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# The Socialist

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THE WORKINGMANS PAPER  
A CARTOON WEEKLY

To Organize the Slaves of Capital To Vote Their Own Emancipation

Published by The Socialist Educational Union

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This is No. 178

## THE WORKERS AND THE SHIRKERS



(FROM "LESLIE'S WEEKLY", FRONT PAGE.)

Which would you choose for a husband, one of these men building the "sky-scraper" or one of those ball-room "stags"?

The answer to that question will test your intelligence and your morality, young woman.

Those are MEN sitting with undizzy heads in mid-heaven to guide that massive girder into place. They are the doers of the world's work. They are the creators of the world's wealth.

But those things in the swallow tails, waiting their turn to wait some equally well tailored things in skirts, would you really sell yourself to one of them?

If you are sensible, if you can see deep enough to tell a real man from a mock man, you would never choose one of those starched and ironed degenerates for that steady Son of Thor holding high his waiting hand.

And if you are moral, if you have inherited some of that splendid virtue that made the great matrons of old days, you would die rather than admit one of those unsexed parasites to be the father of your child.

Parasites! That is the worst. These dudes are really parasites on the workers. For who made their broad cloth, their linen, their patent leathers?

Who even cut their hair, twisted their mustaches, bathed them and dressed them?

The rugs and inlaid floors, the tapestries and paneled walls, the conservatories and wines, the cut glass, the curtains, velvets, diamonds, all were made by workers, men, women, and children workers.

These shirkers who live off other men's work are the most immoral creatures on earth. You despise the animal parasite, the flea, the louse, as the most repulsive of living things. Just so we Socialists loathe the man parasite, the capitalist, he who creates nothing himself but appropriates what others create.

They live from the sweat and blood of the millions of wage workers.

All that man gets up there in the wind for his heroic achievement is Three or Four dollars a day, while those tailor made fellows get a hundred or a thousand dollars a day, all made by the workingman, to spend on their sweet scented bodies, to bet on the races, or to play politics with.

The Socialist stands for the man who makes the world and he demands that the man who robs the man who makes the world shall cease to be.

or  
The Heroes and the Zeros

or  
The Makers and the Takers

or  
Men and "Gentlemen"

or  
Labor and Capital



(FROM TWO-PAGE CARTON IN "LIFE.")

### SLAVE MARKET REPORTS

Conducted by D. Burgess.

We have one single aim in conducting this department of The Socialist, and that is to teach the truth about the ghastly class struggle which is now raging in society. We recognize the presence and the importance of numerous other factors, but this fact, the fact of the class struggle is the central, the controlling, the dominant factor.

To make substantial progress in this revolutionary movement one must have a vivid comprehension of this class struggle, its cause and its tendencies. We feel that this can best be taught by dealing with its varied manifestations in the daily life of the slave.

One of the greatest obstacles to progress is the hypnotic influence on the mind of the slave of old maxims, old sayings and catch phrases. As an illustration of this is the "Identity of interests of capital and labor."

This phrase is not only false, but by means of it the slaves are swindled. Then there is that other stupid and false idea phrased in "There is always room at the top." "Wealth always has and always will rule" is doing valiant service in the cause of the masters, and these masters show due appreciation of this fact by diligently cultivating its use on all proper occasions, but their trump card is "The poor ye always have with you."

These and a long array of other platitudes are cultivated with diligence for the express purpose of befogging the minds of the serving class.

To neutralize the effects of these false and misleading teachings is the mission of this department.

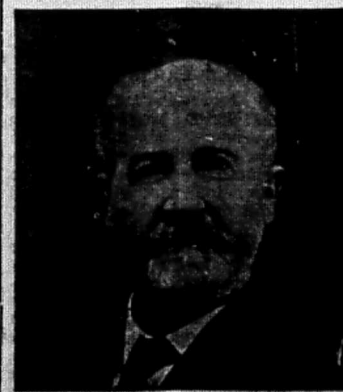
Unless we get help from the slaves themselves, there will probably be complaints that this department is monotonous or becoming so. Such result is almost sure to follow from the

work of a single agent. If you desire a more varied as well as a more effective result, come to our help with suggestions, reports, stories, etc., etc.

Observe and report the development going on around you. If you observe a vivid illustration of the fact that capital and labor do not have identity of interests, be sure to report such illustration together with attending incidents which give it life and coloring. If any of the old maxims and silly platitudes are negated in your experience, kindly report, always giving the incidents which must accompany these manifestations in real life.

Do not forget that this is as much your fight as ours, and that if we do not stand together and fight together we shall perish singly. Does not the action of the capitalists in Colorado, in the Coeur d'Alene, at Pullman, at Hazleton and Homestead, convince you that they will murder you relentlessly whenever you stand in their way? Can't you realize that the class struggle is a present war (a real, bloody, ghastly war. It is now in progress and not a day passes that members of our class are not murdered. These murders have the sanction of the masters. Will you stand

still until your turn comes? If such crimes are to cease, the workers, the slaves must unite in a political party, seize the powers of government and administer industrial affairs in the interests of the slaves. Before the slaves will do this they must be made to understand the class struggle. We ask your help to teach these slaves, to instruct them that it is their mission to free themselves.



D. BURGESS,  
Associate Editor "The Socialist."

Do you ask what you can do for Socialism. Why, get subscribers for "The Socialist." Anybody who tries can do that, and it is a great help to Socialism to get people to read so good a paper as "The Socialist."

Parry, the (in) famous D. M. Parry, whose glory and renown rest upon his strenuous efforts to destroy the trades unions, has become anxious for their safety, and warns them not to allow politics in their unions, for, says he, that will disrupt them.

If he wants to destroy the unions, and all readers must agree that he ardently desires such a result, why does he not urge the trades unionist to introduce politics into the unions?

A young German was recently telling some of the reasons which impelled him to leave the land of his birth, and among these reasons he assigned his repugnance to army life as the one of controlling importance.

"Now," he said, "I do not have to set myself up as a target, nor will I be compelled to murder a man against whom I have not the least grudge." Imagine, if you can, his surprise and disgust when told that, having de-

clared his intention of becoming a citizen, he was subject to military duty right now. When convinced that this was really true, he said, "Oh, don't talk about it, it makes me feel so bad."

At Aberdeen, Wn., mills are closing down, but the capitalists are doing their level best to keep the slaves from starving. These capitalists are all benevolent fellows. Their hearts bleed at sight of human misery, so they build railroads, street carlines, etc., in order to give employment to their dependent slaves—but they have cut the pay to \$1.75 a day.

We do not contend that the Socialist movement depends upon "The Socialist," but we, in common with thousands of others, believe that the more extensively "The Socialist" is read, the clearer the movement becomes, and that, as a consequence, we shall go forward with less friction, gaining the confidence and the respect of all slaves by an open, manly, honest discussion of all disputed points. If you agree with us in this, get to work among your shop mates to secure their subscriptions for "The Socialist."

