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# The Socialist

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THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

TO ORGANIZE THE SLAVES OF CAPITAL TO VOTE THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION

Published by The Socialist Educational Union

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No. 147

## REAL FAIRY STORIES NO. 5

The Ogre's Daughter drew her dainty skirts close about her, and said: "I don't like to come in contact with such loathsome creatures as the workers." Then her Papa waved his little wand



and said: "Behold, my daughter, how I change these people you loathe into beautiful bargains for you to select from and to adorn your precious perfumed person with."

### WORDS OF A WORKER.

All men who will work can now get a job. But I observe that when a strike occurs there are always plenty of men ready to take the strikers' places. Some people say that scabs do not deserve the name of men, but they are men, hungry men, and when you get hungry you will take a striker's job, in all probability.

The coarse mill whistle, the means by which our capitalists command their slaves, had just sounded and the men were rushing to their various stations. A tall, dignified, polished man appeared upon the scene and asked for the boss. No one could tell him, however, just where the boss was, so he watched the workers with evident interest as they went about their duties. Finally after a wait of some minutes, this man went eagerly to work aiding in the transfer of some lumber.

He displayed good judgment in his manipulations, but presently the boss appeared upon the scene and asked in an abrupt way of this slave who he was looking for a master, for some one to set him to work. He replied that he was very anxious to work and supposed it would be all right. "Well,"

said the boss, "we cannot use you." A look of despair came into the slave's face and he leaned against a convenient post for support.

The boss again disappeared and the slaves proceeded in a perfunctory way with their drudgery. I managed to get near the despairing applicant for work, and said to him: "I guess you will have to go to another market."

"Market?" he said, in surprise; "I have nothing to sell and cannot buy anything, not even a meal."

"But," I said, "you are trying to sell your labor power!"

"Oh, yes," he said; "I want a job of work."

"Well," I replied; "this market seems to be supplied, and you must look elsewhere for a master."

"A master?" he said, with indignation. "I am a sovereign American citizen."

"I a slave?" He then walked slowly and thoughtfully away.

The sensitiveness of our publicists and pseudo statesmen to the progress of Socialist propaganda is a surprise as well as a compliment.

The activity of Socialists seems to have been an inspiration to all departments of political life. Our courts have given evidence of respect for us by their decisions in the merger case and their haste to modify injunction proceedings.

The chief executive of the nation, the strenuous Roosevelt, displays an ardent desire to deaden the sound of revolt which he detected in recent election returns.

"While the academicians are discussing the theory of municipal ownership, the people, in these cities at least, are getting into the habit of voting for its coming."

So says "World's Work" in commenting on recent elections in Chicago, Toledo and Cleveland, and it expresses no fear of the results of public ownership, but the editor shields his eyes with his hands when he looks toward Socialism.

He has discerned a marked difference between public ownership and Socialism, although he is manifestly willing to make confusing statements regarding their identity.

In commenting on the coal strike, the "World's Work" has this to say: "But the large fact that stands out is not the relative advantage gained by one side or by the other, but rather the important fact that the president's action in calling a truce and in appointing this commission led at last to peace and to work."

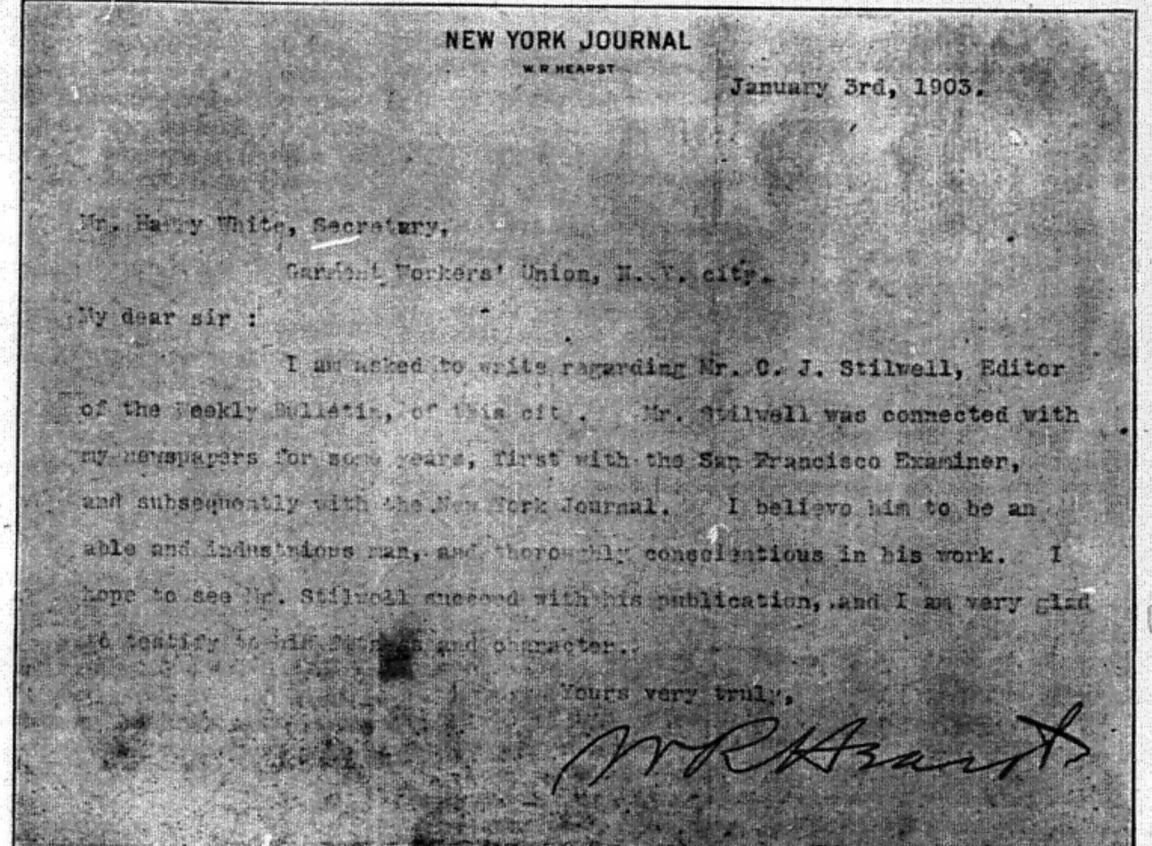
From this I infer that the "World's Work" believes that the American public is not concerned about the "equities" involved. It only cares to have the slaves return to their tasks so that the master class may pursue its revelries.

