No. sir. We Socialists are not fight-

ing for PERMITTED SPEECH, but for

FREE SPEECH. Permitted speech

means also Forbidden Speech. If you

can permit, you can forbid. We Social-

The Socialists have "Labor Mayor"

Moore on the dead run. He stops only

to jump sideways. The whole city is

laughing at him and his dodging. He

is now seen to be a mere jack in the

box. Instead of the dignified ex-judge

he was supposed to be, he now ap-

pears in his true character of cheap ac

"Moore the Mighty" he proclaims.

himself "Moore the Midget" the public

The Stubborn Man is always the

Weak Man. The Moore stubborn the

Moore weak. The Moore weak the

Moore stubborn. "Did you notice it?

Seattle Socialists to his Dishonor

the Mayor of Seattle: 'You have jailed

us without bail. You have abused our

wives and children. You have scorned and ridiculed us. You have done everything but shed our blood. You

Now that an aroused and indignant

public opinion frightens your little

soul, you talk big about our accepting

a "Permit" from you to violate the

What do you take us for? We are not beggars nor petty politicians, nor

time servers, nor double crossers. We

are not in your low class. We fight

for the Rights of Men. We fight for

Liberty. We scorn and defy your

Autocracy, your contemptible assump-

tion of illegal authority, your tyranni-

cal orders, your cowardly threats and your plague-breeding dungeons.

Our Motto: FREE STREETS FOR

FREE SPEECH.

law against obstructing the streets.

are too cowardly to do that.

ists deny both.

tor in petty farce.

proclaims him,

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1907

PRICE FIVE CENTS

ed somewhat of a failure in Seattle so

"Labor Mayor" Moore calls his new party "The Seattle City Party." FOR THE UNEMPLOYED suggest a slight amendment. Call it "The Seattle Pity Party," or even "The Seattle Petty Party." will permit you Socialists to speak on certain streets, but I will not permit

Suuri Kansainvalinen Tyottomain Kokous

Pidetaan

Egan's Haalilla, Arcade Bld. Lauantaina Marrask 23 p

Alkaa Tasmalleen kl: 8 Illalla

Ohjelmassa:

Puheita useilla eri kielilla Soittoa ja Laulua

Huom!! Kaikki miehissa ja naisissa mukaan.

Sisaan Paasy Vapaa

EGAN HALL

Arcade Building, 2d Ave.



With others of his CLASS, he built the road How air it, many a weary mile, he backs his load, Chasing a JOB. spurred on by HUNGERS good He walks and walks, and wonders why In H-L, he built the road.

Thousands of Men Are Out of Employment In Seattle. The Socialists Alone Can Tell Them How It Happened and How To Stop It.

Good Music

Good Speaking In Several Languages.

Admission Free

SAT., NOV. 23

Doors Open at 7:30 P. M.

STEVE ADAMS' TRIAL

Walter Thomas Mills shows pretty small in the present Seattle Street For weeks he railed against the Socialists who were jailed nightly as "Barkers on the street corners." But nobody paid any attention to him except to take notice Mills never went to jail. Now that the Socialists are winning their year-long fight against a vicious mayor, Mills comes out of obscurity to help the mayor out of his difficulty. He actually accepted a "Permit" from the Capitalist Labor Mayor to "bark on the street corners"

Everybody believes Mills and Moore have formed an alliance for the coming city campaign. "Labor Mayor" Moore "permits" free speech to Mills because Mills will support Moore for reelection as Mayor.

This view finds confirmation in Mills' appearance before the Central Labor Council last Wednesday night with the proposal to consolidate his paper, "The Saturday Evening Tribune" with the "Union Record," the Labor, Union paper of Seattle which has always supported Moore as a "Labor Mayor."

Walter Thomas Mills is now outside the Socialist Party and can pose no longer as a Socialist. His Fusion tactics have been emphatically repudiated by the Socialist Party of the State of Washington, as registered in a Referendum vote recorded in another column. The only way for him to get back inside the Socialist ranks will be to go to some other state and be accepted into membership by some Local there. In that event, the Socialist Party of the State of Washington will be justified in demanding that the National Party organization decide between the State Party accepting Mills and the State Party which has definite-

ly rejected him. The National Constitution forbids Fusion. The State Socialist Party of Washington has expelled W. T Mills for Fusion. If now any other State Party accepts him into its mem bership and the National Party retains such State Party on its roll, then the Washington State Party can no longer be counted as part of the National organization. The "State Autonomy" provisions of our national constitution will then have committed suicide.

Mills announces that he will "prob ably" organize a new party in the state of Washington. We hope he will. Then the opportunists and reformers will have a chance to show what they can do. For years in Seattle, they have defeated the efforts of the Revolutionaries by introducing dissension and strife over personal matters. Now, if they will only give us a chance to show what we can do without them they can do without us, everybody ought to be happy. By all means let Mills organize the Reformists, the "Constructives," into a new party.

too late for publication this week. It will be given in full next week, together with that covering the remainder of Steve Adams' trial. It Steve is acquitted, the prospects are he will be at once arrested for trial in Colorado. Bulkley Wells and his hounds must have somebody's blood.

Mrs. Hazlett will tell graphically of McParland's grilling by Darrow on cross-examination, and of the fierce altercation between Hawley and Darrow. McParland's Mollie Maguire record was fully uncovered

State rested Thursday, Nov. 14, at 2 p. m.

Moyer and wife went to Boise on same day to prepare for Pettibone's trial on Nov. 25. Mrs. Hazlett had to go to her own

trial at Spokane, the result of which is given in another column.

over Steve Adams' whole life, revealing the venomous persecution of him by the Mine Owners' Association, and especially dwelt on the powerful influences brought to bear on Adams in the Boise "Pen" to sign his "confession," which is the main reliance of the prosecution.

Mrs. Hazlett has now returned from her own trial at Spokane and next week will go to the Pettibone trial at Bolse. Her reports of that trial will appear in "The Socialist" as well as in her own paper, "The Montana

MRS. HAZLETT REPORTS TRUTH

Rathdrum, Ida., Nov. 12, 1907. Monday morning Mr. Hawley took his place as leading attorney for the prosecution and conducted the ques

tioning.

The detective evidence has commenced this week. S. C. Thiele, manager of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, of Spokane, was first on the stand. He has the name of being the champion liar of the northwest, and the way Darrow tangled him up on the stand did credit to his reputation. Their tules are carefully prepared beforehand; they know exactly what to expect and to the unsophisticated it appears that they are telling a straight story.

SAME OF TALE

He told of arresting Steve in Oregon, said he was working under Mc-Parland and the state of Idaho. He declared that no compulsion was brought to bear on Adams to make him confess.

the jury be sent out of the room, and he asked that Thiele, Warden Whit-ity and McParland be brought to testify before the judge. The object was to form a basis for objections to the confession on the ground of com-petency. Thiele said he was employed on the Steunenburg case at first and Tyler case.

McParland, the old serpent, came on the stand with his forty odd years experience with the Pinkerton Detecexperience with the Pinkerton Detec-tive Agency, aiding the employing classes of the country to keep their workers in subjection. His answers are cool and calculating and every word is weighed. The gun man, Gar-ner, is with him as a body guard and follows him every time he steps out. He and his ilk are the reptiles of

His talk was disgusting from its hypocritical plety. When he was telling about how he told Adams about his sins being forgiven Darrow said: "Who would forgive sins?" He solemnly answered, "God."

Darrow said: "You didn't say anything about the state forgiving them did you?"

did you?"
And just as solemnly McParland answered "No."

This old lying, wily reprobate went on with his old lingo of how he told Adams the tale of David and Uriah and about St Paul and how all these dread about St. Paul and how all these creat-ful sinners were forgiven, and how he told him how well the state used its witnesses and how it never even pros-ecuted Kelly the Bum and all the stuff that has edified the public ad nauseam. As this was the same truck that Or-chard said was told to him, with the chard said was told to him, with the same illustrations, it shows on the face of it that it is simply a precon-ceived scheme with which to rope in people that he wanted to use. The work is too coarse to even merit the consideration of intelligent people.

PRESSURE FOR CONFESSION

He admitted that pressure was brought to bear on the prisoner for the purpose of getting a confession out of him. He said he could talk with Adams whenever he pleased, although his nearest friend could not obtain access to him, except in the presence of the guards.

McParland further admitted that his purpose in getting the confession from Adams was to obtain evidence against Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. These fighters of the working class proclaim to the world that their main point of attack is the great union organization of the west, "The Western Federation of Miners must be destroyed" in their slogan.

Warden Whitney of the state peniwarden when asked on what authority he received Adams into the penitentiary said "as a fugitive from justice." He put Adams in a cell with Orchard, a steel cage. He said he told Orchard, a steel cage. He said he told
Steve he had better "come through."
After these witnesses had testified
Mr. Darrow objected to the introduction of the confession on the ground
of the method of obtaining it. It was
not voluntary but was obtained under pressure. The judge said he would
admit the confession.