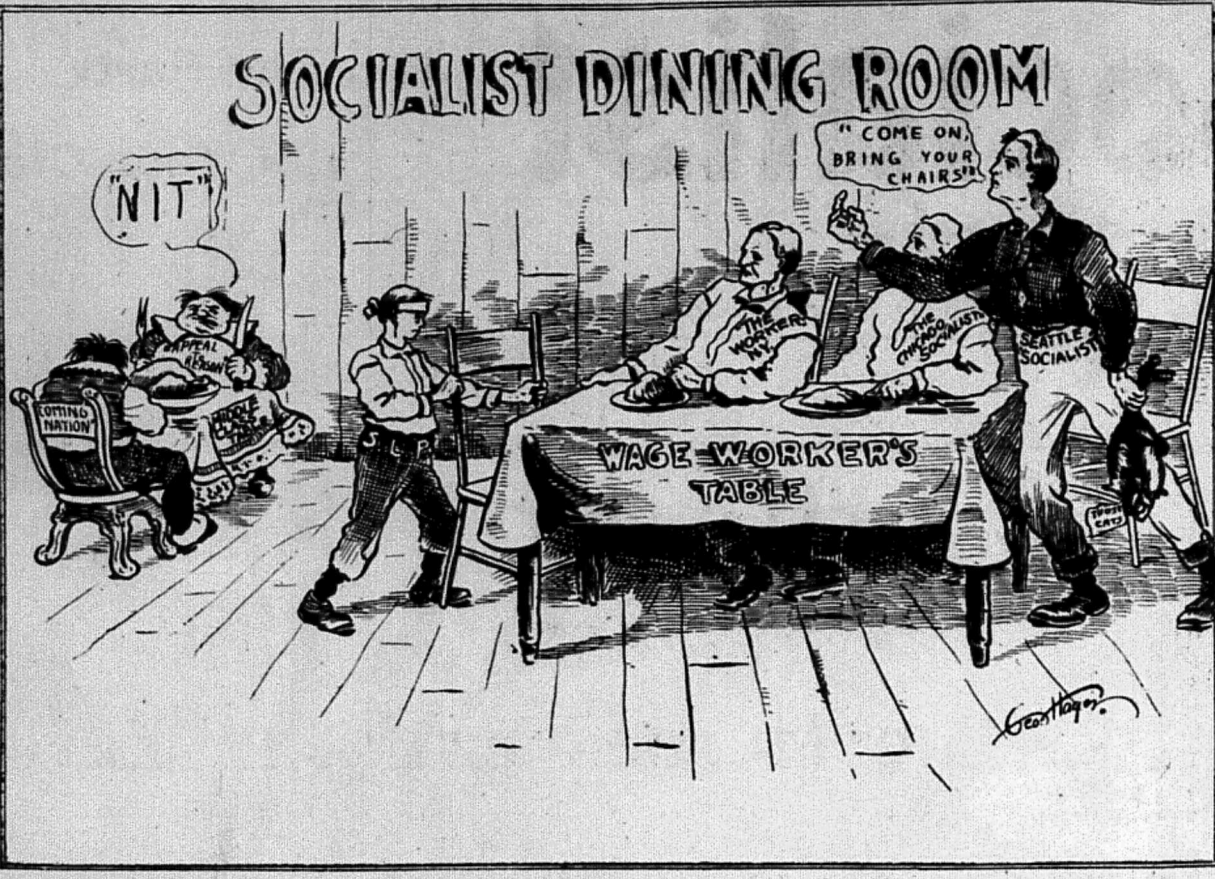
At Shelton, one of the solicitors for "The Socialist" met a seedy looking individual whose hands were twisted out of shape, whose figure was bent, whose features were distorted and whose mind was befogged by unrequited toil, and asked him if he was acquainted with any Socialists in that vicinity. At once this distorted figure began to assume an erect attitude, a look of defiance lit up his dull features and he said, "I want you to know that I am a patriotic American citizen, and have no association with Anarchists and Socialists." Having thus delivered himself, his bones and his muscles again assumed their distorted, ugly, hideous form and he shambled off in search of a master—he called it looking for a job.

The sweet charity of the masters is well illustrated in the following excerpt from a letter received by this office a few days since from an eastern sanitarium:

"We are the unhappy inmates of an institution erected by doubtful philanthropy of some well advertised charity disposed capitalists, where we are miserably underfed almost up to starvation."  
(Continued on page three.)

Socialism Casts Eight Million Votes a Year NOW. All Enlightened Workingmen Vote For It

# What This Paper Stands For



## News and Correspondence

### HEADQUARTERS BULLETIN.

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., Dec. 19, 1903.

The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report:

Harry Crouse, Moab, Utah.....	1.00
A. L., New York City.....	.25
16th A. D., New York City.....	2.00
Local Stonington, Conn.....	2.00
J. D. Graham, Livingston, Mon.	1.00
A. Childress, Brownsville, Wn.	1.00
Local Yelm, Washington.....	3.00
Local Granite Falls, Wash.....	25.00
Local San Francisco, Cal.....	25.00

Total to noon, Dec. 19..... \$ 35.00  
Previously reported..... 2,245.86

Total..... \$2,281.36

The Fon du Lac, Wis., Commonwealth gives out the startling information that socialism is encountering many obstacles in Germany, the recent elections showing a heavy falling off in that party's vote. The American press is always ahead of the world—for lying.

Charles Pergler of Chicago, has been selected to act as Bohemian Organizer and Robert Saittel as German Organizer. They will take the field under the direction of National Headquarters, February 1st. Locals requiring their services should make application through their state secretaries or direct to the National Secretary, at Omaha, Neb. Italian Organizer Origo has been delayed in beginning his tour but will probably start out in February or March.

Under date of December 16th, State Secretary Dial of Kentucky reports as follows to the National Secretary:

"I am instructed by the State Committee of Kentucky to forward a statement of the controversy between Calvin C. Ross and Comrade F. J. Lavanier, Jr. They request that it be mentioned in the weekly press bulletin. The statement follows:

"In October, Comrade Lavanier wrote Comrade Critchlow, of Ohio, stating that Ross, who had been speaking in Ohio, was a fakir, etc., with a penchant for borrowing money; also, that he had been expelled from Texas for similar tactics. Critchlow turned a copy of the letter over to Ross, who demanded a retraction of the statements from Lavanier. Upon Lavanier's refusal to retract or mollify his statements, Ross wrote a letter to Local Covington, demanding Lavanier's expulsion for making false statements and accusations against a member of the party.

Local Covington referred the matter to a special committee of three for investigation. This committee secured information, and deeming it sufficient, reported to the locals and were discharged.

Local Covington decided that, according to the testimony, Comrade Lavanier's statements in his letter to Comrade Critchlow were true, and dismissed the motion to expel him.

They further decided to send a statement of the case to the National Secretary and request him to insert it in his weekly press bulletin."

### A Special Word.

The receipts reported for the National Organizing Fund this week are the smallest of any week since the fund opened. Because there is not a campaign on the comrades throughout the country should not consider it unnecessary to contribute to the organizing fund. The National Headquarters still has organizers in the field, and will continue to have them.

While National Organizers Bigelow, Goebel, Ray, Bennett and Towner will not work during the holidays, Wilkins will still be in the field, and a National Organizer will begin work early in January in the northern part of Wisconsin. John C. Chase will also start out next month to cover the New

England States. In February Bohemian, German and French organizers will enter the field, and the Italian organizer will follow shortly afterwards. Preparation for these tours will be made during December and January.

In the meanwhile the more contributions there are made to the organizing fund, the better equipped will the national office be to carry on the work. By the time March begins every section of the country should be covered. It is to be hoped that the comrades will give a hearty response to this reminder and help furnish the means by which the unorganized states can be gotten into shape for the campaign of 1904.

Coin cards made to carry from 25 cents to one dollar will be sent to anyone upon application. Drop a postal for one right away. Address all contributions to the National Secretary Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb.

Printed reports of the Quorum Meeting held November 14-15-16 have been sent out to all the State Secretaries for distribution among the locals, and to the locals in unorganized states. As the work of the Quorum was important, all locals should receive a copy, and secretaries should read same at the first meeting held.

The omission of the class struggle clause from application cards recently issued by the National office has created some comment and discussion among comrades in different parts of the country, and the National Secretary desires to explain as follows:

The National Committee, at its meeting in January last, instructed the National Secretary to get out an application card providing for filing with the State Committees. This card was modeled on the one gotten out by the Ohio State Committee. In the rush incident upon first entering the office, the pledge upon the Ohio card, which he gave to the printer to get the new ones struck off, assuming the pledge was the same as that upon the application card then being issued by the National office. Nor was the difference noted until the state secretary of Washington called attention to it, several months after the new cards had been in circulation. The cards now issued from the National office bear the pledge as formerly, i. e., including the class struggle.