Recently a captain of industry said: "When I squeeze lemons, what I am after is lemon juice. My method is to get all the juice out of each lemon before I tackle the next one."

Just substitute the workingman for the two sentences quoted and you will have a truthful statement of a fact that is just beginning to agitate the labor world.

## Hearst Recommends Stilwell to the Union

(Stilwell was also head of "Stilwell's Detective Agency")



To the laborer the squeezing process is becoming monotonous; he would like a slight variation. Will he get such variation? All depends upon the working class.

If they are intelligent, courageous and self-reliant they can put an end to the squeezing process.

D. B.

The William Randolph Hearst presidential boom has just annexed a valuable auxiliary.—Bryan's "Commoner." Yes, Detective S. J. Stilwell, editing a labor paper and organizing capitalist associations—to "beat the unions."

### THEY ENJOY BEING SKINNED.

A story is told of a woman (And long may such women survive) Who deemed it inhuman and cruel That eels should be skinned while alive.

And seeing a fisherman at it, In market, the kind hearted dame Most hotly protested against it, As being a sin and a shame. "Why, that is the usual practice!" He answered as broadly he grinned, "They are used to it, Madam; the fact is They really enjoy being skinned!"

In my boyhood I laughed at the story As being extremely absurd; I certainly could not imagine That such a thing ever occurred; But now I am older and wiser, Surprised and indignant, I find, Though of eels the remark may be doubted.

"The true of the mass of mankind: I find our American workmen So servile, and so disciplined In abject submission to tyrants, They really enjoy being skinned!"

I ask: "Would you like to be masters, Where now you are drudging as slaves Through a lifetime of toil and privation

To crawl into premature graves? Would you like to retain in possession The natural wealth of the land, While all of the products of labor Remain in the laborer's hand? Would you like an industrial system Where none could be robbed of a cent To build up another man's fortune Through interest, profit and rent?"

"Would you give to the workingman's children

Abundance to eat and to wear, With all that the nation can furnish Of teaching and culture and care? Would you like to have morals and conduct.

Not dollars, the measure of worth? That all should be equals and brothers, While justice should reign upon earth?"

But questions and logic are useless: You might as well talk to the wind; For they throw aside all opportunities, Thus declare that they like to be skinned!

—Exchange.

REALIZE ITS VALUE—GOOD EX-AMPLE.

Toledo, O., May 15, 1903.

Editor "The Socialist": Comrade:—Kindly send me proof of your Toledo mail list. Organizer will speak to any member whose time is about to expire and it will be mutually helpful. Of late we have come to realize the value of "The Socialist" and are pushing it along.

Fraternally,  
W. A. STANTON,  
Acting Secretary,

## STILWELL'S LETTER AGAINST THE UNION

New York, March 13, 1903.

I take pleasure in enclosing you herewith some "facts" and "arguments" in favor of The Merchant Tailors' National Protective Association of America.

I want your help and co-operation in organizing a local branch in your city, and feel confident that I shall receive it after you have given this literature careful perusal.

There is no reason why you should be indifferent to the increasing importance of labor unionism, for if it does not affect you at the present moment it certainly will later on. The combined movement against employers in the custom tailoring trade is growing with extraordinary rapidity in every state in the Union, and it is only a matter of time when your employees will force you to take action.

It is better and cheaper for you to organize now than to wait until a serious conflict confronts you. It is the persistent and determined efforts of the labor agitators that make the Journeymen Tailors' Union a menace to your business, and, therefore, it is a duty that you owe to yourself to organize for self-protection.

In a speech delivered at a meeting recently held in this city, John B. Lennon, the General Secretary of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, emphatically declared: "The National Union has determined that we must have free backshops from one end of the country to the other." This he said would be accomplished, "Whether the bosses wanted it or not."

As a matter of fact, many establishments have already been coerced into this, and they have been unable to resist the demands of the union because they were taken unawares and were unprepared.

This National Union collected about \$100,000 from its members last year and spent nearly half that amount in the work of organizing. Do you realize the tremendous importance of this?

The Journeymen's National Union have organizers out all over the country and they are demanding for the men, and teaching the men to believe that they should have:

- (1) Free backshops, furnished with the best light, attendance, sewing machines and all necessary "tools," every man being compelled to work therein.
- (2) Half holiday on Saturdays and not more than eight hours work per day.
- (3) Foreman of each shop to be selected by the workmen and the foreman to designate to whom all work shall be given.
- (4) Weekly wages—so much by the hour.
- (5) Every portion of a garment to require a designated amount of time to make.
- (6) No overtime on any pretext whatever.
- (7) No apprentices.
- (8) A labor union label sewn in every garment made.

The advantages to be gained by membership in The Merchant Tailors' National Protective Association of America are almost beyond estimate.

Co-operation in all matters pertaining to local and National labor questions.

The adjustment of differences between employers and employees, when possible and expedient.

Unanimous support and assistance in the event of labor trouble in any form.

Interchange of information regarding character, reliability and competency of employees.

Equalization of labor by the distribution of journeymen as circumstances may require, and the inauguration of a system of registration and the use of recommendations and identification cards.

These are a few of the advantages to be gained by our united action. If you will take this matter up with me in earnest I will be pleased to help you, to the end that you may feel yourself free to run your business in your own way, without the interference of labor agitators.

I shall be pleased to see you whenever you are in New York; you are welcome to make our offices at 241 Fifth Avenue your headquarters while here, and any mail addressed to you in my care will be held subject to your pleasure.