After the jury was brought in Thiele
was again called. On cross-examina-

tion be said he had been a member of the Western Federation of Miners for about six weeks in Butte in 1904. He admitted that he was at that time in the employ of the Pinkertons, that he lied to the union men when he took their oath and answered to that part of the ritual where he said he was not a detective. He passed under the name of John Cameron.

One wonders that the prosecution will invite such evidence. To simpleminded farmer people like the average country jury such deliberate deception and lying conveys an idea of horro It is all crime to them and all the worse that it is employed to entrap working men. It takes a jury composed of business men to enjoy Pin-

COLORADO STRIKE GENERAL

Today Bulkley Wells came on the stand. Although he has been most zealous in his bitter hatred of the Federation and was at Boise ready to testify in the Haywood case, they were afraid to call him there. He has been the scourge of the working class of Colorado. Reared in Boston, he came to Colorado as the superintendent of the Smuggler-Union mine at Telluride. He was captain of the militia there and served through the strike trouble under Sherman Bell. He was then Adjutant General under Governor Macdonald and is now railroad commisdonald and is now railroad commis-sioner under Governor Buchtel. He had charge of the train that took the kidnapped Federation officials to Idaho and carried the keys to Moyer's hand cuffs. He also had charge of Moyer when he was in jail at Telluride. He is one of the most prominent members of the Mine Owners' Association in

He asserted also that the purpose

Last June Wells went to Wallace to try and get Steve to go to Boise and testify against, Haywood, but he got fooled on that trip. Steve had come to his senses and told Mr. Adjutant he didn't have time to talk to him.

DARROW DOES UP WARDEN

Warden Whitney was on this after-noon. Darrow grilled him till the whole court room was laughing at him. Rathdrum is his home town, and he was sheriff of Kootenal county before he was appointed warden of the peniten-tiary. The court room was filled to listen to his testimony, but the way he sputtered and stammered under Dar-row's questions did not do much credit to his reputation. He told the stereotyped tale about

He told the stereotyped tale about Adams' confession being voluntary and how Adams confessed to him also.

James McParland came on late in the afternoon. With him on the stand Adams' confession was read to the jury by Attorney Hawley. About all there is in it is an admission of the Marble Creek murders and the assertion of the Federation officials getting him to help kill Stuenenberg. There is nothing else to amount to anything about Adams' life. There are no indications of its being a voluntary statement of a man who wants to tell about his life. It is simply a carefully prepared implication of the Federation men to which a harrassed and hunted man affixed his signature for the sake of fancied peace and security.

Steve Adams will never swing on such filmsy claptrap as this.

IDA CROUCH HAZLETT.

THE FIGHT GOES ON

AND SECRETARY OF FREE SPEECH COMMITTEE.

Saturday, Nov. 16, 1907.

Visited newspapers. Was informed that Walter Thos, Mills is to speak on University Street between Second and Third Avenues tonight. Attended the Mills meeting. Mills informed the audience that he had asked for and received a permit from Mayor Moore to speak. He also advanced some new scheme about supplying work for the unemployed. After returning from Mills meeting went with Thos. Sladden to hold a meeting on Pike Place. Audience twenty. Mills audience five hundred. Sladden was arrested. No

Sunday, Nov. 17, 1907. Sladden still in jail. J. B. Osborne to address tonight's meeting in the Organized new Socialist local in Seattle before and after meeting. Arrangements for a monster unemployed meeting in Egan Hall, Saturday of this week, progressing. Monday, Nov. 18, 1907.

General consultation about getting Socialist Party property out of Mills' hall. Meeting of joint committee consisting of state Free Speech committee and Local Executive Committee to lay plans for this week. Decided to speak on University Street between Second and Third Tuesday night. On Fourth between Pike and Union Wednesday On Pioneer Place Thursday night. On Pike Place Friday night. Informed Mayor Moore of our program. Elected Thos, Sladden, H. F. litus, A. Wagenknecht as committee

MRS. HAZLETT DISCHARGED. FREE SPEECH WINS IN SPOKANE.

The fight for Free Speech in Spokane resulted in a victory for the Socialist party in the trial of Mrs. Ida Crouch-Hazlett.

The case was tried in the Su perior Court of Spokane, with Judge Sullivan on the bench. The trial commenced at ten o'clock Saturday morning and went to the jury Monday afternoon at four, o'clock. The jury was out six and a half hours and brought in a verdict of not quilty.

Comrade Hazlett was discharged from custody of the court at eleven o'clock Monday

REPORT OF STATE ORGANIZER | to visit new Board of Health to demand closing of city jail. Elected H. M. Wells to draw up ordinance on allowing bail. Elected A. Wagenknecht to give his time to the street fight.

Tuesday, Nov. 19, 1907.

Rounded up witnesses for Osborne's trial to occur in Superior Court today. Attended trial. Judge very fair in instructing jury. Said in short that an obstruction to be an obstruction and to be unlawful must stop, block up and inconvenience traffic. Jury out over an hour. Judge called jury in. Asked if they had arrived at a verdict. Jury had not. Judge discharged jury stating that they were taking too much time to decide so clear a case. This means dismissal of the case. Prosecuting attorney gave notice of motion to dismiss other Osborne case. Received letter from Mayor Moore allowing us to speak on University Street but at none of the other places we named. Immense crowd awaited us at University Street Sladden, Titus and Herman spoke, No

Wednesday, Nov. 20, 1907.

arrests.

Went with state officers to Bank for Savings, owners of Mills' hall. Were positively informed that the bank had confiscated the furniture in the hall for rent due them. Explained that part of furniture in hall was property of the Socialist Party and not of Wal ter Tohs. Mills. Bank will confer with Mills and asked us to call tomorrow at three. Carried out some window cards announcing Saturday's unemployed meeting. Went to place of tonight's street meeting. Immense crowd gathered at corner of Fourth and Pike. Committee decided that we would probably obstruct street if we held a meeting at Fourth and Pike and that we would also obstruct Fifth Avenue if we held meeting there, the Mayor having informed us we could hold meeting there. So we took crowd to the unused part of Fourth Avenue south of Union Street, this part of Fourth being closed to traffic. Thos. Sladden and Arthur Jensen spoke and were arrested. Committee decided to move to a close by vacant lot and discuss the outrage. Emil Herman chosen speaker. Spoke five minutes and was arrested, though speaking on private property. All arrests in jail all night.

Thursday, Nov. 21, 1907.

Arranged for the placing of window cards. Visited Attorney Brown and the police court. Attended police court this p. m. Herman, Sladden and Jensen in the docket. Three Comrades

(Continued on Page Three)

far. For example, in his 'Prospectus' of eight months ago, he announced a "12 page 7 column paper." All he ever succeeded in "constructing" was an 8 page paper and now that has been "constructed" down to 4 pages with a near prospect of being destructed to no pages at all. The history of his "constructive" organization in Seattle is quite sindlar. Six short months ago he had the whole thing. In his own private possession was all the accumulated property of Local Seattle, worth about a thousand dollars, totled for by all the comrades for seven long years. Six hundred folding chairs a great library, desks, tables, piano, hall furniture, etc., all turned over to the "constructive" Walter Thomas as the private property of the "Tribune Publishing Co." in which W. T. Mills had a majority of the stock. With this property went the hall and lease of the "Socialist Temple." And now? Mills has been ejected

from the hall by its owners for nonpayment of rent and all the furniture and property aforesaid is locked up as security for the unpaid rent. This fact is probably the real reason Mills has taken to "barking on the street corners," because he can't pay rent in any hall. This is "Constructive" Socialism with a vengeance.

Again we say, let Mills go on and construct" a new party in the State of Washington. Only let the Revolutionaries alone to proceed with their 'destructive" tactics.

The Revolutionary Socialists of Se attle have rented the best hall in the city for the next year. This was the result of being turned out of the Labor Temple by the "Labor Leaders" who support Labor Mayor Moore and with whom Walter Thomas is now flirting. Egan Hall in the Arcade Block on Sec ond Avenue, between University and Union Streets was the only hall available and it costs a high rent. But the Revolutionaries are constructive enough to believe they can get audiences big enough to pay for the new

Next Saturday and Sunday nights Nov. 23 and 24, Egan Hall will be opened for the Socialists.

Every succeeding Sunday night this Hall will be occupied by the Revolutionary Socialists. The best of music and the best of speaking will always be presented, Comrades and friends will once again get into the habit of setting aside Sunday evening to attend a Socialist meeting and get their acquaintances to attend and find out what Socialism is.

Sunday night, Nov. 24, the eminent contralto, Lois Feurt, will sing and the great pianist, Evstavieff Rose, will play, as especial attractions to the Socialist Party meeting in their new Hall. Egan Hall, Arcade Building. Second Avenue, between Union and University Streets. One block from the Post Office. One block from Pike Street. On Second Avenue, the Main thoroughfare in Seattle.