### HEADQUARTERS BULLETIN.

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., Dec. 24, 1903.

The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report:

Geo. D. Herron, N. Y. City.....	\$ 200.00
A. L., N. Y. City.....	.25
Uriah Heep, Macon, Ga.....	.25
Joe A. Thomas, Medford, Or.....	.25

Total to noon, Dec. 24..... \$ 200.75  
Previously reported..... 2,281.36

Total..... \$2,482.11

At the recent municipal elections in Massachusetts the Socialists made a decided gain in Chicopee, where John Kelly has been serving for the past year as Socialist alderman from Ward 6. This year Kelly ran for alderman-at-large and was elected by 300 majority over his Republican opponent, Kelly distinguished himself while ward alderman for his exposure of corruption in the city government, his order introduced into the city council for an investigation into the actions of the mayor and other officials resulting in a scandal which is not yet ended, the corrupt officials being under charges in the courts. Kelly fought his order through in spite of great opposition, fighting alone against the Republican and Democratic members. Comrade Graf was elected to fill Kelly's place as alderman from Ward 6, so that there are now two Socialist members of the city council. Chicopee has 18,

000 inhabitants and is a manufacturing center.

The National Secretary is sending circular letters about the German, Bohemian, Italian and French organizers to the state secretaries of a number of states for transmission to the locals. Locals desiring the services of any of these organizers during the coming year should see that one of the circulars reach them so that they can be properly informed.

Lecture dates for James F. Carey and Franklin and Marion Wentworth are now being rapidly made, and locals should act promptly if they desire either of these splendid attractions.

The recent election of state officials in Kansas resulted in Thomas E. Will, Wichita, being chosen State Secretary-Treasurer, and Mrs. Luella R. Kraybill, State Organizer. "An additional referendum will be taken on National Committeeman, no election having resulted from the last election." Comrade Will writes to the National Secretary that he trusts "the closest and most cordial relations may exist between the Kansas state office and the National office, and that the great work in which we are enlisted may be pushed with vigor and success."

Edward Gardiner, 26 Pruden building, Dayton, is now acting secretary of Ohio. The election of National Committeeman Just held resulted as follows: H. H. Caldwell, 406; Robert Bandlow, 396; Fred Stedernagel, 9.

The annual convention of the Socialist Party of Oklahoma will be held at Enid, Dec. 29, 1903, at ten a. m. Territorial officers for the ensuing year will be elected and preparations made for aggressive work during the approaching campaign. It is expected that a large gathering will be present.

Joseph H. Roesch, reported to have been the oldest Socialist in Milwaukee in point of service, died in that city Dec. 13th. He was eighty years old and had been converted to Socialism in Germany forty years ago. He was a patternmaker by trade. The pallbearers at the funeral were National Committeeman Victor L. Berger, Frederick Heath, A. Roehrdanz, John Doerfler, Jr., H. W. Bistorius and A. Newman.

State Secretary Oneal of Indiana, suggests to the National Secretary that the following regarding Calvin C. Ross be reported in the weekly bulletin: "Ross turned up at Evansville and 'borrowed' a sum of money from a comrade in that city, which amount is still unpaid. Comrades should be careful of Ross and not allow him to collect loans from them."

Help those that help us. Our advertisers help us publish this paper. If you have our cause at heart patronize our advertisers.

### JOTTINGS FROM WASHINGTON SECRETARY'S NOTE BOOK.

John W. Brown's Washington Tour. The definite date of Comrade Brown's entering the state cannot, as yet, be given; the latter part of February is as near as can be stated at present.

Through an oversight Locals were requested to order advertising matter for the Brown Lectures through the National office. National Secretary Wm. Mally writes that a full supply of advertising matter will be shipped to the State Secretary and that all orders therefor should be sent direct to 1016 Stewart street, Seattle.

Letters have been sent to all Locals that could probably arrange and advertise Comrade Brown's meetings. Several dates have been asked for, among others, Aberdeen for two days, Hoquiam, at least one; South Bend, one with probability of two; Ellensburg and Yakima, one each; Seattle speaks for two dates; Ballard, one, etc. Speak for dates at once Comrades, so that the proper amount of advertising matter can be ordered and the most advantageous route outlined.

### More New Locals.

Agreeable to promise and with success beyond most sanguine expectations, I chronicle the organization of Local Delphi in Thurston county, on last Monday evening, with fifteen charter members, Comrade J. R. Grant of Olympia and the scribe, officiating. Those indubitable rustlers, R. R. Weller and Ed. Kitch being chosen as Organizer and Secretary-Treasurer, respectively. They are going to make a stir in the precinct and claim a majority vote in 1904 for Socialism.

Local Frances, Pacific county, ten members, was organized by Mrs. Irene Smith on the 19th with Geo. Feakes, organizer and Jos. Woerndle secretary-treasurer. Comrade Lorehntz of South Bend was to organize Willapa on the 27th.

Another of those self-organized Locals, the result of much sacrificing labor on the part of Will J. Boyd, of Ellensburg, was launched on the 26th, with thirteen members. Will J. Boyd, Organizer and H. W. Eldred, Secretary-Treasurer.

Several more are looked for to be added to the 1903 list, at this meeting. Are Your Dues Paid to Date? Many Locals have responded to the call for a clear sheet to begin the year 1904 with.

Is your Local clear on our books? If not, see to it that immediate action is taken, and the balance due this office forwarded at the earliest opportunity. Get your name on the Roll of Honor. (Am not allowed space for it this week.)

### The 1904 Campaign On.

While you are at it, Comrades, don't forget the State Campaign Fund. Everybody get your shoulders to the wheel and let us have "A long pull, a strong pull, and a PULL ALTOGETHER."

E. E. MARTIN, Secretary-Treasurer.

### PIKE STREET BRANCH (SEATTLE) NOTES.

Headquarters, Labor Hall, 1510 Second avenue.

M. J. Kennedy speaks for the branch next Sunday, Jan. 3, at 3 p. m. at Labor Hall. Subject, "Socialism vs. Capitalism." A very interesting talk is expected backed up by facts and figures on black board. Nobody ought miss it.

The branch passed unfavorably on resolutions for a Socialist Party daily newspaper. The branch also passed resolutions condemning action of all who were instrumental in bringing forward personalities at the propaganda meeting at Carpenter's Hall, on Dec. 20th.

There is a move on foot to start a Marxian School. All who may be interested are asked to watch these columns.

The branch has elected new officers for the ensuing three months.

A. WAGENKNECHT, Organizer.

An important factor when visiting our advertisers is to call their attention to the fact, that you saw the ad in "The Socialist."

### NEBRASKA PARTY NEWS.

Comrade Lawrence Whitson has contributed \$50.00 to the campaign fund; Comrade Mackdall, of South Omaha, has contributed \$2, and Maywood 10 cents. We expect to carry on a constant campaign of education and organization during all of next year.

We have sent out 2,198 copies of the "Inside History of the Socialist Movement in Nebraska." When the membership of the party in other states have read that history and know what a terrific fight we have to maintain the integrity of the party in this state, they will know Local Omaha, with its 75 or 100 members, have been grossly slandered by men who should have been teaching Socialism instead of trying to discredit us in the eyes of the members in other states.

State Organizer J. J. Land has finished his tour of the state, closing at Blair December 12th. Owing to extreme cold

weather and the falsehoods that have been circulated against Omaha Comrades, the attendance at several places was not large, but good educating and organizing work was done. As a result of careful observation, he thinks that by a distribution of sound literature and by frequent visits of speakers who are able to teach the fundamentals of working class emancipation, the rank and file of the old populist movement will unite with our party. He finds the office seekers of the populist party to be just as dangerous now as they were a few years ago. But the real work of educating the people so they will maintain their own supremacy and never let anyone be their "leader" is making progress. The principle of proportional representation, or anything that leads to it is well grounded in Nebraska. Still in some places where the Socialist movement is new, the Comrades may yet be sold out a time or two, or be fooled into accepting political adventurers into the Local. It takes time for the new beginner to come to the full appreciation of the real work of the Socialist Party. But on the whole, we have the beginning of a sound movement in this state.

