

The Socialist

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THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER
A CARTOON WEEKLY

TO ORGANIZE THE SLAVES OF CAPITAL TO VOTE THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION

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No. 154

DROWNED IN THE RED SEA OF SOCIALIST BALLOTS

The Freed Spirit of Labor Commands the Thunderbolt

From "Der Wahre Jacob," German Socialist Cartoon Weekly



Above the puny sparrow flight of bourgeois campaign trickery the thought of Socialism rises like an eagle. Socialist philosophy is the only clear idea in a world full of confusion, the only great factor in a time full of smallness, the only will battling against mental inertia, the only hope which triumphs over the cares of today and lends a meaning to the lives of millions.

But now it is suddenly claimed that the Socialists are getting ashamed of their platform. The only political movement which does not wander about aimlessly, but is proceeding straight toward a really great and mighty goal, is suddenly said to be yelling its aim. The men who frankly confessed and announced a new world message, who paid for their honest convictions, during the last five years alone, the penalty of three hundred years of imprisonment, are now suddenly charged with tramping through the country in the guise of mysterious heroes of detective stories and with having no other care but to conceal their dark plans behind a spotless shirt front. Every-bourgeois campaign meeting, every capitalist campaign leaflet, loudly proclaims: THE SOCIALISTS ARE CONCEALING THEIR REAL PROGRAM.

But if our capitalist antagonists wish to insinuate that we have not revealed our aims with sufficient zeal, then we hasten to assure them once again: YES, WE ARE REVOLUTIONARY. WE REGARD THE IMPENDING TRANSFORMATION OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURES AS AN INNATE NECESSITY OF PRESENT SOCIETY, AND WE WISH TO SERVE SYSTEMATICALLY, AND FULL OF PROUD CONSCIOUSNESS, AS THE HARBINGERS OF THE NEW ORDER. They may call us iconoclasts, if they wish, but we know very well that nothing will collapse unless it is mouldy and rotten. We are also disturbers who chase the ruling classes from their beds of ease and jar the masses out of their inertia to demand all the blessings of culture. We combat all privileges of birth and of property. We are opposed on principle to the rule of monarchs, nobles, and capitalists.

Yes, we are all this. But what are we not?

We are no conspirators who plan in the dark. Neither are we robbers or murderers. We despise nothing so much, we regard nothing as more clumsy and detestable, as the use of force, that force which the ruling classes of all centuries have used. So long as human history remains a history of murder, and brutal force, just so long have you little reason for feeling superior to your ancestors of the stone age.

We wish to abolish murder, and our foes claim that we are preaching murder. We wish to make property, which hitherto has been a common right only in theory, the actual right of all—and they claim that we wish to abolish property. We wish to abolish all the open and concealed forms of paid love, and our opponents claim that we wish to introduce public prostitution.

And though they always fall in their gross insinuations and brainless inventions, still they never tire of repeating the same old game every time it has been lost.

We know that the battle of June 16th is nothing but a battle in that great class struggle which cannot end otherwise than by the victory of the proletariat, in the triumph of Socialism. We do not celebrate any victories, until we have won them, and we shall not rest on our laurels. The day after the battle will find us busy preparing for the next one, while the foe may slip his sword back into the scabbard.

WE SHALL NOT BE SATISFIED WITH ANYTHING SHORT OF COMPLETE VICTORY—THERE WILL BE NO REST UNTIL THE GOAL IS REACHED.—Vorwaerts, Berlin Socialist Daily.

WORKINGMEN IN A CAPITALIST ARMY



THE RICHMOND STREET RAILWAY STRIKE—EVERY UNION MAN SHOULD READ.

Very little about the strike of street car workers in Richmond, Va., is being said in the outside world, so it is not generally known that the state militia is on active duty there, and martial law is practically in force. Since the strike commenced and the militia has been on the ground numerous outrages against the strikers and their sympathizers have occurred, one of the outrages being the shooting of a small boy. As the state and city are controlled by the Democratic Party, a report of the strike situation in Richmond, under date of July 6th, from Comrade John Catrell, a member of the Bricklayers' Union of Richmond, is exceedingly interesting.

"There were two competing street car lines here until recently, when they consolidated and were granted franchises, for which the city had been offered \$300,000. Frank Gould, of New York, owns the controlling interest in the consolidation. There are 627 street car men now on strike, and when the struggle began, the company failed to move a car for 48 hours, and since that time the service has been very poor. The company has imported strike breakers from a detective agency in New York—Drummond's. The leader of the strike breakers is the notorious Barley, who makes strike breaking a business, and who claims to have a force of 2,000 men throughout the country ready to act on demand. Farley receives \$2,500 a year and expenses, and his 'professionals' get \$2.50 per day and all they are permitted to 'knock down.' I heard one scab say, 'Dis was a bum trip fer knocking down; didn't have but three guys.'

When the first car left the barns there was rioting, the tracks were torn up and the switches spiked. The local papers immediately roared and ranted for protection for the 'Sacred rights of private property.' The militia was called out, and although martial law has not been declared, yet the police powers are being exercised and if a man makes a derogatory remark in the presence of a scab the soldiers jump off the cars, arrest the offender, and the police justice (?) soaks him for \$10 and 60 days.

