Every Socialist in America Should Read Farmer Debate on Page Two-Began May 3.

Join the Union of your Craft

ne Socialist

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

A CARTOON WEEKLY

TO ORGANIZE THE SLAVES OF CAPITAL TO VOTE THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION

Join the Party of your Class

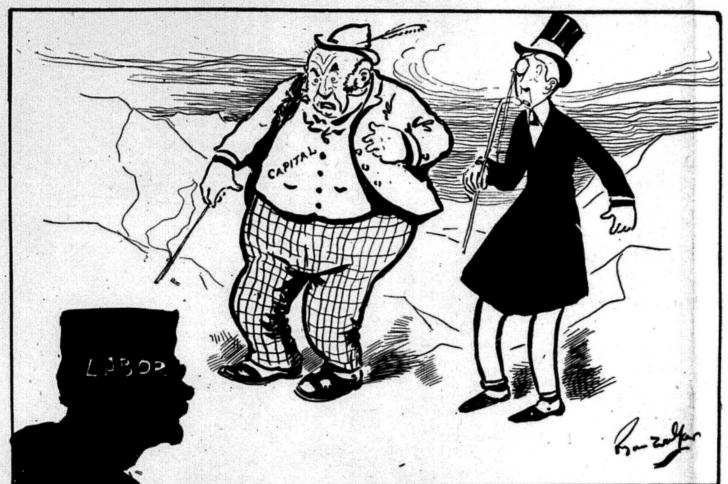
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No. 149

REAL FAIRY STORIES NO. 6

Capital is proverbially timid, so every one will tell you, my beloved son in whom I am well pleased-





but if you notice, this little wand will fill up any old landscape with soldiers, deputies, police and scabe in short order, who will obey my every command and become human machines

REVOLUTIONARY.

Editor Socialist.

ful and violent. Whether our present social revolution will be peaceful or

violent remains to be seen. We all wish it to be peaceful. It seems to me that two things are absolutely essential to a peaceful rev-

1. Socialists themselves must be able to steer the ship clear of rocks, 2. They must be able to teach the way to the great body of workers.

A failure to properly estimate the size of our undertaking might be There is a great difference in the methods of procedure in the two lutions go forward under old forms until they reach a condition in which those forms slough off, or else are

Violent revolutions pay little attention to old forms. Those forms are trodden down in the fierce strife, and no one cares what becomes of

means or the other, the working class must overturn capitalism.

first step is to elect ourselves, and thus take the powers of the government into our own hands.

But right here it seems to me that

many ordinarily clear-sighted Social-ists fail to properly "size up our job."

should elect a President and House of Representatives. Suppose we carry twenty-five states and the capitalists carry twenty. Suppose we secure fifty majority in the House. Have we now taken possession of the government? By no means, only one third of the Senate will retire, that is to say, of ninety Senators, but thirty will re-tire at that Congress. Now, as the Socialists carried five ninths of the states, we may assume that five-ninths of thirty Senators would fall to our share-call it six-ninths, or two-thirds. and we secure but twenty senators. The capitalists will have seventy. Can we legislate? Hardly. But suppose we should again carry the same states in 1906. What would be our condition? We shoud have but forty

senators to the capitalists' fifty. In 1908 we carry the same states, talists' forty. Surely now we are all

No, not surely. We have the Leg-islature and executive, but the su-

Why do we call ourselves revolution ists, if we have not brain and back bone to "revolute?"

Let us use our brains. The Conber of judges entirely in the hands of

The Supreme Court of the United States now consists of nine judges. It ought not to take a Socialist Conate more than an hour to appoint ten at home wage-workers to the additional judgeships. It ought not to take this pro-letarian supreme court more than half an hour to hold that the preamble to the Constitution is valid as a part of OF WAGE-WORKERS. And the acthe Constitution; that, therefore, Con- tive force in bringing about the new gress has power to "promote the general welfare;" that all legislation in the interest of the "general welfare" is constitutional. Then in about an hour Congress ought to take the nec essary measures for securing the means of production and distribution for the people. D. BOND. Science Hill, Kentucky.

Bryan, in a long article against Cleveland's candidacy, says:

"The Democratic party must now choose between the people and the representatives of organized greed. Mr. Bryan imagines the Democratic stands for "The People." He does not know the sceptre has departed from the middle class, which he represents. The working class is now "The People," and the Socialist Party is its representative. Cleveland stands for Big Plutocracy, Bryan for Little Plutocracy, the Socialists for Preacher against Bricklayer. No Plutocracy.

The firm of McDonald & Todd advertised for a man, a few days since forty-five men hove in sight during the first day. This may be accepted as evidence of the truth of the oft-

Revolutions are of two kinds: Peace-

MILLS REPLIES AT LAST.
"It has been carelessly stated that I ignore 'the class struggle as the central feature of the So-

cialist program.' If the class struggle is the central feature of the Socialist program then the central feature of the Socialist pro-gram has been in operation for at least ten thousand years, for the class struggle has been go-ing one for that length of time. "The fact is that Socialism is

the working program of the workingman's side of the class strug-gle and that no other program can possibly be devised by which the workers may win the victory and end the war."

In one form or the other, by one means or the other, the working class must overturn capitalism.

I believe we are all agreed that the last step in the class is struggle as the central form.

To give all one more chance to control training the class struggle in Politics," in an article a coligie with the official declarations of the class struggle in Politics, in an article a coligie with the official declarations of the class struggle in Politics, in an article a coligie with the official declarations of the class struggle as the central form.

speech at Denver before the assem-bled delegates of the American Labor Union and Western Federation of Miners, the above is all he can say. He does not come out flat-footed and place himself squarely on the Socialist Platform, as he might most easily have done.
Instead, he has the unworthy

dodge recorded above.
Of course he knows Socialists mean

the present class struggle between workingmen and capitalists, not a Ten Thousand years old class struggle between savages and their captives.

Such a trifling reply as this is not

even "smart."
Of course everybody can see that After many months, this is all Prof. this is only a cheap way of refusing Mills has to say to the charge that "he his adherence to the Socialist platignores the class struggle as the cenform.

THE SOCIALIST PLATFORM

and House of Representatives.

2. Executive—'ested in President.
3. Judicial—Vested in cour's, litical party, with the object of conguering the powers of government of eventure of the overthrow of the capitalist system, and by THE PROPERTIED CLASSES.

While we declare that the development of the overthrow of the capitalist system, and by THE PROPERTIED CLASSES. and using them for the purpose of we recognize that the time and man-transforming the present system of ner of the transition to Socialism also private ownership of the means of depend upon the stage of development

ed by the CAPITALIST and not by the WORKERS. This ownership enables the CAPITALISTS to control the product and keep the WORKERS means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities as

Private ownership of the means of sible for the ever-increasing uncer-tainty of livelihood and the poverty The struggle is now between THE the consumers.

CAPITALIST CLASS and THE WORKING CLASS. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the wages in order to decrease the share increase of the means of livelihood gives to the wages in order to decrease the share increase. the chosen attorneys of capitalism. CAPITALISTS the control of the govor wages in order to decrease the decre tellectual, physical and social inferior. WORKING PEOPLE in case of acciity, political subservience and virtual

The stitution leaves the matter of estab-lishing courts, and specifying the num-entire social system; the lives of the under the control of the WORKING WORKING CLASS are recklessly sac- CLASS. rificed for profit, wars any fomented 4. The inauguration of a system of between nations, indiscriminate public industries, public credit to be slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned THE WORKERS be secured the full gress more than ten minutes to raise in order that the CAPITALISTS may the number to nineteen. It ought not extend their commercial dominion to take a Socialist President and Sen- abroad and enhance their supremacy

But the same economic causes which clothing and food. Socialism, which will abolish both the for men and women. CAPITALIST CLASS and the CLASS 7. The initiative is and higher order of society in the WORKING CLASS. All other classes despite their apparent or actual con- as steps in the overthrow of capitalflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private own-ership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Repub-lican, the bourgeois public ownership L.1 attempt of the CAPITALIST parties, and all other parties which do CLASS to secure governmental connot stand for the complete overthrow trol of public utilities for the purpose of the capitalist system of production, of obtaining greater security in the are alike POLITICAL REPRESENT- exploitation of other industries and ATIVES OF THE CAPITALIST not for the amelioration of the condi-

many ordinarily clear-sighted Socialists fail to properly "size up our job."