At the present rate of organization, every county in Nebraska will be organized and waging a relentless warfare against capitalism during the next presidential campaign. We do not expect to elect a president, but we want to be in position to do some educational work during next year. We could have had twice as many locals as we have had been willing to accept capitalist office holders and ward politicians. But we do not want them, and for that reason our work is slow. But it is progressing.

By the time you read this, the children's entertainment, conducted by the Woman's Socialist Union, will have been given. A special feature of the entertainment was a physical culture drill by the girls and boys, under the personal direction of Comrade Mrs. W. E. Clark, who is the physical culture and health director of the children's classes, now being conducted by the Woman's Socialist Union.

J. P. ROE, State Secretary. Omaha, Neb., Dec. 27, 1903.

### CARL D. THOMPSON AGAIN.

A good deal of correspondence has been going on the last two months between National Secretary Mally and Carl D. Thompson, relative to the latter's appointment as National Organizer. His appointment seemed almost arranged when he requested that he be routed in Nebraska. As the National Constitution requires the consent of the State Organization in such cases, Secretary Mally, in the suggestion of Reynolds of Indiana, laid the matter of the endorsement of Thompson before the Nebraska State Committee.

The reply of the Nebraska Quorum, printed below, is instructive:

THOMPSON'S WORK IN NEBRASKA State Headquarters, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., Dec. 10, 1903.

Dear Comrade: Your letter of the 7th inst regarding the appointment of the Rev. Carl D. Thompson as National Organizer was received and fully noted. The suggestion that the State Quorum of Nebraska approve of Mr. Thompson's engagements in Nebraska so that he can be appointed National Organizer was considered by the Quorum and I am instructed to reply to you as follows:

The State Quorum refuses to accept the suggestion and will not approve of Thompson's dates, for that would carry with it an endorsement of him and of his actions. This the State Quorum is not prepared to give, and it believes its course justified by the facts in its possession. The Quorum believes it would be untrue to the trust reposed in it by the membership in Nebraska and false to its duty to the Socialist Party if an endorsement, direct or indirect, were given to one guilty of the acts Thompson has committed.

Ever since the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Nebraska, last July, Thompson has done his utmost to discredit the state organization of Nebraska and to disrupt, under the name of re-organization, the Socialist Party in this state. From the time of that convention he has persistently endeavored, by and out of the state, to distort the actions of that convention, slandered the comrades attending it and ridiculed the party officials. More than this, he has conspired and conspired with men already proven guilty of treason to the party and of attempting to gain control of it for corrupt ends. He has shamelessly proclaimed his intention of "re-organizing" the state so that the present officials could be ousted and the ring of bootlickers, whose headquarters are in Omaha, obtain control.

Thompson went forth from the state convention last July and stated in public print that the State Quorum had authorized a charter for Hayward. It caused the new local there was composed of farmers and merchants, a falsehood which has obtained wide circulation throughout the country and placed the state organization of Nebraska in a false and unjust position. It is the rule of the State Quorum not to grant charters to locals in new places until a State Organizer has visited that place and investigated. This rule was adopted because Nebraska is a close state politically and we have had to guard against politicians, belonging to both the old parties, from getting into the party organization in order to use it for their own purposes. That the rule is necessary one will show later on. This rule was followed in the Maywood case. The charter was not refused, but withheld until an organizer had visited Hayward and investigated. When this was done the Hayward charter was granted in due form.

This same misrepresentation occurred in the case of the so-called "80 per cent Resolution," which the state convention never acted upon.

It should be understood that the State Quorum never objected to Thompson working in this state for Socialism, but we do object to his openly assisting the proven enemies of our party to get control of the party organization and to his fighting Socialists instead of expounding the

principles of the party. And we have more reason than ever for refusing to recognize or endorse him as a field worker since having an opportunity to estimate the kind of work he has been doing in Nebraska lately, and which work he asks the National office to be responsible for.

On October 14, 1903, Thompson spoke at Chadron. The meeting was arranged by him through L. J. F. Jaeger of that place. Our State Secretary afterwards received from Jaeger, as Temporary Secretary, under date of Oct. 15, 1903, an application for a local with 17 members, which was organized on Oct. 14, 1903. The application was made out in the handwriting of Carl D. Thompson, and was one organized by him. Among the names of applicants on the application for charter were those of L. J. F. Jaeger and D. W. Sperling. The occupation of the former was given as "merchant" and the latter as "Chief of Police."

Following our usual rule, the charter was withheld pending investigation by State Organizer Schiermeyer, who reached Chadron November 1st.

November 2nd that L. J. F. Jaeger, with whom Thompson had corresponded to arrange the meeting, was a member of the Democratic County Committee and that Sperling was Chief of Police, appointed by a Democratic mayor. Comrade Schiermeyer succeeded in having Jaeger and Sperling withdraw their names as the following correspondence will show:

"Chadron, Nebraska, 11-4-03.

"J. P. Roe, Secretary.

"Dear Sir: By instructions from Organizer Schiermeyer I hereby withdraw my own name as well as that of D. W. Sperling, as charter members of the Chadron Local.

"You will heretofore please address all communications to R. M. Stanton, Chadron, Nebraska.

"Speaking for myself, while I believe in Socialism, yet, I cannot accept the radical part of the platform which excludes all but wage earners and cannot believe the dawn of emancipation can be reached that way.

"L. J. F. IAEGER."

"Chadron, Neb., Nov. 14, 1903.

"Dear Sir and Comrade:

"Trust the enclosed will be sufficient to make us eligible for charter. This completes our part as Comrade Schiermeyer instructs us. If anything is lacking please let us know.

"Comrade Schiermeyer is a true Socialist and bears acquaintance well.

"Very respectfully,

"R. M. STANTON,

"Fin. Sec., Chadron Local."

The following was the enclosure:

To the Secretary of State Socialist Party:

Sir: "You will please erase my name from the list of Socialists at this place, for the reason that I am chief of police, appointed by the mayor of this city, and I have been informed that you are withholding the charter from the society organized here on account of my name being on the list.

"Respectfully,

"D. W. SPERLING,

"Chief of Police."

The charter was therefore granted to the Chadron local, upon recommendation of Organizer Schiermeyer.

The State Quorum is not prepared to sanction such work as Thompson is herewith proven capable of doing, and which shows that in his anxiety to "re-organize" the state he is willing to take anybody or anything into the party, even capitalist office holders like the Chadron chief of police, and men like Jaeger who do no believe in a working-class platform.

We can quite believe that Thompson may have made the engagement to speak at Chadron without knowing the real position occupied by Jaeger, as the latter is an "Appeal to Reason" reader, but there is no reason why he should not have learned it after he reached the city. That he should consider Democratic committeemen and chiefs of police fit to be members of the party shows him unworthy of trust and incapable of holding the responsible position of organizer for the Socialist party.

For these reasons, the State Quorum declines to endorse Carl D. Thompson and requests that you forward this letter to the National Committee, should you submit the other correspondence.

"J. P. ROE, State Secretary."

### SAME DANGER EVERYWHERE.

Missouri also is in danger from the incoming corrupt politicians from old capitalist parties. Nebraska is not alone. What will National Committeeman Turner of Missouri, who has voted against the Nebraska State Quorum in its fight for party integrity at every opportunity now do with the bootlicker problem in his own state? This insane race for votes and victory leads direct to such trading as Nebraska and Missouri and Montana (an untold story) have experienced.