"Last night a man was shot to death by militiamen in Manchester, our twin city, because he refused to stop when told to halt. All the powers of government are being used most brazenly, and all laws openly violated in the interest of the company, while the workers are being intimidated and shot down under the guise of upholding the 'majesty of the law.' The city council refused positively to listen to a resolution brought up by one of the councilmen demanding that the company arbitrate the strike. Class antagonism was never so clearly manifested.

"The labor organizations have rallied to the support of the street car men, and my union, the Bricklayers', in which there are ten Socialists, and eighty subscribers to party papers out of the 150 members, has contributed \$750 to the aid of the strikers, mainly through the efforts of the Socialists. The members of the city government, including Mayor Taylor, who was a boyhood friend of many of the strikers' have had their eyes opened by this fight.

"The Socialist local has made it a point to keep prominently before the unions. We have distributed thousands of papers and are taking advantage of the present situation to the utmost. This strike is simply the beginning of a general fight in this city. One of our business men, Fritz Sitterding, director of several banks, building contractor and material man and Nabob of this city of 100,000 people, is president of the street railway company. Our union has boycotted his material. An alliance has resulted between the contractors and material men, to resent the 'shameful tyranny of organized labor' and if the street car company wins, the other labor skimmers will begin operation on the other unions.

"The Socialist local pledged moral and financial aid, participated in a strikers' parade, and on the following morning I went before the union and told the strikers what the Socialist Party was doing, to the undisguised chagrin of some of the so-called 'labor leaders' who stomp the city every election for the politicians. These people tried to have me shut out, but the union men knew me, as I had helped to get relief, for the striking miners and for the street car men of Norfolk during their strike, so the leaders' efforts were unavailing. I have visited the union a dozen times and each time have been called upon to speak, despite the efforts of the newspapers to scare the strikers by misrepresenting us, and of the leaders to create prejudice against the Socialists.

"These same leaders were quietly engineering to have a labor party launched, but all our boys are working like Trojans and we know that this strike opens up a new era for Socialist propaganda in Richmond. I am off to address a meeting now, to which the strikers have invited me."

"THE WORKING CLASS INTERESTS OF THE MIDDLE CLASS"

Walter Thomas Mills at last declares himself—Good Reason for refusing to say the Class Struggle is the Central Element in Socialist Politics—An elaborate Report to Show "No Danger from the Middle Class"—All Capitalists interested in the Advent of Socialism—The old Utopian view under a slightly veiled form—Now for a Discussion Apart from Personalities, on the Real Merits of the Question: Has the Middle Class Sufficient Working Class Interests to be a Safe Co-worker in the Socialist Party?

The following circular letter from Comrade Mills speaks for itself. He has waited nearly a year since "The Socialist" first asked him to declare himself. He has now been principal of an "International School of Social Economy" for two years. He ought now to know exactly what he wants to say. He has just completed a tour of the country speaking to audiences largely composed of Socialists. He has probably felt the pulse of the Socialists he has met and knows, or thinks he knows, their sentiments.

Now he deliberately issues this circular, announcing his conclusions with this request: "Editor, please publish third week in July." It will appear simultaneously in the Socialist press of America as the political manifesto of Walter Thomas Mills.

At present, we make only two comments. First. This was the finest opportunity ever given a single man in the Socialist Party to emphasize the working class character of the Socialist movement. Just at this juncture when our greatest danger lies in the Utopian middle class "Socialists" rushing into the Socialist Party and making of it a party with middle class interests, when wage workers themselves need the clearest instruction in economics to keep them from Utopian programs, Mills has omitted even to mention the class struggle, based on Exploitation in Wage Labor, and even takes the greatest pains to assure us there is no danger from the Middle Class, that they are the very men who oppose all palliatives, and are to be trusted.

This omission to emphasize the Class Struggle, and this deliberate emphasis on the safety of the Middle Class, is the most significant thing about this Manifesto.

Second. He advocates omission of all special proposals as to the constitution of our party, and, instead, "the simple pledge to everybody, AND TO EVERYBODY ALIKE, of the collective ownership, democratic management and equal opportunity (his pet phrases) of the regular Socialist program."

This is precisely what "The Socialist" has said all along, that Mills ignores the Class-Struggle basis of present Socialism, as a political organization, and would speak only of future Socialism, that is, our legislative program when we have achieved political victory. On the contrary, we claim, with International Socialism as expressed in our national platform, that the most important thing just now, is to get the wage workers together in one party, and that there is danger in Middle Class domination.

The issue is now clearly drawn, Mills on one side, the Socialist platform on the other.

Let the discussion go on!

Denver, Colo., July 8, 1903.
Dear Comrades:

During the last sixty days I have traveled over nine thousand miles and have spoken in forty-one towns in twelve states, extending from New York City to San Francisco—have spoken seventy-one times and to more than a hundred thousand people; fourteen times to trades unions, once under special committee made up of trades unionists and Socialists, and twice for propaganda clubs—all the other addresses, fifty-four in all, were under the auspices of regular Socialist locals.