The most cunningly devised instrument is the Constitution of the United States.

We propose to take to ourselves the powers of the government. What are those powers? How are they vested?

1. Legislative—Vested in Senate and House of Representatives.

2. Executive—Vested in President.

3. Judicial—Vested in Cour's,

3. Judicial—Vested in Cour's,

3. Judicial—Vested in Cour's,

4. Adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., July 31, 1#01.)

The Morkers CAN MOST EF
THE WORKERS CAN MOST EF
THE WORKER

production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people. therefore, consider it of the utmost Formerly the tools of production importance for the Socialist Party to were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an improved and more dition and to elect Socialists to podeveloped tool of production, is ownattainment of this enc As such means we advocate: 1. The collective ownership of all

well as of all industries controlled by production and distribution is respon- monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries tainty of livelihood and the poverty to be applied to the reduction of taxes and misery of the WORKING CLASS, and it divides society into TWO HOSTILE CLASSES—THE CAPITALISTS the increase of wages and shortening elect the President and House, and now have fifty senators to the capiappearing in the mill of competition. service and diminishing the rates to

dents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for ecomomic interests of the this purpose to be furnished by the government and to be administered

> used for that purpose in order that product of their labor. 5. The education of all children up

to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books,

6. Equal civil and political rights

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by the constituents.

But in advocating these measures ism and the establishment of the Cooperative Commonwealth, we warn the WORKING CLASS against the soattempt of the CAPITALIST tions of the WORKING CLASS.

party, as represented by himself, DEBATE IN GRAND OPERA HOUSE

SEATTLE, SUNDAY AFTERNOON, JUNE 14th

Champion of Manufacturers against Champion of Unions

National Economic League against Socialist Party.

repeated assertion that everybody now Rev. W. M. Kellogg, D. D. Ph. D., against Alonzo G. Seibert.

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, Germaty. Published in "The Socialist," Beginning May 3, 1903.

THE RURAL PROLETARIAT BY ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Synopsis of Argument.

Introduction.

I. Comrade Kautsky's Position.

I. Where I stand.

A. The Economic Development of the American Rural Proletariat B. The Political History of the American Rural Proletariat.

III-WHERE I STAND

CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION IN PRODUCTION.

Mortgage and tenantry can only develop on the basis of a system, in which a ruling class exploits a lower class. Therefore we see these two phenomena in all stages of social evolution from ancient times to the preent. They were essential means of exploitation during the pre-capitalist stage. But with the advent of capitalist production, the exploitation in production gradually outstripped the exploitation through tenantry and mortgages, until today tenantry and mortgage are only a drop in the bucket as compared to the direct exploitation in the production of commodities. Nevertheless, the significance of tenantry and mortgage must not be underestimated. While they are not the most essential means of capitalist exploitation, they certainly serve to intensify this exploitation and to chain the farmer to his place of work more securely than the propertyless wage

Production; in the sense in which I use it here, includes the complete process from the raising of the commodity to its distribution into the hands of the consumer. For from the standpoint of the latter a commodity is not produced, until he has it to consume, and from the standpoint of the capitalist a commodity has not fulfilled its full mission of exploitation, until

Now it must be remembered that both farmers and wage workers are producers as well as consumers. What one produces the other consumes, and vice versa. The capitalists catch them a-comin' and a-goin'. This must be kept in mind in reading the following statements.

It is generally supposed, that the farmer is a great deal better off than the wage worker. I propose to show, that the farmer gets only the average wage of the city wage worker. And if I can prove this, then the argument that the small farmer is not a proletarian falls to the ground. For if the farm is only a means of holding the farmer while the capitalist goes through his pockets, and if the farmer gets only board, clothing, and shelter for his work, the same as the city wage worker, then he is to all intents and purposes a proletarian. His only instrument of production, which distinguishes him from the wage worker, the land, is then indeed nothing but the means by which his labor power is exploited, and the possession of which does not prevent, but rather intensifies his proletarianization. He is, then, a proletarian in the full definition of the Communist Manifesto, and the term small farmer implies at the same time the term proletarian. That this is the actual state of affairs in the United States, the following statements will clearly show.

According to the abstract of the twelfth United States census, page 223, there were in 1900, in the total number of 5,737,372 farms, 3,375,862 farms that produced commodities worth less than \$500 in 1899, and 1,378,539 farms with a product worth less than \$1,000. In other words, only985,971 farms in the total number derived an income of over \$1,000 from their products. And among the total number producing less than \$1,000 worth, there were 498,886 with a product ranging between nothing and \$100.

If we inquire into the tenure of the farms producing less than \$500 and \$1,000 worth of commodities, we find that out of a total number of 3,148,-48 owners (1,094,646 of whom lived on mortgaged farms), there were in 1900 as many as 1,811,397 on farms producing less than \$500 worth, and 804,425 on farms with less than \$1,000 worth of products. Only 532,826 owners lived on farms producing more than \$1,000 worth.

In 1900, there were 751,665 cash tenants, 489,530 of whom lived on farms with a product of less than \$500, and 216,803 with less than \$1,000 worth of products. Only 45,332 cash tenants earned more than \$1,000 on

There were furthermore 1,273,299 share tenants, of whom 837,314 produced less than \$500 worth, and 264,253 less than \$1,000 worth. Only 171,-732 of them produced more than \$1,000 worth.

The rest of the farms were in the hands of part owners, owners and

These figures tell a story more eloquent than long prosperity speeches. They say in plain, language, that the bulk of the American farmers, after paying for food, clothing, seeds, fertilizer, tools, taxes, and repairs, have as little left as the average city wage worker, or even less. And the capitalists know this so well, that they inform the great advertisers in dry words that over a million farmers never handle more than \$100 a year, while more than two million handle only \$200 per year. The value of the farm products quoted above does not include the feed of demestic animals. Nevertheless, the problem confronting the majority of the American farmers is, how to feed and clothe a family, pay rent or mortgage, and keep out of debt on \$500 a year and less. That is the actual condition of the class whom the capitalist papers praise before election as the most prosperous and independent part of the nation. The sad joke is, that many of them believe the capitalists are right. But in that they are no worse than the

wage workers who hurrah for the old parties.

If we were looking for any analogy with the present agricultural situation in large parts of the United States, especially in the South, we should have to go back to the England of the 14th and 15th century, before the expropriation of the peasantry by the nobility. In 1547, any one refusing to work was condemned as a slave to the person who denounced him as an idler. That is precisely what they are doing in Virginia in the Year of the Lord 1903. In 1572, any one convicted of vagrancy was executed. Today, in the land of the free, they send them up for ninety days to work at hard labor, or they sell them for \$10 a head to the turpentine firms, who thus acquire the privilege to work these "tramps" for ninety days.