This campaign year of 1904 will test the Socialist Party organization. It is high time it was published aloft on every Socialist banner, "No Grafting Middle Class Politicians Need Apply Here and No Trading Middle Class Politics will be Tolerated in Our Ranks."

Socialist Party of Missouri. Caleb Lipscomb, Secretary-Treasurer. Liberal, Mo., Dec. 20, 1903.

To All Secretaries:

At a meeting of the Quorum on Dec. 20th, a decision was reached refusing to reorganize a Club at Lamar. On November 2nd, the State Secretary sent Comrade Clyde A. Berry to Lamar to try to reorganize a Club of the Socialist Party which resulted in eight signing the application and Hall Davis acting as secretary. When the papers were turned in to the State Secretary he immediately wrote Comrade Davis that he would not recognize an application with H. E. Baldwin's name on it and as this Club had only paid Comrade Berry \$1.40 he stated to Comrade Davis that he would use his influence with the Quorum to prevent the reorganization of the Club unless the Lamar applicants cut Baldwin out and pay the additional expense incurred by Comrade Berry. The Quorum reversed the State Secretary's decision of paying the additional expense but sustained him in the matter of Baldwin.

I am dear comrade, Yours for Revolutionary Socialism, DANIEL LIVINGSTONE, Secy. Local No. 3.

"I saw your ad. in 'The Socialist.' It is so little trouble to you to say that, and it means so much to us.

The charges against the Lamar applicants are as follows:

During the fall of 1902, A. J. Wray was nominated by the Republican Party to represent Barton county in the state legislature. This county being closely contested by both Democrats and Republicans, they are looking out for all the floating votes they can catch. Wray conceived the idea that if he could buy \$100 worth of Socialist voters he could be elected. H. E. Baldwin was singled out as the Socialist who should engineer this deal to get the goods delivered. Baldwin was carried away with this scheme as he called it to get money for the Socialist campaign. He took the first train to Liberal to lay his plan before the Socialists of Liberal. Comrades Jones, Mellor, Lipscomb and Benson were at once taken into his confidence and the plan laid before them. He met each of these comrades separately and each one told him in substance to go back home and behave himself and let Wray keep his corrupt funds. No one knew what the other had told Baldwin but he was chagrined and humiliated to meet such a cold reception at Liberal. We have evidence that the majority of the Lamar Club did not approve of Baldwin's course and sat down on him for the act.

The Quorum holds that it is unwise to admit anyone in the Party that has no higher sense of honor. In addition to this, at the spring election, last spring in Lamar, through the instrumentality of Baldwin the Socialists of Lamar did not put up a candidate for Mayor of the city but supported Mr. Thos. Egger, a Republican and a banker on the ground that the Democratic mayor had raised taxes in the city. This we consider a purely middle class cry having no connection whatever with Working Class Socialism, and we feel that no Club should be chartered where the members can be side-tracked on any such frivolous middle class issue as this. The Quorum stands ready to grant a Charter to the Socialists at Lamar when such ideas as we have described are left out of the program. There seems to be a disposition among well meaning Socialists to think that they can in some indirect way support the politicians of the capitalist class to contribute to the Socialist campaign fund and not contaminate themselves. We hold that no circumstance could be justified under which any Club or any member of any Club could take any of this corruption fund and not compromise the Party.

Fraternally, M. M. JONES, G. C. WILCOX, G. A. BENSON, GEO. MELLOR, Local Quorum of the Socialist Party. CALEB LIPSCOMB, State Sec.-Treas.

MORE ABOUT BAIRD. To Local Jackson County (Kansas City) Mo. Comrades:

In reply to your open letter to Local Omaha, protesting against what you call "Snap Judgment," anent our resolutions against Local Kansas City, or the Jackson County Social Club, we are accepting one Geo. E. Baird who was expelled from Local Omaha for political corruption, we submit the following:

For Local Kansas City to make the plea of ignorance in the case of Baird does little credit to an organization that is supposed to stand upon the principles of International Socialism. A local of the Socialist Party that will accept a total stranger without an investigation certainly cannot lay claim to being a watchful guardian of the Socialist movement in the territory over which it has jurisdiction. With such tactics the capitalist class would find it very easy to flood your local with a sufficient number of traitors to disrupt the movement. Since your protest we feel more than justified for having passed our resolutions. The evidence against Baird was in our possession, for the asking. The statement accompanying our letter of inquiry was sufficient to cause any watchful body of Socialists to start an investigation, which you did not do. If you care to take the matter up, the evidence will be submitted on request.

In the same open letter, you falsely accuse us of sending a letter to the locals in Missouri regarding the candidacy of Geo. E. Turner for member of the National Committee. No one can read our letter to Local Poplar Bluff without seeing that your accusation is palpably false. Our letter was to inform the members of the party in Missouri of what their National Committeeman had done, believing that he had not informed you. We believe the membership in the party and should know what party officials are doing.

Falling back upon the commodious phrase about not being "concerned in personalities," which was used by the middle class to defeat the workers in the German and French struggles of '47 and '48 may serve the purpose for which it has ever been used—namely that of throwing the mantle of charity and secrecy about the person of a traitor—but it does not show an insight into the history of the movement for the emancipation of the working class, for which, and for which alone, the Socialist Party is in existence.

The personality that cannot bear the lime light of publicity will have the same effect upon the Socialist Party as poison has upon the human body. An organization must be known by the personnel of its membership.

LOCAL OMAHA. J. A. LaBelle, Sec'y. Omaha, Neb., Dec. 10, 1903.

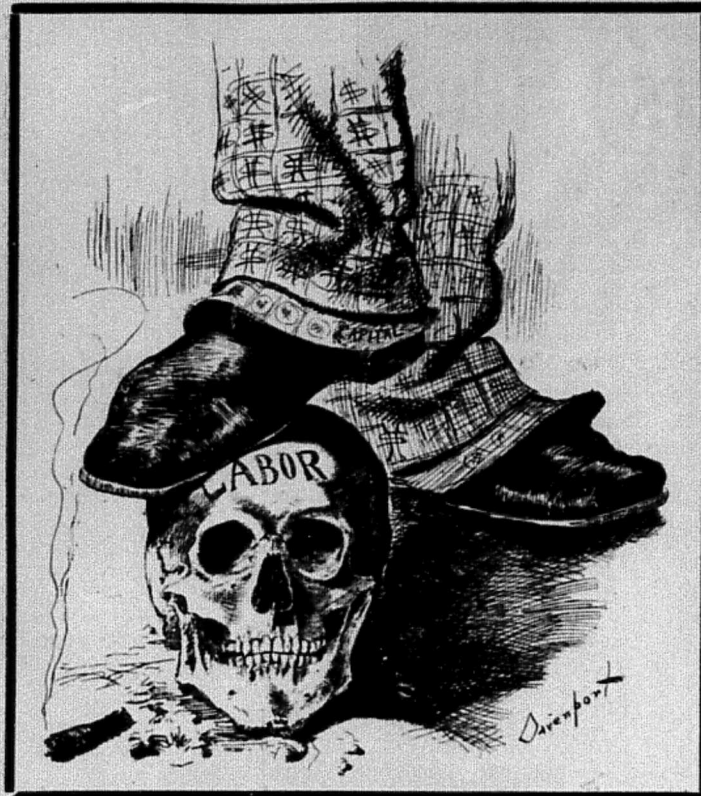
MOST LIBERAL. Nanaimo, B. C., Dec. 23, 1903. The Seattle Socialist.

Dear Comrade: Find enclosed a postoffice order for \$5.00 for twenty subscription cards. We think your offer is a very liberal one and should meet with general approval of the Socialist Party.

I am dear comrade, Yours for Revolutionary Socialism, DANIEL LIVINGSTONE, Secy. Local No. 3.

"I saw your ad. in 'The Socialist.' It is so little trouble to you to say that, and it means so much to us.