This trip was undertaken on the invitation of many of the most active workers in the Socialist Party, but on my own responsibility as to expenses and appointments.

My bills are all paid for the trip and a small surplus has been earned in excess of expenses; and as to appointments, I have had applications for more than four appointments for every day on the calendar.

The meetings everywhere have been most gratifying. So far as I know, the collections have in all cases paid all the expenses and have frequently left a surplus for the further work of the party, after paying to me the sums agreed upon.

The receipts for the Cooper Union meeting in New York were \$145; in Denver, for two meetings, \$107; in Los Angeles, \$106; in San Francisco, \$140; in Seattle, one meeting, \$70. In a dozen cases I was unable to get out of the hall till after midnight, and everywhere the interest has been intense. In many cases the halls have proven too small for the crowds, and once, at Modesto, California, I adjourned the meeting to the outside, with the most gratifying results.

At San Bernardino, five neighboring Socialist locals joined in the meeting, ran a special train, filled the Park with people, and the comrades said that after paying all the bills from the collection, Richardson alone was out of pocket five cents.

Concerning a few things I am fully satisfied, as the result of this trip. I am convinced that I have not been mistaken in contending that there is no sectionalism in the movement. There is not a place in America where the Socialists are not anxious to push the work and first of all to win Socialism for all mankind rather than to seek personal advantages or personal consideration for anyone inside or outside of the Socialist party. While in New York I insisted that Ben Hanford should come west. He is coming. When he has crossed this continent he will tell you the same story in the same way that Vall and Chase and every other eastern comrade has done who has come to personally know the western comrades.

Again, fusion is dead. As is now everywhere known, it was not undertaken in California until after it had been discussed in New York.

I am assured and am convinced that it was never seriously undertaken by the comrades in New York, and I did not find a single comrade in California anxious for any more of it in that state. In both San Francisco and Los Angeles I spoke to trades union meetings on their invitation and in both cases argued at length and with the most pronounced approval of my hearers. In favor of trades unionists going into politics but against the separate organization of a trades union party and in favor of their support of the Socialist party with the only possible

Socialist party, and, instead, will simply pledge to everybody, and to everybody alike, the collective ownership, democratic management and equal opportunity, of the regular Socialist program, bearing in mind that this is the only possible program for the working man's side of the class struggle—if doing this and stamping out all middle class proposals, we will fight hard for the working class program, the middle class Socialist will never harm the party in its fight for working class interests only, for members of the middle class will co-operate with us only so far as they have interests in common with the working class, which are of more importance to them than any advantage they may now have as employers of labor or buyers and sellers of goods.

For the next sixty days I shall be in Denver, reviewing my lessons in Social Economy and preparing for the next term of our Training School at Kansas City, which will begin on December 8th, when I am to have the assistance in my school work of Comrades Kirkpatrick, Wood, Etherton, the O'Hares, Pitts, Lockwood, Spargo of New York, Fieldman of New York, Critchlow of Ohio, Chambers of Nebraska, Smith of Montana, Jones of Colorado, Richardson of California, and Unterman of Kansas. I have already on the list of students for the coming term the names of one hundred and twenty-one comrades, representing nearly all of the states of the Union, and provinces of Canada.

I shall enter the field again September 1st, and shall speak every day until the opening of our next term.

Yours fraternally,
WALTER THOMAS MILLS.
1255 Lincoln Ave., Denver.

"THE SOCIALIST" CONDEMNED AND REPUDIATED.

The following resolutions, we take it, were introduced as a gentle emetic for our overloaded stomach. We have swallowed it cheerfully, but it has not yet produced the desired effect—unless the administering comrades may take the present writing as adequate to the occasion.

With respect to these resolutions, all we can say is this. "If the 'Whereases' tell the truth, we would have no special objection to the resolutions, in substance.

But the point is, Are the facts as stated? Has Mills ever said or written what the above preamble says he says, namely, "that he now stands and for years has stood for the uncompromising affirmation of the class-struggle as the basis of Socialism, and for the working class nature of the Socialist movement?"

He certainly did not say that on the Seattle platform. He has refused for ten months to write that, though over and over again urged publicly to do so. A single sentence saying that would have prevented this controversy.

Less than that was asked of him. He has only been asked to say whether he believed the class-struggle to be the basis of our political movement, not as above, of Socialism. The latter statement he has explicitly ridiculed and rightly. Socialism in its wide meaning, including the Co-operative Commonwealth, is not based on the Class-Struggle. But Socialism as a political movement, that is, the Socialist Party, must be based directly on the Struggle between the Capitalist Class and the Working Class. This latter principle, essential to our tactics, without which we can not build a successful party, is what Mills has never yet said to our knowledge. More, there is abundant testimony, that he said at San Francisco, "Thank God, I do ignore the Class-Struggle."

But it is not necessary to go back to his speeches now. He has written out what he now stands for and sent it out for publication in all the Socialist papers.

It can be found elsewhere in this issue. After his tour from the Atlantic to the Pacific, after months of thinking and studying, he has written on July 8, at Denver, his own answer for the comrades to read.