LONGSHOREMAN'S HALL RAIDED

Thursday night the "Labor Mayor" and his Chief Wappenstein, ordered the Longshoremen's Hall raided.

Four Union officers were arrested but not one of the alleged gamblers. The Police Station looks like a econd hand furniture store. Abou 200 hardened looking old wood chairs being the main loot.

The charge was running a gambling house. Some of the longshoremen were playing a game of Black Jack and the police say there was some money up.

So they captured 200 black chairs to prevent any more such depravity. Incidentally, the church geople will hear about it, will send up a few more prayers for this Christian administration, while Wm. Hickman Moore, "Labor Mayor," will chuckle and hiccough over a poker game in his cushioned chair at the Rainier Club and will quote as intelligibly as his condition will allow a few words from the other William, to-wit: Fools These Mortals Be!"

By the way, didn't the Longshoremen pass some Resolutions about Moore's treatment of the Socialists?

Yes, it was this Union, known as "The Riggers and Stevedores" which not only condemned this Labor administration for forbidding Free Speech. but also decided to refuse Clearing House Certificates in payment of

Moore and Wappy are spanking them. Now will they be good?

ANOTHER "LABOR" VICTORY

The Free Employment Bureau of the city has gone into the strike-breaking business. All last week there was a card on the board at the "Slave Market" announcing that there were jobs in Southeastern Alaska for miners. where there was a strike on. Thus does the "Labor" administration look out for the interests of, organized



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C. F. Murphy,

THE NATURAL RESULT

"A Carpenter without a house?" said the Fool Killer. "Why doesn't he make a house?"
"Because," I said, "there is an over-production of houses."
"Then why doesn't he live in one of them?"
"Why, he made them for some one else," said I.
"I'll get my sun' he said." The the

else," said I.
"I'll get my gun,' he said. "Do the
people he made them for live in

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RIGG ON CLASSES

Comrade Herman does not seem very well satisfied with the debate so far. He wants to go back and start over again. I used up my space in one issue and part of another on labor cost, and as my views on that subject have not changed any since, I will refer him to what I said at that time.

In order to answer what I say it seems necessary for Comrade Herman to twist it until it means something entirely different. For instance, he quotes me as saying, I do not understand how the farmer had any wealth to retain, and then proceeds to answer that. What I said was, I do not understand how he ever had it to retain. The "it" referring to the wealth exploited from the farmer's hired help, and which Comrade Herman said, the farmer got but was not allowed to farmer got but was not allowed to retain.

There is a difference of opinion There is a difference of opinion among Socialists on tactics, also certain questions, and I had hoped this was to be an opportunity to discuss them. But since Comrade Herman will have nothing but definitions, definitions go. I will have to save some of the points raised until next time. Am saving the papers so that I will be sure not to slight anything. All Makes of Gas Lamps and

From the way Comrade Herman gets mixed up on classes, and who belongs to the Capitallist Class, I think I had better begin with defining classes, so we will know who is who. Ind. L 4664 Sunset Main 3736

to the Capitalist Class, I think I had better begin with defining classes, so we will know who is who.

Comrade Herman says, "The farmer owns land and sometimes buys labor power. He therefore belongs to the Capitalist Class." A rather important problem solved by a very simple yet sophistical statement. Ninety-nine out of every 100 of us will vote for the class we belong to, when we become conscious of which class that is, and the farmer is no exception to the rule. It is rather important for the farmers to know to which class they belong. It is also vital to Socialism that we make no mistake in the classification of farmers, tradesmen, mechanics who own their tools and professional men. If our criterion is right it will correctly classify all, if rightly applied. If we are to carry on a class war it is important that we be able to distinguish the friend from the foe, and not do as some Socialists; spend our time and ammunition fighting those who belong to our class. If the farmer belongs to the Capitalist Class, as Comrade Herman affirms, it is high time we were finding it out, so we will know how to vote. I had thus far been working under the impression that I belonged to the working class.

There are many classes; farmers may be placed in one, tradesmen in another, professional men in another, and so on. These again may be subdivided into others. But what concerns us as Socialists is, can society be divided into others. But what concerns us as Socialists is, can society be divided into others. But what concerns us as Socialists is, can society be divided into others and no proletarian. The work proletariat has its proper place, but it is not broad enough to designate one of the two ster's International defines proletariat as, "the lower classes; beggars," and proletarian as "belonging to the commonality; hence, mean; vile; vulgar."

ster's International defines proletariat as,"the lower classes; beggars," and proletarian as "belonging to the commonality; hence mean; vile; vulgar." Socialists use the term to designate the non-capital or non-tool-owning workers. The term, working class, does not technically fill the bill, but it comes nearer than any other. Taking the term as it is usually understood it will answer our purpose very stood it will answer our purpose very

Now can we divide the members of society into two classes? If so, along what lines? We will proceed to do so according to their economic Interso according to their economic interests ests. All whose economic interests will be best served by maintaining the Capitalist System, we will place in the Capitalist Class. Those whose economic interests would be best served

nomic interests would be best served by having the Socialist regime instead of the present, we will place in the Working Class.

We have other interests beside our economic, which influence all of us more or less, but their influence upon the sum total of all humanity is not great enough to make any material dif-ference. For instance, the great love some have for their fellow-creatures causes them to work and long for Socauses them to work and long for Sc cialism, while their economic interests place them in the Capitalist Class. We have millionaires who, while they can have more wealth under the present system, yet work and vote for Socialism. Something besides their economic welfare prompts them to do this, it may be their love for humanity, and it may be something else. I notice their love for humanity is not so great as to cause them to obey the Christian precept, to "Go sell all that thou hast, and give it to the poor." Then again, it may be a consideration to some to know that when they sit down to a feast there are not a lot of beggars in the same block, who would gladly eat the crumbs. But all these weigh so little with the great mass of humanity we will ignore them, and agree with our opponents, that human nature can not be changed, that we are a selfish, hard-hearted lot, caring for but little else than our economic interests. place them in the Capitalist Class. We

ing for but little else than our economic interests.

There are a few who economically
belong to the Capitalist Class, who
vote for Socialism. There are millions who economically belong to the
Working Class, who vote for Capitalism, there is nothing in equity or
ethics to cause them to do so. All
the latter vote for capitalism because
they do not know to which class they
belong, and are ignorant of their
class interests.

belong, and are ignorant of their class interests.

Now how is each to know whether his economic interests will be best served by Capitalism or Socialism? Socialism would give to each the full product of their labor, or its equivalent. This would be the death of Capitalism. Capitalism can not live without surplus value, i. e., interest, rent and profit. The question then resolves itself into whether it is better for me individually that I should get the full product of my toli, and have a system that would guarantee it, or a system which gives me a chance of getting more, but at the same time a much larger chance of having to take less Do others fleece more off of me than I fleece off of others? Would a system that necessitates the workers being fleeced give me more of the rood things of life than one that guarantees to each all the wealth he produces?

We must first know how much we

individually produce. We already know how much we get. For an illustration let us take an average factory worker. U. S. staitstics tell us the average amount of wealth produced by factory workers annually is equivalent to \$2,452, and from this they receive from the capitalists \$437. Now it is evident if they got the full product of their toil, they would have \$2,452 per year instead of \$437. The difference going to the capitalists as surplus value. Obviously it is to the economic interests of the average factory worker to vote for Socialism, and get the full product of his toil. We, therefore, place him in the working class.

But we started out to classify far-But we started out to classify farmers, mechanics, tradesmen and professional men, who own more or less
capital, and hire others to work for
them. We will take farmers, as we
are more interested in them in this
discussion. If we can correctly classify farmers, who own land and machinery, and hire help, then we will be able
to classify any one.
Now let us take an individual farmer for an exarple. We will say he

Now let us take an individual farmer for an example. We will say he is an average worker, that he produces as much wealth as the average factory worker. This is certainly not placing the production of the average farmer too high, when we consider the great number of women and children who are counted in making the average factory worker. Again, the average factory worker. Again, the average factory worker. Again, the average factory worker are the average factory worker. At least we are safe in saying he produces as much, or \$2.452 per annum. If he works longer or harder than the average factory worker, he produces, and

works longer or nareer than the average factory worker, he produces, and should have, that much more.

We have another thing to remember, this competitive system is very wasteful. We could produce at least twice as much if we did not have to do twice as much if we did not have to do so much useless work, if we knew how much of anything to produce, if one enterprise did not spend more in fighting another than in actual production, etc., etc. This has been enlarged upon so often, and admitted by everyone, I will not use space in discussing it, but refer the reader to Prof. R. T. Ely, who is a capitalist writer, and handles the subject well. It would be safe to conclude from Prof. Ely's work, "Socialism and Social Reform" that twice as much wealth could be that twice as much wealth could be produced with the same amount of work, under a saner system. The product of the average worker would then be \$4.904 instead of \$2.452.

work and vote for Socialism. His economic interests are with the workers and not the capitalists. It would be to his advantage to have all surplus value eliminated, he therefore belongs to the Working Class, and this in spite of his ownership of land and machinery, or his hiring help.

