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The Socialist

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER
A CARTOON WEEKLY

Join the Party
of your Class

TO ORGANIZE THE SLAVES OF CAPITAL TO VOTE THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION

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No. 151

REAL FAIRY STORES No. 7

"Oh, Father!" cried the son to the Ogre, "you have not your wand and our Slave Giant is going to vote—his ballot might destroy us."

"Never fear, my son," smiled the Ogre. "The ballot is the thing the down-trodden cry for and battle for, and when they get it we fix the votes so it produces just what our Slave Giant votes for—"



—Behold me greeting him from the Ballot Box.

THE GERMAN ELECTIONS

As was expected, the Socialists (or Social Democrats) of Germany made tremendous gains in the election held on Tuesday, June 16th. On Wednesday the capitalist press of the world was compelled to announce the marvellous advance made by Socialism in the Empire where Kaiser Wilhelm heretofore claimed ascendancy. The Socialists have had the opposition of all parties to contend with, but have gained nevertheless.

The press of Berlin confesses its astonishment at the victory of the Socialists and already great anxiety is manifested at the probable results of the second election which takes place on June 25th, and at which 118 seats will be again contested. In Germany a majority elects, and failing this a second election is held. This gives the electors a second choice, and this invariably results in the Socialists' favor, although the opposition will undoubtedly combine to prevent further gains.

A gain of over 400,000 Socialist votes, or a total of over 2,500,000 in the empire was conceded on Wednesday. In Berlin, a seat in the Reichstag (German Parliament) and 63,000 votes were gained, and other seats captured in Dresden, Solingen, Pirna, Plauen, Sittau, Doebel, Altenburg, Dunstadt, Schwartzburg, Bielefeld, Beyreuth and Bremen.

Fifty-three Socialists are elected to the Reichstag with the second election to come. In the last Parliament the total number of Socialists was only 58. In 1898 at first election 32 Socialists were elected. It is computed that the Socialists may win 36 seats in the second election, which would make a total of 89 seats. The Socialists had 322 candidates in 394 districts.

The greatest surprise was the result in Essen, Krupp's town, where Emperor William recently denounced the Socialists, and blamed them for Krupp's suicide. There the Socialist vote was increased from 4,400 to 22,705.

In Berlin the Socialist working men went from house to house, getting out the dilatory voters in at least 80 districts. The Socialist vote in Berlin in 1897 was 67; this year it was 218,122.

On Wednesday morning, the National Secretary of the Socialist Party sent the following cablegram to the German comrades:

"Congratulations from Socialist Party of America upon splendid victory for International Socialism."

The election results in Germany are the direct outcome of organization, which enabled the Socialists to take advantage of the prevailing industrial conditions and the blunders and injustice of the administration. This is an example that can well be followed by the Socialists of the United States.

WHY WE WANT SOCIALISM?

Because it will give us enough to eat and wear.

Because it will give us beautiful houses to live in.

Because we can travel to Europe, if we want to.

Because we shall have time to study and make things.

Because we shall not have to work at all after we are fifty.

Because we shall not have to be dishonest or mean.

Because we can afford to be married and have happy, healthy children.

This injunction business is a sword that may cut both ways. Irresponsible power is sure to be abused. But capitalists have introduced the Judge as a King. Let them not be surprised if some Judge who depends on votes for his place, like this local Judge Dickinson, of Omaha, issues an injunction in favor of Labor Unions. He will expect the Labor vote in return, of course. And he will get some fool votes, but narry a Socialist vote. We can't be caught with one oat. We must have all the oats in the bin.

But it won't be a bad idea to go in and elect a few Socialist Judges ourselves. If irresponsible power is to be exercised by anybody, let's have workingmen to do it.

THE RIGHT KIND—A GRATIFYING SURPRISE

The most astonishing thing about our prize offer of a Lot of Land in Seattle is this. Scores of comrades respond with numerous subscriptions but refuse to enter the contest. They say, like Herman Culver, of Port Angeles, Wash.: "I do not ask or expect any prize or reward. The satisfaction of aiding in a small way to extend the circulation of such a courageous advocate of clear-cut, square-toed, class-conscious Socialism, is reward enough for me. Yours for working-class Socialism."

This spirit is the spirit that keeps this paper in the field. We have never made a cent on the paper. In fact, all the members of this Union, some 25 comrades, have had to put up their hard earned dollars again and again, in order to pay the current bills. We are all proletarians, but so far our determined co-operation has lifted us out of every hole.

Opportunists strive to kill us.

Right here in Seattle, a little clique of "Mills men" spend the most of their time in attacking "The Socialist" and Mills himself calls it "the worst lying sheet in the country" and advises everybody to destroy it as soon as received.

Because we advocated the working-class program so strictly, another paper was started in this state with the avowed purpose to "smash "The Socialist." For the same reason, we have been unable to borrow money this very month to liquidate old deficits. The small business men in our party are the ones who have money to spare and, with one or two conspicuous exceptions, they give this paper the cold shoulder.

The result is, the workingmen who have "nothing to lose but their chains," are our main supporters and defenders.

The pledge last Saturday night by a comrade who said, "I haven't got it to give, but I'll give a dollar a month," that sort of support renders us unconquerable.

One thing you can all do, comrades, is to get subscriptions among workmen. That will help us most of all.

Enter the Ten Weeks' Campaign for 25,000 subs. Our Third Anniversary occurs on Aug. 11th, 1903. Then we shall begin our fourth year. We want your help to start out with those extra thousands. If every man who reads this will at once, this very day, secure ONE NEW SUBSCRIBER to "The Socialist," we shall get a magnificent start. It is little for each of you, but it means much for this paper.