The courtesy of a prompt reply, will be appreciated by,

Yours very truly,

C. J. STILWELL.



# The American Farmer and the Socialist Party

A Running Debate Between Ernest Untermann, Associate Editor of "Appeal to Reason," Girard, Kansas, and Hermon F. Titus, Editor of "The Socialist," Seattle, Wash. Debate to be Closed by Karl Kautsky, Editor of "Die Neue Zeit," Berlin, Germany. Published in "The Socialist," Beginning May 3, 1903.

## THE RURAL PROLETARIAT

BY ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Synopsis of Argument.

- I. Introduction.
- II. Comrade Kautsky's Position.
- III. Where I stand.
  - A. The Economic Development of the American Rural Proletariat.
  - B. The Political History of the American Rural Proletariat.
- IV. Conclusion.

### III—WHERE I STAND

#### THE NUMBER OF FARM OWNERS.

Comrade A. M. Simons, in the "International Socialist Review" of October, 1902, page 203-204, takes Comrade Hermon F. Titus to task for declaring in the "Seattle Socialist" that "the farmer is on his way to become a farm laborer. While he still imagines himself a proprietor, the majority of his class are either on mortgaged or rented farms, practically only laborers. These sell their labor power for a bare subsistence and are subject to immediate discharge like wage laborers. The tendency toward large farms is not marked. But the tendency toward capitalist ownership of the small farms is very marked."

Comrade Simons declares that a superficial examination lends some support to the position of Comrade Titus, because the percentage of farms operated by owners has decreased from 74.5 in 1880 to 64.7 in 1900. But "it is one of the commonest sayings concerning statistics that 'nothing is more deceptive than percentages,' and it is seldom we find a better illustration of the truth of this statement." When we examine the absolute number of farms we find that there are 1,730,965 more farms than twenty years ago. In the same period the number of farms operated by owners has actually increased 729,965. During the same time about one million new farms have been brought under cultivation under the tenant system. With the number of farm owners increasing 24 per cent in twenty years, it should be evident that whatever else may be happening, there is no sign of farm owners being transformed into tenants on any extensive scale."

Let us investigate, how far these statements of the two comrades agree with the figures of the abstract of the twelfth census, on which I base my conclusions.

In the first place, I must state for the sake of correctness, that, according to these figures, the total number of farms in the continental United States was 4,908,907 in 1880 and 5,737,372 in 1900, making a total increase of 1,728,465. Keeping in mind that the total farming population has increased, the question is now, did a greater number of this increase become farm owners or tenants? The figures show that from 1880 to 1890, a total of 555,734 new farms were added. Out of this number 285,422 were added by owners, a little more than half of the total increase; 132,302 were added by cash tenants, and 138,010 by share tenants, making a total increase of 270,332 tenants. In other words, a greater absolute number of new farmers had become owners during the increase of the population than tenants. But how does this increase compare with the total number of owners and tenants? The addition of 285,422 owners to the former number of 2,984,306 represents a growth of about 9 to every hundred; but the addition of 132,302 new cash tenants to the number of 322,257 represents a growth of about 40 to every hundred; and the addition of 138,010 new share tenants to the number of 702,344 represents a growth of about 19 to every hundred. We cannot see anything deceptive in these proportions. They express an actual fact, viz., that tenantry is increasing faster than ownership. And the total percentages express this very aptly in the figures that ownership has decreased from 74.5 per cent in 1880 to 71.6 per cent in 1890 and still further decreased to 64.7 per cent in 1900. On the other hand the same percentages without the least deception register the actual fact of an increase of tenantry over the increase of ownership by the figures that cash tenantry increased from 8.0 per cent in 1880 to 10.0 per cent in 1890 and 13.1 per cent in 1900, while share tenantry increased from 17.5 per cent in 1880 to 18.4 per cent in 1890 and 22.2 per cent in 1900.

Comrade Simons continues on page 204, "International Socialist Review," October, 1902. "A study of the census statistics by geographical divisions shows that where agriculture is longest established, there tenantry is least developed and is growing the least, if at all. No New England state shows any decrease in the total number of farm owners during the last ten years."

This statement is not borne out by the figures of the abstract of the twelfth census. Agriculture has been longest established in the North and South Atlantic divisions. Now the census figures show, page 294, that the proportion of tenants to owners is as 60 to 100 in the South Atlantic division, and as 26 to 100 in the North Atlantic division; while in the Western and North Central division, where agriculture is comparatively young, the proportion of tenants is 19 and 38 respectively. Only in the South Central States, the number of tenants almost equals that of the owners, being as 94 to 100. There is nothing deceptive about these proportions. They express the actual relation of tenants to owners. In 1900, there were 140,783 tenants to 536,724 owners in the North Atlantic division; 325,598 tenants to 536,627 owners in the South Atlantic division; 512,726 tenants to 1,583,841 owners in the North Central division; 805,546 tenants to 852,620 owners in the South Central division; and 40,312 tenants to 202,596 owners in the Western division.

A glance at the number and percentage of the owners in the North Atlantic division should have shown Comrade Simons that both the number and percentages of the owners continually decreased in that division since 1880. The number of farm owners in that division was 584,847 in 1880, decreased to 537,376 in 1890, and to 536,724 in 1900. And the percentage of owners in that division decreased from 84.0 in 1880, to 81.6 in 1890, and to 79.2 in 1900. On the other hand, the number and percentages of both cash tenants and share tenants increased steadily in that division.

As for the total number of farm owners, there is a marked decrease of them, not only in some New England states, but also in other states.