The same rule will classify all tradesmen, professionals and mechanics who are doing socially useful work, (that is, work others are willing to pay for, even if they are not producers of commodities), and it matters not how much or how little capital they may possess.

they may possess.

The question is: Are they fleecing The question is: Are they fleecing more than they are being fleeced? And this test must not be applied for just six months or a year, but for one's lifetime. A retired farmer who has previously been an average worker for 30 years, consuming \$500 in wealth annually, may now be enjoying an income of \$500 per annum, all of which is surplus value, yet he does not belong to the Capitalist Class. If he had received the full product of his toll, and only lived up \$500 per year of it, he should have more than \$2,000 per annum for 30 years of his old age, before he should be enrolled in the Capitalist Class.

cialism, so really one's income should be above \$5,000 to place one in the Capitalist Class.

BUT FEW EXCEPTIONS, BELONG TO THE WORKING CLASS.

Rupert, Idaho. For "The Socialist."

CHICAGO

"Seattle Socialist," Seattle, Washington

Dear Comrades:-I am instructed by the Executive Committee of Cook County, to request of you to publish with equal prominence as you gave the statement f the old Executive Committee, the resolution passed by the Cook County Central Committee at its session of October 13th. The statement sent out dealing with the relationship of the Party and the "Chicago Daily Socialis" is hereby repudi-

Trusting you will comply with this request, I remain,

G. T. FRAENCKEL, Sec'y Socialist Party, Cook County

We have never seen the Resolution referred to nor was, it enclosed in Com rade Fraenkel's letter.—Ed.

Nothing better in the book line was ever offered at so low a price as Harper's "Terrible Truth About Mar-riage" for 10 cents. We want to make room for a new and better edition and so have reduced the price from 25 cents. Get your order in while they last.

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THE BROWN DENTAL PARLORS Dr. E. J. Brown, 713 First Avenue, Parlors 1-6 Union Block, is pleased to announce that he is now giving his personal attention to his dental practice and may be consulted from 8:30 a. m. to 6 p. m. daily; Sundays from 8:30 to 12:30.

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them?"
"No," I said, "they rent them out to working people like the carpenter."
"Do working people pay rent for what they build themselves?" said the Fool Killer.
"Of course," I said.
"I must buy some canned meat," said the Fool Killer. "Where do the house-makers live?" he continued.
"They live in the slums," I said.
"What are slums?" asked the Fool Killer. Kill'er.

"Places where there are so many poor people that overcrowding and filth kill them."

"They have taken away my job," said the Fool Killer.

—BOLTON HALL, in "Life."

We must first know how much we

Since we wish to avoid a discussion along that line at present, we will take the latter figure, \$2.452. Now the farmer who does as much work or produces as much wealth as the average factory worker, and whose yearly income is not \$2,452, is not getting the full product of his toil. If he is not evidently some one else is getting part of it from him. Therefore it is to his economic interest to work and vote for Socialism. His eco

Capitalist Class. Capitalist Class.

According to the figures we have used, one's income from one's labor and capital must amount to more than \$2,452 to place one in the Capitalist Class. But bear in mind, that sum would be at least doubled under Socialism so result one's iscome should

TRADESMEN, PROFESSIONALS

Chicago, Nov. 5th, 1907.

MODE OF OWNERSHIP OF PARTY PAPERS

By Hubert Langerock

Ownership of Socialist papers does not involve in Europe the same problems which it has to solve in America. Lengthy and acrimmonious discussions of theoretical issues have not acquired in Europe the prominent part which they play in the United States. The reason lies in the fact that European Socialism can and does direct its energies into channels of positive and constructive activity. It has created a trades-union movement, a co-operative organization and a system of insurance for the triple purpose of healing present wounds, raising propaganda funds and creating within the framework of present day capitalism an informal sketch of the

Thus a considerable part of the party activity, wasted in America upon theoretical disputes of doubtful utility, has been absorbed by organization, and the paper has not been called upon to take sides in rhetorical quarrels, but has been used to fulfill its mission of propaganda for principles and recorder of party achievements. Working class solidarity has found its expression in a mutual consideration of all individual opinions as long as they were not in contradiction with the cardinal tenets of scientific Socialism. Free discussion of theoretical issues has not been stifled but carried on in books and special magazines set apart for the purpose. Hence there have been few fights for control of party papers and the different systems of press ownership have been evolved under normal conditions, making for calm, scientific study of the question at issue.

Methods of Ownership

It would not be interesting or useful to put before our American comrades a catalogue of the different Socialist papers with an explanation of the mode of ownership in each particular case. It is better to limit ourselves to the general tendencies and the different types of ownership.

As a rule the mode of ownership of the national papers is copied by the regional and local papers of the same country. There are three distinct types of ownership. The private ownership, the party ownership through an intermediate organization, and the direct party ownership.

is practically confined to France. It is a result of the make up of the French newspaper whose most prominent feature is the signed editorial of the political leader. This makes for private ownership, or at least for ownership by a corporation of which the controlling interest is held by the rep resentative editor of the paper. The "Humanite" is owned in this fashion. French Socialists have a tendency to correct this system by direct or individual ownership by the party of the printing plant.

Indirect Party Ownership.

In this system a co-operative society is generally formed, the stock of which is held by organizations affiliated to the party with the exclusion of all private individuals. The party puts the paper on a sound financial basis by subsidies. The management of the paper remains autonomous and the preponderance of any group is avoided by establishing a maximum limit to the number of shares that can be held by any one organization. The Beiglum "Peuple," the Dutch "Volk" and scores of other papers are owned in

Direct Ownership.

The paper belongs directly to the party and is managed by its executive committee in emergencies and minor affairs. Editors are appointed by the annual congress, which decides all important matters of business policy. Every year a special report concerning all party periodicals is submitted to the approval of the party convention. The German "Vorvarts" is owned in this manner. This system presupposes a powerful, cohesive movement of long standing and a large measure of doctrinal unity.

· Conclusions.

Where those conditions do not exist, direct ownership would lead to a systematic silencing of minority opinions and carelessness and inefficiency in business management. The fitness of any of these systems to actual conditions in this country must not be determined from the point of view of theoretical conceptions, made up a priori, but from their relative value in the present stage of our own national movement. Looking at the matter in this way, I think that the system of indirect ownership should be given the

MILLS EXPELLED

MILLS EXPELLED—OFFICIAL COUNT.

To the Members of S. P. of Wash .: Comrades: Herewith is submitted report of referendum "D" on the proposition, "Shall the State Committee Be Sustained in Revoking the Charter of Local Seattle?"

Name of Local.	Yes.	No.
Aberdeen No. 1	. 9	
Aberdeen No. 2	. 17	
Arlington	. 6	
Bangor	. 6	
Burlington		8
Bryn Mawr		10
Colfax	. 1	9
Everett		ï
Elma		veillen bid
Fall City		• •
Granite Falls		••
Liberty		5
Marble Mt		8
North Yakima		13
Olalla	2	6
Olympia		8
Poulsbo		
Pearson	ALEXE PROPERTY.	10
Puyallup	STEEL SECTION .	10
Port Townsend		
Puget Island		
Renton	PARTY SECURITY	4
Lyle		4
Snohomish		13
Spokane, 1		10
Tacoma		3
Useless Bay		6
Vancouver		
Walla Walla		11
Wilkeson		
Winlock		2
Yelm		
Seattle No. 2		
Riverside		6
N. A. L	25	. 5
	997	167
Total	. 201	101

Not Voting—Alpha, Buckley, Bismarck, Bow. Bellingham, Centralia, Cle Elum, Clarkston, Clipper, Chehalis, Ellensburg Echo Valley, Edmonds, Gate, Green Acres, Grandmound, Harrington, Hoquiam, Kosmos, Lopez, Leber, Montesano, Natchez, Northport, Pacific County, Orient, Pulliman, Quincy, Raymond, Roslyn, Sunnyside, Spokane 2, Silvana Skamokawa, Thornton, Tiger, Tenino. Local Hoquiam evidently committed the error to use a national tally sheet to record their vote on state referendum and was thrown out.

The following locals send their monthly report for October: Aberdeen 1, Arlington, Cle Elum, Colfax, Everett, Echo Valley, Elma, Fall City, Liberty, Marblemount, Olalla, North Yakima, Puyallup, Spokane 1, Spokane 2, Snohomish, Seattle 2, Outlook, Tiger, Tacoma, Vancouver, Wilkeson, Walla Walla and Yelm. Twenty-four locals reporting and 57 not reporting. It you

do not see your local's name in this list, ask your secretary why.