# 11654=The Declaration of Slavery=11654



## BROWN A TYPICAL WORKING MAN.

Los Angeles, Cal.  
Comrades: I want to impress upon your mind the necessity of your getting a full house when Brown comes to Seattle, for he is the most effective speaker that has been in this part of the country yet. A typical working man with a clear understanding of the working class, and they understand him when he speaks to them. The only criticism that I have heard of his lecture was that his grammar was not quite correct. One man (who every one admits is the most scientific Socialist in Los Angeles and not a member of the party) said that he was the only speaker that had been here that was worth going across the street to hear.

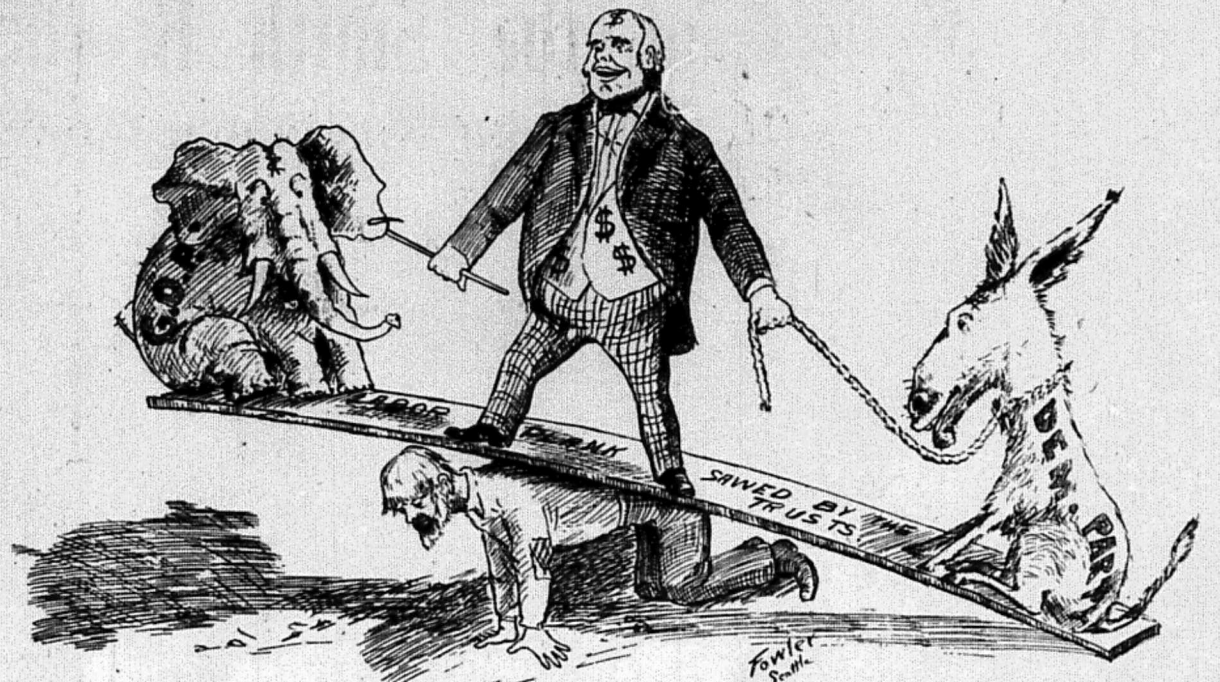
Do your best and I am sure that he will not disappoint you.

WM. HUMPHREY.

Socialists: If you are true to yourselves it ceases to be a question of sentiment, it becomes your duty to trade with our advertisers. The high order and excellent reputation for fair dealing possessed by our advertisers makes this demand warranted.

To our readers in Whatcom we would call attention to the fact, that one of the best firms in that city advertises in "The Socialist." Do your shopping at "The Fair."

## REPUBLICAN--DEMOCRATIC SEE SAW



WHY DON'T HE HUMP HIMSELF?

## The A B C of Socialism

By FATHER McGRADY, Author of "A Voice from England," Etc.

(Will be published in 5 cent pamphlet with three other "A B C" articles found in this paper. See page 5.)

The science of Socialism is so simple that I am astonished that we have so many people in our enlightened country, with its marvelous facilities of education and magnificent system of schools, who require a child-like exposition of the principles regulating co-operative production and distribution.

### A Famous Illustration.

Adam Smith says in his "Wealth of Nations" that one man making pins could scarcely make ten pins a day, whereas ten men working together, each performing a single operation, could make 48,000 pins in a day, thereby increasing the productive power of the individual 480 fold. The enhanced productivity of the workers is the result of combination. At an early age men conceived the idea that co-operative labor was more remunerative than the isolated effort of the individual, and they combined their forces to accomplish great results. It is evident to the most careless observer that every individual in the combination is essential for the complete triumph of the enterprise. If one member of the combination would withdraw, not only would the total product be correspondingly diminished, but the net results to each individual would be less than before, for when there were ten men in combination each worker received, as his portion, 4,800 pins; whereas, since there are only nine men employed, each will get less than this amount, because the productive power of each is reduced by the reduction of the co-operative factors. Now as the 48,000 pins are produced by the ten men working together, every one should receive the same, and hence each individual should get 4,800 pins. This is an illustration of co-operative production where each contributes his share of the labor and receives an equal share of the wealth produced by the combined efforts of the whole.

### Extend the Illustration.

If we extend the above example and include every industry of the nation, where the millions of toilers work together in mine, on farm and in factory, each receiving his quota of the wealth produced by the combined efforts of all, we have Socialism. But this idea can be realized only when the people who produce the wealth of the world own the instruments of production. Let us presume that the ten men employed in making pins discover ten more isolated individuals who are working alone, making only ten pins a day. The isolated individuals would be glad to get employment where they could increase the product of their toil by 100 per cent, and cheerfully accept an offer to labor for the first ten for the paltry compensation of twenty pins a day. The first ten could remunerate the second ten with 200 pins a day from the product of 48,000 pins, and have 46,000 as their portion. The first ten would immediately be absorbed from the necessity of laboring, and would retire and live on the toil of their ignorant brethren, who see nothing abnormal in the system which compels them to support ten lazy parasites. But the parasites foresee the possible enlightenment of the benighted toilers, who, in realizing the injustice of social conditions, might eventually decide to utilize the force of combination and to produce for themselves instead of supporting a host of useless members of society with the surplus wealth created by their labor, and to prevent this dire calamity the idlers constitute themselves the ruling class, appropriate the means of production and legislate for the protection of private property. With the private ownership of the land and machinery, the means of producing wealth, the privileged class are the masters of the situation, and can force the dispossessed to toil for them and give them all that they can create except what is barely sufficient to maintain the army of laborers.

### Just Laws Not Observed.

Adam Smith says in the eighth chapter of "Wealth of Nations": "In that original state of things, which precedes both the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock,

the whole produce of labor belongs to the laborer. Had that state continued the wages of labor would have augmented with all those improvements in its productive powers to which the division of labor gives occasion. All things would gradually become cheaper. They would have been produced by a smaller quantity of labor, and as the commodities produced by equal quantities of labor would naturally, in this state of things, be exchanged for one another, they would have been produced likewise with a smaller quantity." Adam Smith speaks here only of the increased productivity arising from the division of labor, or the force of combination, and does not refer to the ultimate results of social factors, the product of the combined thought and labor of society, manifested in the marvelous discoveries and inventions of modern times. The purpose of civilization is to redeem man from the bondage of incessant toil, and nature intended that every new invention, every new machine, should be utilized to diminish the intensity of the struggle for existence, to reduce the hours of labor and give man more of the comforts of life and more leisure for mental recreation and development. Had the original laws regulating production and distribution, laws based on justice and equity, been observed through all the ages, had every machine which had been invented been

there will be no inducements to farmers to raise horse stock, and in the course of time the horse will be numbered among the extinct animals. Perhaps mankind will never reach the utopian age when labor will be no longer a necessity, but we have already reached the age when the supply of laborers is greater than the demand, and the consequent result of this excess is, first of all, the reduction of wages to the lowest possible point, and secondly, the superfluous must meet with starvation and death. Whenever the supply of a commodity exceeds the demand the article is sold below the cost of production, and the capitalists abandon that line of industry till there is a new demand for the merchandise. In like manner, when the labor supply exceeds the demand labor power is sold below the cost of production, or the necessary cost of maintaining the laborer and his family, and there is an enforced reduction of the tolling army by privations, starvation, infanticide and abstinence from matrimonial alliances, till the surplus is destroyed and the supply of laborers reaches the requirements of social production. Under such conditions the fate of the toiler in the future will be one of suffering, sorrow, desolation and death. By the inauguration of Socialism the machinery of the world would be utilized to diminish the struggle for existence.