We propose to publish a Special Cartoon Edition to begin our fourth year. If you respond with enough new subscriptions, it will be an eight-page edition, with cartoons enough to make it alone worth the full year's subscription price.

The lists are rolling in now. Keep it up, all-you who have entered the race for the Seattle Lot. And all you who are too late for that, but who want to help this "Workingman's Paper," just get in and hustle for these coming weeks in July.

WE DEPEND ON YOU.



ONE WAY TO MAKE AN ANARCHIST

John Czolgoz (a brother of the murderer of President McKinley), who has been living in Los Angeles, was arrested as a precautionary measure and placed in jail, where he will be kept until the President's departure from the state. He did not object, but requested the authorities not to give the matter publicity, particularly as he had not done, nor did he intend doing, any wrong, and was known to his employers, co-laborers, and associates as Joseph Hoffman, because he felt the weight and shame of his insane brother's awful crime. A pledge of secrecy was given him, in consideration of which he went without a murmur to a felon's cell. How "sacredly" the secret was guarded may be judged from the prominence given the incident by the Associated Press. The Examiner published his picture, from which we gather that he has a far more honest face than have some of the "distinguished citizens" who sometimes "adorn" its columns. Yet it says of him:

"John Czolgoz is twenty-two or twenty-three years old, he says; he has light, rather short hair, growing well away from the temples; light gray eyes of the shifty type, thick nose, weak mouth, and a more or less pointed chin. He is about five feet eight inches tall, weighs 155 pounds, and walks with a slouchy, hang-shoulder gait. Degeneracy is stamped all over his weak, pallid face."

When Czolgoz learned that his picture would be published, he pleaded that it should not be, as it might cause him loss of employment. Ever since his brother's crime he has been hunted like a wild beast, driven from place to place, and denied employment wherever his identity was known. Yet he is admittedly industrious and of gentle manners. Such persecution would make a murderous anarchist of almost any man.—San Francisco Star.

"KELLOGG, D. D. Ph. D."

KELLOGG, N. E. L. CAPITALIST CHAMPION, TO MEET HICKEY AT EVERETT.

Sunday, June 28, 2:30 p. m.

The Reverend W. M. Kellogg, D. D. Ph. D., Special Capitalist Debator for The National Economic League, is to meet another workingman next Sunday at Everett, Wash. Thos. A. Hickey, a member of the Miners' Union of Butte, Montana, will give the doughy minister another taste of Socialist pepper.

Remember the time and place, LABOR TEMPLE, EVERETT, 2:30 P. M., SUNDAY, 28TH JUNE.

WORKING TO SPLIT THE PARTY?

Some people seem to think that "The Socialist" delights in making personal criticisms. They do not seem to see the difference between criticism of a man as an individual and criticism of a man as the representative of a principle.

For instance, toward Walter Thomas Mills as an individual "The Socialist" has only the kindest feelings. But toward Mills as the representative of the middle class wing of the Socialist Party, we cherish the most im placable hostility.

In the discussion of principles that concern the building of the Socialist Party, we have no more regard for men or women as individuals than we have for bricks and mortar. All we want to know is, Are they the right material for the building?

The Socialist Party, as an instrumentality for the emancipation of the human race from Wage Slavery, is so immeasurably more important than any person or number of persons, that they are not worthy to be considered when vital questions are under discussion.

The Socialist Party in America is just now being tested. It may develop along the scientifically established lines of International Socialism, making the working class its basis, or it may develop into another Reform Party directing its appeal to middle class and working class alike.

It is because we believe W. T. Mills to stand for the latter tendency that we criticize him. If we are wrong, we shall be glad to know it, and to correct our error.

But we have not been hasty in our judgment. In its issue of Sept. 7, 1902, some ten months ago, "The Socialist" published a leading article, entitled "Walter Thomas Mills and the Socialist Platform." We printed his tract, "What is Socialism?" side by side with our national platform, and reached this conclusion:

"The platform has nothing but the Class Struggle, Mills has nothing of the Class Struggle.

"This tract, Prof. Mills' own statement of the political proposals of the Socialist Party, not only belittles the Class Struggle, but completely ignores it. If this tract misrepresents Comrade Mills we shall be glad to publish whatever he may write to correct the wrong impression conveyed by it.

"If any one can point us to any publication of Prof. Mills advocating the class struggle as the central element in our political program, we shall be most happy to publish the same."

This invitation and challenge has never been answered by Mills or his friends, though it has been repeated a dozen times since. Mills has written numerous letters to correct errors of statement concerning himself. We print elsewhere in this issue two such letters of his concerning comparatively trivial matters. But he has never found time to write a line to deny this most serious charge that can possibly be preferred against a Socialist, namely, that "he belittles or ignores the Class Struggle as the central element in the Socialist political program."

On the contrary, it appears that in Denver, Wednesday evening, June 3, 1903, he said before a great audience in "The Labor": "No Socialist teacher ever said the class struggle was the central feature in Socialism." (As reported in "Colorado Socialist" of June 5, 1903.)

Over against this assertion, let us set these words of no less a "Socialist Teacher" than William Liebknecht:

"For our party and for our party tactics there is but one valid basis: THE BASIS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE, out of which the Socialist Party has sprung up, and out of which alone it can draw the necessary strength to bid defiance to every storm and to all its enemies. The founders of our party—Marx, Engels and Lassalle—impressed upon the workmen the necessity of the class character of our movement so deeply that down to a very recent time there were no considerable deviation or getting off the track." (Liebknecht's "No Compromise," Kerr's edition, p. 9.)

Or, take this declaration by an eminent a "Socialist teacher" as can be found in America:

"The emancipation of labor can only be wrought by a united effort of wage-earners along the line of their class interests . . . That this struggle for freedom should express itself in political action is inevitable. Class interests always express themselves in class politics." (Vall's "Principles of Scientific Socialism," p. 230.)