By reason of the limited time alfor nominations for members of the National Executive Committee of the National Executive Committee and National Secretary, it is deemed necessary that the nomination blanks be returned by the locals as well as the M. A. L. direct to the National Headquarters, 269 Dearborn St., Chi-cago. They must reach that office on or before December 5th.

The State Secretary requests that in future all remittances be made in P. O. money order. The largest portion of state funds are tied up now in one of the Tacoma banks, and to increase the amount will not be wise.

The state membership by a decisive vote has again declared that the move-ment in this state shall be a revolu-tionary one, as against one whose tactics are step by step and ultimately will lead to fusion and compromise.

The reason some locals did not vote on the recent referendum was, the lo-cal secretaries did not feel disposed to cal secretaries did not feel disposed to bring the matter up in the local meeting. No use blaming these secretaries. The fault lies with the members. Henceforth see to it that you have the best material to fill this important office. The life or death of a local in many instances depends on that official.

Locals in arrears to-the state office two months or more will be dropped from this list of honor, the roster of

With fraternal greetings, your for the Revolution.

RICHARD KRUEGER, State Secretary.

STATE EX. COMMITTEE

State Headquarters

Tacoma, November 15th, '07.

Tacoma, November 15th, '07.

A continued meeting of the State Executive Committee convened this day at 7 p. m., State Headquarters, with John Downle in chair and T. F. Burns and E. C. Johnson present. Minutes of previous meeting were read and approved.

On motion the regular order of business was suspended and the canvassing of vote on State Membership Referendum "D." involving the proposition: "Shall the State Committe Be Sustained in Revoking the Charter of Local Scattle?" was taken up. The State Secretary reported indications of irregularities on the part of three locals in the balloting upon said referendum. On motion if was ordered that in view of the fact that the State Committee is directly affected and thereby interested in the result of this

referendum, the Executive Committee will abide by the returns of the various locals as sent, regardless of the result. The following is the total result: Voting Yes, 237; voting No, 167; total number of ballots cast, 404. Therefore, the State Committee is sustained, and State Secretary is instructed to proceed at once to take the necessary steps by which the property in hands of the expelled local revert back to the Party and in conformity with Article IV, Section 31, of the amended constitution of the S. P. of Washington.

Under regular erder applications were called for and Comrades H. P. Larsen and David C. Ferris were admitted to membership at large; Comrades of Mossy Rock, Morton and Seattle applied for charter in their respective localities, which applications were granted.

Relating to a communication from John P. Triesch, representing the Ar-beiter and Kranken and Sterbe Kasse, of Lincoln, ill., in which a request is made fer a list and names of the Washington local secretaries, the State Secretary was instructed to investi-gate whether or not the writer is the duly recognized representative of said organization before furnishing said

Report of National Committeeman Burgess for October and of State Or-ganizer Wagenknecht were ordered filed.

filed.

In relation to report from J. B. Osborne action was deferred. Upon suggestions contained therein the State

gestions contained therein the State Secretary was instructed to act.

A communication from Wm. D. Haywood, Secretary-Treasurer W. F. M., relating to his proposed tour was read and ordered filed.

A communication from Montana State Secretary Graham relating to this committee's former action regarding Comrade Hazlett's appeal and Local Spokane's action thereon was read and filed.

The following resolution was read and ordered filed: "At a regular meet-

The following resolution was read and ordered filed: "At a regular meeting of Local Victoria No. 2, S. P. of Canada, on Oct. 16th, regarding an article of Walter Thos. Mills in the Saturday Evening Tribune of Oct. 12th, under head of "State Referendum," referring to his address in Victoria on Dec. 28th, 1956. Regularly moved and seconded that it is wide of the truth, that Mills did advocate the election of Labor Party candidates and did ask Labor Party candidates and did ask the audience to contribute money to support these candidates, and that he did advocate fusion with the Capitalist

Labor Party."

State Secretary's report upon National Referendum "A" was found correct. A total of 198 votes was received in time to be counted; 171 yes,

ceived in time to be counted; 171 yes, 27 no.

In relation to the Seattle situation, on motion it was ordered that if the new local in Seattle should wish the services of State Organizer Wagen-knecht, he should be retained in Seattle for the present.

Adjourned to meet again on Sunday, December 8th, at 11 a. m.

Fraternally submitted

RICHARD KRUEGER.

THE SITUATION IN NFBRASKA

Resolutions Adopted by Local South Sioux City Socialist Party of Nebraska.

Nebraska.

November 1, 1907.

Whereas, The Rev. G. C. Porter did on Nov. 23, 1906, without cause, abandon and forsake the regular propaganda work of the Socialist Party of Nebraska, and

Whereas, The aforesaid G. C. Porter did on Dec. 12th, 1906, secede from the regular party organization in this state and refuse to be governed by or refund monies overpaid; and

Whereas, The said G. C. Porter, on Dec. 19th, 1906, by admitting ineligibles and politicians into Local Omaha, induced said local to join with him in secession and the party treason for which Local Omaha was expelled by the state committee; and

which Local Omaha was expelled by the state committee: and Whereas, The said G. C. Porter erected or caused to be instituted a counter organization of so-called So-cialists in opposition to the regularly elected State organization of the S. P. duly affiliated with the National or-ganization of the S. P. of America; and

Whereas, The sale G. C. Porter with other disruptionists without authority and in violation of the constitution created a State Executive Committee of their own, with one Geo. Wells as State Secretary, and G. C. Porter as State Organizer, who are now mas-querading as the State Officers of the Socialist Party in this state; and Socialist Party in this state; and - Whereas, The said G. C. Porter did

Whereas, The said G. C. Porter did perjure himself in certifying to a platform which is not the platform of the party, by certifying to a state committee, which is not the commit-tee of the party, some of whom are non-residents of this state, also in certifying to a state ticket, some of whom are not the regular nominees of the party or even members thereof, all of which acts and deliberations he signed as Chairman and Secretary of signed as Chairman and Secretary of the Socialist Party, State Convention, of which he, the said G. C. Porter (not a party member), was the sole and only person present; therefore,

(not a party member), was the sole and only person present; therefore, be it

Resolved. By Local South Sloux City of the Socialist Party of Nebraska, that we hereby emphatically protest against the actions of Rev. G. Porter and his followers as the acts of secondrels and traitors to our movement; be it also

Resolved, That we do hereby denounce Geo. Wells as a usurper of authority in declaring himself to be the State Secretary, and pretending to do the business of said officer when such authority has not been conferred or recognized by either the State or National organization. And be it also Resolved, That we denounce the publication of the names of Geo. Wells and G. C. Porter by themselves as State Secretary and Organizer respectively, which is deceiving the rank and file, sowing seeds of dissension among our comrades, disrupting the party organization and defrauding both State and National organizations of their respective share in the revenue. And while we denounce such methods as the acts of political cutthroats, we do hereby declare our loyalty to the Socialist Party of America and pleage our support to the regular party organization of Nebraska recognized by the National Office, and to no other.

Signed: M. A. KLARMAN, Chairman.

G. WARNER,

Chairman.
G. WARNER,
Secy. Pro Tem. of Local South Sloux
City, Nebr.
Indorsed by:
L. DeVORE,
Nat. Com. Member for Neb.

POSTAL CARD CAMPAIGN

ccialist Party of Washington, Box 1673, Seattle, Nov. 5, 1907. Dear Comrade:--Much explaining is

The Socialist Party of Washington is making a fight for the free use of the streets of Seattle, Washington, for

street meeting purposes. You are for Free Speech. We want an immediate favor of you. We are sending you some private

Get all we send you signed with ames and addresses of all comrades

and other persons who believe in Free

Then see to it that they are mailed We ask immediate action.

Not to attend to this means that

ou help lose our fight. We know you want to help us our fight. So act immediately. Yours for Revolution,

FREE SPEECH COMMITTEE. John Downie, Chairman.

Richard Krueger, Emil Herman, Karl Schwantje,

A. Wagenknecht, Secretary.

I am reliably informed that, while all other persons and organizations are being allowed the free use of the streets of Seattle, Washington, for street meeting purposes, the Socialists are being denied the use of these same streets to express their political views, and are arrested and thrown into a jall so foul it has been condemned by the Board of Health. Board of Health.

Is Seattle in Russia? Has Labor (?) Mayor Moore adopted the methods of the Czar?

Seattle is supposed to be the most progressive city in the United States. This unjust treatment of the Socialist Party gives the lie to this.

I shall do all in my power to advertise this outrageous mistreatment of Socialists, not because it is Socialists that are being discriminated against but because I believe in the right of Free Speech. The Socialists of Seattle shall have my uncualified support until their fight for Free Speech is

Kindly inform the Seattle Administration of my infent and let the Seattle lovers of Free Speech know that there are still a few liberty-lyving cit-

zens in	1 the	United	Sta	ates.		1	
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Signed) Nan	ne					
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Street	Addı	ess					
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City	and	State					
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		25222			pa.		