If we refer only to the last ten years, we find that there is a decrease in farm owners in Delaware from 4,978 to 4,811; in the District of Columbia from 242 to 153; in Kansas from 119,576 to 112,172; in Maine from 58,643 to 56,524; in Nebraska from 85,525 to 76,715; in New York from 180,472 to 172,517; in Rhode Island from 4,470 to 4,390; in South Dakota from 43,555 to 41,171. And if we compare the figures of the last twenty years, we find that the following states show a decline in ownership from 1880 to 1890 and have not yet recovered the level which they held twenty years ago, in spite of an increase of population and ownership during the last decade: Connecticut, which had 27,473 owners in 1880, had only 23,481 in 1900, a little rise from its drop to 23,310 in 1890; Illinois, which had 175,497 in 1880, and

had only 160,453 in 1900, hardly making good its drop to 158,848 in 1890; Massachusetts, which had 35,266 farm owners in 1880, but only 34,112 in 1900, an increase of only 2,935 over its drop to 31,177 in 1890; New Hampshire, which had 29,566 farm owners in 1880, but only 27,139 in 1900, and 26,327 in 1890; New Jersey, with 25,869 in 1880, but only 24,295 twenty years later and 22,442 in 1890; Pennsylvania, with 168,220 in 1880 and only 165,982 in 1900, and 162,219 in 1890; and Vermont with 30,760 in 1880 and only 28,284 in 1900, a small rise from 27,816 in 1890. Ohio has increased its farm owners only by 1,226 in twenty years, while the total number of farms increased by 27,319 during the same time. The drop in the decade from 1880 to 1890 may be mainly due to the "Go West" movement, but the failure to make good this decrease in the following decade, compared with the total increase of the following decade, compared with the total increase of the farming population and of tenantry in those same states, shows plainly that we have here to deal with an effect of capitalist production. This becomes very manifest when we compare the growth of tenantry in the individual states.

The number of farms and of owners has decreased in the North Atlantic division, but the number of tenants has increased. There has been an absolute increase in the number and percentages of tenants in all states but those mentioned hereafter, in which a relative increase of tenants compared with the number of farms and owners must be registered. During the last twenty years, Connecticut shows a loss of 502 share tenants, a gain of 843 cash tenants, a loss of 3,991 farm owners, and a loss of 3,932 farms. There is a continuous decrease in the number of farms, owners and tenants in the District of Columbia; there is a decrease in the number of share tenants in Florida, but the number of cash tenants has more than doubled. In Iowa, the number of share tenants has decreased by 519 in twenty years, but during the same time, the number of cash tenants has increased by 16,081. In Kentucky, the decrease in share tenants is 48, but the increase in cash tenants is 33,086. In Maine, the number of share tenants has decreased by 408, the number of cash tenants has increased by 402, the number of farm owners has decreased by 5,004 and the number of farms by 5,345. In Massachusetts, the number of share tenants has decreased by 266, that of the cash tenants has increased by 827, that of the farm owners has decreased by 1,154, and the number of farms decreased by 1,361. In New Hampshire, the number of share tenants has decreased by 832, that of the cash tenants increased by 402, that of the farm owners decreased by 2,427, and that of the farms decreased by 4,195. In Rhode Island, the number of share tenants decreased by 184, that of the cash tenants increased by 56, that of the owners decreased by 590, and that of the farms by 942. In Vermont, the number of share tenants decreased by 202, that of the cash tenants increased by 260, that of the owners decreased by 2,476, and that of the farms by 2,632.

After this plain statement in numbers, no one can accuse me of an intention to deceive, when I now quote the percentages. These figures, then, show a decrease in the percentage of owners and an increase in the percentage of tenants in all states but the following: In New Hampshire, there is an increase in the percentage of owners of 0.6; the percentage of share tenants has decreased 2.4 per cent and that of the cash tenants has increased 1.8 per cent, leaving a total decrease in tenantry of 0.6 per cent. In other words, the total decrease in the number of farms has fallen most heavily on the share tenants, while cash tenantry has increased nevertheless twice as fast as ownership. The percentage of cash tenantry has increased in all states but North Dakota and Texas, where it has decreased, but not as fast as the percentage of ownership; and in Michigan, where it has remained stationary. The percentage of share tenants has increased in all states but Arizona, Connecticut, Florida, Iowa, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Vermont, where it is simply offset by a greater decrease in ownership, or an increase of cash tenantry, or a change in the number of farms.

But the number of owners must still be taken with a grain of salt. They are not all free owners. Many of them are mortgaged.

In October, 1902, Comrade Simons wrote, page 206 of the "International Socialist Review," that the statistics of the mortgaged farms had not yet been published, but that he felt perfectly safe in predicting that when published they would show that the absolute number of farms free from incumbrance was greater in 1900 than in 1890. Let us see what the abstract of the twelfth census says in this respect, and let us remember that the bulk of the farms are small and middle-sized.

The statistics show that there were in 1900 a total of 983,162 farm families more than in 1890. The total increase in the families owning homes was 501,923. The total increase in the number of unincumbered homes was 167,727. Did this signify a decrease in the number of mortgaged homes? Unfortunately, no. Instead we find that the number of mortgaged homes has increased by a total of 207,689. In other words, the mortgaged homes have increased faster than the free homes. And what about the renters? There were 389,883 rented farms more in 1900 than in 1890. Besides, these figures do not cover 126,507 farm families of unknown state, and 41,256 farms of unknown tenure. The plain language of these figures is that the increase in the population and capitalism has intensified the tendency toward tenantry and mortgages.

We see, then, that Comrade Titus was fully justified in stating that the majority of the farmers are either on rented or mortgaged farms. For the total number of farm families in 1900 was 5,700,341. Of this number, 1,094,046 lived on mortgaged farms and 2,014,316 on rented farms, making a majority of 3,108,962 so exploited by mortgage and tenantry. I agree with Comrade Titus, then, that there is a very marked tendency toward capitalist ownership of the American farms. True, they are not "fast becoming a race of tenants or mortgaged farmers." But that there is an increase in tenantry and mortgage, no one can deny. The process may be slow, yet it has been constant during the last twenty years.

In August, 1902, Comrade Simons wrote in the "International Socialist Review," page 112: "The relative increase of mortgaged and tenant farmers is so slow that save in a few exceptional localities, the farmers are in about equal danger from the coming of the next ice age and from conversion into a race of tenant and mortgaged farmers." And in October, 1902, page 204, he again rubbed it into Comrade Titus with the words:

"As a whole, farmers will become a race of tenants at exactly the same time and place that two parallel lines meet."