That answer, while most adroitly prepared, is a special plea for the

middle class to enter the Socialist Party. It asserts that the "middle class have working class interests" and are not to be feared.

This is why Mills has never been willing to say that the class struggle between capital and wage labor is the central element in our political program. He regards the class struggle between the middle class capitalists and the Big Capitalists as equally important in the organization of our party. Else why take up the most of his letter reporting his nine thousand mile trip, with an argument for the Socialist Party to appeal to "all men, including those who are now capitalists," because they will have "an equal chance at life under better conditions than most of them are able to obtain under capitalism?"

The following resolutions were passed too soon, before Mills wrote his report. But we publish them as a matter of history.

By the way, those resolutions speak of "a plan to silence Mills." This is absolutely the first we ever heard of any such plan. The only plan we know of, is the common purpose of all Socialists who stand for a working-class party, to stop all teachers of so-called "Socialism" from speaking under party auspices, until they adopt the Socialist National platform in its clear and obvious intent, placing the Class-Struggle as the basis of our political movement.

RESOLUTION.

Whereas, The Central Branch of Local Seattle has heard Walter Thomas Mills deliver an address under its auspices, and has questioned him fully concerning his utterances and acts as a Socialist speaker and member; and

Whereas, Comrade Mills has affirmed in the clearest and most unmistakable terms his unflinching allegiance to the principles of the Socialist Party, and that he now stands and for years has stood for the uncompromising affirmation of the Class-Struggle as the basis of Socialism, and for the working-class nature of the Socialist movement and for its absolute opposition to all middle-class or reform movements or parties; and

Whereas, We believe that Comrade Mills is an uncompromising, class-conscious and revolutionary Socialist; therefore,

Resolved, (1) That we express our entire approval of Comrade Mills' presentation of the principles of straight Socialism; (2) That we condemn and repudiate the attacks of "The Seattle Socialist" upon the speeches and agitation tours of Comrade Mills; (3) That we disapprove of the co-operation of "The Seattle Socialist" in the plan to silence Mills by driving him off the Socialist lecture platform, and by blacklisting him in the eyes of the Socialist Party; (4) That we express our adherence to the policy of giving a fair and full hearing to every member of the party who is under charges of misconceiving, misrepresenting, or denying the principles of scientific Socialism.

Resolved further, That a copy of these resolutions be sent for publication to our leading party papers, with the request to give these resolutions as wide a circulation as the charges against Mills have been given.

McDEVITT,
HUTCHENSON,
BOULT,
FUHRBURG,
BURNS.

The Socialists of Omaha and of Nebraska have made the Seattle Socialist their official organ. That paper hews close to the lines laid down in the national Socialist platform. We recommend it to those who want to know what Socialism is.—"Workers' Gazette," Omaha, July 11, 1903.

CONVENTION IMPRESSIONS.

The writer hereof has attended many political conventions, local, state, and national, but never one more efficient, business-like, and frictionless, than the state convention of the Socialist Party of Washington, held at Tacoma, July 4. A national organizer must concern himself with the status of the movement in the states he visits. The clearness and solidarity of a movement, or the lack thereof is never better manifested than by the work of delegates in a state convention. With that thought in mind the Socialists of Washington have great reason to congratulate themselves. Looking at the question from the viewpoint of revolutionary, working-class Socialism, it is doubtful if there is a movement within the confines of the United States better grounded than the Socialist Party of the State of Washington.

There was a business-like atmosphere, if you will allow the expression, about every session of the convention. All the delegates seemed to know what they wanted and travelled straight to their purpose. The wordy squabbles that mark most conventions, giving professional hair-splitters a chance to parade their talents, were noticeably absent at the Tacoma meeting. Rumored friction didn't materialize. Opportunism, if present, squared itself to the dominant sentiment of the convention and made things unanimous. The country delegates, whom we always expect to wobble a little proved themselves as capable of walking a straight line as the "hard-heads" from Seattle. The speeches were a noticeable feature of the convention. Though no limit was set, scarcely a speech exceeded three minutes in length. There was a straight driving at the mark in vigorous Anglo-Saxon, that would have harrowed the soul of the professional spell-binder. Had the latter been present he wouldn't have had time to lay the foundation of a rhetorical flourish without a sarcastic invitation to cork himself. The delegates were working people, whose function is to work, not talk, and throughout the convention they followed the line of their every-day life.

The work of the committees of the convention was performed with that dispatch that characterize men who know what is wanted and needed and how to state it. There was no technical quibbling, nor subtle weaving of phrases "to catch 'em a-comin' and a-go-in'." But every act of the committees, whether manifested in a resolution or an amendment to the constitution, made clearer the purpose of Socialism, or more completely squared the party in Washington to the basis of a truly revolutionary, working-class movement, all of which was adopted by the convention with a unanimity that bodes well for the cause in this state.

The presence in the Washington field of a Socialist paper, that hews strictly to the line in matters involving doctrine and tactics, though sometimes causing a disagreeable flying of chips, is a factor not to be underestimated when the clearness and solidarity of the movement are under consideration.