EVERETT SPECIAL ELECTION

Socialist Platform and Ticket-Mass Convention Held November 12

TICKET

For Mayor-W. E. Tibbets, Switch-

For Councilmen-First ward, Mark Nixon, cook; Second ward, Deforest Sanford, reporter; Third ward, Jehn Graybill, tailor; Fourth ward, James K. Reece, laberer: Fifth ward, Clarence Folsom, shingleweaver; Sixth Patrick Donahue, laborer; Seventh ward, Albert Roeder, wood-

PLATFORM

"We, the Socialist Party of Everett in municipal convention assembled, reaffirm our allegiance to the principles of international Socialism.

"We declare our object to be the establishment of a system of industry under which the people will collective ly own the means of production and distribution and operate them for the

"The present system of industry is one of ownership by capitalists and operation for their profit, resulting in constant struggle between the owning class and the producing class, the former striving to obtain more profits from investments, and the latter striv

ing to get in the form of wages as much as possible of what it produces. "The working class produces the wealth of the world, yet owns nothing is composed of and stands solely for but its labor power, which must be the interests of the working class."

obtain a living, thus being virtually reduced to wage slavery. The industrial struggle expresses

sold to the owning class in order to

itself on the political field through parties representing the opposing interests of the two classes. The Republicans and Democrats, or any other party which does not stand for the complete abolition of the profit system, represents the interests of the capitalist class. The Socialist party represents the interests of the working class because it stands for the complete abolition of the system of production for profit-the cause of the workers' dependence and consequent suffering.

"The capitalists maintain their power and prolong the present system through controlling the powers of government. The workers can only abolish the capitalist system by securing possession of these powers, municipal, state and national, and using them in the interest of the working class.

"The only issue in which the working class has any material interest is the conflict between the capitalist class and the workers for possession of the powers of government.

"We therefore appeal to the workers of Everett to study the principles of International Socialism and to cast their ballots with the only party which

THE BUSINESS MANAGER

Last week the Business Manager told the Editor that he would refuse to read any more letters unless they had money in them. So readers want to take warning from this and the next time they write send along something to sweeten the Business Manager's disposition.

The Business Manager also wants i to be noticed that his department has secured a bunch of new ads during the week and Seattle Socialists and the week and Seattle Socialists and other Socialists coming to Seattle should call on the new advertisers and buy something from them or at least let them know you are interested in

Also, the job printing branch of the Trustee Printing Company helps in a great many ways to meet the expenses of the paper and the cooperation of comrades in securing work on this line will be appreciated. During the past few days we have received orders from out of town from Comrades Walter Lohrentz, South Bend; A. Jonas, Aberdeen; H. Rosser, South Prairie and W. Peters, for Local Pt. Townsend. All of this helps wonderfully and we hope comrades will keep it up.

Subscription cards are now on hand in large quantities and we can furnish all you want at the rate of five year-lies for four dollars and five half yearlies for two dollars.

Those "Undesirable Citizen" but tons are completely out, and orders have been received for many more than we had. We are endeavoring to secure some more and will fill orders now on hand as soon as possible.

For five cents we will send to any address Haywood's testimony in the great Boise trial.

SUBSCRIBERS TO THE DAILY

All those who subscribed for the All those who subscribed for the daily that was to be published in Cald-well but which had to be dropped ow-ing to the postponement of the trial of Haywood and the starting of the "Chicago Daily Socialist" in the meantime have received the weekly "Social-

ist" for one year in place of the daily.
All these daily subscribers have either written expressing their satisfaction with the reports or have by their silence admitted that they were setting their meaning their silence admitted that they were getting their money's worth.

their silence admitted that they were getting their money's worth.

Now that you have received "The Socialist" for so long a time it should have become a household necessity. You probably look for it every week and are disappointed if it is a day late. If this is true you will want to have it continue right along. Well, all that is necessary is to send a dollar to us right away and we will continue you on the list for another year.

In two weeks we will cut off the list all those who subscribed for the daily who have not already renewed their subscriptions and the paper will not be sent again. The discussion on party ownership which is now going on will be of great value to you and you should not miss a single copy of the paper. Let us hear from you at once.

REFUSE CLEARING HOUSE CERTIFICATES

The Riggers and Stevedores' Union

of Seattle last Monday passed resolutions refusing to accept the clearing house certificates in payment for wages and notified all stevedoring and transportation companies to that effect. They'recommend the same action to the rest of the union men in the city and request that all labor papers notify their readers to the same effect.

Portland

Great Entertainment Portland Socialist Local No. 1 Thanksgiving Night, Nov. 28 Headquarters 309 Davis Street Admission 25c Refreshments Free

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M. OSTROW

Believes in "a

44 N. THIRD STREET PORTLAND, ORE.

ALL PAPERS PLEASE COPY

A smooth, pretty, young Russian Jew, giving his name as Vlademir, claiming to be Gregor Gerschuni, the Russian Revolutionist, is collecting money from Socialists in this state for the Russian Revolution. He has defrauded party members in Tacoma Seattle and Everett, Wash. Any Comrade who has seen this impostor will please notify the State Secretary of Washington, and a warrant will be procured for his arrest.

Nothing better in the book line was ever offered at so low a price as Harper's "Terrible Truth About Mar-riage" for 10 cents. We want to make room for a new and better edition and so have reduced the price from 25 cents. Get your order in while they last.

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Should read Darrow's closing argument in the great Haywood trial. This speech was printed in full, just as delivered, in "The Socialist." elivered if Seattle and vicinity for 25c. Address "The Socialist." Box 1673, Seattle,

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The Socialist



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	Socialism and Art

FREE SPEECH

Continuer from Page One)

tried. Prosecuting attorney practically claimed them innocent. Judge reserved decision, only because he owes his job to Mayor Moore. Weather very bad tonight. Rain and high wind. Thos. Sladden tried to speak on Pioneer Place. Audience about fifty. Big Salvation Army meeting half block away having a boys' band to attract people. Audience at the Salvation Army meeting very large. Sladden arrested. No bail.

A. WAGENKNECHT.

AUTOCRACY REBUKED

Seattle, Wash., Nov. 19, 1907. Hon. Wm. Hickman Moore, Mayor, Seattle, Washington.

Dear Sir: The Socialist Party of Seattle acknowledges receipt of your communication of this date in reply to our notification of our intent to speak on certain streets this week.

A clerical error occurred in the place chosen for tonight, which was a large of the communication of this communication of the communication of this date in reply to our notification of this date in reply to our not

University Street, between Second and On this locality you agree. You assume to deny us the right to speak at the other places named by us and you designate certain other places where

you will permit us to speak. We hereby notify you that we deny your authority to give us permission to speak on the streets. If we violate speak on the streets. If we violate the law, it is your business to arrest us. If we do not violate the city ordinance, you have no right or authority to touch us, wherever we hold off meetings. YOU CANNOT LEGALLY GIVE US ANY PERMIT TO VIOLATE THE LAW AND YOU CANNOT FORBID US TO DO ANYTHING ALLOWED BY THE LAW.

We have never violated the law and we do not propose to do so now. We have carefully refrained always from obstructing any street or sidewalk with our meetings. The places we have selected and notified you of, are little used for traffic and we shall take every precaution to obstruct no one.

recaution to obstruct no one.

We hereby notify you again that on We hereby notify you again that on wednesday evening, we shall hold a street meeting on Fourth Avenue, between Pike and Union; on Thursday evening on Pioneer Place, and on Friday evening on Pike Place. If, in the language of Judge Morris's charge to the jury today, we do not keep the streets clear for ordinary uses of traffic, we welcome arrest and conviction. But if we do not violate the law, we expect the mayor to leave us unmowe expect the mayor to leave us unmo

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF SEATTLE.

By ALFRED WAGENKNECHT, State Organizer

LETTER TO CITY COUNCIL

We again address you and again make a demand for our rights as citizens of the United States. This time, our demand comes before you after it has received the endorsement of two thousand voters of this city, all two thousand voters of this city, all of whom have signed this protest during the past week. The lists are still circulating and there will undoubtedly be many more thousands of signers. A blank form of the petitions that have been circulated in the last week is enclosed. Two thousand voters have signed these petitions. You will surely give the demands of these two thousand voters some attention. We will gladly lay the petitions before the city council for inspection at any time.

street. The Volunteers of America hold nightly meetings on the corner of Second avenue and Washington street and occasionally on Yesler Way near First avenue. The Theosophists hold meetings at times on Washington street between First and Second avenues. We think it proper that all these organizations should continue these organizations should continue in their use of Seattle's streets; but we demand to know why the Social ists Party is denied the use of Se attle streets for meeting purposes.