Karl Marx, in "Capital," page 758, speaking of the rural proletariat. "The proletariat created by the breaking up of the bands of the feudal retainers and by forcible expropriation of the people from the soil, this 'free' proletariat could not possibly be absorbed by the nascent manufactures as fast as it was thrown upon the world." Today, the concentration of industries is throwing even industrial proletarians out of employ ment, and rural proletarians have therefore less prospects than ever of finding more lucrative employment than farming. It is safe to say that the

total number of people unemployed every day in the year is twice as great as all the members of the trade unions of this country. The farmer must, therefore, stick to his farm and rough it. Speaking of the agricultural laborer in England, in 1863, Marx says: "A morsel of salt meat or bacon · · salted and dried to the texture of mahogany, and hardly worth the difficult process of assimilation . . . is used to flavor a large quantity of broth or gruel, of meal and leek, and day after day this is the laborer's dinner." Under the glorious prosperity of the twentieth century, the bulk of the independent cracker element of the South lives no better than the farm laborer of England lived in 1863. Substituting for the above named diet razorback bacon, corn bread, grits, and black "coffee" (a nondescript fluid which requires considerable trust in human nature), we have the staple food of the Southern farmers of the United States. And their homes? Marx describes them well, when he refers to those of the English farm laborers: "The agricultural laborers' huts are a disgrace to Christianity and to the civilization of this country." Add to this picture crops pledged in advance for groceries, children hired out in the fields of the capitalist farmers or in factories, and look at the long list of farms sold every year by the sheriff, and you get an approximate idea of the condition of the majority of

Thanks to direct exploitation by the great transportation trusts, machine trusts, grocery trusts, packing trusts, staple crop trusts, etc., the small farmer is today a proletarian pure and simple, a man who has nothing but his labor power by which to exist. His land? It gives him no more superior position than the trewel does to the bricklayer or the pick to the

This picture is sombre enough as it is. But it does not yet tell the whole story of the farmer's exploitation. To bring out the full significance of the conditions I have described, we must further remember that industrialization of special functions has limited the farmer's independence still more and restricted his income accordingly. There is furthermore the effect of machinery. But I am not writing a complete work on the farmers' question, and Comrade A. M. Simons has covered these points so well in his "American Farmer" that I could not improve on his work. Add finally exhaustion of the soil by injudicious methods, intensification of the unemployed problem, an approaching commercial crisis, and the exhaustion and physical deterioration of the farmer himself by overwork and worry, and you will agree with me that the future holds only one prospect in store for the Small Farmer of this country: Progressive proletarianization.

Reply by Editor of "The Socialist"

deal of adroitness. His policy is to ively. . ignore the points of difference beween us and to emphasize the points of agreement.

I agree without about all that he says, especially with his statistics. On the whole he is quite accurate in his use of published figures. He makes an occasional slip, as it seems to me For instance, when he says above that "the total number of people unemployed every day in the year is twice as great as all the members of the Trade Unions of this country," he could scarcely have refrected that this means Five Millions of people are unemployed every day in America. This may be true, but it will be very difficult to prove it.

Again, it seems to me, his conclusions concerning mortgaged farms derived from the published figures concerning mortgaged homes, whether farms or not, are not definitely justified by the figures, though the conclusions are probably correct.

But these are trivial matters of disagreement and I do not press them. In the main both disputants in this debate are agreed on this main proposition, namely: That the economic conditions of the American Small Farmer are bad and growing worse.

He is a producer, creating value by his own work. We are agreed on that. He is deprived or the greater portion of the value he creates; we are

He is deprived of this value by one or all of five methods: (1) by the rent he has to pay; (2) by the mortgage interest he has to pay; (3) by high prices he has to pay for monopoly products; (4) by high rates he has to pay for transportation of his products to market; (5) by the low prices he is compelled to accept for his products from the owners of the great machines which complete his prod ucts. We are agreed on all these points also

The small farmer belongs in the Socialist Party. On this, too, we are

THE REAL ISSUE.

What, then, is the real kernel of this Debate? Why, when the disputants agreed in so many things, is there any dispute at all?

Comrade Untermann, consciously or inconsciously, persistently obscures the real issue which is: Shall the So cialist Party be primarily a Wageworkers' Party, or primarily a Farm-

He says, the Small Farmers are the trustiest guardians of Socialist interests. I say, the Wage Workers are the trustlest guardians of Socialist interests. That is the only issue beween us. All these statistics to es tablish positions which I hold just as positively as he, have no bearing on the question at issue between us. These statistics are very valuable in themselves and we are all indebted to Comrade Untermann for the able manner in which he has marshalled them. But they do not prove that the Socialist Party should make its main appeal to the Small Farmers, or put its main reliance on the Small Farmers. IMPORTANCE OF THIS ISSUE.

This issue is of such supreme importance at this moment in the progress of the Socialist Party, that it is a great pity Comrade Untermann has proletarians, if you choose.

Comrade Untermann is conducting | not thought it worth while to meet it is side of this debate with a good and discuss it openly and exhaust-

CLEAR DEFINITION FIRST OF ALL

word "Proletariat" to include the compose the body of our party? Small Farmer. It is not true in any sense whatever, that the Small Farmer "is a proletarian in the full definition of the Communist Manifesto." As pointed out in the first installment of this series (May 3) "the full definition of the Communist Manifesto" is not that stated in general terms by Marx and Engels in 1848, but rather by him in the most detailed and exact one will dispute that proposition. terms in order to interpret, in the light of the full Marxian theory and after forty years' discussion, the meaning intended in the earlier definition. Does Comrade Untermann presume to reject Engels' own explanation and amplification of the definition of 1848, in favor of his own interpretation which makes it include the Small

Because a man is poor, is he there fore a proletarian? Then thousands of small business men, who are hanging on by their toe-nails, are prole tarians, too.

Untermann says: show, that the farmer gets only the average wage of the city wage work. er (here he uses the word "wage" in he same loose way: the farmer is I on "wages" at all) and if I can prove this then the argument that the small deprived of the value created by farmer is not a proletarian, falls to him. the ground."

On the contrary, this will prove nothing of the sort. For what is a GEO. B. HELGESEN Proletarian? Here again is Engels' statement: "By Proletariat is meant the class of modern wage laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live?"

The farmers do not fit this definition. They have "means of production of their own." They have land at least as well as shelter, stock and

You may say, as I said a year ago, that the farmer is quite as bad off as the wage worker. You may prove it, as Untermann has done, from the census reports; but that does not make him a proletarian, any more than a small business man is a proletarian, because he, too, may be getting less than wages.

WHY INSIST ON THE DISTINCTION But one says, "What's the difference, why be so particular about a mere definition?"

This is why. Your definition de- pr ermines your action. If you believe that cholera and small-pox are just the T. D. CORLEW, Manager. same, you will try to cure them with 1100 Kilbourne Avenue. Fremont. just the same remedies. The definition makes a good deal of difference in that case, does it not? If you try to cure cholera with small pox medicines, the sick man will probably die. A man with cholera is just about as sick as a man with small pox. You argue, then, that it doesn't matter whether there is any exact knowledge of the difference between cholera anl small pox. They are both pretty bad things to have. Don't bother about definition of these two sick men. They are both equally sick. They are both

THE CASES ARE SIMILAR.

That is absurd and ridiculous Why? Because you must know what causes cholera in order to treat it. If you have no exact definition of small pox, you cannot treat it intelli-

For just precisely that reason, you must keep your definition of "Proletarian" clear. Marx was the great Physician who discovered the cause Capital, just as Pasteur discovered the cause of Hydrophobia. If we know what the cause is, we can apply the cure. What cures cholera will not touch small pox.

AND WHAT CURES THE POOR FARMER WILL NOT CURE THE POOR WAGE WORKER.

That is the reason this question w are discussing becomes of supreme im-

Everyone will admit at once the ruth of the following proposition: If bought and by monopoly low prices the Small Farmer can be relieved of on goods sold by him. his poverty by a program which will worker in the lurch.

We may, by calling the Wage Worker and the Small Farmer both proletarians, succeed in getting them both together into one party called The Socialist Party, as Comrade Untermann would have us do.

We may go a step further and call all the Small Business Men proleta rians "to all intents and purposes," as many others are disposed to do. Then we shall make a universal appeal. ignoring the class struggle as the central element in our political program" as Mills does. Then we shall have a great party and secure political control in many places, at a very early

But what then? What will our pro-

Will we abolish the wage-system? Comrade Untermann contributes to Or will we adopt ameliorative measconfusion of thought when he at ures which will relieve the small farmtempts to enlarge the scope of the ers and the small business men who will be increased by low wages for

> To answer these questions, we can interest of the body of the party, that will be done.

If we make the small farmers our "trustiest guardians," as Untermann lieve the small farmers, will inevi-

THE VITAL QUESTION.

Now, let us ask, Will the Small robberies of the Farmer?" Farmers be relieved, at least temporarily, by a political program which will not relieve the Wage Working this Debate. Class?