M. W. WILKINS.

The Mills men, by using "packed" meetings instead of Referendum votes, have got control of the offices in the Central Branch of Seattle, and of the City Central Committee also, when the delegates from the other branches are absent. That they will stop at nothing in the way of injustice, is seen by the account found elsewhere, written by Comrade Curtis, one of the most painstaking, careful and accurate men in our party. The facts speak for themselves.

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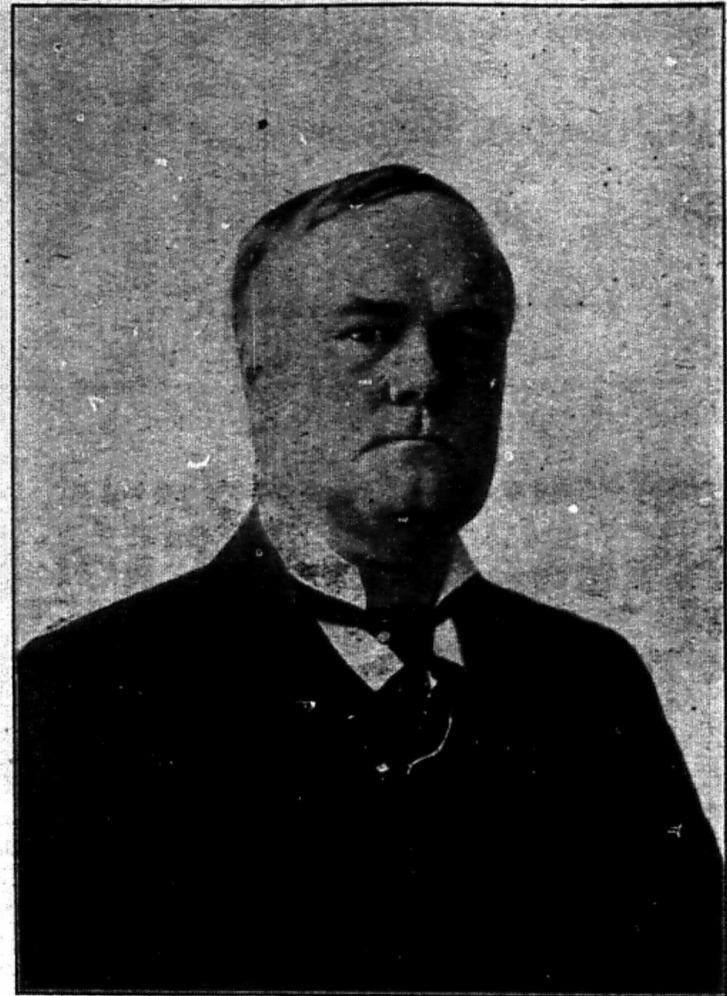
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M. W. WILKINS, National Organizer



M. W. WILKINS, NATIONAL ORGANIZER FOR PACIFIC COAST.

Born in Vermont in 1856. Descended from Scotch ancestry that came into New England way back in seventeenth century. Has the physique and mental characteristics of Scotch race. Raised on a farm from seven years old and onward worked hard for a living. Worked in fourteen different states, at two dozen different callings, giving him wide experience of working-class interests. Entered college at 25. Taught school several terms. Edited eight different papers, and for three years was editor of "The Class-Struggle," the Socialist paper of San Francisco. Called himself a Socialist so early as 1885, but saw "as through a glass darkly" until 1896, when he became a full-fledged Socialist, joining the Socialist Labor Party. Believes in revolutionary working-class Socialism.

"THE SOCIALIST" MADE OFFICIAL ORGAN BY NEBRASKA STATE COMMITTEE.

Whereas, "The Seattle Socialist," in its fearless adherence to the working class program of international Socialism, as well as by its no less fearless policy of laying bare the internal affairs of the organization and making public to the membership the acts of individual comrades, has stamped itself pre-eminently the tocsin of the proletariat, therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Socialists of Nebraska, in state convention assembled, adopt the Seattle Socialist as our official organ until such time as we have a paper of our own.

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TO ALL OUR FRIENDS, ESPECIALLY TO "THE LIBERATOR" SUBSCRIBERS

We wish to say to all our friends that we have taken over "The Liberator" list for nothing—except glory.

This means expense to us and nothing in return, except the good will—and perhaps some ill will.

It is understood we are not to duplicate any of our own subscribers. If you subscribe for both "The Socialist" and "The Liberator," that is your misfortune. You get "The Socialist" just the same as before. And we expect you will try to get us another subscriber, to pay us for the extra expense of furnishing so many "Liberator" subs. for nothing.

Now a word to "The Liberator" subscribers who did not take "The Socialist."

We send you two issues together as samples. If you want it continued, send us a postal card and say so. Otherwise, we shall assume you do not want it. You see we can't afford to waste our ammunition.

Now, comrades all, push for the last three weeks to help us celebrate our Third Anniversary, Aug. 11.

Send in your orders for that issue, No. 157. If you make big orders at 1/2 cent a copy for 50 or more, we will give you an 8-page edition.