It would be rather the truth to say: "There never was a single Socialist teacher who did not say the class struggle was the central element in our political program."

This proves Walter Thomas Mills is not a Socialist teacher and that he ignores and denies what Socialist teachers have always affirmed.

In place of such outright, downright and upright statements as those of Marx, Engels, Liebknecht and Vall, Mills has only this phrasing statement: "Socialism is the working program of the workingman's side of the class struggle." That only means that collective ownership is the only program which will deliver the workers, as explained in his tract, "What is Socialism?"

Nobody denies that. But this declaration wholly misses the point contained in Liebknecht's and Vall's declarations, namely, that the working class must constitute the bulk of the Socialist Party.

Why escape by means of this brief and evasive phrasing? Why not come out so plain that nobody can fail to understand? Why not speak out as our national platform speaks in its opening sentences, as follows:

"The Socialist Party, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and DECLARES ITS AIM TO BE THE ORGANIZATION OF THE WORKING-CLASS, and those in sympathy with it, INTO A POLITICAL PARTY, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people."

Mills ignores all of this except the last two lines. The way of getting

possession of the governmental powers by which to transform private into public ownership, that is, by means of a political party of the wage working class primarily, he quite overlooks and disregards.

This is his fundamental error. Instead of a party of the working class alone, Mills wants a party of all classes. He is glad to get the workingmen; Socialism is their working program, he says. But he is equally glad to get the middle class, Socialism is also a working program for their deliverance.

Socialist teachers say, Labor must emancipate itself. The Socialist Party must be built on the basis of the class struggle between Wage Labor and Capital.

Mills teaches that this modern class struggle is not fundamental and central to the formation of the Socialist political party.

Socialists teach that the Socialist Party is a working class party. Mills teaches that Socialism is good for the working class, just as it is for the middle class. He might also say to an audience of small business men: "Socialism is the business program of the business man's side of the class struggle between little capital and big capital. No other program can possibly be devised by which the small business men may win the victory and save themselves from extermination."

That is a new kind of Socialism. The Bernsteinians may be right. Socialism may have enlarged its scope and broadened its basis. But if so, let us say so plainly. Let us come out into the open and discuss whether or not the teachers of Socialism have been wrong in making the class struggle the central element in establishing and maintaining a political party.

If Mills will defend that view, let him say so. We shall know "where we are at." But let him stop declaring that no Socialist teacher ever said what all Socialist teachers have said.

HIS PRACTICAL ACTION CONFIRMS HIS THEORETIC POSITION.

If Mills really believes that the working class is not the only class to form the basis of the Socialist Party, his actions square with his belief.

In all parts of the country, he is encouraging and co-operating with the fusion elements in the party. Where the working class comrades have had the hardest fight to purify themselves from middle class domination, there Mills goes to discourage their work and to encourage their antagonists.

Omaha is a conspicuous illustration. In that city, the party had excluded a number of members for proved corruption, the taking of money and passes from a capitalist party. The working class comrades were in full power. The expelled middle class "Socialists" formed a "Socialist Club," openly opposing and undermining the regular party organization.

Now it was under the auspices of this corrupt and opposing body that Mills went to Omaha and now proposes to keep on going once a month (see his own statement elsewhere printed.)

He thinks the "Outs" and the "Ins" should unite and go on together. That is, his practice conforms to his theory. He would have working class and middle class, honest and dishonest, uncompromising and compromising, work together in one "Socialist" Party.

The working class organization in Omaha, the Socialist Party there, therefore, finds its worst opponent in Walter Thomas Mills. He is working hand in glove with the displaced corrupt members of the Socialist Party in Omaha.

What does he mean by such action? Unless it is merely to earn his money, it must be a deliberate attempt by a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Party to destroy the Socialist organization in Omaha and Nebraska.

The same effect of Mills' influence was observed in California. The session of his school in San Francisco was followed by the introduction of throngs of middle class members and the adoption of a fusion policy in that Local and in its organ, "Advance." Nearly all his pupils were infected with a disrespect for the working class program. They cease to draw the lines so closely. They are more "liberal." His recent lecture in San Francisco was not approved by the comrades of the Socialist organization in that city.

In pursuance of the same tactics, Mills is now about to lecture in Portland, Ore., Seattle, Spokane and Pullman, Wash. In Portland, the local declined to receive him. In Seattle, the City Central Committee also declined. In Spokane, he will go under the auspices of a "club" formed of members whose charter has been withdrawn by a State Referendum vote on account of "Fusion" proclivities. In Pullman, too, it is a "Socialist Club" which has withdrawn from the party that will entertain Mills. He went to New York City also in a similar way, despite the regular party organization.

Now, as an "American Citizen," no one will dispute his or any man's right to go where he pleases, take pay from whom he pleases, say what he pleases, do in general whatever he pleases.

But when a member of the Socialist Party and a member of the National Committee, goes about the country teaching that the class struggle is not the central element in our political program, and proceeds to co-operate with the corrupt, middle class and expelled members of the party wherever there has been a fight to a finish, it looks very much as if the intent was either to capture the party to his way of thinking and acting, or to split the party wide open.

Fortunately, as we believe, the Socialist Party of the United States has too many workmen in its ranks and too many educated, determined men among them, to be misled into any middle class morass by any one man or any hundred men.

It was through just such hot discussion and furious internal struggles that the German Socialist Party rid itself of its bourgeois elements in its early days. Because of its triumphant proletarian elements, it has gone on in its invincible career.

Once our political program and party character are established on the working class, it will be safe to welcome into our ranks more freely the despairing members of the dying middle class. But for the present, to give them the lead or to appeal to them chiefly or even equally, will only result in a quickly-built house of clay.