If this can be answered in the affirmative, then Comrade Untermann's contention falls utterly, and is seen to be dangerous in the extreme. For if we put the control of the party in refusing to countenance certain So the hands of the farmers, the farmers cialist speakers who have placed themwill carry out a program which will relieve the farmers, and the wage workers will have to start all over

WHAT WILL RELIEVE THE FARM ERS?

ing the ways in which the farmer is the movement, and putting their serv-

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First, By Land Rent., Second, By Mortgage Interest. Third. By High Prices on what he buys. Fourth. By High Railroad Rates. Fifth. By Low

Prices on what he sells. Notice, by contrast, how simply the wage-worker is deprived of his product, in only one way, namely, by low

Now ask the vital question, Will legislation which abolishes the five robberies of the farmer also abolish the one robbery of the Wage Worker? ridor on Thursday afternoon. The ex-Public Ownership of Farm Land would abolish the Farmer's Rentrobbery and Mortgage robbery. This is practically the Single Taxets' program, i. e. Free Land.

Public Ownership of the Railways would relieve the Farmer from his robbery by high rates of transporta of some reflections on labor troubles tion. The abolition of the trusts would in general and Socialistic subjects in relieve the Farmer from his robbery particular. by monopoly high prices on goods

In two words, the Farmer will get member for Nanaimo city loomed in not relieve the wage-worker, he is relief by Public Ownership of the likely to adopt it and leave the wage- Land and Railways and by Abolition of the Trusts. ing on his next oratorical effort in the House. As he passed the group

This is almost identically the progrom of the liberal Democrats, Tom Johnson, for example.

And this is precisely what is most likely to occur, if the farmers are made our "trustiest guardians," as Untermann proposes.

The farmers are sure to do that which most directly and obviously is to their advantage, if given the lead. The Socialist Party in such an event, will become Socialist only in name er man said: "Now, Mr. Dunsmuir, I Its working-class character will have

WILL NOT RELIEVE THE WAGE. WORKERS

For this whole Farmer program will leave the Wage-Worker still on wages, muir. gram be? What will we do in the way and it will be distinctly to the Farm first Socialist I ever met who did. of legislation, when we thus attain er's advantage to have him on wages. Rafiroad rates will be cheaper on

account of low wages. All public expenses will be lower on account of low wages. The farmer's own profits to take advantage of this opening.

In a word, Farmers would be reset down this principle as fundamen- lieved, but wage-workers would not if I supply you with it?" tal: Whatever is to the early material Then it would become apparent that Farmers were never Proletarians at all, but the real Proletarians would be and with mutual rejoinders to keep Proletarians still.

In order to complete this discussion best of terms. urges, whatever legislation will re- by the Editor of "The Socialist," it will be necessary to consider the coun- gallery sees the member for South Nanaimo ignoring the 21ibes of enethat added by Engels in 1888, stated tably be the legislation adopted. No terpart question. "Will legislation which abolishes the one robbery of the wage-worker also abolish the five

I shall attempt an answer to this province is simply mastering the pri-I shall attempt an answer to this maries of Socialism, and that his tutor question in the following numbers of is J. H. Hawthornthwaite, of Nandimo.

DOWN ON LECTURE BUREAUS.

San Francisco, Cal., May 5, 1903.

Whereas, Local Alameda of the So-

cialist Party has passed resolutions

selves under the control of Capitalistic

Whereas, Said speakers, in many

cases, have managers who boom and

advertize them in a similar manner to

a wild west show, a theatrical com-

hus exploiting and cripping

pany, or circus menagerie; and

Resolved, That Local San Francisco heartily endorses the resolutions of Local Alameda and pledges itself to re-

-From Victoria Times.

STUDYING SOCIALISM.

Representative Capitalist Deep in the

Mysteries of That Science.

Socialism has secured another pupil.

Strangely enough the latest disciple

whom the Socialists are seeking to

convert to their views is a member of

the hated capitalistic class-in fact,

none less than James Dunsmuir him-

The tutelage of Mr. Dunsmuir start-

ed in a most innocent way, so far as

he was concerned. It was in the cor-

premier and two or three other mem-

pers had torn themselves reluctantly

away from the impassioned phillip-

pics of the orators of the House, and

were discussing a wide variety of sub-

jects in the corridor over pipes and

cigars. Mr. Dunsmuir, with the action

of the Comox miners still burning in

his memory, was delivering his mind

"They are simply turning the country upside down," he exclaimed, "and

here comes one of them," he added,

as the athletic figure of the Socialist

Mr. Hawthornthwaite was enjoying

fragrant cigar, meanwhile ruminat-

of which Mr. Dunsmuir was the cen-

ter, he heard that gentleman say: "He

M.r Hawthornthwaite, and turning he inquired. "Were you referring to me,

"Yes, I was," retorted Mr. Duns-

muir, and then the coal baron and the

labor champion fell into argument on

the subject matter of the incident

namely, Socialism. Finally, the young-

will convince you, if you will allow

me, that Socialism is all right in prin-

ciple, and that you are quite wrong

in the attitude you have assumed to

But you must allow me to ex-

"Oh, go ahead," said Mr. Duns-nuir. "If you talk sense, you are the

Evidently Mr. Hawthorthwaite did

talk sense, for after a while the cap-

italist inquired where he could get a

book dealing with the whole subject.

Mr. Hawthornthwaite was not slow

"Look here," he said, "will you un-

dertake to read and give due consid

eration to the arguments advanced for

Socialism in a book on the subject

"Yes, I will," responded the other.

their pledges the two men who had

met so inauspiciously, parted on the

And now, when the visitor in the

mies, and the fawning of friends, deaf

even to the call of the division bell.

behind his volume, he will know that

the representative capitalist of this

"Taken," said Mr. Hawthornthwaite,

Mr. Dunsmuir?

plain.

"That must mean me," reflected

ought to be run out of the House."

fuse to aid, countenance or employ such speakers. B. STRARSMAN.

the employe worked together. They were chums. Today they are seldom seen together, and in fact, the employe seldom sees his employer. Be-Whereas, Said managers charge ex- cause of this condition, two classes Recall the five points made near orbitant prices for their principals have sprung up. One is the mass, the producers, and the second is the few ices beyond the reach of any but the the capitalists.—John C. Chase at Fort larger cities; therefore be it Worth, Tex.

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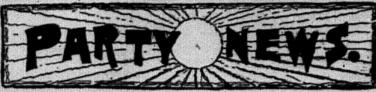
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W. H. BENSON, Prop.



W. E. Clark, Assistant to the National Secretary, acting in the absence of Comrade Mailly, and J. P. Roe, Naparty on the question of headquar-

the National Committee in removing the old Quorum and removing headquarters from St. Louis is approved; and that the National Committeemen for Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, and Kentucky are to constitute the Quorum instead of those for South Dakota, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri as provided by the National Committee at its St. Louis meeting.

The vote on the various propositions is as follows:

RESOLUTION I. First Proposition.

"That the headquarters of the par-ty be removed to Chicago." Yes, 3,481; no, 3,527; majority against removal,

Detailed Vote.

Minn, yes, 41; no. 143 Mo., yes, 100; no. 2.71; Mont., yes, 4; no. 106; Neb., yes 22; no. 82 N. H., yes, 27; no. 76 17; no. 5. Wash. D. C., yes, 11; no. 0. N. J., yes 202; no. 97. N. Y., yes, 514; La., yes, 37; no. 0. Md., yes, 0; no. 145. Ohio, yes, 224; no. 492. Okla., yes, 0; no. 31. Pa., yes, 185; no. 60. 12; no. 0. Vt., yes, 16; no. 10. W. Va., yes, 0; no. 100. Wash., yes, yes, 16; no. 0. Wyo., yes, 20; no. 0. 124; no. 125. Wish. yes, 231; no. 23 124; no. 128. Wis., yes, 331; no. 23.

