SOCIALISM IN 25 WORDS. WHO WILL GIVE THE BEST ANSWER? ANYBODY'S RACE. SEE PAGE 4

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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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CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

Contributed to our A B C series by George D. Herron



I know that the term "class consciousness" is offensive to many, both without and within the Socialist movement. I know that it is used in a way that often makes it seem like a tiresome and commonplace cant. Those who do not understand the history of the term mistake class consciousness for class hatred. None the less, it remains true that until the working class becomes more vividly conscious of itself than it is now, until it realizes that it is the disinherited owner of the world that it bullds on its own back, until it understands that there can be no possible identity of interest or reconciliation between itself and the employing or ruling class its struggle toward emancipation will be blind and unintelligent, betrayed and baffled and compromised, and without that nobility and comprehension which should mark the greatest cause to which man has ever been summoned. In meeting the issues of life and society, we must begin with fact and not with sentiment. The class question is not as to whether we like to have classes or not; the question is: Are there classes in society as now constituted? And is the present constitution of society founded upon the division of the people into classes?. And do class antagonisms and social destruction inhere in the nature of a class society?. No one disputes the affirmative answer to this question.. Not even the most horrified and sophistical opponent of the idea of the class struggle can deny the fact of the class structure of existing society. And if I am to do anything whatever, even as a social coral-builder, toward making the world equally good and resourceful and lovely for all men, I must begin with the fact that all we know of as civilization, up to the present time, has been the institutionalized expression and defense of one class of people living off another class.. There are no words that can make hideous and ghastly enough, or vivid and revolutionary enough, this fact that society and its institutions are organized for the purpose of enabling some people to live off of other people—the few to live off the many.. There is no language realistic enough, or possessed of sufficient integrity, to lay bare the chasm between the possessing class and the producing class; between the class that works and the class that reaps the fruits of that work; between the class that is grist for the great world-mill of economic might and the class that harvests the grist.. And until the working class becomes conscious of itself as the only class that has a right to be, until the man who is down and bound understands that he is exploited and bound by the power which his .own .unpaid .labor places in the hands of the capitalist, until we all clearly see that what we call civilization is but the organized and legalized robbery of the common labor, until we have a revolutionizing comprehension of the fact that our churches and governments, our arts and literatures, our educations and philosophies, our morals and manners, are all more or less expressions and deformities of this universal robbery, building themselves and drawing their life and motives upon and out of the vitals of the man who is down and unprivileged, out of his unpaid labor and exhausted life-until then, I say, .our .dreams and schemes of a-common good or a better society are but philistine utopias, our social and industrial reforms but self-deceit, and our weapons but the shadows of stupidity of hypocrisy. A civilization that is fundamentally parasitical, that has its birth and breath and being in the power of one class to take what another class produces, cannot be so reformed or added to as to bring forth economic justice or any kind of emancipation; or so ordered as to procure equality of opportunity and free individuality.

It is not a question of individuals that we are discussing-not the distinction which our vulgar and brutal moralists make between the so-called good and the so-called bad: It is a question of the quality of civilization... I am defining or characterizing the civilization we now have as a universal or impersonal beast of prey, expressing the power of the ruling and possessing class to absorb and to convert into ever-increasing power to absorb, the whole output of the life and labor of humanity.. There have never existed other than predatory civilizations, up to the present time; and their institutions and morals and creeds have but served to keep the people submissive to the depredations of the ruling class.. To this end have the powers that might happen to be at any given time always been invested with the superstition, menace and hypocrisy of a divine origin.

Yet strip possessing class institutions of their vestures of fraud and force and you behold only the stolid or cunning parasite. Take the standing arm-

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RICHMOND STRIKE-

National Headquarters Socialist Party

Omaha, Neb., July 25, 1903. Comrade John Catrell reports further to the national headquarters up on the street car strike at Richmond, Va., under date of July 19th:

The strike situation is unchanged; the men are still firm. The laws are still violated by the company, for while the cars in operation are few in number, the deficiency is made up by excessive speed. Previous to the strike the union men were heavily fined for excessive speed, and if not suitably attired were laid off, on complaint of police force, for seven or ten

Now the "scabs" are running cars w hardly enough clothes to cover their nakedness. They are the toughsaw two of them attired in balbriggan underwear, no coat, no shirt and no socks, smoking cigarettes, flooding the car with vile tobacco spit, and with 'quids" of tobacco strewing the floor. All this in prain violation of the ordinances.

Last week one of the cars, running at excessive speed, ran into a little girl, who was picked up by the fender. The motorman applied the hand brakes without shutting off the power, and the car failed to stop. A young man ran up, caught the front end of the car and rescued the girl, who was taken to the doctor's. The motorman proceeded unmolested

Last week the company planned a (Continued on Page 4)

TEDDY NO EXCEPTION

An Admirer of Teddy gets a Shock

DID YOU EXPECT ANYTHING DIFFERENT?



WILL UNION MEN STILL VOTE FOR "TEDDY?"

Washington, D. C., July 20.-Wm. H. Miller, who was removed from the position of assistant foreman in the government printing office because he had been expelled from the bookbinders' union, was reinstated July 13 by President Roosevelt, pending final decision, with the following comment:

There is no objection to the employes of the government printing office constituting themselves into a body if they desire to do so, but no rules or resolutions of that union can be permitted to override the laws of the United States, which it is my sworn duty to enforce."

ies of the world, with their millions of men taken from productive labor to be supported by the labor of others, and compelled to serve and revere a glorified criminality-for certainly nothing is so low in the scale of human occupations, so loathsome and really cowardly, as the modern military, with its picnics of loot and murder.. Take this military system, and look at it, and consider whence it comes. What are its guns and navies, its bespangled officers and bedizened ranks? They are the forcibly withheld and parasitically consumed labor of the laborer. That which glitters on the officers' shoulderstraps is the unpaid labor of the consumptive girl in the sweatshop, or of the miner in the Virginia coal mines. The annual riot of capitalist lavlessless, the annual orgy and pandemonum of capitalist prostitution, that breaks out at Washington and yet solemnly commands the sacred respect of seventy millions of people-whence and what are its power, its disposal of the affairs of the nation, its billion-dollar disbursements? It is all the unpaid and ravished labor of the laborer. It is unpaid labor that towers in the steeples of our churches, that sits in our legislatures, that builds palaces on the avenues, that blossoms in our shameless fashions, that drones in our academies and rituals, that produces our war novels and our insipid poetry, that raises our shameless ideals of "the strenuous life," or sings in Mr. Kipling's brute heroics. Our poisoned thoughts, our petty and servile motives of life, the very air we breathe, are but the color or movement of this unpaid labor. Our civlization and all the civilizations that have been are but institutionalized unpaid labor, organized and glorified for the purpose of keeping labor unpaid and submissive.. As I have said, there are no words red and living enough in human experience to state this fact.. There is no power in the human tongue no dynamic in the human pen, that can portray the awfulness of a world that builds its glorious and its gods, its temples of trade and law and religion,

conventionalized robbery of the common labor of mankind.. The history of the world is but the struggle between unpaid labor and those who possess its fruits; and the struggle must go on until the man who is down shall be purified and enlightened to get up, until the man who works shall have the whole result of his work, until every class but the working class has ceased to be, with every member of that class a creator and a poet, a philosopher and a dreamer, and a soul of endless beauty.