He deplores the fact that when he notified us he would not speak against the regular organization, that the local did not reply to this assurance. This was not necessary. Comrade Mills was informed that these people were attempting to build up a counter movement, that they were expelled members, being expelled for unfaithfulness to the party. Instead of cancelling his engagement, like a true Socialist having the welfare of the party at heart, feigned a mock surprise, and attempted to let out the impression that the Omaha Socialist movement was divided. The contrary he discovered to his chagrin and discomfiture. But were it necessary to reply to his assurance, that necessity was eliminated by his treachery in surrendering a copy of an official letter to outsiders.

Suppose the proletariat was at war with the capitalist class (and it is, thought not with rifles)—suppose the officer in command of the Kansas wing was notified that he was needed at a certain outpost, and suppose further, that news was conveyed to him by the commanding officer in this vicinity that these men who notified him were hirelings of the capitalists and in defiance of this notification he turned the dispatch over to the enemy. What would result? A court-martial, a few pieces of lead and the foul carcass of a traitor would become the pasturing place of worms.

"Mills" went to Omaha as he promised to do—of course he never breaks his promise even with Seattle. He spoke eight times over good houses (if he is satisfied we are), urged everybody to join and work with the regular party. (No thanks; Local Omaha does not want everybody; we are plain John working men.)

"That the State Quorum of the State Committee are the same men who first got the resolutions passed in the Local and then endorsed their own action as State Committee." Of course Comrade Mills, you know how it is done, you having inveigled Local Omaha into initiating your clear and concise referendum No. 2, which we'll wager a coon skin you did not vote right yourself. Well, you have another guess coming. While Comrades Hyland and Mc Caffery were part of the resolutions, they were elected to fulfill that duty by the City Central Committee, of which neither of them are members, and as members of the Local Quorum, they would have been as guilty as yourself did they not endorse the resolutions.

"That these gentlemen claim the right to forbid any Socialist to speak in their city, except on invitation of the Local." Right you are. Don't you remember writing last fall to Nebraska's National Committeemen? It was about the time you were trying to get the whole National Committee into your vest pocket. Here is a quotation from your letter. "The fact is the best people to manage the work of our party in any particular neighborhood are the people in that neighborhood. The best place to raise money for a local campaign is in the locality where the campaign is being carried on, and the best people to expend the money are the people who are able to raise it. The best test of the value of a speaker, or the value of Socialist papers or other Socialist documents, is the use the comrades are able to make of them in actually producing results. All this involves local initiative and local self-direction."

How is this, Comrade Mills, for an agreement? We say we are the best judges as to the "value of a speaker or the value of Socialist papers or other Socialist documents," therefore we are determined that speakers in the employ of the National Lecture Bureau alone shall speak under our auspices, and that the kid-gloved wind jammers of the free lance clique must appear to us that they are members of the National Committee, who established the National Lecture Bureau should either get under its directions and work for the \$3.00 a day and expenses as some of the ablest comrades are doing, or abolish it altogether. I suppose you imagine you are worth more than \$3.00 a day and expenses. Let us tell you that that individual who exploits this movement made up of proletarians whose wages do not average \$1.50 a day, out of more than \$3.00 per day and expenses, has all the earmarks of a grafter, and hence we propose to do all in our limited way to stamp out this parasitism before the movement, like capitalism, becomes hopelessly infected with this species. As to newspapers, we hold that a paper carrying the Socialist label which will not print party affairs is dangerous to the organization, and this has been forcibly demonstrated by such hypocritical sheets as the "Iowa Socialist," "Los Angeles Socialist," "Alliance of the Rockies," "The New Tome" of Spokane, etc. These papers refused to

print our side of the controversy with Mills, but printed a lying communication over the signature of C. C. Chambers, one of the stars in the so-called "Socialist Propaganda Club," in which he affirmed that Mills spoke in the interests of the regular party work, when the truth is that ever since your meeting here your poor dupes and puppets, like O'Hare, who, for vilifying the character of comrades, received his passports from Ohio, have inaugurated a wholesale campaign, not to propagate Socialist ideas, but to disseminate lies about individual comrades and the whole local in general. "By their fruits ye shall know them." We can see an unprincipled politician clear across the continent. We can see him through the human phonographs who divulge his secret records. We know you like a book.

Local Omaha, Comrade Mills, has never said members shall not read this or that paper. But it has adopted the Seattle "Socialist" as its official organ. It has by resolutions declared that the Seattle "Socialist" and N. Y. "Worker" are the only papers in the English language printed in the interests of the Socialist Party, and it will do all in its power to build those papers up, and don't you forget it.

Mills has served notice upon us that he proposes to speak in Omaha once each month for a year, that he shall speak where, when and how he pleases, and he defies any committee to infringe upon his rights. Comrades of the National Committee, we demand the enforcement of Section 4 of Article VI. of the National Constitution. We demand protection from this individual act and act at once. Patience has ceased to be a virtue with us. The Socialist Party must either disintegrate or whip the individual into line.

Mills, as compared to the organization, looks no bigger in our eye than does a slave sent to the universe.

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

BOOMS MILLS FOR PRESIDENT.
It develops that Comrade O'Hare in his tour of the state has been boosting Walter Thomas Mills as a candidate for President next year in a manner that would do credit to a Republican or Democratic politician.—Chas. R. Martin in "The Worker."

MILLS DEPRECATES HIS BOOM.
Denver, Colo., June 9, 1903.
Dear Comrades:
My attention has just been called to an article in a recent number of the New York "Worker" in which I am told I am spoken of as a possible candidate for the nomination for the presidency on the Socialist ticket in the next election.