Unorganized States: Ala., yes, 21; no, 29. Arizona, yes, 0; no, 9. Ark., yas 0; no, 10. Wash. D. C., yes, 0; no, 0. La., yes. 9; no. 19; Md., yes. 13, no. 0. Tenn., yes. 0; no. 7. Va., yes. 5; no. 8. Vt., yes. 19; no. 7. W. Va., yes, 0; No, 0. Wyo., yes, 1; no, 18. Second Proposition.

next national convention be composed of the members of the National Comconsin. Indiana, Iowa, and Kentucky." Yes, 3.747; no. 2,965; majority in fa-

Detailed Vote.

yes, 148; no, 41. Fla., yes, 9; no, 131. Ino, 640. Okla., yes, 17; no. 22. Pa., III., yes, 510; no, 172. Ind., yes, 149; yes, 29; no, 199. S. D., yes, 26; no, 73. no, 72. Ia., yes, 34; no, 92. Kas., yes, 30; no, 248. Ky., yes, 147; no, 0. Me., yes, 30; no, 41. Mass., yes, 531; no, 791. Mich., yes, 52; no, 44. Minn., yes, 53; No, 122. Mo., yes, 112; no, 229. Ino, 27. Ariz., yes, 0; no, 9. Ark., yes, 17; no, 5. Wash. D. C., yes, 1; no, 0. Mont., yes, 4; no, 104. Neb., yes, 20; no, 10. Tenn., yes, 21; No. 0. Va., yes, 0; no, 73. N. H., yes, 26; no, 77. N. J., yes, 245; no, 54. N. Y., yes, 522; no, 129. Ohio, yes, 282; no, 420. Okla., yes, 0; no, 16. Wyo, yes, 0; no, 13. The Nebraska State Committee has protested against the counting of the Wis., yes, 300; no, 5.

Unorganized States: Ala., yes, 18; no, 31. Ariz., yes, 0; no, 9. Ark., yes. 5; no, 6. Wash. D. C., yes, 0; no, 0. Nath La, yes, 2; no, 21. Md., yes, 13; no, Com 0. Tenn., yes, 0; no, 7. Va., yes, 12; test no, 1. Vt., yes, 19; no, 0. W. Va., yes, 0; no, 0. Wyo., yes, 1; no, 18. Third Proposition.

conflict with the above provisions be Yes, 3,569; no, 2,916; majority in favor, 653.

yes, 158; ho. 41. Fla., yes, 9; no, 131. Ill., yes, 496; no, 172. Ind., yes, 139; no. 40. Ia. yes, 25; no. 99. Kas. yes, 2; no. 209. Ky., yes, 147; no. 0. Me., yes, 29; no. 41. Mass, yes, 540; no. 62. Mich., yes, 51; no. 41. Minn., yes, 50; no. 113. Mo., yes. 108; no. 231. Mont., yes. 4; no. 96. Neb., yes. 21; no. 72. N. H., yes. 26; no. 77. N. J., yes. 203: That our position in regard to M. N. Y., yes, 495; no. 145. Ohio, yes, 254; no, 452 Okla., yes, 0; no, rades of the country we herewith give 26. Pa., yes, 190; no, 43. So. Dak., you a brief summary of the Socialist yes, 0; no, 95. Wash., yes, 131; no, movement in Nebraska. Wis., yes. 285; no. 0

Unorganized States: Ala., yes, 0; no, 31. Ariz., yes, 0; no, 9. Ark., yes, 6; no, 17. Wash., D. C., yes, 0; no, 0. Or La, yes, 0; no 17. Md. yes, 0; no, 0. Tenn., yes, 0; no, 7. Va., yes, 0; no, 13. Vt., yes, 19; no, 0. W. Va., yes, 0; no. 0. Wyo., yes, 0; no. 18. RESOLUTION NO. 2.

First Proposition.
"Shall the action of the National Committee in removing the Local Quorum be approved?" Yes, 5,375; no, 1,180; majority in favor, 4,195.

Detailed Vote. Organized States: Cal., yes, 342; no, no, 15. Mass., yes, 499; no, 170. Mich., yes, 91; No. 0. Minn., yes, 169; no, 7. Mo., yes, 333; no, 28. Mont., yes, 105; no. 1. Neb., 83; no. 2. N. H., yes, 27 no, 76. N. J., yes, 165; no, 116. N. Y. yes, 523; no, 97. Ohio, yes 599; no, 87. Okla, yes, 39; no, 0. Pa, yes, 107; no, 120. So. Dak, yes, 100; no, 0. Wash, yes, 163; no, 63. Wis., yes, 187.

Unorganized States: Ala., yes, 42 no, 0. Ariz, yes, 9; no, 0. Ark., yes, 21; no, 1. Wash. D. C., yes, 12; no, 0. La., yes, 38; no, 0. Md., yes, 0; no, 13. Tenn., yes., 7; no, 0. Va., yes, 12; no, 0. Vt., yes, 16; no, 10. W. Va., yes, 16; no, 0. Wyo., yes, 20; no, 0. Second Proposition.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS VOTE yes, 84; no, 510. Ind., yes, 56; no, 129 la., yes, 0; no, 126. Kas., yes, 10; no A New Quorum Chosen by 783 Major no. 71. Mass., yes, 64; no. 468. Mich., yes, 0; no. 91. Minn. yes, 64; no. 468. Mich., yes, 0; no. 91. Minn. yes, 0; no. 91. Minn. yes, 23; no. 135. Mo., yes, 85; no. 294. Mont., yes, 0; no. 103. Neb., yes, 14; no. 70. N. H., yes, 26; no. 77. N. J., yes, 9; no 270. N. Y., yes, 13; no. 608. Ohio, yes, 51; tional Committeeman for Nebraska no, 659. Okla., yes, 0; no, 31. Pa. and member of the Quorum, send out yes, 35; no, 191. So. Dak., yes, 27; no, a statement of the general vote of the 73. Wash., yes, 30; no, 142. Wis., yes, 38; no. 164.

Unorganized States: Ala., yes, 15; The result is that the headquarters no, 26. Ariza, yes 0; no, 9. Ark., yes remain at Omaha; that the action of 1; no, 10. Wash. D. C. yes, 0; no, 0 La., yes, 0; no, 37. Md., yes, 0; no, 13 Tenn., yes, 7; no, 0. Va., yes, 0; no, 12. Vt., yes, 0; no, 26. W. Va., yes, 0; no, 16. Wyo., yes. 0; no. 13.

Third Proposition. "That the action of the National Committee in removing the national headquarters to Omaha, Neb., be ap proved?" Yes, 3,734; no, 2,869; ma jority in favor, 865.

Detailed Vote.

Organized States: Cal., yes, 264; no 145. Colo., yes, 200; no, 26. Conn. yes, 43; no, 149. Fla., yes, 127; no, 23 Ill., yes, 366; no. 246. Ind., yes, 149; no. 50. Ia., yes, 114; no. 13. Kas., yes 250; no. 1. Ky., yes, 0; no. 146. Me., yes, 28; no. 43. Mass., yes, 132; no. 451. Mich., yes, 47; no. 35. Minn., yes, Organized States: Calif, yes, 125; 143; no 21. Mo., yes, 288; no, 79. no, 276. Colo., yes, 35; No. 191. Conn., yes, 147; no, 46. Fla., yes, 10; no, no, 11. N. H., yes, 28; no, 75. N. J., 143. Ill., yes, 458; no, 286. Ind., yes, 28; no, 150. Iowa, yes, 24; no, 102. Kas., yes 3; no, 248; Ky., yes, 147; no, 0. Me., yes, 31; no, 44. Mass, yes, 29; no, 102; no, 125. Mich., yes, 52; no, 55. Minn., yes, 41; no, 143. Mo., yes, 106; no, 92. Wis., yes, 41; no, 210. Unorganized States: Ala., yes, 40; no, 271; Mont. yes, 40; no, 22. Unorganized States: Ala., yes, 40;

Fourth Proposition. "Shall the national headquarters be returned to St. Louis if vote stands against approval of remeral to Oma-ha. Neb.?" Yes, 1.193; no, 5,687; majority against, 4,494.

Detailed Vote.

Organized States: Cal., yes, 541; no. "That the Local Quorum until the 367. Colo., yes, 14; no, 210. Conn., yes, 3; no, 188. Fla., yes, 9; no, 133. Ill., yes, 20; no, 188. Ind., yes, 23; no, 175. of the members of the National Com-mittee from the states of Illinois, Wis-consist Legisland Kentucky." 243. Ky., yes, 0; no, 146. Me., yes, 5; no, 56. Mass., yes, 62; no, 513. Mich, yes, 0; no, 89. Minn., yes, 18; no, 134. Mo., yes, 96; no, 246. Mont., yes, 1; no, Detailed Vote.