The danger to our American Socialist movement is not that it may array class against class. Our danger is that we may have a Socialist movement that is not class conscious; a Socialist movement that shall concede some identity or reconciliation of interest between labor and parasitism; a Socialist movement that shall accept the enthusiasms of discarded politicians or evangelists, or bow down to the wooden images of middle-class moralists. I am not speaking as a Marxian or a dogmatist, and I know that Socialists may be given to phrases that become a cant quite as repulsive as the cant of religious emotionalism and its orthodoxy. And I know, and am constantly urging, that the Socialist propagation of Europe will not answer for America without being recast in the spirit and moulds of American experience and history. But I do speak as one who believes that the integrity and achievements of the Socialist movement, that the quality and finality of the freedom and justice it may win for men, will depend upon a comprehensive, patient and noble recognition of the class structure, class antagonisms and parasitical nature of the society that now is. And all this to the end that it may do away with all cleases forever, and that there may be one people, with one common joy and well-being, and one strifeless movement toward perfect and universal

its forms of beauty and sustems of good, upon an economic might that is but . MARRIAGE OF TWO SOCIALISTS.

San Francisco, Cal., July 22. At our last business meeting Local San Francisco was treated to a very pleasant surprise when Comrade Arthur Lewis announced his marriage to Comrade Lena Morrow, who is well known in the State of California. Comrade Lewis has recently arrived here from London, England, but dur-ing his short stay he has gained the steem and respect of Local San Francisco by his staunch adherence and dvocacy of the Proletarian cause. Miss Morrow we have known for a long time, and the best we can say is the more we know her the better we like her. The comrades received the news with chapping of hands hearty expressions of good will. The bride and groom were called on for speeches, which they made amidst great applause. The meeting then adjourned, and Comrade Lewis and wife went home amidst showers of rice and wishes. Local San Francisco tenders the comrades its congratulations, and hopes that this internationwedding of England and America will enhance their ability and strength cause of International Socialism, and establishment of the Universal Socialist Republic

GEORGE S. HOLMES, WM. COSTLEY, LESLIE BROWN,

The American Farmer and the Socialist Party

A Running Debate Between Ernest Untermann, Associate Editor of "Appeal to Reason," Girard, Kansas, and Hermon F. Titus, Editor of "The Socialist," Seattle, Wash. Published in "The Socialist," Beginning May 3,

THE RURAL PROLETARIAT BY ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Synopsis of Argument

I. Introduction.

II. Comrade Kautsky's Position.

III. Where I stand.

A. The Economic Development of the American Rural Proletariat.

A. The Political History of the American Rural Proletariat.

IV. Conclusion.

IV. CONCLUSION

In the United States, the success of the Socialist Party now depends primarily on the growth of class-consciousness among the working class and the diffusion of Socialist ideas among other classes. The economic basis created by the trusts is fullly sufficient for the purpose of bringing about, by the help of Socialist agitation, a political transformation corresponding to the economic development. The trusts have expropriated seven-eighths of the people. The question is now simply, how soon the expropriated will make up their minds to expropriate the expropriators.

We need not wait for a still higher capitalist development. This does not mean that we must not expect a still higher captalist deevlopment. On the contrary. In industry as well as in agriculture, and even in transportation, there is still plenty of room for further steps in the concentration and intensification of exploitation. Among other things we read, e. g., that the railroads will enlarge their system by 18,000 miles in the course of this year, quite contrary to accepted expectations. But the situation in industries and agriculture is sufficient to generate a Socialist Party strong enough for the conquest of the political powers in the near future. Even if we do not lay special stress on the consequences of the impending commercial crisis. there are still other factors that will not only permit no amelioration in the general standard of living, but will even depress it still farther. The capitalists, may, perhaps, succeed in preventing the final crash in industries a little longer by building railroads, battleships, armor plate, guns, and machines. But the farmer's standard of living will certainly be decreased by the considerable increase of the tillable area through the irrigation of the arid west and through the intensification of the cultivation. The The reaction on industry cannot be avoided, even if the pressure of the commercial crisis should not add to the difficulty. Industrial laborers and farmers will once again suffer in the midst of plenty, because there is a superabundance of good things.

No great economic problem of organization will await the advent of the first Socialist administration. The great industry is today the heart which is regulating the pulse of the entire national production. Hence the organization built by the trusts in industrial production is quite sufficient for the transformation of society in the direction of collectivism. As for agriculture, we have seen that the small and middle-sized farm will in all probability be transferred to the co-operative commonwealth. For in the first place surplus capital is still very partial to investment in industrial enterprises and shows little inclination to take possession of agriculture by capitalist methods of production, the investment in land and mortgages making no change in the present mode of agricultural production, beyond the transfer of the title. And in the second place, the American farmer being a born revolutionary, thanks to his historical development, and having acquired enough political maturity to defend himself by the help of that political party which will take the most aggressive stand against capitalism, it is plain, that the political revolution will make an end to the economic revolution of the capitalists before capitalist methods will be introduced as the essential factor in agricultural production. And when the victory of the working class will be won, agriculture can adapt itself to the new system as readily as it did to the old. A socialized production and consumption in industry will prescribe the same direction to agriculture.

The existing net of railroads with its stations and storage sheds is fully capable of meeting all first requirements for the organization of distribution on a collective basis. We should have to add little more than a few central depots in each county and a few department stores.

I do not wish to enter here any further into the economic side of this question. If the foregoing statement should lead to a controversy with one or the other faction in our party, I shall be glad to furnish the data that have led me to this conclusion. Suffice it to say, that I base my conviction of a Socialist victory in our time largely on the great perfection of the economic organization of this country.

But my special aim is now to emphasize the political side of the social development in the United States, because this has been little appreciated at home and abroad

The recent spring elections again show a considerable increase in the Socialist vote. This is quite in harmony with the political traditions of this country. In no other country of the globe do political parties that arise out of class movements grow so rapidly as here. A glance at the history of the United States will prove this.

In the national elections of 1856, the parties formerly known under the name of whigs appeared for the first time with a new platform which appealed to all voters regardless of their former political differences and called on them to vote for a new party, the Republican Party. The Republican candidate for president received 1,341,264 votes in the very first campaign. Four years later, Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate for president, won out over his Democratic opponent, Stephen A. Douglas, by 1,866,352 votes against 1,375,157. And in the next presidential election, in 1864, all other parties with the exception of the Democratic and Republican had disappeared from the scene. Lincoln again won, this time with 2,216,067 votes against 1,808,725. Since then, the Republicans have remained the victors with two exceptions, viz., in 1884 and 1892. True, the Democratic candidate for president, Grover Cleveland, obtained the highest popular vote in 1888, but he was beaten in the electoral college by his Republican oppone. t, B n-

In 1872, Horace Greeley appeared as the presidential candidate of a Democratic Labor Party and obtained 2,834,079 votes, while the straight Democrans ticket polled only 29,409 votes, although the Democratic Party had received 2,709,615 votes in 1868. But in 1876, after the death of Greeley, the Democratic Party again obtained the highest number of votes, viz., 4.284,885 and the Republican candidate succeeded only in defeating his opponent by a majority of one vote through the instrumentality of the electors of the minor parties.

The greenback Party first showed itself in the national election of 1876 and received 81,740 votes for Peter Cooper. Four years later they had increased their vote to 307,306, but in the national elections of 1884 they had entirely disappeared. In their place the Populists appeared and polled 122 825 votes. In the national elections of 1888 the various independent labor parties and four other parties took up so much room that nothing was

left for the Populists. But in the elections of 1892 they were so much By some strange slip, he was led to we must use words to express the stronger and obtained 1,041,028 votes. Nevertheless they were betrayed by adopt the anomalous position occu- facts. their leaders in 1896 and disappeared from politics. The Socialist Party shows the same strong tendency to grow since 1896. In that year we obtained in round figures 36,000 votes. In the national campaign of 1900 our vote had already grown to 98,000, and in the fall of 1902 to about 300,000. Since then every state and municipal election has been a step ahead for us.