We also demand to know why So-cialists, both men and women, are denied ball after being arrested.

Bail is allowed by the police department for all offenses so long as the amount of ball is equal to the maximum fine for the offense. We demand to know why Socialists, both men and women, are denied ball even when bail was offered far in excess of the fine stipulated by the ordinance under which Mayor Moore claims he is acting.

We do not ask anything of you but our right to speak on the streets of Seattle. We demand the right of free speech. We demand that we be not discriminated against. We demand that we be not prosecuted. The question of our politics does not need to enter into our demands. We know full well that most of the voters of Seattle are predicted we need to see the content of t Seattle are positively opposed to So-cialism, but we also know that nearly all the voters of Seattle are for the equal protection of the law for all alike—are for free speech, are against persecution of anyone on account of political convictions.

It is fully understood by us that Mayor Moore and the Chief of Police are daily expecting the Socialist Party to cease in its efforts for free speech. They, as well as as all others who expect us to tire of nights in the city jail, are due to be disappointed. We entered this contest to win. We shall aritists for free speech until we when the contest to win. We shall agitate for free speech until we win. We shall enlist the help of every citizen regardless of politics. We intend organizing a free speech club in every ward in this city. We have in circulation now twenty thousand pieces of literature bearing on our denial of free speech by the Seattle administration. More literature will be printed and circulated.

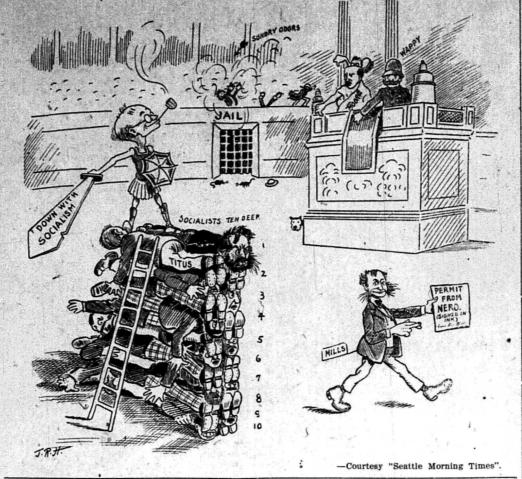
The council is either for free speech or against free speech. We want to know where your honorable body stands in this matter. If you are for free speech, we ask you to interpret the ordinances passed so that the So-cialist Party will be allowed the use of the streets the same as other per-sons. It requires men to meet this sons. It requires men to meet this situation squarely. This is not the time to play politics. Either you act or you place yourself with our honorable mayor in his unjust and cowards paracultums.

MAYOR SPEAKS

MAYOR MOORE DISCUSSES FREE SPEECH AND IS GREETED WITH GROANS, HISSES, GRUNTS, AND IS GIVEN THE HORSE LAUGH.

Mayor Moore, after speaking about an hour and a half, condescenden to present his position in regard to Free Speech in answer to a letter sent him by the Socialist Party. He had much to say about the protection of life, limb and property. Said he must be notified that he might grant permits to those desiring to speak on the street in order to avoid accidents by the fire department and other vehicles. He declared it was true that the constitution and law guaranteed the free dom of speech and press, but he did not propose to have either used to de-fame his character. Said that he had never denied any one the right to speak on the streets of Seattle, so long as they did not interfere with the rights of the public. At this point Emil Herman interrupted him and de he petitions before the city council or inspection at any time.

You are undoubtedly aware of the act that the Salvation Army holds lightly street meetings on Pioneer during on Pioneer during on Pice street, between First avenue and Washington street. The Peniel Hission holds nightly meetings on the orner of Third avenue and Pike only arrested Dr. Titus after he had only arrested Dr. Titus after he had over the public place is used in su hinder, stop, block to only arrested Dr. Titus after he had over was originally used.



ond and Union that since he was not arrested there he would speak the next Sunday on Second and Pike, and see if he would be arrested there. John Downle called out: "That is not so." Moore attempted to continue his speech, but was greeted with hisses. He then said: "I knew you would be here,,, meaning the Socialists. At this remark the audience groaned. He spoke a few minutes

announced at a street meeting on Sec- to make some sort of noise in his is just and fair and reasonable and favor, but it was plainly evident to all present that at least two-thirds of the audience had come to hear Mayor Moore on no other question save that of Free Speech. The majority of the audience, which was composed of working people, realized that what he said on other issues would never concern them, and they were absolutely opposed to Moore's persecution of the

ON FREE STREETS

This charge by Judge George Morris, of the Superior Court of King County, Wash., in the case of City of Seattle against J. B. Osborne is the result of eighteen months of struggle by the Socialists of Seattle for the Right of Free Speech and Free Assemblage on the streets.

While it is not altogether satisfac tory and complete, it yet constitutes a landmark in the Fight for Free Streets in modern cities.

IT DISTINCTLY AND UNEQUIVO-CALLY RECOGNIZES THE RIGHT OF PUBLIC ASSEMBLAGE AND PUBLIC SPEECH ON CITY STREETS. In judicial decisions that is an immense gain, as most such decisions are based on cases involving old fashioned country highways, where there is only one thoroughfare for travel which necessarily must be kept clear. But in the modern city, if one street is temporarily closed by an Assembly of People, travel can go on with only slight inconvenience along another street only a block distant. In such case, the greater public inconvenience would be imposed by compelling the Assembly to disperse than by forcing a few vehicles or passers-by to go a block out of their way. Even this fact is recognized in Judge Morris' instructions, when he save: "All that the law requires is the streets shall be kept REASONABLY clear," not absolutely so. These instructions constitute a most important precedent for other judicial acts on

JUDGE MORRIS' CHARGE.

Gentlemen of the Jury:

The defendant, J. B. Osborne, is charged in the complaint in this case with having committed a misdemeanor in the City of Seattle on the 23rd day of September last by then and there causing people to congregate and obstruct a public place in the City of Seattle. The ordinance upon which this complaint is founded is, so far as it relates to the particular charge in this complaint, as follows: "It shall be unlawful for any person to wilfully attract the attention of persons and cause them to congregate upon and thereby obstruct any public place."

That is the only charge in this complaint against this defendant; that is the only thing that we are trying. The question for you to determine is if from the evidence in this case you believe beyond a reasonable doubt that on the 23rd day of September. 1907, in this city, J. B. Osborne did wilfully attract the attention of persons and cause them to congregate upon and thereby obstruct any public place: then it is your duty as jurors to return a verdict of guilty. If you are not so satisfied beyond a reasonable doubt, it is your duty to return a verdict of not guilty. That is all there is to this case

To wilfully attract the attention of persons is one phrase of the ordinance. A man does a thing wilfully, of course, posely, does it of his own free will. A public place is obstructed when that place is used in such a way as to hinder, stop, block up that street or such place for the purpose for which it

The words in this complaint should be given the ordinary, English, everyday meaning; and the meaning of the word obstruct as defined in Webster's dictionary is to hinder, to stop, to block up. That is the meaning that the city council of Seattle had in mind when they used that word in this ordinance. That is the meaning which should be given to it by you.

This defendant is presumed to innocent of this offence. That presumption remains with him until it .s overcome by evidence which convinces you of his guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. A reasonable doubt in a misdemeanor is the same that I have been trying to tell you on all other cases It is a real doubt; to be a reasonable doubt, it must be founded upon reason; and that means that, after you have heard all the evidence in this case, if you have not an abiding conviction in your mind of the guilt of the person charged with the commission of the crime, if that is the condition of your mind, you have a reasonable doubt. If, however, you have an abiding conviction of his guilt, you have no reasonable doubt, and it is your duty to convict him.