103. Neb., yes, 23; no, 70. N. H., yes, 263 no, 273; Colo., yes, 37; no; 184. Conn., N. Y., yes, 59; no, 553. Ohio, yes, 68; yes, 148; no, 41. Fla., yes, 9; no, 131. no, 640. Okla., yes, 17; no, 22. Pa., Ill., yes, 510; no, 172. Ind., yes, 149; yes, 29; no, 199. S. D., yes, 26; no, 73.

yes, 0; no, 26. Pa., yes, 195; no, 47. The Nebraska State Committee has So. Dak., yes, 6; no, 100. Wash., yes, protested against the counting of the Ohlo vote on the ground that the National Referendum was not submitted "without comment" as required by the National Constitution. The National Committee are now voting on this pro-

Walter Thomas Mills, of Kansas, has submitted to the National Committee proposition to reject both results of "That all acts of the National Com-mittee at its last annual session in intelligible" and to do it all over again. The National Committee are also voting on this proposition.

We hope the Committee will let the

That is all right. Everybody ought to dividuality. be satisfied and go on about our great work.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SOCIAL IST PARTY IN NEBRASKA.

That our position in regard to Mills may be better understood by the com-

Omaha, Neb., Aug. 30, 1900.

Ord, Neb "The State convention is now set for the %6th of September. Never fear I will have round trip passes for both of you, and give me a tip if you can get anyone else to come from there or anywhere out there who will take a trip pass without squealing. I have this straight from Boyce, Guye and Deaver, who have established headquarters here. They promise us some 'material' kelp for the conventions. tion as well as all the trip passes we can use, but I tell you they have to 64; Colo., yes, 208; no, 12. Conn., yes, 162; no, 28. Fla., yes, 152; no, 1. Ill., yes, 477; no, 125. Ind, yes, 158; no, 3 In., yes, 126; no, 0. Kas., yes, 253; no, leaver told me by the third because 0. Ky., yes, 102; no, 44. Me., yes, 58; it was so near at hand, but if put off it would come. Said it had to come through too many hands to come in a

rush. But I know where it starts from."

The above is a copy of the original letter in our possession. This letter follows., gives you an inkling of what a Simon-"The pure movement this state had up until we cleaned house last summer.

On the 4th day of July, 1900, the Socialists held a state convention at Cincoln, at which only \$4 person worked like beavers, while even Chiwere in attendance. This was 116 cago comrades have not done a thing

wethers"-Jas. A. Boyce, L. V. Guye; ment. Get a move on yourselves, com- tained and I see no reason whatever retary and treasurer respectively. This move was made to break the backof Bryanism in this state, but fearful that this decoy wouldn't do the work, these three traitors were sent to Omaha to assist in getting the Socialist ticket in the field. Here they found men of their own pattern in Kharas, Edwards, Baird, Alexan der, Chambers, Randolph and Co. (The last four named individuals are the leading lights in Mills so called "So cialist Propaganda Club." Mt Ran-dolph was the presiding officer at the opening Mills' address.) A ticket was put in the field with Theo. Kharas as the candidate for governor. Baird was nominated for congress; Edwards for the legislature. - After the election the rascals fell out. Baird and Edwards, who were both in the pay of the Republican party-the proof of whose guilt is also in our possessionput their heads together, brought charges against Kharas, proving he had received \$119.00 from the Republican party, and expelled him from

the organization. The same crowd also expelled comrade A. W. Ricker from the party in his absence. Geo, E. Baird wrote a letter to the National Secretary Greenbaum apprising him of the Comrade Ricker placed the matter in the hands of Iowa's National Committeeman John M. Work to be brought before the National Committee at their first annual meeting, and netified those gentlemen to bring their proofs, which of course they formed Comrade Ricker that the Oma-ha local exonerated him, which is false. When we preferred charges against Geo. E. Baird last summer we notified both Kharas and Comrade Ricker 'to come before us and clear hemselves. In justice to Comrade Ricker we wish to say that we did not prefer charges against him, but wished to give him an opportunity to clear himself of the accusations previously made by the now expelled members of the party. Comrade Rick-er, owing to sickness in his family, could not come. Kharas attempted to prove his innocence but failed, as the above letter will bear witness.

Here, comrades, you have a brief outline of what the Nebraska Socialist Party was before we cleaned out the rotten element. No soooner have we purified the party of this trading crowd, than who should come to assist them in their devilish work, aye damnable treason to the Socialist party! None other than a member of the National Committee, Comrade W. T. Mills, National Committeeman for the state of Kansas, who in this act branded himself a Judas to the Socialist Party. An official of the National organization constitutionally and morally obligated to work in the interest of the organization, not only repudiates the constitution, but train ples the membership pledge he took under his feet, and assists the paid hirelings of the capitalist class in their efforts to break up the Omaha local organization-for mind you, their boast is that they will do so in three months. Nor is this ait. When he received official notification, who the moving spirits were in this socalled "Socialist Propaganda Club. and was requested to cancel his en gagement, he refused to comply with the request, turning the official communication over to non-members of the party. Was treason ever written in more glaring characters? Men have been shot like dogs for a less

crime than this, Comrades, our movement is become ing a great power in the political arena. We hold in several states the balance of power. Capitalist poli-ticians will give thousands of dollars to gain possession of the party ma-chinery that they may be able to swing it in the interest of their class. Now is the time for action. Once lose control over the officers of the

> B McCAFFERY P. J. HYLAND, J. ALFRED LA BILLE, PARKER S. CONDIT. Nebraska State Local Quorum.

"The Socialist" publishes the above as the official organ of the Socialist Party of Omaha. We wish to add that this corrupt practice of taking money from capitalists in order to further So cialist interests has not been confined

to Nebraska Some "Socialists" have been found to advocate this practice. If there is any reader of "The Socialist" who is pre pared to defend it, we shall be glad to publish his arguments and to refute them. We warn the comrades every where that one of the greatest dan gers to our party organization from

Any such attempt must be met with the most unsparing exposure at the hands of the Socialist press. This paper may be relied upon to do its part.-Ed.

COMRADE CRITCHLOW PROTESTS Dayton O., June 3, 1903. "The Socialist."

116 Virginia St., Seattle, Wash.

Your issue of May 31st just to hand. Have noted the article which reads as

"The result in Ohio of the Headquarters Referendum is in favor of Omaha, 492, to Chicago, 282. Com-The Republican party put the first rade Critchlow, the state secretary. Socialist state ticket in the field. has been indefatigable in his efforts

Second Proposition.

"Shall the old Local Quorum be reinstated if vote stands against approval?" Yes, 617; no, 5,709; majority against, 5,092.

Organized States: Cal. yes, 10; no.

The Perublican next via the field.

Organized States: Cal. yes, 10; no. Detailed Vote.

Organized States: Cal., yes, 10; no. 224. Conn., yes, time had launched the mid-road Popticians than the working class elections and systematic. The Mills thorough and systematic. The Mills men in the Socialist organization are ten to one better organizers and politicians than the working class elections.

This article, small as it is, does me personally a great injustice. It leaves the distinct impression that (1) I western states, have practically iden-worked hard and long for Omaha, tical interests with the wage working (2) that I am or have been, a student of the Mills school, (3) that I am not of the working class and (4) that I am a politician of the smoothest type. Now, in fact, nothing could be far every reason to believe that this porther from the truth than this. I did tion of the population constitutes a very little work for Omaha and cared but little where the postoffice address of the National Secretary is located. and, I felt that the incident was closed cialist strength may be expected from when I returned from St. Louis last them in the near future. This was the February. I am not, nor never have been a student of the Mills school in any manner whatsoever. My friends "Socialism and Farmers," later in my consider me a member of the work-book on the "American Farmer," and ing class, inasmuch as I was taken from the factory walls into this movement and have been a member of my craft organization ever since organized (The Allied Metal Mechanics). and am a machinist by trade. The term politician is decidedly unpleasant and should not be applied to any Socialist in such a manner. I am not and to infringe on the fundamental considered or known as a politician principles of democracy, on the part and hope that I may not be.