What makes the growth of the Socialist Party so significant are two facts that have been little appreciated in our ranks. In the first place, the national election is always fought out by two great parties; in the second place, there is always an "issue" that forms the center of the contest. As we have seeen, the minor parties may turn the scales in favor of either of the old parties. But the Socialist Party will not lend its influence to either capitalist party, and cannot be fused out of existence. This makes the Socialist Party the strongest new factor that has ever appeared in American

As long as the issue turned on matters that concerned only the welfare of the capitalist class, while there was no strong party that represented the working class, the capitalists scored an easy victory. But the Greeley party and the Populist Party have already shown, how dangerous a working class party arisin out of the class struggle may become for the capitalist At the time when those parties arose, the capitalist development had not yet advanced to a point where the party of the oppressed classes could force an issue dangerous to the capitalist system. But today the conditions are different.

The fall elections already showed a new tendency which became still more marked in the spring elections, and which will from now on increase. This is the affinity of the two old parties and their open opposition to the Socialist Party. Never did the class character of the present political struggle reveal itself so plainly as now. At the same time, the dissolution of the Democratic Party becomes palpable.

This is a fact the importance of which seems to have escaped even Comrade Kautsky's critical mind. But he need not feel sorry about it. There are few American Socialists who have fully realized it. And yet, once it is pointed out, it will be obvious to every American voter. It is as easy as the discovery of America. All that is necessary is to show that it is there, and everybody will claim that he knew it long ago. And if this fact is admitted and understood, the whole opportunist position collapses like a card house.

Once it is admitted that the Democratic Party must necessarily disappear from American politics, if we expect the Socialist Party to grow to the position of the second party within the next few years, it becomes plain that the class-conscous proletariat alone cannot accomplish the historical mission of the working class. The interests of this class, however, then embody the interests of the majority of the people. Hence the class-conscious proletariat is simply the nucleus of the political cyclone which gathers in its wake every element not buried beneath golden treasures. The Socialist Party reinforced by the labor unions and the agricultural proletariat, will crystallize all the anti-capitalist forces of American life.

Our propaganda will, of course, continue to be primarily directed at the proletariat, and the proletarian standpoint alone will remain the guide for our political action. But the logic of the political situation brings it about that we cannot afford to reject the assistance of other classes, AS LONG AS THEY ADOPT THE PROLETARIAN POINT OF VIEW AND IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH OUR AIM TO ABOLISH CAPITALISM. And the same logic also forces such classes today to remain Socialists, once they endorse the Socialist platform and its "immediate" aim to abolish capitalism.

As long as the Co-Operative Commonwealth is a thing of the dim future; as long as the parliamentarian action of the proletarian representatives is of necessity mainly critical and oppositional, and as long as the legislative power of the proletariat cannot be exerted directly, but only indirectly by pushing the capitalist politicians forward toward the scope of the "immediate demands," there is plenty of room for opportunism, ministerialism, and impossibleism to manifest itself. That is the stage in which the discussion of the academical question whether industry and agriculture are developing in the same direction or toward opposite poles, claims more attention than the practical question of the political supremacy of the proleta iat. Under such circumstances, the political enthusiasm aroused by the certain prospect of an early deliverance from capitalism is absent, and the opportunist argument looks plausible enough to any minds not trained in clear proletarian thinking. And at this stage there is considerable room for pseudo-Socialism of all sorts. That is the situation in the European countries, notably in France and Italy.

But the plausibility of opportunism is at once turned into absurdity, when the class struggle presses for an immediate solution. This is the situation in the United States. Whether agriculture develops toward the domination of the large or the small farm, is now of comparatively little moment compared to the question: What shall we do with the trusts? In other words, that which is now of the greatest moment is the abolition of all exploitation. Make an end to capitalist exploitation, and we shall easily give an impulse to agriculture toward a socialized production, even if we should find-which I do not think likely-that it had developed a contrary tendency under capitalism.

The issue that is overshadowing everything else now is that between capitalism and Socialism. This is a plain political issue, and by force of this issue the Socialist Party has it within its power to divide the whole nation into two opposing camps: Here capitalist class, there working class. To force this issue to the front in national politics, this I regard as the supreme task of the Socialist agitation and organization. An indspensable means to this end is the conscious assistance of the Socialists in the elimination of the Democratic Party, and with if of all elements of fusion, from Ameri-

an order to accomplish this, we need not a "broad and liberal" platform and agitation. On the contrary, it is precisely the liberal immediate demand trial that prevents large circles of the population from identifying themselves with us, because these immediate demands have no meaning for them. The closer we narrow our appeal down to the supreme issue between capitalist class and working class, the more shall we succeed in developing the class antagonisms within the Democratic Party, and also among the agricultural population, and hasten the downfall of fusion and capitalism. Cut out all immediate demands from our platform, national, state, and municipal. Emphasize with irresistible force the ABOLITION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. And we shall unite wage workers and farmers on the most potent and truly revolutionary issue ever placed before the world. So far from adjusting our platform to any specific farmers' demands, we shall rather make our platform still more proletarian in order to interest the farmers in the Socialist Party. This is the only point of issue which I have with Comrade Kautsky. Not a temporary alliance with the farmers, but their permanent assimilation in the Socialist Party, that is my

Whoever accepts and works for the realization of our revolutionary aim, assures the early victory of the American working class. Whether he is a class-conscious Socialist or not, he is a friend of the proletariat and an enemy of capitalism. Carry the message to the wage working, farming, and intellectual proletariat: DOWN WITH CAPITALISM! HAIL THE COMMON-WEALTH OF THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS!

EDITOR OF "THE SOCIALIST"

No one would imagine, to read the agree with practically all that Comabove eloquent plea by Untermann for rade Untermann has to say in this a proletarian party, that this is a por-concluding article of his, as I have tion of a Debate to prove that the with nearly all his articles. It seems Farmer is the Trustiest guardian of to me the logic of his arguments is the interests of the Working Class. I all against his own original contention. TEL. LAKE 311.

pled by the "Appeal to Reason" of-

factor with whom we have to deal."

Judged by his statements in this concluding article, Untermann appears to agree with this view, and there is no difference between us.

farmers' party."

A Real Drift Toward the Farmer Vote. Untermann seem to say the same ical economists, as a work of nature thing as those just quoted from "The good and perpetual, and he discovered. Socialist," there is no doubt a distinct by an uncontroverted analysis, as scidrift in some sections of our party entific as Darwin's similar work in to a dependence upon the farmer vote. the domain of Biology, exactly where Carl Thompson voices this drift in his recent letter to Nebraska Socialists. mulated. He pointed out, with a ter-These are his words: "When the com- rible precision, that there is just one rades realize that the distinctly wage- place, and only one, where the creaearning class furnishes only 25 per tor of wealth loses the wealth he crecent. of the voting strength in the ates. United States and that the farming classes furnish 40 per cent. (both duces all wealth though some capdoubtful estimates-Ed.), both togeth, italist economists still refuse to ader making a total of only 65 per cent., mit that bottom thesis. And we know it becomes simply suicidal to limit the too that Labor loses about all the Socialist movement to the wage-earn- wealth it produces: it is evident ing class." .

Question Stated the 20th Time.

For the 20th time, let me say, the farmer has no salvation except in the chief one to appeal to.

Socialists are not grown up Populists. The Populist was a farmers' party. The Socialist is a wage-workers' party. The farmer is not a proletarian. That is the chief criticism I have to pass on Untermann, that the proletarian sells his labor power he has confused men's minds on the for his "wages" and performs his day's this capitalistic system, that same robmeaning of that word, proletarian. He has sought to make it include others than wage-workers. Just as Thompson also uses like indefinite language, when he makes this pointless argument: "If it be insisted that Socialism must be a working-class movement, the reply is, that the farmers are certainly a working-class, as many of us can testify who have lived and labored on the farm."

Untermann certainly knows better than this, if Thompson does not. He cannot be forgiven for trying to aboltion as Marx and Engels established when they defined Proletariat as "the world than a baby understands the class of modern wage laborers, who, movements of a locomotive. Banks having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their la- panics and tariffs and riches are all a bor power in order to live."

Has Capitalist Production Changed?