Anyhow, the cartoons alone will make a great paper of it. We depend on you.

COLORADO BREEZES

BY J. EDWARD MORGAN

You may talk of the "Great Class Struggle,"
In a sort of an abstract way,
And spin out a meaningless jingo
To the dupes of your grand stand play.
In the role of the politician,
Deep skilled in the trickster's art.
You may slyly pose as the "true and tried"
While playing your double part.
But as sure as the great class struggle
Is a living, concrete thing,
As sure as the voice of a grafter
Has a two-fold—tell-tale ring,
As sure as the lies of a liar
In the end will the liar rout,
So sure the schemes of the trickster
Will one day find him out.
The bandit may cheat the bastille,
The villain the hangman's knot,
The sleek, commercial pirate
May cover his thieving plot,
But the wily politician,
How ever he change his coat,
That prowls a wolf in the daylight,
Disguised as a Billy goat,
And attempts to lead to the slaughter
The watchful, Socialist fold,
Will be hurried to earth by the tollers
And trampled 'till stark—and cold,
In the ranks of the Socialist army
That stretch to the four winds, wide.
There is never a nook where a traitor
As small as an asp can hide,
No place, for the politician
In all of its world-wide reach,
Inglorious end to the trickster
And every grafting leech,
No place for the would-be "leader"—
He falls—who assumes command,
For the pulse of this mighty army
Is in each soldier's own right hand.
And the mighty, unseen captain,
The world-wide movement's soul,
Is the one class-conscious spirit
Directing the mighty whole—
So out of the way, ye grafters,
Ye buzzards, all take wing,
Or, crushed like worms, bear witness,
To this movement's forward swing.
Woe! woe! to the politician
Who this day piles his graft,
Alas, for the labor fakir
Who, warned, has but blandly laughed,
For the day of retribution
Comes surely as all roads turn;
Who straddles the Socialist buzz-saw,
Shall be ripped from stem to stern.

When will we learn that not votes but clear, uncompromising Socialists—
what a revolutionary party needs?

When will we learn that not sentimental lecturers, skilled in the art
of flim-flamming automatically the present system and contrasting it with a
new Jerusalem to be superimposed upon society, but cold, calculating agitators
who can teach the principles of revolutionary Socialism to the Working
Class, whose mission it is to direct the social revolution for their own emanci-
pation, is our growing need?

Did Karl Marx hesitate to put before the world in cold letters the philo-
sophy and program of revolutionary Socialism? Read the Manifesto written
in '48, not in "free" America, but in despotic Germany, at a time when it
tested the backbones of the Socialists to give utterance to revolutionary
sentiment. Fearlessly and with a conscience becoming a man, he closed
his Manifesto with: "The communists disdain to conceal their views and
aims; they openly declare to all the world that their aim can only be ac-
complished by the forcible overthrow of all existing social institutions. Let
the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution; the proletarians
have nothing to lose but their chains, they have a world to gain—working
men of all countries, unite."

Yet here in Denver the very mention of the Manifesto is likely to scare the
average Socialist into cat fits. Tact is their one great hobby, and the
very lack of this priceless thing they so much crave, has built up a "big So-
cialist (?) organization" that is so mighty clear, Marxian, proletarian and
revolutionary, that it is about to burst wide open from one end of the state
to the other; the proletarian, revolutionary spirit struggling to get from
under the dominion and thraldom of Socialist (?) bourgeois instinct.

Divine Science—Christian Science—Mental Science—Spiritualism—brotherly
love—Middle Class—Labor fakir—Socialism dished up in a badly smell-
ing old political stew pot, and seasoned to the taste, won't go down the
necks of the average working man and sooner or later the whole working
class will spew it up and drown the old grandmammy politicians so intently
watching the stew.

The revolutionary, class-conscious agitator who comes to Colorado and
dare insist on teaching the class struggle without apologies, "if's and and's"
and round-about hypothetical filibustering, for \$2.00 a day and find his own
keep, will get a cold birth and many an insult from the powers that be
enthroned in state in the Socialist (?) organization, but he will find a warm
welcome from the hungry crowds of working men who through his meetings
on the street—but they are not members of the party.

Night after night as I have drilled away to the core of the class-struggle,
working men have called out in the audience, "that's the kind of stuff we
want to hear; we've had enough of sentiment and brotherly love talk." Long
after the meeting is over great crowds throng the street, discussing Social-
ism until midnight. They long to hear the class struggle taught open and
above board and have got disgusted with that so-called class struggle cant,
whispered in a corner with a "don't-dare-repeat"—"don't-say-it-out-loud"—
backboneless kind of air. Can you wonder, comrades, that there is big prom-
ise of a general walk-out of the working class Socialists of the United
States?

Are they to forever listen to the high-priced wind jamming of scheming
free lancers, and puppet-ousted preachers, who cut their speeches to fit pro-
letarian or middle-class maws as per the complexion of their audiences;
talk abstractly on the class-struggle if they happen to assault a clear work-
ing-class Local with a \$50 or \$75 hand-me-down speech, and talk brotherly
love, come-and-get-saved-all-join-hands-and-march to the Co-operative Com-
monwealth, via Washington, Denver, etc., where fat-offices await the valiant-
kind of money-drawing twaddle!