I do not believe that you would print such matter without some in-formation which you consider reliable ern wage workers, and with this I inquire from whom you have gained this information?

It seems very injudicio's to me to in this rather round-about manner and neglected to do. Instead Baird in- I-desire to enter my protest against this form of propaganda.. It would papers would be to fight capitalism with all their power and not to direct their guns against those who were themselves fighting the common enemy. Don't you think so too?

Fraternally yours, W. G. CRITCHLOW.

REPLY.

We referred to Comrade Critchlow Mills represents now a distinct element in the Socialist Party which believes in making the appeal to all classes rather than mainly to and certainly favored Omaha in a most active manner. We did not imply that he was a Mills graduate or not a workingman, but that he beonged to the Mills wing of the Social ist Party, who are pretty good organizers and political managers.

The working class wing, on the other hand, have a good deal to learn along the lines of political manage

And this protest of Critchlow and Mills and others about "attacking" comrades, etc., when nothing but the facts are told, will not do. The fight now going on in the Socialist Party is a fight for principles, and the result concerns the whole future of the party. No man need expect that his position will be unknown by the party at large. If we have misjudged Critchow in placing him with Mills, we shall be glad to publish his disclaimer

UATION. The recent referendum on the ques tion of headquarters and local quorum has undoubtedly resulted in a somewhat confusing situation. Neverthe less it is by no means an impossible situation and indeed it is easy to ex aggerate the difficulties which might arise in transacting business with the eadquarters in Omaha and a local quorum in other states. There is nothing whatever in the situation that in the least justifies the position decision of the party membership. Detailed Vote.

Detailed Vote.

Whole thing alone. The comrades of the party and you have lost your organized States: Cal., yes., 116; wanted. They wanted Omaha and they es, 158; ho, 41. Fla., yes, 9; no, 121 wanted a non-agricultural wanted was set of the officers of the Omaha position. As because it will tend to throw discreding the party and you have lost your organized states: Cal., yes., 116; wanted a non-agricultural wanted was set of the Omaha position. As because it will tend to throw discreding the party and you have lost your organized states: Cal., yes, 54; no, 167. Conn., wanted a non-agricultural wanted was set of the Omaha position. As because it will tend to throw discreding the party and you have lost your organized states: Cal., yes, 54; no, 167. Conn., wanted a non-agricultural wanted was set of the officers of the Omaha position. As because it will tend to throw discreding the party and you have lost your organized states: Cal., yes, 54; no, 167. Conn., wanted a non-agricultural wanted was set of the officers of the Omaha position. As because it will tend to throw discreding the party and you have lost your organized states. The party and you have lost your organized states with the party and you have lost your organized states. The party and you have lost your organized states with the party and you have lost your organized states. The party and you have lost your organized states with the party and you have lost your organized states with the party and you have lost your organized states. The party and you have lost your organized states with the party and you have lost your organized states. The party and you have lost your organized states with the party and you have lost your organized states. The party and you have lost your organi which has been taken by some of the ern and newer wing of the movement. workers who like myself sincerely be-I saw in it the forces which are abso- lieve that the control of the Socialist lutely essential to any strong indigen- movement should be in the hands of ous Socialist movement, and a possi- those who have a better comprehenble reaction from the sectarian doc- sion of American, social and industrial trinarian and had dominated the party life and psycology than those who in the past. At the same time, how- have controlled the movement in the ever, I am absolutely opposed to los- past. ing anything that is good in the old for the sake of getting the new. I have no sympathy whatever with the idea that the farmers will ever form the major portion or the basis of the have nothing to lose, but your chains; Socialist movement and, nothing that I have ever stated could give any foundation for imputing such a position to me, as has been done in some quarters. The Socialist movement is Go to fundamentally a revolt of the wage

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working proletariat, but I have main-

A deluge of facts that will event-

ually swamp our present economic

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to change my views, that the farming class of America, particularly of the general issues which are settled or the political field. Therefore there is fertile field for Socialist propaganda and that large increases of the Soposition which I took in my pamphlet so far I have not seen any attempt to refute this position that indulged in anything but generalizations.

At the present time, however, we

see an attempt to overthrow the ex-

pressed will of the party membership of those who are posing as representatives of the farming class and westto base your opinions upon. May I have no sympathy. When Comrade Mills makes the astounding proposition that the decision of the referbe continually attackin comrades endum be disregarded, pending the who are working hard for the cause taking of a new referendum on the same question, and when this is followed with the still more outrageous this form of propaganda. It would lowed with the still more outrageous seem to me that the work of Socialist proposition of the "Appeal to Reason" Max Ragley to completely disregard that referendum, it shows that those expressing such sentiments are unfit to be intrusted with the party management. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, it was a recognition of these facts on the part of the membership which led to the very much larger vote against the as one of 'the Mills men" because Omaha quorum than was polled against that city as the seat of national headquarters. Had the comrades composing the local quorum not Working Class. Critchlow was the taken the attitude which they did to-Mills candidate for national secretary wards party tactics and the constitution, I feel quite sure that they might have remained in office with the head quarters at Omaha.

This distrust of the member ship seems to be something peculiar to a few individuals who are leading the Omaha movement, and I shall be loath to believe that it is an essential part of the "western idea" of Socialism. It was first seen in their attempt to prevent a referendum on the question of removal, and now in the case of Comrade Critchlow it seems to have reached a point where they would even seek to suppress a free expression of opinion by the membership. The attempted argument of the "Appeal" to the effect that the present situation comes in conflict with COMRADE SIMONS ON THE SIT- the constitution, is childish. It

has always been a principle of even the capitalistic institutions, to say nothing of Socialist ones, that a referendum stood immeasurably above the acts of a convention. A referendum in its very nature repeals any portion of the constitution which conflicts with the will of the majority as expressed in the referendum vote. For the sake of party organization I sincerely hope that no further attempts will be made to thwart or stifle the

I shall especially regret such action Fraternally.

A. M. SIMONS.

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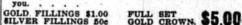
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LOCAL NOTES.

The debate in the Grand Operatouse next Sunday afternoon is free. But the expenses are heavy and a good collection is needed. The Rev-erend Mr. Kellogg will oppose Social-Comrade A. G. Seibert will advocate it. The time will be equally divided. Dr. Kellogg is the represent-ative of the National Economic League, of New York. Mr. Robert Moran, head of the Moran Bros. ship building firm, is one of the chief contributors and supporters of the Na-tional Economic League. An effort is being made to get Mr. Moran to pre-

ly list. Remember the conditions.

Five subscriptions a week, even if only Ten-Cent subs., will keep you in held its Annual convention in Denver only Ten-Cent subs., will keep job.
the race. Then the one who sends two weeks ago they, as was expended to endorse the Socialist Party.
in the most money before Aug. 12th, voted to endorse the Socialist Party.
This did not suit the Rev. Chrisostum. Lot. The first week's list will be for So he proceeded to score the delegates the week ending June 7th and must by preaching an anti-Socialist sermon. be in not later than June 21st. Two weeks will be allowed to get each week's list into this office. A few Seattle comrades could make a big race for this valuable Lot.

SEATTLE ORGANIZER'S NOTES.

Mr. John E. Ayers will speak at Carpenter's Hall next Sunday. Sub-"The Science of Life."

Don't forget to come to the dance at headquarters hall Saturday evening. You must take part in these dances if you want them to continue. A. HUTCHESON, City Organizer. NEWS NOTES

The "Alliance of the Rockies," for merly a Farmers' Alliance Insurance paper, of Denver, now apparently a chosen mouthpiece of W. T. Mills, comes to our table with a dull thud semi-occasionally. Hence we were pre-pared; still, this "adv," in the last is-

ost us our dinner: "THE LIFE MESSAGE." J. STITT WILSON Will Open His Work at WOMEN'S CLUB BUILDING. INSPIRED LIFE CLASSES. What it all means, we don't know.

who is dense enough to talk about ington, D. C., \$1.00; Local Wash-hell fire could not know anything Yorkville, Ill., 25c. Total to noon, about Socialism, so they replied to Mr. Matz by passing some more So-cialist resolutions. cialist resolutions.
Alas! Chrisostum.