Those of us who insist on these Marxian definitions have been accused of being "doctrinaires" and "academic" and of employing cant phrases, etc., etc. Now I want to ask Untermann and those who talk thus, whethhave essentially changed since Marx analyzed them for us in his "Capital." Do our definitions need reconstruction? Does "Capital" mean something else than it did in 1880? Is the "Pro letariat" the source, and practically the sole source, of capitalist accumulation? What are the facts? We care nothing for names merely, except that

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It is a great pity, for instance, that fice, and stated by another "associate writers of scientific pretension, like editor" in the issue of July 25, when Untermann, have adopted the indefihe says: "The farmer is the safest nite term, "Capitalism," instead of the exact Marxian "Canital" It is can-This is quite different from the ital we seek to abolish, not "Private statement of Untermann above, "We Capital," as so many of our writers cannot afford to reject the assistance are constantly saying. Capital is not of (members of) other classes, as merely the machinery of wealth prolong as they adopt the proletarian duction, as capitalist economists have point of view and identify themselves asserted. It is that machinery in acwith our aim to abolish capitalism." tion, as used in this era, to exploit No one urges that we riject the assist- wage labor. There is no capital that ance of members of other classes. It is innocent. It is blood-guilty always, lies in the payment of wages. is precisely my contention, stated last Why? Because there is no capital March, that "the farmer belongs with that is capital, no maghinery of prous, but he must join a wage-workers' duction that is actually put to use. party, not the wage workers join a unless there is a proletariat employed and its practical bearing, it is time on it and robbed by means of it. Where Capital Is Got?

Marx spent his life to make this clear. He took this capitalist system of the manufacture and exchange of commodities, looking so inocent and But, however much the words of defended by its apologists, the politand how wealth was created and accu-

We all know now that Labor proenough that Labor is poor.

The Exact Point of Robbery.

Now the question of questions is this, where, just where, exactly where, Socialist Party, but I explicitly and does he lose the wealth he creates? emphatically deny that he is our This one question, Marx, and Marx use of his labor power for ten hours, "trustiest guardian" or "the safest alone, has answered. No one else has but his labor itself was worth to him factor" or the main reliance, or the used the term "Surplus Value" and no five dollars. That is, he got four dolone else has demonstrated the fact expressed in that term.

extracted from the Proletarian in the in one day. wage process. This is the central fact of the capitalist system, that, when fortunes.

Analysis of Capital.

That sounds very simple and elementary. It is simple and elementary. So is the fact expressed in the law years to find it out.

The processes of exchange on the

market are very complex and perplexing. The man who sells a watch or ish such a central scientific distinct buys a coat, knows no more about the capitalist to make his fortune? laws that control the markets of the and money and foreign markets and production we are dealing with-or

part of a great mysterious process to the average man. It seems to him that some men are rich and others poor by direction of fate or providence. "The poor ye have always with you" is the highest law he knows.

Marx Laid Bare the Heart. Now Karl Marx was the first to tear aside this veil of ignorance which rested over modern history and show just how it all came about.

The heart of this modern capitalist system, the secret, central law of iniquity, the spot where the great fortunes and the little fortunes are made.

This is all elementary, primer-like, to the student of Marx. But when such men as Untermann overlook it to reaffirm it in all its simplicity.

A Simple Illustration.

To illustrate. A man has a fishing ooat and tackle. He goes out alone and catches, say, 20 salmon in the rich waters of Puget Sound. He sells these 20 salmon for "two bits" apiece. and so gets \$5 for his day's work. But he has boat room and tackle for two men. He stops at the wharf where ten men sit in the sun cracking their heels together. He hires one of these unemployed men, the cheapest he can get. One of them contracts for a dollar a day, barely enough to keep him alive. The other nine stand ready if he refuses, and he sells his labor power for one dollar a day. With this man's help our salmon fisher catches twice as many fish, 40 in all. He sells them for \$10 and pays his wage worker the dollar agreed upon, leaving himself nine dollars instead of the five he had when he worked alone.

Where did he get the extra four dollars? Who created that extra four dollars' value for him?

That is easy. His wage-worker, of course. He paid one dollar for the lars' worth of labor out of that laborer without paying him anything for it. Surplus Value means the wealth In fact, he robbed him of four dollars

Where Fortunes Are Made. Now then, what Marx has proved is

this, that always in this wage system work, he contributes unpaid labor to bery, goes on. He proves, as a mathis employer and that unpaid labor is ter of hard fact, that these enormous the source of the modern Croesus fortunes of modern times, have been got, and are being got, by means of this wage robbery. That Salmon Boat was not capital until the second man was hired. The owner of the boa. could never get very rich by means of his own labor at \$5 a day. But enof gravitation, but it took thousands of large that boat to a "Salmon Combine." with wharves and vessels and "canneries" and seines and fishing grounds, with thousands of wagelaborers, and how long will it take our

A Little Sum. Let us calculate a bit. For this is

the central fact of modern capitalist Continued on Page 4

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OUR THIRD ANNIVERSARY NUMBER will be the greatest Cartoon Socialist Paper ever issued.

Every page will be a big poster full of Socialist pictures. Hung in windows, or pasted in conspicuous places, or handed out among workingmen, or placed in workingmen's families, this issue will do more to make Socialists and to start people to thinking than hundreds of dull pamphlets which are never read.

Twenty men (and women, too, and "kids" also) will look at a cartoon where one will read a paragraph. Proof: Notice the group before newsstands everywhere studying out the latest cartoons. We have "The Socialist" torn into separate sheets, pasted on the windows in front of our office. Though we are on a side street, literally hundreds of people stop on the sidewalk during the week and examine the pictures. All our cartoons convey the idea of the class struggle. Once get that idea into a workingman's head, and he won't stop till he votes the Socialist ticket. We want to awake in him Class Feeling first of all, and Class Knowledge will come later. Then he is fully class-conscious and works for Socialism the rest of his life.

Our Anniversary Number will have eight cartoon pages, and be worth a whole dollar's worth of reading matter. Yet it will be furnished at one-half cent a copy for 50 or more. Fifty cents will get 100 copies; 500 copies for \$2.50. This will hardly cover expense of production, but we want to get it into as many hands as pos-

We now realize we have not pushed and advertised this number as we ought. Looking over the files of the past two weeks, we find hardly any notice of this anniversary edition. Our excuse is, overwork. If the comrades will come to the rescue and give us enough subscribers to pay for a Business Manager and so relieve the editor, they will have a better paper all around, and special editions will be properly advertised.

The only compensation we can now think of is to defer our Anniversary Number till the first issue in September, in order to afford you all an opportunity to get in your orders so that we shall know how many to print.

Please send in these orders as early as possible.



SOCIALIST NEWS.

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., July 25, 1903.

Special Organizing Fund.

The following have contributed to the special organizing work since last report: R. H. Lane & W. R. , Aurora, North Carolina, \$1; Hyde Park, Massachusetts, \$2.45; Fourteenth Ward Club, Local Boston, Mass., 62c; Local New Haven, Conn., \$10; W. B. Slusser, Cleveland, O., \$1; Local Riverside, California, 53.50; Clarence Smith, Butte, Montana, \$7; W. E. Boynton, Ashtabula, O., \$1. Total to noon, July 25, \$26.57. Previously reported, \$695.. Total,

Comrades throughout the country should take renewed interest in the Special Organizing Fund. As the report of the Quorum meeting, held July 5-6, showed, a strong effort will be made to have every state organized by the time the national convention meets next year. The sooner these states are organized the better work they will be able to do in the national campaign. Besides this, the national office is now assisting a number of important states to put and keep organizers of their own in the field, something that never has been done old debts are being rapidly wiped out, no new ones are being contracted, and by the time another year opens the national party should be able to enter the campaign with a clean slate. All this should stimulate every Socialist to further support the Special Organ-izing Fund. The work undertaken cannot be relaxed. It must go forward and every comrade who can af-ford a contribution to the fund should make it at once.