Who teaches the class-struggle, never wavering,—whatever the make-up
of his audience, will carry a lean purse. Who is true to the working-class
revolutionary program will never have few meals ahead. Marx and Engels
never had the smooth, free sea of our modern free lancers, who make a
business of talking something—anything labeled Socialism for what "there

is in it." "No pay, no speech!" Lucian Sanial, one of the ablest living
writers, who has contributed so much to the stock of Socialist literature and
from whose very life work so many agitators draw their inspiration, is a
poor, neglected, decrepit old man, eking out a miserable existence, and yet
the working class have \$75 to pay to a backboneless biped, a prating parrot,
who inflicts them with his stupendous oratory, pumps them full of hot air
and incidentally tells them that the class struggle is a myth and revolu-
tionary Socialism a lie. In the words of San Francisco Local, "close the
ranks, proletarians, the class struggle is here, the battle is to be fought and
you alone can win it."

Will return to Nebraska to lecture at the Tecumseh Chautauqua, July
30th and 31st, on "Economic Foundations of Society," and "Socialist Philo-
sophy and What Does It Teach?"

Will then return to Colorado and journey on to coast. Will be glad to
speak for State Committees in Wyoming, Utah, Montana, Washington and
California on the revolutionary, class struggle philosophy. I refer State
Committees (who may wish to route me) to National Secretary, or to Ne-
braska State Committee for information in regard to my standing in the
party.

J. EDWARD MORGAN.

Home address, 2255 Arapahoe St., Denver, Colo.

AN UNVARNISHED TALE.

Scheme to Drive Jas. D. Curtis Off
the Washington State Committee.
A Plain Statement of the Facts.

CHAPTER I.

Seattle, Wash., July 13, 1903.
Editor "Socialist."

Dear Comrade: At a regular meet-
ing of the City Central Committee
of Local Seattle Socialist Party the
following resolution was adopted on
July 12.

Yours fraternally,
GEO. W. SCOTT.

Secretary Pro Tem C. C. C. Local So-
cialist Party City.

Resolved, That Local Seattle of the
Socialist Party enter a protest against
the placing of J. D. Curtis of Seattle
on the State Committee of Washing-
ton on the ground that while he was
last a member of the State Commit-
tee he came in conflict with the trade
unions by letting his work to an un-
fair contractor; for that reason he is
still blacklisted by the unions of this
city.

Resolved, That a copy be sent to
both papers for publication in the
state.

CHAPTER II.

Editor "The Socialist."

In order that all comrades may un-
derstand this question and get a cor-
rect idea of the motives of those who
passed the above resolution, I submit
the following:

1st. In the spring of 1901, through
the total misrepresentation of the
above mentioned case by the secretary
of the Building Trades Council, to-
gether with the machinations of others
who were in a deal to turn the union
vote, for consideration, over to the
Republican Party, my name was placed
upon the unfair list.

2nd. The secretary of the Build-
ing Trades Council also wrote what
purported to be an official letter to
Local Seattle Socialist Party, request-
ing that I be expelled from the party,
notwithstanding the fact that the un-
ions of Seattle had expressly voted
that it be not done. The Local promp-
tly laid the communication on the ta-
ble.

3rd. A disagreement in accounting
for the money received for the at-
tempted delivery of the union vote
resulted in an exposure. One man
was expelled from the Union and also
from the Socialist Party, another lost
his position as editor of the Union
paper and was expelled from the So-
cialist Party. The secretary resigned
his position shortly after.

4th. Since 1901 I have built two
houses, both by union labor, and I am
not "still blacklisted" or on the unfair
list as the following statement will show:

Seattle, Wash., Jul y13, 1903...

To Whom This May Concern:

This is to certify that J. D. Curtis
is not on the unfair list.

W. J. STANLEY,
Sec. Building Trades.

5th. Now as to motives. Some of
the members here in Seattle, with the
co-operation of Gilbert, of Spokane,
who came here directly after the con-
vention, are moving heaven and earth
to "smash" "The Socialist" and abro-
gate some of the results of the con-
vention with which they were dis-
pleased. On the evening of Wednes-
day, July 8th, Branch No. 1 held a
meeting ostensibly to endorse Mills,
but in reality to attack the character
of the editor of "The Socialist," who
was not present.

After the meeting, as G. W. Scott
and I were walking up the street, he
threatened that, if I did not resign
from the state committee or withdraw
my name, they would expose me. I
told him to go ahead with his expose.
Last Sunday the City Central Com-
mittee of Seattle, of which Scott is a
member, met and the above resolu-
tion was proposed by Hutchinson, and
seconded by Selbert. A comrade not
a member of the committee suggested
that if it were done in the name of
the Local that the Local should be al-
lowed to vote on it. This was not dis-

puted by anyone. The same comrade
then asked whether this committee
were sure that Curtis was now on the
unfair list. No one would reply to
this. The motion was put, and Scott,
Hutchinson and Selbert voted aye, no
one else voting either way.

