not lost his nerve.  
Comrades, if you defeat my motion, in order to act justly and wisely, it will be necessary for you to defeat Comrade Thompson's motion. If you vote for Thompson's motion, then you must also, in order to be consistent, vote for my motion and all other motions that may hereafter be made.  
**EMIL HERMAN**,  
National Committeeman from Washington.

## PROLETARIANS IN MINNESOTA

Condemn Nash and Holman.  
Minneapolis, Minn., Nov. 23, 1908.  
**KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS**, That, Whereas, We, the members of Local Minneapolis, Public Ownership (Socialist) Party, having duly investigated and deliberated upon certain charges preferred by one Thomas H. Lucas, spokesman for the

expelled members (so called) of the aforesaid Local, present the following true findings:

1. That Local Minneapolis was illegally expelled.  
2. That the State Committee and the State Secretary and other local officers violated certain constitutional provisions, viz.: (a) by sending out referendum with comment; (b) by allowing a member from another state to interfere with our state movement; (c) by allowing Socialists to run for office in non-Socialist organizations; (d) by ignoring measures to censure or expel members whose actions were detrimental or un-Socialistic; (e) by organizing Locals with men holding office outside the gift of the Socialist Party; (f) by arbitrarily seeking to block all movements to investigate aforesaid expulsion.

**Be it therefore Resolved**, That we severally endorse the following individuals:

(1) J. E. Nash, State Secretary, for participating in all the above charges, and in addition thereto for his cowardly act of resigning as a member on the eve of the pending investigation, so as not to be required to bear the stigma of having to face his accusers by absenting himself from the hearing.  
(2) That S. M. Holman be censured still more severely as the chief instigator to all the aforesaid violations, and in addition thereto for his disruptive tactics at the present hearing, seeking as he did to bring disharmony in the Local by presenting slander and personal abuse on members present that was immaterial and had no bearing on the case in hand alleged as even in the case of "Brown" and the "Soloist," to have been committed years after the expulsion, the latter being even a new member.  
We therefore find that said J. E. Nash and S. M. Holman, consciously or otherwise, are the leaders of the reactionary element of the state movement, and that they shall be treated as such until they either shall

stand committed or by their actions give proof to the contrary.  
Be it further resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the "Daily Socialist," "Appeal to Reason" and "Weekly Bulletin," and also that copies shall be sent to the several Socialist Locals in Minnesota, together with an expression of this Local's gratitude to the expelled members for their incessant good work for the cause of Socialism. Yours for the Revolution.  
(Signed) **ED. F. JOHNSON**,  
Amendment by Isaac Latchem: "That we as a Local pledge ourselves to use our influence to prevent S. M. Holman and J. E. Nash from 7-Socialist—DeA Dec 30 . . . . . holding any position or office (local, state or national) in the Socialist Party."  
Amendment: "That these resolutions be submitted to all the members of Local Minneapolis for referendum vote."  
**Instructions for Voting.** Any member whose dues are paid to October 1st is requested to vote for or against the adoption of the above resolution as a whole, including the first amendment. Sign your name and address plainly and write YES or NO and mail to J. W. Dickinson, 841 Guarantee Building, City, or hand your vote to him at the meeting of the Local at 45 South Fourth street Monday evening, December 14. No vote counted if received after that time. By order Executive Committee, Local Minneapolis.

## CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

Lulu Ault.

"Start the New Year Right." You see these words wherever you go nowadays, and I suppose are so used to seeing them once a year that you pay no attention to them.  
Nevertheless, it is good advice and should be heeded by the comrades who desire to help the cause of Socialism. There are many things the comrades can do to make the New Year more successful in organization work and the spreading of Socialism among the working people.  
For instance, you can take your friends to Socialist Propaganda meetings or social gatherings of Socialists, introduce them to some Socialist who will have an opportunity to discuss Socialism with them and lead, or induce them to buy, Socialist literature. First induce them to buy, if they don't buy, then it's up to you to do some leading.  
While doing all this you might mention the fact that a large number of Socialist papers are being published, among these is "The Socialist," which is considered one of the most scientific papers in the country and is good for Socialists and non-Socialists.  
We still have a few copies of Vincent Harper's pamphlet, "The Terrible Truth About Marriage." This book explains the present system of marriages very clearly and has already been read by thousands. As we wish to clear out the stock and make room for other things we will sell the remaining books at ten cents each. The former price being twenty-five cents.