Now, we have seen that the progress of tenantry and mortgages is slow, though undeniable. But the progress of ownership is certainly still slower. In view of these facts, Comrade Simons' statements require a modification in this manner: "The majority of the American farmers have as much prospect of ever becoming free owners, as they have of seeing the next ice age or of witnessing the meeting of two parallel lines."

#### COMMENTS BY THE EDITOR OF "THE SOCIALIST."

It is hardly possible for the Editor of "The Socialist" to reply to such a defense of his own position as Comrade Untermann undertakes this week. The same data which he presents from the census I collected last fall but it seemed almost too bad to expose the inaccuracy of Comrade Simons' statistical statements.

For this reason the above article of Untermann's was delayed one week and advance proofs sent to Simons, in order to afford him full opportunity to defend his statistics. He has not seen fit to do so, as the following letter will show.

The only comment I shall make at this time is to call attention to the fact that Comrade Simons, like the most of

us Socialist editors, is an overworked man, attempting to do so much that thoroughness is an impossibility.

Yet every man must be held accountable for his errors, if they affect the Socialist cause. Above all we Socialists must be accurate and scientific. We have too much at stake and are under too sharp and critical a fire from capitalism to be careless or over-confident.

When Comrade Untermann says above that the facts do not sustain Comrade Simons' alleged statistics, he speaks so mildly that the hasty reader may overlook the point that Comrade Simons has violated the first requisite of an author who writes on scientific matters or who assumes to speak with authority, namely, his quotations from published documents

must be absolutely unimpeachable.

When, for example, Comrade Simons alleged in his own magazine last October, page 204, that "No New England state shows any decrease in the total number of farm owners during the last ten years," it was in the face of the census figures that Maine had decreased from 58,643 in 1890 to 56,524 in 1900, and that Rhode Island had decreased from 4,470 in 1890 to 4,390 in 1900. And as a general proposition with respect to the New England states, it would have been the exact truth to say, rather: Every New England state shows decrease in farm owners during the last twenty years.

Such bending of statistics to suit one's theory is a habit that cannot be too severely reprehended. If persisted in, it will completely invalidate any writer's authority and debar him from respectful consideration.

#### REPLY BY A. M. SIMONS.

Chicago, May 21, 1903.

Mr. H. F. Titus,

Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrade:

Yours of the 17th inst. with proofs enclosed at hand. I do not see that there is much in Comrade Untermann's article with which I disagree. Indeed he has not presented the case nearly as strong as it might have been. Both he and you overlooked one answer to me which I was expecting both of you to give and which would have carried much more strength. I did not discover until after I had written the article that it was easy to show that the census had greatly exaggerated the increase in the number of farms. Several statisticians have noted this fact and the census department has been forced to admit the probability of error. This would alter the figure still more in the direction indicated by you and Untermann, but when you have stated all this, you still leave my position untouched, which is simply that there is no tendency toward the transformation of the small farm owner into either a mortgaged farmer or a tenant farmer which is sufficiently rapid to be considered in any calculations as to political tactics. Any solution of the farm question which is based upon the disappearance of the small farm owner, while capitalism still remains, is based upon a supposition contrary to facts.

That is all I have ever said, that is exactly what I still stand for and that position is absolutely untouched by anything you or Comrade Untermann have said or by any of the further investigations which I have made along this line and which have given me considerable data that none of my opponents seem to have discovered as yet and which I shall publish sometime in the near future. Furthermore I have never said and I am by no means certain that the new inventions and methods of agricultural production may not entirely change the present course of evolution so as to create a movement toward the concentration of farm area and the complete swallowing of the small farm in the banana farm. I could not take any other position and remain true to the materialistic conception of history. I simply say that with present technique there is no such movement visible of sufficient importance to be considered in immediate political tactics. Personally I think that the application of some light motor, such as the auto-

mobile industry seems certainly to develop, to farming combined with recent inventions in the way of a disc plow which for the first time make the application of mechanical power to this primary process of agriculture possible will cause such a tendency as that expected by Marx. However, I am not going to declare that this tendency is here until I see some signs of it as it has always been my practice to deal with facts and let the theory take care of itself.

Yours fraternally,

A. M. SIMONS.

#### NO RACE APPEAL

Sioux City, Ia., April 28, 1903.

Dear Comrade:—In your recent issues of April 19 and 26, of your esteemed paper I find an article by Comrade (Thos. O. Hickey, protesting against the autocracy of the S. L. P. I am highly in favor of exposing the fallacies of De Leonism, but I feel I must enter a protest against the method in which the comrade raises his objections. He seems to lay great stress upon the fact that N. E. C. of the S. L. P. consisted mainly of Russian Jews.

I believe the comrade made a grave mistake in using the tactics of the capitalist tricksters in trying to poison the Socialist mind with such stuff as race hatred.

I am not an S. L. P. man, never was. I do not know Comrade Hickey nor the Jewish gentlemen to whom he refers, but I can smell the Jewtiller in the author of the above named article and I am sure that such a narrow mindedness, while it may well fit the intellectual standard of a De Leonist graduate, will never take root in the real Socialist minds of the men and women who are engaged in a tireless struggle to build up a social democracy based on justice to all mankind, irrespective of their race religion

or color. I am a Russian Jew myself, and with the comrades of my race I shall fight capitalism of either Jewish or gentile brand, and while myself a middleman, I agree with Comrade Hickey that it is wrong, undemocratic and absurd for a Socialist party to be autocratically governed by an executive committee consisting of middlemen, but I consider it thoroughly narrow and anti-socialistic to use race prejudice as a point against any man in whatever position he may occupy. Such charges would perhaps suit De Leonistic tactics, but I am sure they will never appeal to the broad minded membership of the Socialist Party.

Yours for Socialism,

MAX BRODKEY.

The Tacoma chief of police committed a mortal offense. He arrested a man for drunkenness and disorderly conduct. This man proved to be a "respectable citizen" of Olympia, a member of the city council, a rich millionaire, and because the chief did not discern these facts and permit this citizen to go on his wild career, the masters howl. It's a pity for the chief that the drunken brawler had not been an honest creator of wealth.