Will you give me space in your columns to say that I am not, nor have I been, nor will I be, a party to any

such proposal in any way whatever? May I further urge anyone who in any way entertains such a thought, not to urge any such proposal which would surely interfere with my usefulness to the cause of Socialism as a teacher and lecturer and at the same time suggests a task which I have neither the wish nor the qualifications to undertake.

Yours fraternally,
WALTER THOMAS MILLS.

THE WAY THEY WORKED FOR OMAHA.
Letter No. 1.
February 5th, 1903.
Mr. J. Edward Morgan,
Omaha, Neb.

Dear Comrade:
I have your letter of Jan. 29th which came to my desk during my absence at St. Louis reporting the session of the National Committee. I congratulate you on its location in your city. There will be an effort made by the Eastern comrades to get it away by the referendum vote, but the old "Ap- them to the bitter end. I am confident that Omaha ought to be able to hold it with 500 or 1000 members of the locals, and you comrades must see to it that the membership of the party is increased sufficiently to make this possible. I hope you will appreciate your opportunity and the value to the movement that the location of the headquarters in your city would afford.

The coming issue of the "Appeal" will be devoted very largely to Omaha and the National Headquarters, and it appears to me that you ought to get about 10,000 copies for free distribution. I will make them at half price to you if you will take them, say \$10 for 10,000. You will never get another offer like this. It almost takes my breath away while I make it, but if you can raise the \$10 I will ship them to you. You know I told you that I was going to stand by you and I certainly intend to do so.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) A. W. RICKER.

THE WAY THEY WORKED FOR OMAHA.
Letter No. II.
February 12th, 1903.
Mr. D. D. Smith,
Page, Neb.

Dear Comrade:
I have sent you under separate cover a bundle of "Appeals." The Omaha comrades have paid for 10,000 copies of the "Appeal" to be sent throughout Nebraska. The careful perusal of the first page of the paper will show you how necessary it is that we organize locals in the Western field at once, in order that the Eastern comrades may not take away our headquarters from Omaha. I advise that you communicate with the State Secretary, J. E. Morgan, of Omaha, at once.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) A. W. RICKER.

WASHINGTON STATE CONVENTION
At Tacoma, July 4, 1903, 10 a. m.
Seattle, Wash., June 20, 1903.

Comrades:—The referendum has directed that the State Convention be held in Tacoma, July 4th. This is to announce, therefore, that the convention will open at 10 a. m. of that date, the place of meeting to be announced later.

The basis of representation at the Convention as provided in Article VII is, "One delegate at large for every local, and one delegate for every fifteen members in good standing, or major fraction thereof."

For instance, if Local Seattle has 98 members, it will be entitled to 8 delegates; if it has 97 members, 7 delegates.

Section 2, Article III, provides that each Local shall pay dues on or before the 15th of each month, but that an additional thirty days shall be allowed before it shall become delinquent.

In accordance with this provision, May dues are payable on or before June 15th, but any Local paying its dues any time prior to July 15th is entitled to participate in the official proceedings of the party.

Each Local should endeavor to send its full quota of delegates to the convention. It is important that you be represented.

U. G. MOORE,
Secretary-Treasurer, 4325 Phinney Avenue, Seattle, Wash.

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MILLS AT OMAHA.

His Statement.

Mills did not go to Omaha to attack or to ignore the party organization. He was invited to speak in Omaha, supposed he was accepting an invitation from the regular organized Socialists. Was notified that he was not. Wrote that he would not speak to attack the regular party work, but always in its behalf, and asked Omaha local for reply to this assurance.

Received no reply, but resolutions were published instead. Mills went to Omaha, as he had promised to do; spoke eight times, to good houses, and not once in the course referred in the remotest way to the attack. In every meeting he urged everybody to join and work with the regular party. The state quorum of the state committee are the same men who first got the resolutions passed in the local and then endorsed their own action as a state committee. It might be further said that these gentlemen claim the right to forbid any Socialist to speak in their city except on the invitation of the local, and further, they claim the right to forbid the circulation of any Socialist paper in Omaha not authorized by them, and that no member of the local shall be permitted to subscribe for any Socialist paper or attend any public meeting condemned by the local. Mills was arranged to speak in Omaha once a month for the year, and will continue to teach Socialism and refuse the right of any committee to dictate the meetings he shall attend, the papers he shall read or the places he shall make speeches, or the subject he shall speak on or what he shall say when he speaks. He will continue to advocate Socialism as the only practicable working program for the working (man's) side of the world-wide economic class struggle. He will continue to obey the constitution and to defend the platform of the Socialist Party, and in doing so he is speaking continuously under the auspices of regular locals of the Socialist Party.

The request that Kansas recall him as national committeeman will have no force in Kansas. The comrades in Kansas are ready and anxious to work for Socialism and are "disgusted" with this effort to make a narrow minded and incapable clique out of the Socialist Party.

(Signed) MILLS.
In Chicago, Ill., the Socialist Party at the recent judicial election doubled its percentage of the total vote, getting 10 per cent of the total.

MILLS AT OMAHA.

State Headquarters, Socialist Party of Nebraska, 519 North 16th Street, Omaha, Neb.

June 18th, 1903.

To the Editor of "The Socialist."
Dear Comrade: We note in the long whisiker "Alliance of the Rockies," one of the sheets that failed to publish our resolutions, an article by our presidential aspirant, his "Excellency" W. T. Mills, entitled "Mills and His Critics."

Mills says that in going to Omaha he did not ignore the party organization. Mills' going to Omaha in opposition to the local organization and State Committee under the auspices of the so-called "Socialist Propaganda Club" was not ignoring the party organization, but was violating Article VI, Sec. 4 of the National Constitution, which expressly states that the State Committee shall have sole jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to organization and propaganda work, and that the National Committee, sub-committee, nor no official thereof shall have the right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective states or territorial organization.