## THE TITUS-GOLDMAN DEBATE.

Emma Goldman, whose name is a household word with every chief of police in the United States, last spring debated with Comrade Titus, who represented the Socialist Party, on "Socialism versus Anarchism."  
She did not seem to be satisfied with the outcome of this debate, and did not relish the idea that Titus left the impression on the audience that following the Anarchist philosophy necessarily leads to violence and assassination because of its individualistic teachings.  
It was apparent that she had spent some time and effort in studying the method of Titus' argument, for which she was on her way to the Pacific coast she, through her local representative, challenged this time, not the local but Dr. Titus.  
Titus referred the challenge to the local, which chose E. J. Lewis for its representative in the debate. But the lady with the golden name did not seem to be inclined to let her investigations and study of Socialism, as presented by Titus, go to waste, so she insisted that Lewis was not "prominent" enough in the Socialist movement and that Dr. Titus was more representative.  
Local Seattle, being desirous of proving to all who cared to find out that Anarchism offers no solution for the social problem, accepted her original challenge and after several delays and postponements the debate came off Sunday evening, Dec. 27th, in the large hall of the Labor Temple.  
The subject for debate was the same as last spring, namely, "Socialism against Anarchism."  
If the discussion had no other effect it is a pretty sure guess that Emma Goldman will never again be anxious to enter into another debate with Comrade Titus.  
In the opening statement Titus attacked the Anarchist position, asserting that their principles were Idealistic, Individualistic and Impracticable, the three I's; that their methods were Altruism, Association and Assassination, or the three A's.  
The assertions were backed up by quotations from Anarchist authors, especially Kropotkin.  
Emma Goldman must have heard something about the "Titus" fight and must have known that some of his enemies were there to see Titus get "licked" for instead of meeting any of the arguments, she used nothing

## RESOLUTIONS

Adopted by the Central Labor Council of Seattle, and Should Be Endorsed by Every Union Man

Seattle, Wash., Dec. 23, 1908.  
Whereas, Judge Wright has declared in a decision handed down from the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia in the contempt proceedings in connection with the Buck Stove & Range case that Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell, and Frank Morrison have been guilty of violating an injunction issued by Justice Gould in March last, sentencing the above named defendants to one year, nine months, and six months imprisonment respectively, and  
Whereas, The decision of this judge which marks the culmination of a long line of judicial usurpations of the rights of the toilers, and elevates judge-made law above the constitutional rights of American citizens, will, if allowed to stand, forever kill freedom of speech and freedom of the press in the United States. Therefore, be it,  
Resolved, That the Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity, representing 20,000 organized wage workers in King county, most emphatically protest against this decision as tending to undermine the very fundamental rights of citizens, and  
Resolved, That the action of Judge Wright receives the extreme condemnation of this body as being without precedent, and accountable for only on the grounds that the officers of labor organizations have not got, and will not get, equal treatment before the law with citizens in other walks of life, and  
Resolved, That the Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity declares its unqualified approval of the course pursued by President Gompers, Vice-President Mitchell, and Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor, and expresses its belief in their complete innocence in the contempt alleged against them, and  
Resolved, That it is the duty of all the members of labor organizations to stand behind the officers of the American labor movement in their endeavor to better the condition of the workers of the country, and  
Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent the Washington delegation in Congress, and to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

J. G. BROWN,  
P. B. GILL,  
R. B. HESKETH,  
Committee.

## THE WOMAN

By Bessy Fisset

The children of the Young People's Socialist League went to see "Peter Pan" on Tuesday, December 29th.  
State Secretary Richard Kreuger—the youngest member of the League—went, too, and after the performance gave us all a handy treat at Stokes'. The youngsters as well as their elders, enjoyed it immensely and sent Comrade Kreuger a New Year's greeting (written on the back of Vail's "Socialist Movement," which was the only available paper, signed by all the boys and girls, such juveniles as Hattie W. Titus and Bessy Fisset bringing up the rear.

The Y. P. S. L. is taking up, in simple form, the social evolution of man—supplemented by talks on biological evolution. One of the men comrades is going to present the League with a microscope and they will be able to understand quite a little of biological development.

They are at work on "The Tree Dwellers" now, and are enthusiastic over it.

On Wednesday night, January 6th, the Central Study Club of Seattle holds its first social night of the new year at room 49, Holyoke Block.