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# PARTY NEWS

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS BULLETIN.  
Omaha, Neb., May 23, 1933.  
Special Organizing Fund.

The following contributions have been made to the Special Organizing Fund since last report: Local San Francisco, Cal., \$8.75; L. W. Lindgren, San Francisco, Cal., \$10.00; George A. Riggs, Williamsport, N. Dak., \$1.00; J. F. Baum, River Bend, Colorado, \$1.20; Local Northampton, Mass., \$1.10; A. Comrade, Macon, Ga., \$1.00; Local Cincinnati, Ky., \$2.00; Local Toledo, Ohio, \$5.00; ten cents each from 14 comrades in Albuquerque, N. Mex., \$1.40; Local Newport, Ky., \$4.00; Local Cincinnati, O., \$5.00; Branch 3, Hoboken, N. J., \$2.50; Local Redlands, Cal., \$5.50; Local Louisville, Ky., \$6.60; A. M. Brooks, Fargo, N. D., 20c; Coming Nation, Rich Hill, Mo., \$43.60; Local Detroit, Mich., \$2.00; Fremont, Neb., comrades C. Beck, 25c; M. Lehman, 25c; E. L. Kelm, 25c; A. Fredrickson, 10c; J. Lavick, \$1.15; Utah, \$2.00; W. H. Schock, Plateau, Utah, \$1.00; John Kerrigan, Dallas, Tex., per Chas. H. Kerr & Co., \$10.00; Branch 8, Local Essex County, N. J., \$2.00. Total, \$115.75. Previously reported, \$227.56. Grand total, \$343.31.

Comrade John Kerrigan, Dallas, Tex., was the first to purchase one of the 25 shares in the Chas. H. Kerr Cooperative Publishing Company, donated by William English Walling for the Special Organizing Fund.

Comrade W. P. Metcalf of Albuquerque, N. M., is making an effort to collect ten cents from every Socialist and sympathizer in his city.

Local San Antonio, Tex., has decided to contribute \$2 a month to the Special Organizing Fund.

Secretary Holman, of Minnesota, reports progress in that state. On the 18th, a prominent millionaire lumberman read a paper to the Local, by invitation, in which he thought he had proved that Socialism was an irredeemable dream, etc. But the comrades had arranged for Comrade Thompson to be present, and his answer to the capitalist "carried the crowd by storm." Secretary Holman writes: "Our state wagon leaves in a few days for a two months' trip. It will be in charge of Comrades Guy E. Etherton and Geo. I. Martin of Kansas City."

A correction is due the Indiana comrades concerning the notice in National Headquarters Bulletin, of the number of delegates at their recent state convention. By an error of the stenographer the bulletin had only 23 delegates while it should have given the number as 73.

National Organizer John M. Ray has started on his second organizing trip in the South. His route will be as follows: Tennessee, Tullahoma, Manchester, Chattanooga, Sweetwater, Knoxville, Georgia, Blue Ridge, Orange, Atlanta, Midland, Columbus, Morgan, Augusta and Washington. He will return to Nashville in such manner as to reach other towns and perhaps visit some the second time. While in Tullahoma on the 18th, Comrade Ray succeeded in organizing a local.

National Organizer M. W. Wilkins has finished another excellent week in Oregon. Locals were organized at the following places: Astoria, Stayton, Detroit, Seilo, Lebanon (could get no hall, but took five men to his room, organized a local and drilled them in the workings of the party.) Comrade Wilkins has adopted a plan that is bearing good results and deserves the attention of agitators everywhere. On his trips, he gets the names of non-attached Socialists and forwards them to this office so that organizing letters can be written to them. In organized states these comrades are urged to work with the state organization in forming locals, and in unorganized states an effort is made to assist in forming a local to become a part of the national movement.

The Socialists of Aspen, Colorado, have purchased a business block on Main street in their city for the permanent headquarters for all of their local activities. The first floor will be "Socialist Hall," an audience room for the public meetings of the party. The second story will comprise a reading room and "Labor Hall," a lodge room to accommodate the labor unions. The entire building will be called the "Socialist Temple." The title to the property is vested in Aspen Local of the Socialist Party of Colorado.

The National Office is already receiving requests for Fourth of July and Labor Day Socialist speakers.

**HOW TO TREAT A REFERENDUM.**  
(To aid in understanding the following letter, we reprint one of the referendums referred to and the action of the Local Quorum after the Referendum was passed:

**Referendum Passed.**  
Whereas, Local Spokane has refused to accept the resignation of Judge Richardson and M. M. Haines, and  
Whereas, They still retain the offices to which they were elected by a capitalist party; be it  
Resolved, That their charter be revoked and an organizer sent to organize a Local of such members as believe in the uncompromising and independent political action of the Socialist Party.  
Action of the Quorum on Above.  
It was voted that the charter of Local Spokane be revoked.  
It was then voted to call for new applications for membership from Spokane, the call to be open until June 15th. The applications received by that date will be submitted to the committee for acceptance. Those accepted will then be authorized to form a new local in that city.)

Seattle, May 26, 1933.

To the Editor of The Socialist,  
Dear Comrade:

When the Local Quorum voted to have the State Committee act as organizer in forming the new locals in Spokane and Northport, the members of the Quorum did not believe that they were acting in any wise against the instructions of the members of the party who voted upon the referendums in question. All three of the members of the Quorum expressly favored the plan adopted, and at least a majority of them were opposed to sending an organizer to Spokane and Northport with the power of life and death over applicants for membership in the locals to be formed. In the first place, the members were anxious to avoid the unnecessary expense. To send an organizer to these two places, and to pay his expenses while organizing there, would cost \$40 or more. Secondly, the majority of the Quorum were opposed to giving any organizer the right to refuse to admit any member who would not sign the constitutional pledge in the usual manner, unless of course, there were good reasons to prove that the applicant was acting in bad faith or was known to be unfit for membership. The Quorum was firmly convinced that if it were necessary to accept or reject applicants upon the mere discretion of the organizer, it would be better to place this extreme power in the majority of the state committee, as the direct representatives of the whole membership, rather than in the hands of ON EMAN as the representative, either of himself only, or of a majority of the Local Quorum, or of a majority of the state committee. We feel that the members of the party would uphold us in our effort to have majority rule rather than one-man power.