Speakers for Labor Day.

are open for engagements for Labor Day; J. Mahlon Barnes, B. Berlyn, Geo. E. Boomer, Chas. L. Breckon, John W. Brown, Paul H. Castle, John C. Chase, W. E. Clark, N. P. Gelger, Geo. H. Goebel, George D. Herron, F A Kulp, Algernon Lee, Dr. Granville Lowther, L. D. Mayes, William Ma-honey, James Oneal, John M. Ray, A. W. Ricker, John Spargo, John F. Taylor, Ernest Untermann, John M. Work and M. W. Wilkins. Communications regarding terms, etc., should be addressed to the National Secretary, 10-11 Arlington Block, Omaha,

Financial Secretaries of locals who have been faithfully sending monthly year on a 13-mill levy than were raisreports to the national office, in accordance with the system adopted last year, need do so no longer, as the total number of reports received is not sufficient to be either useful or valuable to the national organization, new button has reached the national the Socialist Party of Nebraska, in This should not prevent secretaries offive. It is conceded by all to be by convention assembled, do hereby en-

ed the names of subscribers in unored the names of subscribers in unorganized states, for organizing purposes, from the "Appeal to Reason," "Chicago Socialist," "Coming Nation," "The Comrade," "International Socialist, "Seattle Socialist," "Seattle Socialist," while Wilshire's Magazine and "The Worker" will also do contain a social state of the convention to order at 9 p. m. of the atrocities, because it belongs to the same economic class as that of the Russian royal family. Adopton the same economic class as that of the Russian royal family.

National Organizer M. W. Wilkins reports successful meetings at the fol- be it lowing places in Washington, from June 16 to July 12: Charleston, Seattle, Ballard, Renton, Fremont, Green Lake, Bremerton and Puyallup. Three meetings were held at latter place, each one larger than the preceding. Wilkins says. "The Washington movement, so far as I have gone, is a fine one. Never have had so many search-

National Organizer Geo. H. Goebel's Whereas, Side by side with the dates, so far arranged, are: July 31, growth of the organization can be Freeport, Pa.; August 1-2, Pittsburg; August 3-7, Wheeling, W. Va., and nearby towns; August 8 to 13, Hagers-

ing questions asked anywhere."

National Organizer John M. Ray closed his work among the miners in requirements, and proceed at once the Birmingham district on July 25th, upon "humanitarian" grounds to exand, after a week's rest, will go through North Carolina.

derman, William Johnson, at a meeting of the Chicago Council on Monday,

Whereas, The workingman is the producer of all wealth, but under the present capitalist system of produc

is constantly compelled to struggle more than \$3 a day and expenses for better conditions through every Further be it peaceable means, often involving Resolved, That all speakers from

Resolved, That the workers, who ganization shall come through the Naconstitute the majority of the citizens tional Lecture Bureau. Adopted. of this city of Chicago, shall have full protection of the Police department,

National Secretary is now able to Resolved, That the Police departaneounce that the following speakers ment be, and hereby is instructed to in its fearless adherence to the work remain neutral in all labor disturbances, so long as no attempts at vio-lence are made, and shall in no case fearless policy of laying bear the in-

> Montana, is also squaring his acts sin of the proletariat, therefore be it, with the Socialist platform. To the Resolved, That we, the Socialist with the Socialist platform. To the Resolved, That we, the Socialists disgust of the corporations he is re- of Nebraska, in convention assembled, versing the usual order of things and adopt the Seattle Socialist as our ofraising their assessments instead of ficial organ until such time as we lowering them. The assessed valua-tion of the Amalgamated Copper Co. has been raised from six million to sixteen millions, while that of the railroads has been doubled. More taxes will be raised in Anaconda this ed last year on a 30-mill levy.

The third order of 10,000 of the new party buttons has been placed. So far nothing but commendations of the This should not prevent secretaries from sending reports to their state secretaries as usual.

The semi-annual report of the National Committee will be issued in a few days, and a copy sent to each local in the United States. Local Secretaries are requested to read same at meetings, as it is important that the party members should know what the national organization is doing.

offive. It is conceded by all to be by far the prettiest and neatest design of the national party emblem that has yet appeared. Locals in unorganized states can be supplied to any amount by addressing the National Secretary, 10-11 Arlington Block, Omaha, Neb. Locals in organized states can order through their state secretaries. Buttons are one cent. each for any number less than 500; \$3.25 for 500, and \$6 for 1,000.

The National Secretary has receive REPORT OF NEBRASKA STATE off; and we also brand the Russian CONVENTION, HELD JULY

The State Secretary read the call for the convention; stated that the committee on revision of the constitution was not ready to report, and suggested that someone be called upupon Comrade J. W. Hawkins moved that National Committeeman Berlyn, of Illinois, address the convention. Carl D. Thompson, delegate from Lincoln, objected on the ground of want-ing to leave in an hour, it then being 9 o'clock, saying that we hear speeches every day. Someone remarked, "But not like Berlyn's," and on the motion being put it was unanimously car

Among other good things, the speaker said: "The Socialist movement afford to compromise with anyone, not even with our trade union friends, much less the middle class."

The committee on credentials, that had been appointed by the State Com-mittee, reported 66 members present and entitled to vote. Report accepted.

A. L. A. Schiermeyer, of Lincoln,
was then made permanent chairman, and J. J. Condon permanent secretary. And while waiting for the committees to report, Comrade Mailly was asked to address the convention. During his remarks he said: "The ultimate des-tiny of the Socialist movement depends

upon the working class."

At this time, B. McCaffrey, G. W. Ray and P. J. Hyland were chosen as the committee on platform and resolu-tions. And while committee was geting ready to report, it was moved to take up the discussion of revising the constitution. During the discussion, several amendments were suggested for the safeguarding the movement in the state, endorsed by the con vention, but referred to the committee n revision on the ground that the convention had no power to initiate a

We, the Socialist Party of the State f Nebraska, in convention assembled to hereby pledge ourselves to the principles of International Socialism and accept as our platform, the National Platform of the Socialist Party of America. Adopted.

Resolutions Concerning Certain Papers.

Whereas, In refusing to publish our side of the controversy with National Committeeman Mills, of Kansas, several papers, carrying the label of So the Rockies, Iowa Socialist, Los Angeles Socialist, New Time, Spokane; A. L. U. Journal, and the Appeal to Reason, have shown the spirit of un fairness, which but emphasizes the necessity for a clear and uncomproact wthout fear or favor, therefore

Resolved. That we, the Socialists of Nebraska, in convention assembled, denounce the action of the aforesaid papers as inimical to the best interests of organization. Carried.

Resolutions Concerning Speakers. Whereas, The Socialist Party being proletarian movement, made up of men and women whose average wages Balance on hand...... 4.62 do not exceed \$1.50 per cay, and

seen developing different forms and species of parasites, whose blood-suckers, no longer able to penetrate town and Washington county, Mary-land; August 14 to 20, Norfolk, Va., and surrounding towns. the crocodile hide of the capitalist class, by a process of natural selec-tion, as it were, change their color, like the chemelon or transform their beaks, like the cockatoo, to meet new ploit the Party at the rate of 10, 15, 20, 25, 50 and 75 dollars per night;

Whereas, Being opposed to "cap

The following resolutions, which ital," whether it be inside the movewere introduced by the Socialist Al- ment or outside of it, whether it be constant or variable, therefore, be it speakers both ev Resolved, That we, the Socialists of much interest. July 20, illustrate the position taken Nebraska, in convention assembled, by a representative of the Socialist do hereby denounce parasitism in all its forms and pledge our support in

tion he receives but a precarious ex-tablishing the National Lecture Bu-Whereas, Owing to this system he er under its auspices shall receive

strikes or lockouts, a condition of actual warfare; therefore be it under the auspices of the state or

Resolution Concerning the "Seattle

Socialist." ing class program of International Soprevent these strikers' endeavors to ternal affairs of the organization, and better their conditions. The Socialist Assessor of Anaconda, stamped itself pre-eminently the toccan have a paper of our own. Adopt

Resolution Endorsing the Local Quo

rum, by J. W. Hawkins. Whereas, The recent action, taken by the Local Quorum of the Socialist Party of Nebraska, in repudiating the conduct of W. T. Mills in this state was for the integrity of the movement

therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of

government for permitting the recent atrocities against the Jews at Kishengovernment as being responsible for

Nomination of Candidates.