The Illinois State Secretary, James S. Smith, sends out a splendid report

engaged a state organized to make a tour of the state, commencing June 15 And thus the good work goes on.

FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS Special Organizing Fund.

Omaha, Neb., June 6, 1903. The following contributions have been made to the Special Organizing Fund since last report: Local Livingston, Mont., \$2.00; Local Patton, Ala., \$3.25; Local Tulare, Cal., \$3.50; E. V. Fleury, San Francisco, Cal., \$1.00; R. S. Price, Austin, Tex., \$5.00; David Phillips, Perry, Mont., third purchaser The sooner you get in your first list of five in that "Ten Weeks Campaign" Bishop of Colorado, who proceeds to for the Lot of Land in Seattle, the easier it will be to get the next weekers of all men. pany donated to the Special Organis-ing Fund by Wm. English Walling, \$10.00; Local Beverly, Mass., \$1.40; Local Troy, Ariz., \$2.00; Henry Kohl, Chicago, Ill., \$1.00; Paul Gutman, Ce-dar Rapids, Ia., \$5.00; Local Birming-ham, Ala., \$1.00; Local Puyallup, Wn., \$3.00; 33rd Ward Branch Local, Philadelphia, Pa., \$5,00; Thos. Birtmistle, Philadelphia, Pa., \$1.75; C. C. Hitch-cock, Ware, Mass., \$1.00; Local Wash-

> Floods and washouts in this section have crippled the mail service for the past week; and those failing to hear from their correspondence to the Naof the organizing work being done in tional Office might as well consider the state. During the past month their latters lost and write again. The they have organized three new local secture work of Comrade John C. with 41 members. They sold 1,476 these has been seriously retarded by due stamps; collected \$31.55 on organ-the non delivery of mail as a result izer fund; sent out 295 circular let-of the floods.

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What the Chief Socialist Newspaper in America says of "The Socialist"

(From "The Worker." New York, May 17th, 1903.)

"In the Seattle 'Socialist' of May 3 begins what promises to be a most interesting discussion between Comrade Untermann and the editor (Comrade Titus) upon "The American Farmer and the Socialist Party." The discussion cannot but be instructive as well as interesting. Although, as it seems to us, the question has been given a somewhat factitious importance in connection with the events of the last year in internal party history, yet it is a real live question and seems in a fair way to be discussed both frankly and calmly in the columns of our bright Western contemporary. If it appears practicable, as the discussion proceeds, 'The Worker' will present a summary of the arguments presented by both sides. But we would heartily advise our readers to subscribe for 'The Socialist.' Every number is well worth reading. The way in which it combines the liveliest of propaganda matter with serious discussion of scientific theory and with clear and fearless treatment of questions of party organization and policy must command the admiration of all thought-

The 10-Ten Week Campaign Has Now Begun

......

Comrade Militants: A Heart to Heart talk with you

On August 12th "The Socialist" will be three years old. It has been three years of knock-down-and-drag-out fighting.

In that fact we resemble the Socialist Party itself whose lofty aims, aspirations and ambitions we have sought to assist, guide, develop and

Now, men. Remember: We fought on one line, every inch of the road every lick in the fight, along one straight line regardless of who was hit and that red battle line was this:

To fan the spark of class instinct in the breast of the American Prole-

tariat into a flame of class consciousness. By teaching the class struggle unequivocally, directly, positively, No frills, no furbelows, no sugar-coating. The whole truth. That and

The class strugggle is not a principle; IT IS A FACT.

And so we trained our guns and fought the good fight-exulting.

We raised a host of enemies by so doing.

The trimmers, the opportunists and all their ilk hate us intensely an l their, paper has all the support needed.

But we want to say that we are not satisfied with turning out a paper like "The Socialist" to 7,000 subscribers each week when the national political situation imperatively demands 70,000.

Therefore, our 10-week campaign for the first step-the 25,000 mark. We want 25,000 subscribers on Aug. 12, when we enter our fourth

The time for entry for the benefit of our far eastern comrades has been extended to Jan. 21.

This is what we propose to do:

We will give a Lot of Land situated in the City of Seattle, to the contestant who sends in the most money for subscribers during these Ten Weeks, and who sends in at least five subscribers every week.

'The first week's list, that is, for the week ending June 7, must reach this office before June 21, the second before June 28, and so on. Each week's list will have two weeks in which to reach this office. BEGIN RIGHT AWAY.

This offer will be in your hands by June 2 or 3 at the latest. You can

start out at once and secure your first list by Sunday night, June 7. That will give you fourteen days to get it in on time. HOW TO DO IT.

Cut out the blank at the foot of this page. Fill it out with your subscriber's names. Get yearlies, if possible. Remember the Prize goes to the

Name

one who sends in the most money. Yearlies count more than six months' subs. Keep you in the race by filling out the required number of five each

This is a splendid chance to help "The Workingman's Paper" and help yourself at the same time. It is a big prize for so short a contest

This lot of land is situated in one of the most desirable residence sections of this city. It is on high ground overlooking one of the finest prospects in America. A new parked Boulevard is soon to be built nearby. It is only a few blocks from the Electric Car line which passes every ten minutes. The value is increasing every month. Seattle has doubled its population in ten years and is increasing now at the rate of a thousand a month. It is to be the chief American gateway to the immense Orient.

In Ten Weeks some one of you will have this Building Lot. Who

We believe hundreds of our comrades will work just the same without regard to the Prize. We very much need the increased circulation, to put "The Socialist" on a permanent footing.

No Socialist paper at Fifty Cents a year can be on a self-paying basis at from hand to mouth and is likely to perish as so many little Socialist papers have done and are doing. We ask all who believe in the principles we stand for to join in this special effort. Let us begin our Fourth year with a circulation which will make this paper a still greater power in the Socialist movement of America. This paper is death on Reform and Fusion. You all know where it stands. Do you care enough for it to fight for it the

Begin to-day and send in your usual five by next Sunday. Show the pictures. They will get subscribers easy.

Remember, "The Socialist" always makes Socialist votes out of workingmen who see its pictures week after week.

Go for the workers to subscribe. We don't care for the business men, though we don't refuse anybody's money.

Before closing: Comrade E. A. Johnson of Ballard, who won our last prize, has adopted the following plan: Each week he sends in 50 cents for five 10-cent subs. He will thus send "The Socialist" to at least 50 new names for 10 weeks. This keeps him on the race any how while he proceeds to get as many more as possible.

Now, men, and women, too: Steady on the line. A long 10-week pull is before us. A strong and steady pull is needed. We are coming up on the enemy foot by foot, inch by inch, and the death grapple will soon take place. Speed the day, comrades!

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Speed the day!!

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J. MUDGETT, Sec. SNOHOMISH COUNTY SOCIALISTS, ATTENTION! County Organizer T. A. Hickey is

rade Hickey is ill and unable to fill these Everett dates); June 15 and 16 Edmonds; June 17, Everett; June 18 and 19, Marysville; June 20, Silvana; June 21. Cedarhome: June 22 and 23. Stanwood; June 24, Everett; June 25,

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Secretary Snohomish Co. S. P.

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TOM H. BROWN 236 BURKE BLDG TEL. IND. 1792 CALL FOR AMENDMENT TO THE

WASHINGTON CONSTITUTION.

Editor "The Socialist." Dear Sir:—At a regular business meeting of Tacoma Local S. P. on June 2, 1902, resolutions were passed for indorsement by four other locals of the state aiming at a referendum vote to do away with Article VII Sec. 1 of state constitution, substituting "Representation at the state convention shall consist of all members

cards showing them to be in good standing at time of convention.' We hope locals in sympathy with this change will take immediate action, as time is exceedingly limited.

of the S. P. in the state having due

now in the county at work. His dates, 6th to 14th inclusive, Everett (Com Whelongton. Now, comrades, the speaker is at

work. Let's all help. Any comrade in unorganized towns willing to arrange meeting places will correspond with Wm. De Lilly, Arlington, Wash. Lose no time and secure your dates Boys, let's make every lick count. Now is the time. Don't let's wait until election, and lose a golden opportunity,

ter-eagles, two and one-half dollars, coined on or before 1893. FRANK RASCII,