It is singular that during our fight to get rid of Mills' friends of the so-

called "Socialist Propaganda Club" that the National Committee couldn't come in without getting permission from Baird, Alexander and Boyce (the guilty trio), even after they were petitioned to do so by all but one or two locals in the state: It is singular in the face of these facts that a member of the National Committee could come in over the protest of the state and local organizations, but Mills being a preacher, has the miraculous power of transubstantiating himself from a bread and wine official of the state to the National movement into the body and blood of W. T. Mills representing the interests of no one but himself. He tells us that he supposed he was accepting an invitation from the regular organized Socialists. He knows this is false—does he mean to affirm that he, a member of the National Committee, does not know of the revoking of Nebraska's charter last year, and why it was revoked? Does he mean to affirm that he was not both officially and privately apprised of the same, as well as supplied with the names of the deposed State Committee—Boyce, Baird and Alexander? The last named, is the gentleman with whom he corresponded. With the evidence against him we hardly think he would have the audacity.

Workingmen, Get Next! A Study for Labor Unionists



PARTY NEWS.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE COUNT DECLARE REFERENDUM ON HEADQUARTERS AND QUORUM.

Omaha is Headquarters and Berger of Wisconsin, Berlyn of Illinois, Dobbs of Kentucky, Reynolds of Indiana, and Work of Iowa, are the National Quorum.

(Special Dispatch to "The Socialist," Omaha, Neb., June 21, 1903.)

The Local Quorum of the Socialist Party met at National Headquarters today and canvassed the returns of the National referendum or headquarters and Quorum. A full membership was present. With the exception of slight corrections, which did not affect the result, the returns were found to be identical with the tabulated statement already sent out. The quorum acquiesced in the result. Comrades Unterman, Turner and Lovett submitting a brief statement of the position with a suggestion that the National constitution be amended in accordance with referendum. Adjournment sine die followed.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS BULLETIN.

Omaha, Neb., June 20, 1903.
Special Organizing Fund.

The following contributions have been made to the Special Organizing Fund since last report: Vorwaerts Club, Roxbury, Mass., \$2.00; Local Lake, Wash., 50c; South Dakota State Committee, \$14.75; Joe A. Thomas, Medford, Ore., monthly contribution, 25c; Second Ward Branch, Lacol Paterson, N. J., \$2.50; Local Terry, S. D., \$14.75; Local Lookaba, Okla., \$2.50; Local Washington, D. C., \$1.50; Local Hammond, Ind., \$1.50; G. Gaenser, N. Y. City, 50c. The following from Providence, R. I.: Chas. Haas \$1, Albert Muehlers, 50c; Wm. Henning, 25c; E. Gauch, 50c; Henry Hughson, Deephole, Nev., 50c; Local Rockford, Ill., \$7.50. Total to noon, June 20th, \$51.00. Previously reported, \$473.06. Total to date, \$524.06.

The Local Quorum, consisting of Comrades Work of Iowa, Turner of Missouri, Lovett of South Dakota, Unterman of Kansas and Roe of Nebraska will hold its first meeting in Omaha tomorrow, June 21st, at National Headquarters. This meeting was postponed from May 17, on account of the enforced absence of the National Secretary in Massachusetts, from whence he returned on June 17th. A report of the Quorum will be sent out to the Socialist press.

Local charters have been granted as follows: McCabe, Ariz.; Orange, Ga.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Macon, Ga.

National Organizer Wilkins reports having made 43 speeches and organized 14 new locals in Oregon from April 15th to May 31st. The locals were organized at Drain, Cottage Grove, Turner, Oregon City, Astoria, Slattery, Detroit, Lebanon, Seio, Independence, Dallas, Sheridan, McMinville, and Lafayette. Wilkins met with bitter opposition from the supporters of capitalism at many points, where advertising posters were torn down and seats stolen from the halls. He will soon enter Washington and also fill a few dates in British Columbia, by request of the comrades there.

National Organizer Ray's work in Georgia and Tennessee was considerably hampered by the floods and washouts. He visited Tullahoma, Manchester, Knoxville, Sweetwater, and Chattanooga in Tennessee, and Blue Ridge,

Orange, Canton, Atlanta (2), Midland, Columbus, Macon, and Augusta, Ga. He organized locals in Tullahoma, Knoxville, Sweetwater, Canton, Columbus and Macon.

National Organizer John W. Brown, who was selected to fill Comrade Dan A. White's dates in New Hampshire and Vermont, reports successful meetings in the former state, where he closed on June 13th. He spoke in Rochester, Milford, Nashua, Manchester, Concord (2), Franklin, Tilton, Claremont, Hinsdale, Keene and Portsmouth. New locals have resulted in Rochester, Tilton, and Keene with increase of membership, and prospects of new locals where none were organized. Brown began his Vermont trip on June 15th. Comrade Dan A. White of Massachusetts is also filling special dates in Maine upon request of the State Committee.

National Lecturer John W. Slayton will close his tour for the present at Michigan City, Ind., on June 23rd, and will return to New Castle, Pa., where his presence is required. Requests for an Eastern tour for Slayton are being made.

The demand for the New Party Button has been so great that the first lot of 10,000 was exhausted in two weeks. A second shipment of the same quantity has been ordered.

The State Referendum in Indiana resulted in the re-election of James O Neal as State Secretary and the election of S. M. Reynolds as National Committeeman and Matt Hollenback, alternate. Both the former comrades belong to Terre Haute, where the referendum also decided the state headquarters be located.

NEWS AND NOTES.

In the recent elections in Germany, there was a decrease in the votes of every political party except the Socialist. The latter stowed very large gains. Five of the six Berlin districts were captured by the Socialists on the first ballot and there is a good chance to carry the remainder district in the rebalot.