The following were nominated as he candidates of the Socialist Party of Nebraska in the coming election: C. Christenson, Plattsmouth, judge of the Supreme Court; T. B. Lippincott, Blair, and F. S. Wilbur, Omaha, Regents of the State University.

It was moved and carried that the State Committee be empowered to fill all vacancies that may occur between ow and the election. Adjourned.

J. J. CONDON, Secretary of the Convention.

LOCAL OMAHA NEWS.

Omaha, Neb., July 22, 1903. The returns of the recent election of local officers was canvassed at the last city central meeting. The following candidates were declared elected for the ensuing six months: J. A. La Bille, city secretary; J. J. Condon, city treasurer; Lewis Junge, city au-

The returns from all the wards are not yet received. Thus far the following delegates were elected to the city

central committee: First Ward-P. J. Hyland. Scond Ward-E. D. Whalen. Third Ward-E. Buschen. Fourth Ward-J. J. Condon. Fifth and Sixth Wards-J. W. Hawk

Ninth Ward-P. S. Condit.

A regular mass meeting was held July 8th. The night being so intensely warm there were not many members present. The Secretary and Treasurer's reports were read and ac-

It was moved to order 150 subscription cards to the "Socialist." Carried

unanimously.	
Treasurers' Monthly Report.	
Balance on hand from May\$.77
Received from 1st Ward, dues	2.00
Received from 2d Ward, dues	1.50
Received from 3d Ward, dues	7.25
Received from 4th Ward, dues	2.50
Received from 5th & 6th Wards,	
dues	10.50
Received from 7th Ward, dues	1.75
Received from 8th Ward, dues	3.50
Received from 9th Ward, dues	1.25

Expenditures.	
Paid National dues for April	
Paid National dues for May	4.6
Paid J. H. Parrote, hall rent	25.0
paid "Seattle Socialist," subscrip-	
tion cards	12.5
Paid "Seattle Socialist," papers:	2.5
Expense of picnic	33.3
THOUSE THE PROPERTY OF THE PRO	

	Re	capi	tulat	ion.		,
Balance	from	May	·			.\$ 0.77
teceipts			····	• • • • •	• • • •	. 87.25
Total						.\$88.02
'otal ex	pense	B				. 83.40

Balance on hand.....\$ 4.62 J. J. CONDON, Treasurer.

and Sunday nights, July 18th and 19th. Enthusiastic audiences greeted the speakers both evenings and showed

PRESS COMMITTEE.

THOMPSON'S ACCOUNT COR-Headquarters Socialist Party,

519 North 16th Street,

Omaha, Neb., July 18, 1903. Editor "Alliance of the Rockies: Dear Comrade: In your paper of

uly 11th there appears a letter from Carl D. Thompson, in which he makes so many false statements and inferences which are calculated to mislead When Hungry your readers concerning our work in Go to Omaha that I am constrained to ask for sufficient space to make a few cor rections:

"In the first place," absolutely noth ing was arranged before the convention convened; and from the manner in which the preceedings were taken up even a blind man could have seen that nothing had been "previously arranged" or fixed.

In the second place, no out-of-town delegates left the convention except Thompson and his family.

In the third place, the letter from J. Edward Morgan was a private letter to me, and I let a few of Comrade Morgan's old friends read it, and

Thompson forced himself into a private affair by seating himself behind me and reading over my shoulder.

In the fourth place, when Morgan left Omaha he was not in sympathy with our position regarding Comrade

In the fifth place, Morgan did not say in his letter that he was helping the bolters, but that he advised them not to bolt but stay in the organization and keep it a clear and sound working class movement, and then asked if he were right. Local Omaha does not dabble in matters of another

In the sixth place, no one in the Omaha local has it "in for Mills"; instead of that, many of us were personally grieved at his mingling with men who have made their boasts that they will wreck the organization. I, myself, have known Mills for years, have been a warm personal friend and am yet, but I cannot tolerate nor endorse his loose ideas of Socialism.

In the seventh place, local Omaha did not publish a list of condemned

In the eighth place, neither National Committeeman Berlyn nor National Secretary Mailly said anything directly or indirectly about any proposed amendment to our state constitution; nor did their remarks refer in any way to the local sitlation.

erty did not speak in Omaha. He Max Ragley came, but did not speak.

In the tenth place, local Omaha did not warn anyone against hearing Hagerty. No individual is big enough to divert local Omaha from the basis of Socialism.

There are other false inferences, but'I do not care to discuss the positions taken by Thompson, and only make these corrections because it seems to be the policy of the men who are interfering with and trying to ruin local Omaha to resort to abuse and slander for want of argument, and I believe your readers should know the truth. He and others are constantly

Received from Picnic...... 57.00 phying upon the prominence of individuals like Comrade Debs, as an ar-Total.....\$88.02 gument in defense of the men whom we know too well to want in our organization. Concerning Debs, let me 5 say that we have his word for it that he would not have come to Omaha for Baird and his deluded supporters had he known anything of Baird's corrupt SILVER FILLINGS 500 GOLD CROWN. \$5.00 0 history

I might also be permitted to say that 5 Comrade Thompson forgot to mention the fact that the convention adopted Total..... \$83.40 "Economic Equality" as its motto. He might have found other good things to say had he not spent more energy with the so-called "Socialist Propaganda Club" than he did with the Socialist organization of Omaha. We have our troubles here, but we will do our own work in our own way and we will live up to the purpose of the Socialist party as voiced by Carl Marx and Engels in the Manifesto, and by all the other Socialist writers, by or-Comrades McCaffrey and Hyland ganizing the working class into a poheld good street meetings Saturday litical party for the sake of getting control of the government. We have more faith in "Economic Determinism" than in Thompson's flat about "shutting out the hope of victory forever." We are building a solid organization, and we will continue to do so despite the frantic efforts of outso despite the frantic efforts of outquacks and imposters. Fraternally (Signed)

BALLARD NOTICE.

Comrade Wm. Hellestad, of Redmond, speaks at Maccabees hall, Ballard, Monday night, August 3d.

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26 inches high, will extend from 25 5c
30 inches high, will extend from 26 5c
30 inches high will extend from 27 5c
30 inches high will extend from 27 5c
30 inches high will extend from 26 5c
30 inches from 36 5c
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4-quart size \$2.50 LIGHTNING ICE CREAM FREEZER, 6-quart size.......\$3.25

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Next week we begin the FOURTH YEAR of "The Socialist." We propose to make a feature of brief contributions from its readers. Every editor receives a great many contributions he cannot publish. They are too long, or not fitted to the aims of the paper, or otherwise unfit. Our present proposal is to print each month EVERY ONE'S CONTRIBUTION on a subject selected by the paper and conforming to conditions named by the paper.

The subject for the month of August is that which appears at the head of this article: WHAT IS SOCIALISM? The answer must not contain more than 25 words and must be accompanied by a 6 months' subscription to "The Socialist." This will afford a good chance to send the paper to some friend, or better yet, go out and get some one to subscribe for himself. Even an extension of your own subscription for 6 months will answer.

We believe this method will secure one of the most interesting columns in the paper. WHAT IS SOCIALISM, told in 25 words? A thousand different answers, each one coming hot from the brain of a practical worker, coined out of his experience and thought, will reach thousands of others and give them better ideas of what Socialism is, as well as afford the non-Socialist a guide toward Socialism.