Now as to the question of whether or not the referendum was a mandate from the members to the state committee to send an organizer in person to these two towns, it may be stated, first of all, that not a single member of the Quorum raised this question; not one of us expressed any conviction that this vote was to be taken as mandatory in the matter of sending or not sending an organizer to Spokane and Northport. The real gist of the referendums, the real question, the only positive proposition, was: Shall the local be expelled? It was absolutely impossible in the form in which the referendums were worded for a member to vote directly and mandatorily on any other proposition but that one. A member was unable to say "Yes, to expel, and No, with respect to sending an organizer." All he could do was to vote Ay on the main proposition, expulsion or non-expulsion; the remainder of the question was simply subsidiary or advisory; it could properly be considered as a suggestion to the committee, without taking from the committee its discretion to act as it saw best, in the interest of the members of the party.

If there were two main questions in this single referendum on Local Spokane initiated by Local Lyman, then the proposition should have been divided into two parts, so that the members could vote their conviction on each one. The merest tyro in parliamentary procedure knows that a question involving two main propositions, two mandatory instructions to a committee, should be divided before it is voted upon. Look at the Chicago headquarters referendums; see how they were divided in such a way as to permit a vote upon every separate proposition. Look at the pending referendum for a state convention in this state; note that it involves three separate propositions, and is consequently divided into three parts. I take pains to delay upon this matter because I believe it demonstrates that when the issue is initiated by Local Spokane, we have a lot to learn about the practical application of the referendum, he speaks the obvious truth, and no better thing can be impressed upon the members at this time than this important injunction: namely, if you wish to command with reference to any action, make your mandate clear, single, separate, and distinct; don't tack it on as a rider or a bill to some other mandate which is apparently the real issue; don't say that your tall was meant to be your kite, or that your rider was meant to be the real issue; especially, don't wait until after a vote is taken on a complex proposition and then say that you meant both portions of the proposition to be the main one. If both portions of a proposition composed of two separable questions, are equally important, let's vote on each one separately. Let's get the issue clear, clean-cut, and decisive.

I know the members of the Local Quorum very thoroughly. I think, and I feel perfectly sure that each one of them is always anxious to carry out the mandates of the party and to abide by the decision of the majority in every case. For myself I can say that I have never once failed to acquiesce in any decision of any body to which I have ever belonged, once that decision has been decisively rendered; and if I were not willing to take part in carrying out every express mandate of the party made to me as an official of the party, I should at once resign my office. I believe absolutely in majority rule; if I did not, I should not be a Socialist.

While I am writing upon this subject of the referendum, let me call the comrades' attention to another point of importance in the detail of certifying the vote of your Local or Branch. 1. Don't forget to state how many votes your local has cast. 2. Sign your name as chairman or secretary, if you are either, to your certificate. 3. Send the certificate in a sealed envelope enclosed in another envelope. In the outer envelope put your letter forwarding the sealed certificate. The outer envelope will be opened by the State Secretary; the inner envelope will be opened in the presence of the Local Quorum or the canvassing board. Certificates canvassed by one person

are not, properly speaking, official or legal. Remember that if our referendums are our most formal actions, they ought to be formal, at least in the three essentials here mentioned. I have put these suggestions in a positive, direct, imperative form, simply to attempt to dictate; in my line of work, the other fellow has always done the dictation, and I have to take it—if he doesn't go too fast for me.

In conclusion, if the state committee is of opinion that by the referendums initiated by Local Lyman this committee has been clearly commanded to "send" a "single" organizer to Spokane and Northport, I am perfectly willing to vote to send one. Would a man already on the ground in either of these two places be eligible? Or should he be sent?  
Your comrade in the class-struggle,  
WM. McDEVITT.

**Comment.**  
Comrade McDevitt's plea makes three points.  
First, a referendum passed by the party, if it contains two mandates, is binding for only one, unless the two are presented separately. What the party really voted for, he says, was to revoke the charter. That part which says "Send an organizer to organize" can be changed by the Quorum, because it was not submitted as a separate proposition.  
But what then about that part which says the reorganized Local shall consist of "such members as believe in the uncompromising and independent political action of the Socialist Party?" Can that also be ignored by the Quorum, because it was not submitted as a separate proposition? Can those members who notoriously do not believe in "uncompromising and independent political action by the Socialist Party" be admitted into the new organization? In a word, can the old membership under the old leadership at once become members of the party again by signing the application blank? If so, then this whole charter revocation becomes a farce and we might as well have taken no referendum at all. The party in this state has clearly expressed its will first in the state convention ten months ago, and again by a referendum vote, not taken in haste, but slowly and after many months of deliberation and discussion.  
Now if the party will, thus expressed, can be changed and nullified by a Quorum of Three on the mere technicality that the propositions voted on were not presented separately, then Referendums are useless and there is no power higher than a Committee.  
Second, Comrade McDevitt says: The Quorum objected to giving a single organizer power to accept or reject "any member who would sign the constitutional pledge in the usual manner." That is, the Quorum objected to what the party voted. The party ordered that "an organizer be sent." Comrade McDevitt queries whether that means "a single" organizer, or whether it means three organizers. He also wonders whether "sent" means, sent from Seattle, or sent from Spokane, or sent from some other place. Such hair-splitting we cannot follow. It seems plain as a plank that to us that "send an organizer to reorganize Local Spokane out of uncompromising Socialists" means just what it says, and no Quorum or Committee or anybody else has any right to alter its plain intent. Of course, an organizer should be selected who will not admit any one who does not believe in the uncompromising action voted for.  
There will not be the slightest trouble if such an organizer is chosen, as he will be sure to er, if at all, on the side of the party will.  
Third, The matter of expense is of no account. The one matter of expense account is that the party will be obeyed. Forty dollars is hardly a matter to be placed against the sanctity of a Referendum mandate. Democracy is worth more than \$40.