A street is ordinarily used for the purpose of public travel. A street is a place in a city or in a town or village that is used for the purpose of permitting the people to pass from one portion of the city or town or village to another portion, or, the means of such ordinary, usual, reasonable travel as is necessary for the proper despatch of their business. That is what

Now, the people have under the con stitution and laws of this state the right of free speech. They have a right to assemble. THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO TALK IN THE STREETS, AND THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO AS-SEMBLE IN THE STREETS WHEN EVER THEY PLEASE: but all their rights are equal, and they must all fit in and dove-tail in with each other. While a man has the right of free speech, while people have the right of assemblage, they haven't the right of free speech on the public streets and they haven't the right of assemblage on the public streets when that right or use interferes with the ordinary use of the street, because, WHILE THEY HAVE THE RIGHT ASSEMBLAGE ON STREETS, OTHER CITIZENS HAVE A RIGHT TO USE THOSE STREETS FOR THE PURPOSES FOR WHICH THE STREETS WERE INSTITUTED. AND NO ONE RIGHT HAS A RIGHT TO INTERFERE WITH THE OTHER

So the question for you to deter mine is not whether or not these per ple have a right of free speech or as semblage or whether that right is be ing abridged, but whether this crowd attracted by the defendant, if it was attracted by him, did reasonably interfere, impede, stop, block up the ordinary use of the street. The law is reasonable. Sometimes those who for the time being in place of author ity may be unreasonable in the execu tion of the law; that is not the faul of the law. That may be the fault of those who are for the time being those who are for the time being ton Labor Spy" stil on our shelves. charged with its execution. The law Price, 25cents, prepaid.

impartial. ALL THE LAW RE-QUIRES IS THAT THE STREETS BE KEPT CLEAR, REASONABLY KEPT CLEAR FOR THE ORDINARY PURPOSES OF THE STREET. That is all. Any crowd of people or assemsemblage of people, whatever their business may be, that do not keep the streets clear for the ordinary use of the streets obstruct the streets. If they do not keep the streets clear for the ordinary use of the street, then it does not make any difference what they are doing, whether preaching anarchy, Socialism, democracy or republicanism, or whatever they are doing. It does not make a particle of difference what they are doing. The law is not concerned with the private ideas of its citizens at all, you and I are not concerned with the private ideas of the people who assembled there. It does not make any difference what the purpose for which they went there was. The law does not go to the man's mind for the purpose of ascertaining what his views are on any subject, economic or otherwise. Every man has a right to think as he pleases and to speak as he pleases. The law does not look at the cut of a man's clothes, the color of his skin, or the workings of his brain. So it does not make any difference to you whether you believe in Socialism or not; it does not make any difference what the

public ideas may be as to whether Socialists shall be permitted to speak upon the streets or not. We are not trying a question of policy at all; we are trying a question of whether this man, Osborne, did wilfully attract a crowd at that time and place, and did such crowd obstruct the street? That is all. You and I in this case represent the majesty and the dignity of the law, and you should act upon this case with that idea in mind; and if anything has been said in your hearing that would lead you to infer that there is or is not a policy on the part of those charged with the enforcement of the laws of this city to limit speaking upon Socialism upon the streets, whatever your ideas may be upon that, whether you believe that the correct policy,

or whether you do not, is not concerned in this case at all. The law is not concerned with questions of that kind. The law is concerned with one question and that alone, and that is as to the majesty and dignity of the law. and whether violated criminally by this man at this time and place. That is all. If you believe he has, as I have defined that offense to you, it is your duty to return a verdict of guilty, whatever you opinion may be as to the doctrines enunciated. If you believe he has not, it is likewise your duty to return a verdict of not guilty, whatever you may believe as to the force or propriety of the doctrines he be lieves in. In other words, we are not trying

Socialism in this case at all. Mr. Osborne has a right to be a Socialist if he wants to, just like he has a right to be a Baptist, Presbyterian or anythnig of that kind. He has a right to follow any course that his intelligence leads him to believe is the correct one to follow, and whether that agrees with your particular views or not does not make any difference. You have the same right as he has. Your rights are equal. So he is not to be found guilty or innocent in this case according to whether or not you may agree with him or disagree with him in his views. We are not trying his opinions at all. We are trying this case just the same as if he was on any charge the question is whether or not he is violating this ordinance and whether or not he did attract persons and thereby cause them to congregate and obstruct a public place. If he did, he is guilty of violating this ordinarice; if he did not, he is not guilty,

INSIDE SIGHTS OF THE SEATTLE CITY JAIL

By Tom Stadden

On Monday evening, Nov. 11th, I occupied cell No. 2 in the Seattle City Jail. In this cell the ventilation is hardly sufficient to accommodate over three or four people at the outside. The room is no more than 18x20.

In this cell, before 4 o'clock Tuesday morning, were piled 26 human beings of various types. One of the last ones to come in was a man in a dazed condition from the effects of adulterated liquor, such as is sold in the lowest saloons. This man was in the last stages of tuberculosis and life was undoubtedly sustained for the time only by the stimulus of these same intoxicants. He lay for hours and vomited and spit the clearings of his throat upon

Most of the occupants of the cell were perhaps sufficiently hard y to overcome the effects of breathing in this vile atmosphere which polluted the cell. Many undoubtedly were not and guilty or innocent, some will be laid away, some fathers and mothers will mourn, some wives be left widows, some children left a heritage of disease, a result of someone being in cell No. 2 of the Seattle City Jail on Monday evening, November 11th, 1907.

In cell No. 3, which is slightly smaller, but a little better ventilated, 31 prisoners were incarcerated the same evening.

Speaking of these prisoners, in cell No. 2 at least half were very lousy. Some of the prisoners had their clothes practically stripped from them by morning from incessant scratching.

Hardened criminal, lousy saloon bum, youths whose feet have slipped slightly, the children of respectable parents and respectable people who may have inadvertently spit upon the sidewalk, all piled indiscriminately into one horrible sweating, seething mass.

OLD COUNTY JAIL CELLS.

On November 13th I occupied, for a time, cell No. 3. In order to make room for the incoming Saturday night rush we were transferred to the basement of the old county jail in the same building. There nineteen of us were locked up in the dungeon corridor. These dungcons are, I should judge, 6x7x8 and the corridor fronting them is six feet wide and runs the length of the dungeons. 30 feet. Three dungeons were open and three men slept in each. The other two were occupied by men as yet not tried.

It was in this cell that I encountered the most horrible sights I had yet seen in the Seattle City Jail. The men who occupied this corridor were men who had already been convicted. Two cripples were among the occupants. One had a leg off, the other was paralyzed in the right side. These men had been convicted of the crime of begging. They had been in with others for three weeks and their food had been a half loaf of bread and a tin cup of coffee at 7 in the morning and a half loaf of bread and tin of tea at 5:30 at night-three-quarters of a lb. of bread a day to sustain life. (This was what they told me. That night we were all given a meal.) Both were so lousy as to be unable to sleep. One's body, who wore no clothes but a pair of overalls, was a mass of seabs where he had torn himself with his finger nails. He was in for 63 days. He has no chance to rid himself of vermin until he gets out, or just before being released.

BURIED ALIVE.

In the dungeon two men were buried alive. One was Frank Cook, supposed to have been identified as a highwayman. Has been in dungeon since 11th. In the doors of these dungeons are six holes two inches in diameter, about five feet from the ground. These men are not taken out for exercise but are kept in day after day. While in the corridor we were able to give them water by making a funnel of a piece of paper and pouring a cup of water through this funnel into their mouths. These men are kept in this dungeon until they are ready to say what the police want them to.

COME OUT HEELS FIRST.

No ordinary man can come through the ordeals of the Seattle City Jail with health unimpaired. I do not speak for myself. They can put me and the entire police force of the city of Seattle in there and make still worse, if possible, the conditions, and I will be among the last whom they will have to drag out heels first. But I speak in the interests of the weaker, the ones less able to stand the strain; the frail, the sickly and cripples-the ones who may at any time be arrested by mistake.

They are victims of a social disorder, and society by corrupting, diseasing and demoralizing these petty offenders, spreads that disease, demoralization and corruption throughout the land. In such . vile dens are crimes bred, pestilence preserved and anarchy and hatred planted in the breasts of men.

This is not the cry for mercy of one of the tortured. insignificant discomfort which I must bear, temporarily, will soon pass away. But the hatred born in those miserable cells, the disease that lurks in its every corner, the demoralizing influence such corruption must spread, are things which tend to make disquieting all thoughts for the future. It is a human call for the general welfare and before it politics should be forgotten, individual material welfare restrained for the material welfare of all.

Diseased men should not be quartered with the healthy, hardened crime with unmatured youth, the filthy with the cleanly. Society owes even to a criminal some things, one of which is a chance to keep clean.

The torture chamber should have been long buried with the dead past. The jailers, the policemen, the under employes can not correct these abuses. The responsibility rests higher up. The officials of the city, the heads of the executive, legislative and judicial departments together with the entire citizenship of the community are guilty of this crime against the weak, a crime which must react with terrible consequences.

DEVOURED BY COCKROACHES.

I placed a quarter of a loaf of bread in a corner near a steam pipe to see what would result, at about 8 o'clock. At four in the afternoon the cockroaches had carried all away but the crust. Investigations carried on by well meaning reformers do not get at the bottom. Actual experience is the only way to get the truth in the matter and I, for one, shall consider that whatever discomfort may have endured has been well repaid in the knowledge and experience I have gained, and if any man doubts the truth of these experiences all he will have to do is to question some decision of the Reform Mayor of this city and his illustrious Chief of Police and he will be able to obtain "inside information."

It is not a question of whether we are Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Prohibitionists, Christians, Jews or Atheists which should concern us, but it is a duty we owe to ourselves and humanity to see this this vile nest is cleaned up in the shortest possible time. If the mass of people in the city realized the terrible truth about this institution it would not last a minute. It is from what we do not know that we are most liable to receive harm.