### Seventy Million Men Displaced.

The competitive system forces the capitalists to produce at the lowest cost, and they must economize to give their patrons the benefit of cheap commodities. A machine is invented which displaces half the labor power formerly required in the production of cloth. There are one thousand men working in a cotton factory, and competition compels the manufacturer to buy the machine. In virtue of which he can now meet the requirements of the market with the labor of five hundred men. The day is not far distant when the labor of twenty-five million men will be able to produce enough to glut the market, and there will be seventy-five million men seeking positions, for the most of the American people will be totally dispossessed and driven into the army of the proletariat within the next generation. The seventy millions will bid in the labor market for twenty-five million positions, and this intense competition will reduce wages to the point essential to procure the barest subsistence, and still there will be fifty millions on the market—fifty millions for the poor house and the pauper's grave.

### Under Socialism, What?

Under Socialism the seventy millions would be employed, each one getting every cent that he produces, and the hours of toil would be reduced to meet the requirements of production. With the elimination of the extravagant waste of competition, and by the abolition of the profit system, which is sustained by exploitation, the laborer, after paying for the raw material and the replacement of machinery, would get all that he produces, and at the most modest estimate his services would create one dollar's worth of net wealth every hour, and his remuneration would be valued at that sum. There would be a labor certificate, which would be given in exchange for services, and the same certificate would be accepted at the community store in payment for the comforts and luxuries of life. Let us presume that a shoemaker, under the competitive system, gets \$1.80 per day for his services, and in that time he makes six pairs of shoes, which sell for \$3 a pair. His family want six pairs of shoes for the winter, and the laborer must work ten days to get the shoes. Under Socialism, by the elimination of waste and profits, the shoes could be placed on the market at 60 cents per pair, and the laborer would be able to purchase the necessary footwear for his family with the product of two days' labor, and he could thus enjoy all the comforts of life with two or three hours of toil every day, and the rest of the time he could devote to mental culture.

Bellevue, Ky., July 28, 1902.



### The Iron Law of Wages.

Labor power is a merchandise, which is sold like any other merchandise. But the cost of production regulates the price of every merchandise. The cost of producing labor power is the cost of maintaining the laborer and his family, and this is called the "Iron Law of Wages." If our powers of productivity should increase one thousand fold the laborer would reap no benefit from the advancement, as his labor power would still remain a commodity, and would be sold in the labor market at the cost of production. Should we ever realize a state when machinery would be so perfect that society could dispense with labor power the toiler would be dismissed as a useless factor. Steam, electricity and other means of locomotion and transportation are dispensing with the necessity of horse power, and in another generation the equine species will be vastly diminished, owing to the fact that

### SLAVE MARKET REPORTS.

(Continued from page one.)

and in compensation of it we have a superfluity of capitalist literature to satiate our minds. But this can just as little satisfy our mental hunger as the former can glut our stomachs."

If you can think of a better way to advance the cause of Socialism than to get subscriptions to "The Socialist" let the subscriptions go and do the thing which you think of more value, but if getting subscriptions is the best thing to do, do it, and do it with a vim. You will feel better after having done your best, and then the cause will prosper in due proportion to efforts put forth. Remember that when you get a yearly subscription to "The Socialist" the subscriber will get butted towards Socialism just fifty-two times, unless he is an alert dogger.

In this way you make the man pay for his own conversion. Can you beat it?

The very first lesson for the slave to learn is that the master class never approves of any action that in any way injuriously affects their material interests, and they always condemn everything that promises to give a larger share of the wealth created to the creators of such wealth.

If any person is praised by the capitalist it is always because such person is useful to the masters; if he is condemned it is because he is not useful to them.

Another way of putting it is this: Any person commended by the masters is a dangerous person for the slaves. Roosevelt gets their praise. Hence he is a dangerous man to the slaves. There is no exception to this rule. Remember this.

"Convict Labor Wanted" is a headline in one of our daily papers, a supporter of the present civilization. Unfortunate men and women are to be hounded to the penitentiary and there set to work to reduce taxes and other burdens of the people who rob by law. A press dispatch says:

"If convict labor is secured, Walla Walla County would be the great beneficiary. A convict train closely guarded would be sent out to a rock quarry and the material brought back just as clay is now brought back to the institution for brick manufacture."

There are many ways of heading off union labor. Why not utilize convicts in burying the dead?

One of our great dailies, one that often calls itself the workingman's friend, announces in a cheerful way, "Wage reductions have been accomplished with less friction than had been anticipated," and then in a nearby column it says, with great hilarity, "Railroad earnings are enormous." If the masters had reduced wages still more the profits would have been still more enormous.

I meet some of the best posted men in the world, I suppose. The other day, I met a man who said he was taking two Socialist papers. I asked him what ones he was taking. He replied: "The Appeal and the Commoner." I asked him which he thought the best, and he said, "It's nip and tuck."

I often hear of Socialists who fear to tell the truth about the frightful struggle of the classes. They want to

be diplomatic and catch a few votes, the votes of men who are ignorant of this class struggle. These simple-minded people remind me of a boy back in Ohio. This boy loved to hunt chipmunks, and he, like the Socialists referred to above, wanted to slip up and catch the little animals without alarming them. One day this boy had been at his favorite pastime so long that his mother went to look after him. She found him patiently waiting to catch his game. She asked him how many he had caught. He replied: "When I get this one and two more I will have three."

Ever since I can remember, somebody has been redeeming our great cities, but according to these "redeemers" the cities still need redeeming. Perhaps these "redeemers" would accomplish more if they would deal with causes instead of symptoms, but so long as "redeeming" serves to boost these "moral" men into office we shall hardly expect them to give up their graft. These dress parades of the "re-

deemers" remind me of the dress parades of the soldiers—it's all for show.

Show this paper to your shop mate. Try to get him to give you 50 cents for a year's subscription and then watch the result. If satisfactory repeat the process upon other slaves. It's both amusing and profitable from the view point of a wage slave.

One of the daily papers says that when the bankers met in convention they were very optimistic. I suppose from this announcement that these men who are mostly idlers have enough to eat, pretty good clothes and most of them have some sort of shelter. When the creator of wealth is so provided he is generally optimistic, but when he is troubled to get enough to eat, when his clothes are seedy, when he has no shelter, he, sometimes, grows pessimistic. But he ought not to do so, so long as the banker has enough; he exists for the comfort and the glory of his master.

## All Unsolicited

### Made Official Organ of Omaha

Editor, "The Socialist," Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrade—Local Omaha at a mass meeting held May 13th, adopted "The Socialist" as its official organ. We will endeavor to place it in the hands of every member.

We have seen the necessity for a party paper in this city. The reason your paper was selected was because the tactics it advocates and program it follows represent the ideas of a majority of this Local.

Fraternally yours,

J. ALFRED LA BILLE, Secretary.

### And Official Organ of Nebraska

Whereas, "The Seattle Socialist," in the 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.