We venture to say there will not be two answers alike. Yet probably every one of them will contain enough to help some one else. After every contributor has read what every other contributor says he will see how he might have written his own answer differently.

Next month we will choose still another subject and so keep the matter going as long as the comrades continue to contribute. We expect to discover some good writers among our readers who have had little or no literary training. It is not by any means the man who has Book Learning, who can state things briefly and to the point. This contest is not for long essays and fine writing, but for sharp, businesslike, or rather workman-like, statements of what Socialism is.

Incidentally, of course, this contest will increase the subscription list of 'The Socialist." But every new reader of "The Socialist" means a new voter for the Socialist Party-if he is a proletarian. And by all means get proletarian subscribers, if possible.

One thing more. Don't forget that the BEST TEN ANSWERS are to be selected by an impartial committee and republished conspicuously at the beginning of the next month. We have requested the new Washington Local Quorum, consisting of Comrades Curtis, Moore and Siebert to act as judges for the first month. DIRECTIONS FOR WRITING.

Write on one side only of a sheet of paper. Sign your name and address at the foot. The whole will be published, except that any mistakes of spelling or punctuation will be corrected, of course.

Write it all very plain, so as to be easily read and on a separate sheet of paper. Head it with the words, WHAT IS SOCIALISM? and follow it with not more than 25 words. Enclose it in an envelope with 25 cents and mail to "The Socialist," 116 Virginia Street, Seattle,

The ten persons who can write the best definitions of Socialism in 25 words? Who are they?. They must all be in this office before Sept. 11, 1903. But send them as soon as possible, so that we can begin to publish them in our GREAT THIRD ANNIVERSARY NUM-PER.

FARMER DEBATE

liver up to the capitalist class in one

year for nothing, not a cent paid for

The Source of Trusts.

billions which the proletariat fur-

Here is the point. The Trusts, all

Wage Class Increasing.

and the increasing class, as well as

products have increased twelvefold in

Brief Statement of Argument.

proletariat, the wage class, and that

Same Lesson for Both.

To sum up, then, the chief argument

the same period.

What then has made the trusts and

else the work of Karl Marx was not | ufactures alone, was compelled to dea scientific elucidation of facts. So let us make a little calculation.

Suppose the Salmon Combine em- it, it was this enormous amount of ploys Five Thousand men at Two Dol- wealth that made your trust maglars a day. It pays them then Ten nates and will continue to make them day afternoons, 1 to 6 o'clock, and for Thousand Dollars a day in wages. But so long as a proletariat remains. mark, it also robs them of an equal sum at least. Those men work half the day to produce the value of their two dollars in wages and then they go right on working the other half day trusts? It is the stupendous surplus place to read or be social. They have for nothing, producing Two Dollars value, unpaid labor, wealth for noth- secured a piano and singers will be more value which the employing capitalist takes for himself That is what from the wage class. It is the pro-Marx called "Surplus Value" and it is letariat alone which makes it possible the prime source of Rich Men.

Another Little Sum.

Here are Ten Tousand Dollars a day got for nothing, unpaid labor, out of those Ten Thousand men If nishes, that maye it possible for the that makes a Million Dollars got for agricultural implements. nothing, robbed from the men who

I am speaking now of the general ers, and no relief can possibly help law, the one great fact and place of the farmers so long as their enemies exploitation. I am not noting excep. have this inexhaustible resource for tions or details. It is important for funds—the robbery of the proletarian inate? the present argument to make clear armies. the one central fact of capitalist production, namely, that the injustice, the expropriation, the capture of the workers' product, occurs in the pay- lief, if the wage working class was a ment of wages.

Still Another.

Now make one big calculation based on Census Bulletin No. 150. There are the peculiar and typical class of the about Five Million wage earners en present system. The farmer class is afterwards, if needed. That is what ing railroads or mines,) They are paid about twenty-five hundred millions in annual wages, or 500 dollars each. By our Marxian law of Surplus 50 years, while the manufacturing to think it is about in sum over and above their wages; according to our supposition, at least an equal sum of labor not paid for, wealth produced for nothing, appropriated, stolen by the holders of cap stay of the capitalistic system is the ital. That is, twenty-five hundred millions was captured in one year by the the agricultural class is absolutely ist" in the amount of work done to

helpless in its fight against the va-The actual facts are worse. Stated in vious forms of its robbery by the this report, the net value of the prod-trusts, so long as the wage class re-Sunday night, stop recriminations and mains. The farmers must, therefore. letarians was about nine thousand millions. Subtracting their wages, twen- in their fight for emancipation. There ty-five hundred millions, would leave a is no other permanent relief for the Surplus Value, riches not paid for, of farmer. at least Six Thousand Millions in the one year of 1900.

It is this SIX THOUSAND MIL- Now, finally, the farmer must be LIONS which the wage working class, taught the same economic truths Make a hunt for it, all you Socialists the true proletariat, engaged in man- which we announce to the wage-work- of Everett.

He must learn the facts of the situation. Economic knowledge is almost nil in America. Everybody is his own political economist. Mr. Bryan is a good sample of the American ignoramus who carries the map of the universe on his thumb-nail. He can learn nothing from Marx, because he was "a foreigner." He rants at science as "skintific" and thinks he has settled something. He thinks the Omaha platform was the sum of wisdom. He has been a Socialist for the last 25 years, in fact, was born a Socialist.

When one thinks of the thousands of people of this kind with populist antecedents, to be found on the farms all over these western states, Untermann's rhapsodies over the prospect of their "adopting the proletarian point of view," seem quite child-like.

Education Demanded.

But let us push on to educate. The proletariat will learn easiest and soonest. It is a direct message to them. The wages question is always alive with them. As the Omaha comrades have put it. "Their immediate interests and their ultimate interests are the same."

The economic pressure on the farmers will compel them also to do some hard thinking. But their apparent immediate interests, such as I pointed out in the issue of June 14, may lead them to attempt some Immediate Measures for their own relief, apart from the abolition of wages. If so, we shall have another Reform Party and another failure.

Comrades, the wish for votes, for the farmers' votes, must not be allowed to seduce us from that nath which every scientific consideration points out and which the conspicuous success of the German Social Democracy has rendered firm and clear.

The Wage Workers First! The Farmers and Dying Middle Class must come to them.

LOCAL NOTES.

The Carpenters' Hall meetings every Sunday night for the whole of Local Seattle continue. They should be better attended. We shall be glad to announce the speaker each week, but we are not notified of what is to oc-

Comrade Wiswell was the speaker last Sunday night. He deserved a bet-ter audience. He delivered what he called a "Little Sermon," showing the application of the laws of evolution to the history of man. He made one especially fine application of the laws of natural and artificial selection Artificial selection is conscious selec-tion in place of the blind unconscious selection known as natural selection. So, he claimed, the class struggle, hitherto blind, unrecognized, must be come a conscious class struggle. Our Socialist education must therefore create a consciousness of itself in the working class, a deliberate, intelligent, artificial selection, instead of the old unguided natural selection. We hope Comrade Wiswell will soon present a synopsis of his speech for the readers of "The Socialist."

The Pike street branch of local Seattle has started work vigorously. The Street Car Men's Hall, at Pike and Second, has been taken for Friday evenings. A Sunday afternoon propaganda meeting is held at 3 o'clock. They especially invite workingmen and their families to come in at any time after 1 o'clock. The hall what sustains and maintains the is large, and well ventilated, a good ing, which they are able to extract welcome to practice Socialist songs at 2 o'clock.

Friday evening, July 31, the Pike for your great Railroad Mergers to dance at its hall at Second and Pike. command your products, you farmers entrance on Pike street. A basket of America. It is part of these stolen social is the feature. Members of all present with their friends, for a good time. Every lady bring a basket lunch they get it for one hundred days only, trusts to put monopoly prices on your and every young man come prepared to buy a lunch. Best dance music.