Quite extensive preparations are being made for a jolly good time and all women are cordially invited to come out. Special invitation is extended to the women of the Hillman City Study Club.

Besides the program and refreshments there will be a discussion on the subject:  
"Resolved, That it is more important for the women of the Proletariat to know how to use the ballot than to have the ballot." All women are asked to come prepared to give voice to their opinions on this subject—which is of special importance to the Working Class women.

The Study Club at Hillman City takes up its work again on Friday afternoon, January 8th, at the home of Mrs. McKinley. This study club has taken a vacation over the holidays and should feel particularly fresh when the new work is taken up.

All Columbia and Hillman City women are invited to attend these meetings, which take place every Friday afternoon.

Some women, having no authority from the Women's Socialist Educational Club, has circulated the report that the Central Study Club has abandoned its meeting.

We take this time to contradict any such report, and state here, for the benefit of any women who may be interested, that meetings will be held the same as usual every Wednesday night at 8 o'clock at room 49, Holyoke Block.

All Socialist study clubs are under the control of the Women's Socialist Educational Club and this club, which is really the executive body of the women's work in Seattle, has taken no action in this direction whatever.

At a meeting of the Women's Socialist Educational Club held Sunday at 7 p. m., December 20th, at Labor Temple, the following officers and teachers were elected:  
Organizer, Mrs. Anna Steele.  
Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Bessy Fisset.

Literature Agent, Miss Marie Reichle.  
Teachers, Mrs. Hattie Titus, for Central Study Club for January and February; Mrs. Anna Steele, to take the place of Mrs. Minnie Parks at Hillman City.

Yours for a Working Class Movement,  
**JAS. F. NIELSEN.**

## SONG OF THE WAGE SLAVE

By Robert W. Service, in "The Spell of the Yukon and Other Verses."

When the long, long day is over, and the Big Boss gives me my pay,  
I hope that it won't be hell-fire, as some of the parsons say,  
And I hope that it won't be heaven, with some of the parsons I've met—  
All I want is just quiet, just to rest and forget.  
Look at my face, toll-furrowed; look at my calloused hands;  
Master, I've done Thy bidding, wrought in Thy many lands—  
Wrought for the little masters, big-bellied they be, and rich;  
I've done their desire for a daily hire, and I die like a dog in a ditch.  
I have used the strength Thou hast given, Thou knowest I did not shirk;  
Threescore years of labor—Thine be the long day's work.  
And now, Big Master, I'm broken and bent and twisted and scarred,  
Thou knowest my job, and Thou knowest, and Thou wilt not judge me hard.  
Thou knowest my sins are many, and often I've played the fool—  
Whiskey and cards and women: they made me the devil's tool.  
I was just like a child with money; I flung it away with a curse,  
Feasting a fawning parasite, or glutting a harlot's purse;  
Then back to the woods repentant, back to the mill or the mine,  
I, the worker of workers, everything in my line.  
Everything hard but headwork (I'd no more brains than a kid),  
A brute with brute strength to labor, doing as I was bid;  
Living in camps with men-folk, a lonely and loveless life;  
Never knew kiss of sweetheart, never caress of wife.  
A brute with brute strength to labor, and they were so far above—  
Yi I'd gladly have gone to the gallows for one little look of Love.  
I, with the strength of two men, savage and shy and wild—  
Yet how I'd ha' treasured a woman, and the sweet, warm kiss of a child!  
Well, 'tis Thy world, and Thou knowest. I blaspheme and my ways be rude;  
But I've held my job, and Thou knowest, and Thou wilt not judge me good;  
I, the primitive toiler, half naked and grimed to the eyes,  
Sweating it deep in their ditches, swining it stark in their styes;  
Hurling down forests before me, spanning tumultuous streams;  
Down in the ditch building o'er me palaces fairer than dreams;  
Boring the rock to the ore-bed, a man in a world of men.  
Master, I've filled my contract, wrought in Thy many lands;  
Not by my sins wilt Thou judge me, but by the work of my hands.  
Master, I've done Thy bidding, and the light is low in the west,  
And the long, long shift is over . . . Master, I've earned it—Rest.



He built the ROAD—  
With others of his CLASS, he built the road,  
Now a'er it, many a weary mile, he packs his load,  
Chasing a JOB, spurred on by HUNGERS good.  
He walks and walks, and wonders why  
In H—L, he built the road.