In Saxony 18 out of 23 seats in the Reichstag were won by the Socialists on the first ballot, and probably some of the others will go Socialist in the rebalot.

In Berlin the Socialist vote was 220,000, a gain of 63,000. It seems pretty certain that the Socialists will gain about 25 new seats in the Reichstag, while increasing their popular vote by about a half-million.

The Freeman's Labor Journal of Spokane, declares that about 35 men are regularly employed by a detective agency of that city to spy on the local unions, and that one or more of these pimps of capitalism are present at every meeting of nearly every union in Spokane, and report the doings thereof to the bosses. A few union men set themselves the task of unmasking these hirelings, and succeeded in locating several of them. If these spies are not furnished in short order something to spice their reports it will be the fault of the unions.

Comrade T. C. Wiswell, pastor of the University Congregational Church of Seattle, sends in this word of encouragement: "The last number of the 'Socialist' is to my mind the best you have published. It sets me exactly. It will make Socialists and Socialists of the right sort."

"The Comrade" for June has some very interesting articles by several well-known Socialists. "The Comrade" is always good, and steadily improving, and the June number is one of the very best issues that has appeared.

National Organizer M. W. Wilkins

is now in Washington, having finished his tour of the state of Oregon, where he made 50 speeches and organized 16 new locals. His last trip in Oregon was through Wasco county, on the Columbia river, speaking at Mosier, The Dalles, Dufur and Kingsley, organizing Locals at the first and last of these places named. At Dufur, F. A. Reichlein, and at Kingsley, Frank Leiblein, two sturdy German comrades, have been holding the fort for Socialism for a long time. Both of these comrades were active in the Socialist movement of San Francisco, Cal., in the latter seventies, and remembered and inquired for their old-time comrades, Jas. Sudrem and G. Moeller, who are still active and are now members of Local Oakland (Alameda county); and who live in Berkeley.

Money talks in the politics of British Columbia. Under the law \$200 must be deposited for every candidate placed on the ticket. That's a fine scheme for shutting out the candidates of a working class party, but they'll have to raise the limit before they check the sturdy comrades of British Columbia.

The German election returns come in slowly, but when they arrive they show tremendous gains at every point for the Socialist Party. Fifty-four Socialists were elected to the Reichstag on the first ballot. The rebalotting in the 177 districts that failed to elect on the first ballot will take place June 25. The Socialists gained the right to vote in 122 of these districts. It now seems certain that the Socialists will elect in at least one-third of these districts, and cast a total vote in the Empire of 3,000,000. That will make the Socialist Party, not only the strongest in point of numbers, but the dominant force in the parliamentary affairs of Germany.

John Burns, labor member of the British parliament, says that "Industrially America is hell with the lid off." We will concede the point, but if "Honest John" will read what our Jack London is saying in Willshire's about the experience of the submerged class of "Merrie England," he will conclude that it was not necessary to voyage to America to find an industrial hell.

Harrison Gray Otis, the doughty newspaper champion of scabblism, and organizer of "rat," printers' unions, is playing a losing game in his battle against unionism. Union influence has shorn the Los Angeles Times, Otis's paper of nearly all of its advertising.

The Building Trades Council of Omaha, adopted a resolution denouncing the bricklayers of that city for agreeing to work with scab labor. This inspires one to remark that the meanest enemy that labor has is the capitalist minded workingman who invokes the principle of unionism to feather his own nest, but doesn't care a rap for the welfare of his fellow workers of other crafts.

The Japan Socialist of recent date states that the factory workers of that country are beginning to break down with consumption, as a result of their change from a rural, outdoor life to a long-hour day factory servitude.

We note that Wayland now says a quarter million issue of the "Appeal" costs him \$1,050. "The Socialist" a while ago figured it out at \$1,007.50. Some comrades thought we were "way off" at the time. Look back at our issue of Jan. 18 and notice some other correct figures then given.

Once more our Farmer debate goes over through lack of space. Next week sure. The best of it to come.

We have numerous letters ably discussing the Farmer Question. They will appear in due time.

THANKS.

Boston, Mass., June 19, 1903.
Dear Comrade,
Your answer to Unterman in the issue of June 14th is the best thing I have seen on the subject. Please send me fifty copies with bill for the same.
Fraternally yours,
ALEX HAYMAN,
Assistant Secretary Socialist Executive Committee of Massachusetts.

Chicago Socialist
181 Washington St.

TO REORGANIZE SPOKANE AND NORTHPORT

SCURLOCK ELECTED TO REORGANIZE SPOKANE AND NORTHPORT.
Seattle, June 17, 1903.

Mr. J. H. C. Scurlock,
Box 16, Dupont, Idaho.

Dear Comrade:
I attach copy of three referendums which have been endorsed by an overwhelming majority. One referendum revokes the charter of Local Northport and two revoke the charter of Local Spokane.

Acting under these instructions the State Committee has chosen you to proceed to Spokane and Northport and reorganize these locals in accordance with these referendums. Note particularly that only such persons as "believe in the uncompromising and independent political action of the Socialist Party" are to be admitted in the reorganization.

In connection with the task now imposed upon you it seems to me there is one thing above all others to be kept before you, viz., the integrity of the Socialist Party as a Working Class movement, without a compromise, must be preserved. Measures, not men must be first considered. Principles, not votes, must be our aim.

The members of the Socialist Party are the advance guard of the army of industrial freedom, only those who can recognize foe from friend and who fight the foe on sight should belong to that advance guard.

The Committee reposes confidence in you and looks to you to perform this party service faithfully and well, which it believes you will.

Fraternally,
U. G. MOORE,
Secretary-Treasurer.

FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS.

June 20, 1903.
J. H. C. Scurlock,
Dupont, Wash.