The Socialists of Seattle mourn the sudden death of Chas. Hanbury, one of four brothers, whose proud mother said last fall: "I shall cast four Socialist votes at this election." He was one of our best singers and he seems still one of us.

**NOTICE—OLYMPIA, WASH.**  
Announce the following speakers for our headquarters here: Thos. G. Wiswell on June 2, 8 p. m. Subject: "The Gospel of Socialism." Mrs. Irene Smith, Sunday, June 7, 2:30 p. m. Subject: "Socialism as Woman's Emancipator." Wm. McDevitt, June 21, 2:30 p. m. Subject: "The Demonization of Democracy."  
E. E. Martin, Socialist.

**CALL FOR REVISION.**  
Editor Socialist.  
I notice that some of our comrades seem to anticipate a large and enthusiastic State Convention of the Socialist Party. I fear we shall have a very small attendance. The grounds for my fears are found in section 1 article 7 of our State Constitution. If this provision of the State Constitution is complied with there will probably be few, if any more than 25 delegates in the State Convention. I have always opposed this provision of the Constitution and it seems to me that it is now high time for all who desire a large and enthusiastic State Convention to join in an endeavor to substitute for section 1 of article 7 a provision by which all members in good standing will be allowed a voice in our State Convention.  
Unless something of this kind is done there will be little enthusiasm and few in attendance.  
D. BURGESS.

**"ALMOST 75 YEARS."**  
Grand Mounce, Wash.,  
May 21, 1933.  
Editor Socialist.  
Dear Comrade:—Please find enclosed postoffice order for \$3.50; \$2 for the two lots I have sent in before.  
Please excuse delay. Hope this will make all right. I think I will be able to get more after a while. I remain your friend,  
G. W. FRENCH.  
(Almost 75 years.)

**DEATH OF MACARTNEY**  
Haverhill, Mass., May 26th.—"The Socialist," Seattle.—Representative Frederic O. Macartney, Socialist member of Massachusetts legislature, died last night at Rockland, of pneumonia, after an illness of eleven days. The general cause of his death was overwork. His activity in the legislature and speaking and working for the Socialist party having hastened a breakdown.  
Macartney was serving his fourth term as Socialist representative, having been first elected in 1899, and increasing his majority each year, since his powers both as a legislative leader and as a lecturer for Socialism had steadily developed until he became recognized by the capitalist forces and politicians as a most formidable figure in Massachusetts politics. His popularity with the Socialist comrades increased with time and no man in Massachusetts was more deeply beloved and highly respected by his co-workers than he.  
Macartney was 39 years of age and four years ago gave up his church in Rockland to give his whole time to Socialism. He remained a Unitarian minister to the last and the last public act he performed was the marriage ceremony for National Secretary Mally at Haverhill on May 15. His death leaves a place vacant in the Socialist Party of Massachusetts almost impossible to fill. His sincerity, his love of justice, his devotion to the cause of Socialism, his faith in the working class government and in the future of the Socialist Party grew stronger with the years. He gave his life to the cause and those who love the cause he died for should remember his devotion and revere his memory forever.  
WM. MALLY.

**ALL FOR THE CAUSE.**  
Hear a word, a word in season, for the day is drawing nigh,  
When the Cause shall call upon us, some to live and some to die!  
He that dies shall not die lonely, many an one hath gone before,  
He that lives shall bear no burden heavier than the life they bore.  
Nothing ancient is their story, e'en but yesterday they died,  
Youngest they of earth's beloved, last of all the valiant dead.  
In the grave where tyrants thrust them, lies their labor and their pain,  
But undying from their sorrow, springeth up the hope again.  
Mourn not, therefore, nor lament it, that the world outlives their life;  
Voice and wisdom yet they give us, making strong our hands for strife.  
Some had name and fame and honor, learned they were and wise and strong;  
Some were nameless, poor, unlettered, weak in all but grief and wrong.  
Named and nameless all live in us; one and all they lead us yet,  
Every pain to count for nothing, every sorrow to forget;  
Harken how they cry, "O happy, happy ye that ye were born  
"In the sad slow night's departing, in the rising of the morn.  
"Fair the crown the Cause hath for you, well to die or well to live  
"Through the battle, through the tangle, peace to gain or peace to give."  
Ah, it may be! Oft meseemeth, in the days that yet shall be,  
When no slave of gold abideth 'twixt the breadth of sea to sea,  
Oft, when men and maids are merry, ere the sunlight leaves the earth,  
And they bless the day beloved all too short for all their mirth,  
Some shall pause awhile and ponder on the bitter days of old,  
E'er the toll and strife of battle overthrew the curse of gold.  
Then 'twixt lips loved and lover solemn thoughts of us shall rise;  
We who once were fools and dreamers, then shall be the brave and wise.  
There amidst the world new-budded shall our earthly deeds abide,  
Though our names be all forgotten, and the tale of how we died.  
Life or death then, who shall heed it, what we gain or what we lose?  
Fair flies life amid the struggle, and the Cause for each shall choose.  
—William Morris.

We are told that the Empire Laundry of Seattle "fired" a driver recently for soliciting work by showing his Union card. This gives us occasion to call the attention of our subscribers to the fact that we no longer carry the advertisement of this laundry.

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Cris Foley of Rosland, B. C., says: "The interests of the Laborer and Capitalist are identical up to a certain point and after that point is reached their interests are diametrically opposite. He reasons thus: 'The Laborers want work. The Capitalist wants Laborer. Hence their identical interests. When the Laborer has obtained employment and the Capitalist has engaged his employes, that moment their interests clash.'"

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Famous Range at \$30.00. The Famous is a satisfactory range in every way. It is fully nickel trimmed with six eight inch holes. The size of the oven is 16 inches wide, 21 inches deep and 13 inches high. We only have a few of these ranges in stock, and will sell them while they last at the greatly reduced price of \$30.00. Your old stove at value as first payment and \$5.00 a month, or \$5.00 cash and \$5.00 a month.  
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5. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Ernest Untermann.  
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