Notice the significance of this fol-
lowing: One of the union officials,
after telling me that I was not on the
unfair list, said to me: "See
Scott about this; he knows that you
are not on the unfair list. You know
Scott, don't you?" I said that I knew
Scott and asked for confirmation,
"Does Scott know that I am not on
the unfair list?" He replied: "Of
course he does. He is president of
the Building Trades Council. Give
me your address and I will send you
a copy of our constitution and by-
laws."

I am prepared to substantiate the
above facts and will furnish detailed
information on any point if requested
to.

Comrade Scott and myself have al-
ways been on the most cordial terms
and even with the prominence he has
in this affair I do not consider him
the chief offender. His worst failing
is that he is easily influenced. Selbert
who seems to be the chief mover in
this affair, was the first state organ-
izer in Washington. Having practi-
cally done absolutely nothing during
his term, he was not reelected. This
he has never forgiven. He is straight
in doctrine and a good public speaker,
but is not strong in the planning and
carrying out of things.

As this scheme, as well as a num-
ber of others, is a part of a concerted
attack upon "The Socialist," I wish
to say a few words about our paper.

I believe that certain mistakes have
been made in the conduct of the paper
and had the matter been brought up
in a fair and reasonable way, I would
have been glad to express my opinion
freely and fully.

On the other hand, I believe the pa-
per has done an immense amount of
good—far outweighing its faults. Its
part in bringing the "Appeal" into
line for instance, as far as it has come
into line, would alone "cover a multi-
tude of sins."

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On Sunday, July 27, the S. E. U.
will hold in Seattle their semi-annual
meeting. On behalf of the S. E. U.
of which I am secretary, I hereby in-
vite Local Seattle and all other mem-
bers of our party to meet us, at a
place to be announced in our next
issue, and discuss this whole question
concerning our paper in a fair and
straightforward way. Criticise, con-
demn, approve, or suggest changes—
such a meeting I am sure would be
productive of much good.

In conclusion, let me say, I recog-
nize that there is some truth on both
sides of every question; let us try to
find it. I have been insulted a num-
ber of times of late but I have no bit-
terness on that account. It is not be-
cause I am even-tempered, for I am
not, but I cannot find in my heart
hatred for any comrade, however mis-
guided, who is working for the com-
mon cause.

J. D. CURTIS.

WILKINS AT PUYALLUP.

Puyallup, Wash., July 13, 1903.
Editor The Socialist.

Dear Comrade: Comrade Wilkins,
national organizer, lectured here three
successive nights to fairly good
houses, composed mostly of thought-
ful men and women of mature years,
who manifested the deepest interest
in all that the speaker said. Seed
sown in such soil cannot fail to pro-
duce abundant fruit. The soil being
good, the seed pure, and the sower
a master workman, the crop cannot
be disappointing.

The speaker's presentation of the
class struggle, his analysis of the
wage slavery, and the relation of wo-
man to the socialist movement, and
the benefits and blessings that So-
cialism would bestow upon her, were
presented in a masterly manner, call-
ing forth frequent and hearty ap-
plause.

Comrade Wilkins is possessed of
talents of a high order. A master
of logic; a strong analytical mind; a
superior judgment; and with these
mental endowments a commanding
presence, and an earnestness and elo-
quence that at once commands and
holds the attention of his audience.
We would highly commend Comrade
Wilkins to all locals who are doing
battle with capitalism and endeavor-
ing to establish a co-operative com-
monwealth. Fraternally.

E. C. JOHNSON.

Olympia, Wash., July 13, 1903.

Dear Comrade: A dandy sheet this
week; glad you succeed "The Libera-
tor."

Announce Boomer for Olympia next
Sunday, at 2:30 and 8:15 P. M., on
"Socialism, a Bread and Butter Propo-
sition." Don't know just what his
other appointments will be, probably
Gray's Harbor points.

Have just been notified to vacate
headquarters by the 16th. Will they
make 'em evict us? I see you have
an omission in section 2 article 5, of
new constitution, leaving out the
words, "the endorsement of a" major-
ity of the local, etc.

Well, I have to hustle. Hastily
yours,
E. E. M.

We want every member of the party
to read the latter part of the secre-
tary's notice of the regular semi-annual
meeting of the S. E. U.

NOTICE.

The following persons have made
application for membership in the So-
cialist Educational Union:
U. G. Moore, Seattle; E. W. McNeal,
Tumwater; E. B. Ault, Lewiston,
Idaho; Geo. E. Boomer, Prosser; Dr.
Lee Gansen, Lynden; J. G. Brown,
Hoquiam, and M. W. Wilkins, Oakland,
Calif.

J. D. CURTIS, Sec. S. E. U.

An Alleged Socialist

Who has never read the Communist Manifesto
and Socialism Utopian and Scientific is a good
deal like an alleged Christian who has never read the
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size. \$5.25
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size. \$5.75

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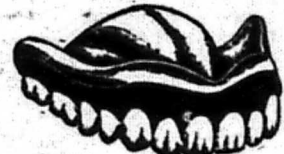
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