Dear Comrade:
In reference to the letter of notification of this date I attach a charter application for a local in Spokane, signed by six with J. E. Harmonson as organizer and L. G. Miller, secretary. I also enclose the first month's dues. I have written them that the reorganization must take place under your direction as called for by the referendum.

If they are admitted in the reorganization you may return the dues with others to me; if not, the dues should be returned to the persons whose names appear on the application.

The committee will bear your expenses for the reorganization of both Spokane and Northport. I trust you

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will be able to start without delay. Kindly advise to what address I shall send your expense money and about how much, and I will remit it as soon as you say. Please take receipts for your expenses as far as possible and mail to me so that I may have proper vouchers.

I send you copies of the state and national constitutions under separate cover.

Trusting to hear that you are starting to the work, I am,
Yours fraternally,
U. G. MOORE.

HAVE YOU VOTED?

(Copy of Official Ballot)
LOCAL SEATTLE S. P.

BALLOT FOR DELEGATES FOR STATE CONVENTION
Tacoma, July 4, 1903, 10 A. M.

Mark a cross after fifteen of the following names:

- H. N. Baumann.
- Jas. N. Boulit.
- F. X. Christman.
- E. D. Curtis.
- E. O. Freeman.
- John Garie.
- W. E. Hanbury.
- W. F. Hanbury.
- Thos. A. Hickey.
- Jas. H. Hilgert.
- A. Hutchison.
- John Jacobsen.
- Sydney King.
- Chas. Lampe.
- Wm. McDevitt.
- U. G. Moore.
- Martin Quinn.
- P. O. Olson.
- Geo. W. Scott.
- A. G. Selbert.
- John G. Smart.
- Hermon F. Titus.
- Albert Wagonknecht.
- D. D. Whedon.
- Thos. C. Wiswell.

Sign Here:

Name.....
Address.....

DIRECTIONS.

Fifteen delegates are to be chosen by Local Seattle to represent the 211 members in good standing. The one receiving the highest vote will be declared Delegate at Large.

You will receive this Ballot from the Secretary of your Branch inside an addressed envelope. Mark your fifteen names, sign your name and address, put it into the envelope, place a 2c stamp on the envelope and mail same by Saturday night at the latest. The envelopes will be opened and the count made Monday night, June 29, 8 o'clock, at Headquarters, 509 Third Avenue. Secretaries of the various Branches should be present at the count.

BY ORDER OF COMMITTEE.
Appointed by the City Central Committee to conduct this election.
W. EMMET HANBURY,
Secretary.

NATIONAL ORGANIZER WILKINS AT CARPENTERS' HALL

Seattle, Next Sunday Night
SEE PAGE 4

LOCAL NOTES.

Five new members were admitted to the West Green Lake Branch at the meeting last Monday night. Pretty good, don't you think? Nearly 50 per cent. gain!

The Finnish Branch, Seattle Local, held a picnic at Green Lake Pavilion Sunday, June 28, from 2 to 11 p. m. Music, dancing, games, prizes, refreshments. Admission 50 cents.

Comrade E. Hutchison has resigned as City Organizer of Local Seattle.

Eight men were seen reading "The Socialist" last Saturday in the Fairhaven (Wash.) postoffice. They could not wait to read it at home.

Town Hall, Columbia, Tuesday night, June 30. McDevitt and Hutchison.

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2 feet 8 inches by 6 feet 8 in. \$1.35
2 feet 10 inches by 6 feet 10 in. \$1.45
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18 inches high, will extend from 22 to 24 inches. 25c
18 inches high, will extend from 22 to 24 inches. 35c
24 inches high, will extend from 24 to 27 inches. 45c
30 inches high, will extend from 28 to 30 inches. 50c
30 inches high, will extend from 28 to 30 inches. 60c
30 inches high, will extend from 28 to 42 inches. 70c

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RUN EASY LAWN MOWER, 18-in. size, regular \$1.25, special. \$3.25
RUN EASY LAWN MOWER, 14-in. size, regular \$1.75, special. \$3.75
RUN EASY LAWN MOWER, 16-in. size, regular \$2.25, special. \$4.25
WINNER LAWN MOWER, 12-in. size. \$4.75
WINNER LAWN MOWER, 14-inch size. \$5.25
WINNER LAWN MOWER, 16-inch size. \$5.75

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LIGHTNING ICE CREAM FREEZER, 6-quart size. \$3.25

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THE ROOTS OF THE SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY
Newly Translated, with Historical Introduction, by Austin Lewis.

Frederick Engels' work entitled "Feuerbach," a criticism on the philosophical and sociological writings of a forgotten author, is a book of timely interest to every thinking socialist at the present day. Feuerbach's was not the last attempt to adulterate the philosophy of socialism with the unverifiable fancies of one or another form of sentimentalism. The book is handsomely printed, substantially bound in cloth, and is the eighth volume in the Standard Socialist Series, sold at fifty cents a volume, postpaid. The other volumes now ready are as follows:

1. Karl Marx: Biographical Memoirs by Wilhelm Liebknecht. Translated by Ernest Untermyer.
2. Collectivism and Industrial Evolution. By Edile Vandervelde. Translated by Charles H. Kerr.
3. The American Farmer. By A. M. Simons.
4. The Last Days of the Russian Association. By Isaac Broome.
5. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Ernest Untermyer.
6. The Social Revolution. By Karl Kautsky. Translated by A. M. and May Wood Simons.
7. Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Edward Aveling, D. Sc.

Mention this Paper, and for one dollar you can have any two of these volumes by mail, and the International Socialist Review one year to the address of any one who has never been a subscriber. The Review is a 64 page monthly. Those who understand socialism want it. Those who talk socialism need it.

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