> A referendum of local Seattle is bethe monopolies, live off the wage-working conducted by the city central committee for city organizer. Only four candidates are named—Hutchison. Wilson, Downie, Boult. Why were not the branches given a chance to nom-

> The C. C. C. last Sunday had six members present from the central branch, and three members from the This might not be so insurmount other seven branches. On the initiaable an obstacle to the farmers' re. tion of outside delegates they appointed a committee to find out whether small or diminishing class. On the lution passed at their preceding meetcontrary, it is the dominating class ing were really facts.

> relatively a diminishing class and its afterwards, if needed. That is what methods are relatively primitive and have been devoted almost exclusively individualistic. Its products have in to the editor of "The Socialist." Many creased less than twofold in the last of the comrades in that branch seem to think it is about time to attend

Really, you score of comrades in Seattle who don't like "The Socialist," you might as well make up your minds that this paper is here to stay. which I make is this: that the main. It will continue its work for Socialism in the city and out of it. Would it not now be best for our great cause if you get in and try to beat "The Socialmake the Socialist party an efficient go to work for Socialism.

EVERETT (WASH.) NOTICE.

The Socialist party of Everett hold meetings the second and fourth Sundays of every month. Our informant does not say where or what time.

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either dots or stripes, the yard-

RICHMOND STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

scheme to "murder" the strike-break ers as they were going through a lonely part of Fulton street, at midnight. just as the strikers were returning from their union meeting on their way home. Fulton street is in the East end of Richmond, and has a tough repthree squads of soldiers stationed near the place, where they claimed to have had information that the strikers

would wreck the cars and murder the scabe. Everything worked beautifully. Just as the five strikers (DeForest a member of the executive committee, being among them) entered upon this lonely path, the street car came bouncing down. Some one had spiked thought. the rails, the car came to a sudden stop, the scabs cursed and swore, two shots were fired from an alley and the scabs replied in the same manner The strikers, who were unarmed and soldiers jumped from their hiding sible smarty into the street. place, charged bayonets and captured the strikers, who are now in jail chargdrawn of the affair, the soldiers stealthily creeping to the appointed place, the mysterious flashing of lights in the neighborhood, the charge in the

ing public sympathy from the strikers. the men with the guns?

Dick novel, for the purpose of alienat-

The soldiers were dumfounded. Fithe startling information that the two would make the czar turn green with who were missing were the ones who envy. had betrayed the murder plans and were permitted to escape, for accordyet military law has not been declared! Regarding Mr. Taylor, the man who days' investigation, brought in a verdict that he met his death by a gunshot wound inflicted by one or two soldiers, or both, but could not say or not. The soldiers positively refused to give evidence as to who fired the first shot, their officers having declared it was against the rules to speak. The children are left to fight for them-

Some thirty bricklayers have been sued for \$10,000 damages by Sitterding, Corneal & Davis, charged with boycoming their material. Sitterding is Frank Gould's president of the street car company. The case comes up Monday. The unions are in a high state of excitement. The police board also meets tomorrow to try a number of policemen, suspected of sympathy with the strikers. The press is demanding summary punishment, charging "cowardice with dealing with the violent murderous mob as directly responsible for the lawlessness which has tarnished the fair name of our beautiful city."

WILKINS AT TACOMA. Tacoma, Wn., July 27, 1903.

ber each night.

The comrades of Tacoma consider ible and clear speakers that has ever utation. The company had two or been in the city, his clear-cut, scientific presentation was not to be confounded with any sentimental cult, but was strictly class-conscious Socialism. The question meeting held the last evening of his stay was especially interesting and called forth many intelligent questions from the people assembled, showing that many had given the subject of Socialism much

> Many remained after the meeting to further discuss the subject.

Comrade Wilkins showed himself equally forcible in the combative argument as in the intellectual presensurprised by the fusilade of shots, ran tation, having occasion to bodily eject for shelter towards an alley. The a quarrelsome and otherwise irrepres-

We consider ourselves most fortu nate in having had Comrade Wilkins ed with attempted assassination. The with us, and shall try and make arpress is ringing the changes on this rangements to have him here again incident. A realistic picture has been before he leaves the state. Frater nally yours. J. V. MUDGETT.

Four soldiers lately held up a man dark—all in the nature of a Diamond in a buggy within a half mile of the city hall, beat him into insensibility, robbed him, threw his body to the bot tom of the buggy, and threatened to All would have gone lovely for the run their bayonets through the man's company if a simple-minded captain little boy if he did not drive off and had held his tongue in court. The stop his screaming. Nothing is said strikers' lawyers asked him how many by the press. No action by the aumen he had arrested. Seven, he rethorities. Within one mile of the city plied. What did he do with them? hall a soldier jumped into a buggy and Curned them over to his superior officer. Could he identify the men with it. She drove him off with her hatthe guns? Yes. The five strikers were pin. Women and men are grossly inbrought before them, and he was asked sulted by the soldiers, and there is no if he recognized among these men the redress. Protest, and they put the bayones who had the guns. No, he ansonet to you and march you to the wered. Now, said the lawyers, if armory. Resist, and they murder there were seven men arrested, and you. The soldiers refuse to talk, eyethere are only five here, where are witnesses are not permitted to inspect the soldiers to find the guilty. The press is silent upon this phase of the nally one of the officers volunteered situation, and militarism in the city

The Democratic party (the white men's party, has certainly shown its ing to military rules, these men must colors, and as a final proof of its love be shielded and let go scott free. And for the working class the court has made Sitterding, Huff and Buchanan, president, manager and general super-I reported was killed by the soldiers intendent of the street car company, in Manchaster, the jury, after many notaries public. But good will come out of it all. Thousands are reading our papers and arguing for and against Socialism. The members of the local are doing good work among the strikwhether the shooting was justifiable ers. I am speaking continually before the union meetings. The party has donated \$22.55 to the strikers, and of course we don't hesitate to draw "odious comparisons." We also bought and incident is closed and a widow and five distributed 300 of Lee's "Labor Politics and Socialist Politics," and they are being read. We have received many leaflets and bundles of pancrs, and we wish to express our gratitude for the assistance given us. This strike has been a blessing in disguise. ***************

PIKE STREET BRANCH

Sunday afternoon, 3 o'clock. the Pike Street branch holds its propaganda meeting at Street Car Men's hall, on Second avenue, near Pike street. Come and bring your friends to find out what Socialism is. Comrade William McClain, machinist, of Tacoma, is expected to speak. A. WAGENKNECHT,

Organizer.

NOTICE.

On account of the severe illness of Editor Socialist: Dear Sir-Comrade | Comrade U. G. Moore, I have been M. W. Wilkins gave three rousing appointed deputy secretary-treasurer, street meetings in Tacoma on Thurs- to act until the new state committee day, Friday and Saturday evenings of is elected. Comrades, please address the past week. He addressed a large all communications to me until fur-The car was timed to pass this spot crowd of people, increasing in num ther notice, and try to be patient in regard to unanswered letters, as the work has accumulated greatly, but Comrade Wilkins one of the most forc- will be disposed of as soon as possi-

I am now arranging a tour for Comrade Wilkins, national organizer for the Pacific Coast and all locals or other places that want him please let me know immediately. Many places have found a series of two or three meetings in succession highly profit-Places should raise at least three

dollars per day and expenses. Raise more if you can, as some days have to be missed. Get a hall if you can, but have a meeting anyway.. We propose to take a running jump for 1904. and now is the time to start. The idea is not to inflate our membership roll, but to increase the number of organizations, starting one wherever there are several Socialists.

The Wilkins tour is one of the means to that end. Do your part.

J. D. CURTIS, 1010 East 45th St., Seattle, Wash. We want one hundred locals in 1904.

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a m	Westminster, Rockport	4:45 p m

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