### And Official Organ of San Francisco

CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Local San Francisco.

Secretary's Office: Odd Fellow Bldg., Corner Market and 7th Streets. San Francisco, Cal., July 1st, 1903.

Dear Comrade—Local San Francisco passed a resolution last night adopting your paper as the official paper of this Local. The comrades here greatly admire your uncompromising stand on all matters pertaining to party affairs.

From now on we are going to push the "Seattle Socialist" to the best of our ability, in order to show our admiration for your courageous stand against the grafters and hacks that seek to use this movement for their personal ends.

Yours fraternally,

WILLIAM COSTLEY, City Organizer.

### And Endorsed by Kentucky

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE KENTUCKY STATE COMMITTEE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Covington, Ky., July 26, 1903.

"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 the Kentucky State Committee give its unqualified indorsement to the 'Seattle Socialist,' and recommend it to every member of the Socialist party in Kentucky. (Signed)

F. H. STREINE, Assistant Sec.-Treas.

CHARLES TOWNER, Organizer.

Attest J. M. Dial, Jr., Sec.-Treas.

# The History of the Smith Brothers (and Others) Illustrated

ONE A REPUBLICAN---ONE A DEMOCRAT



THE CAPITALIST---(soliloquizing) "They worked for me about 50 years. They had one good point--they never threw away their votes--they always made me a present of them and 'I done the rest.'"

## The A B C of Socialism

By CHAS. H. VAIL, Author of "Principles of Scientific Socialism," Etc., Etc.

(Will be published in 5 cent pamphlet with three other "A B C" articles found in this paper. See page 5.)

We need to distinguish between Socialism as an ideal—a future state of society—and the Socialist movement, which is an effort to realize that ideal. As this effort must be carried on within the confines of the present class system, it possesses several characteristics which are well marked and of the utmost importance.

### Two Classes Exist.

The capitalist system presupposes the reading of society into class divisions—the propertied and non-propertied. The owning class, having possession of the means of livelihood—lands, factories, railroads, mines, etc.—are able to keep the non-owning class in a condition of dependence and servitude. The laboring class is absolutely dependent upon the capitalist class for an opportunity to exist. Being unable to employ themselves, they must seek employment at the hands of others, selling their labor power for what it will bring in the competitive market. Their labor power is a commodity, like beets or cabbage, which must be sold upon the open market. The ideal of every laborer should be to achieve his emancipation from this condition of servitude. This can only be accomplished by freeing himself from capitalist dependence.

### Laborer Must Own His Tools.

To secure this end he must himself become the owner of the tools necessary to his existence. But the tools today have become gigantic instruments of production, costing many thousands of dollars and operated only by the combined labor of many. The days of homespun and individual production are forever gone. The individual laborer can no longer hope to own the instruments necessary to his livelihood. The change in the method of production has given rise to a special class—the capitalist or the owning class. The individual laborer could not acquire sufficient wealth in several lifetimes to begin to own these gigantic instruments. Not only does the cost prohibit his ownership, but the character of the tools themselves makes it impossible that all that use the tools should individually own them. The tools today are social; that is, they are co-operatively used. If one man owns these tools, even though he be a laborer, it would necessarily preclude the ownership upon the part of all others who must use the tools or starve. But the character of the instruments suggests the solution of the problem and the way of labor emancipation. The tools being social in character, should be socially owned. Individual ownership was proper in the day of individual use. But when the method of operation is socialized the ownership should also be socialized to correspond.

### Socialism or Slavery.

Private ownership of social tools means the private appropriation of the product of social labor, and the dependence of man upon man for an opportunity to live. The great instruments of production are not operated by those who own them, or owned by those who use them. Modern industry has given to this possessing class the most perfect mechanism for wealth production that the world has ever seen. These owners allow the laborers use of these tools on condition that they (the workers) will give up to the idlers the lion's share of the pro-

duct produced. Ownership is the secret of capitalist power—they own that which is necessary to the worker's existence. The laborers to be free must themselves own these requisites to life. While it is impossible and undesirable to destroy modern methods, reverse the wheels of progress and return to the days of small industry, and also impossible for the workers to own individually these great instruments, still these instruments can be made the collective property of all the people. This is the only way by which the laborers can secure control of their economic interest. It is Socialism or economic slavery.

### Labor Must Emancipate Itself.

We cannot expect those enjoying special privileges to willingly relinquish their advantage. They naturally desire to perpetuate a system that enables them to live in



idleness of the laborers of others. It is evident that if labor is emancipated it must emancipate itself. The Socialist movement, then, which stands for labor's emancipation, is based primarily upon the working class. It recognizes the great fact of the class struggle and seeks to enlighten the workers concerning their own interests; in other words, make them class conscious. This class consciousness means a consciousness of one's own interests as a member of a class, also a consciousness that his interests can only be subserved by advancing the interests of the class to which he belongs.

### The Ballot is the Key.

He also comes to realize that control of political power is necessary to any class which would permanently improve its economic condition. To solidarity in the economic field must be added solidarity in the

political field. To unite in the industrial struggle and divide in the political is the height of absurdity. In fact, the ballot box is the key to the whole situation. The class that is supreme there is supreme everywhere. While the workers have the number and undesirable to destroy modern methods, reverse the wheels of progress and return to the days of small industry, and also impossible for the workers to own individually these great instruments, still these instruments can be made the collective property of all the people. This is the only way by which the laborers can secure control of their economic interest. It is Socialism or economic slavery.

### Differs From Former Revolutions.

Herein the coming revolution differs from all preceding changes. In the former revolutions class supplanted class—the class below overthrowing the class above—but the continuance of private ownership resulted in establishing a new despotism. But the working class supremacy will completely abolish all dependence, because the tools of production now being social the working class cannot emancipate itself without socializing the instruments. When the instruments are collectively owned the cause of all dependence and servitude will disappear. Thus while as militant our cause is chiefly identified with class, as triumphant it is identified with humanity.

### Socialism and a Socialist Movement.

Here is the distinction mentioned in the beginning of this article, between Socialism and the Socialist movement. The Socialist movement is based upon the class struggle. Socialism triumphant will abolish the class struggle and make the interest of all identical. It will be the business of the Socialist Party, when in control of the state, to carry out to completeness the legislative task of transforming the privately owned tools into collective property. When this has been accomplished classes and class antagonisms will be abolished. In the new order there will be but one class—humanity, and the golden age so long dreamed of will be a realization on earth.

### Vote for Human Freedom.

All who desire a better social order and a higher state of civilization should cast their ballots in the coming election for the candidates of the Socialist Party. We propose the abolition of this cannibalistic system and the substitution therefor of the co-operative commonwealth. In the new order co-operation for existence will supplant the present barbaric struggle for existence and society as well as the individual would take on an unhampered development. Socialism would transform and ennoble humanity. It would furnish the only condition wherein the higher life of service and brotherhood can be realized. We ask all who believe in or desire the better way to join in its realization. Every vote cast for Socialism brings nearer the day of human freedom.

Are you thinking of getting a suit? If so, don't fail to examine our line before you place your order. It is the best that ever happened.

### 100 STYLES

Strictly all-wool goods. Suits ranging in price from \$11.00 to \$20.00. Pants, \$3.00 to \$7.00. Besides an unlimited number at higher prices, and all bearing the Union made-to-measure label as a guarantee of high-grade workmanship. We guarantee fit, workmanship and wearing quality. No one can do more.

### NOTICE

If you will call on our agent or send post card for him to call on you, you can see our line and have your measure taken for anything that you may want. Don't be afraid to look at the goods. A look costs nothing. It does not matter if you live where the agent does or 50 miles from the agent's headquarters. Just send our agent a request to call on you, stating as near as possible where you live, in town, village or logging camp.

### Conrade Augustus J. Sorge

Expert Measurer & Fitter, P. O. Box 693, Seattle, Wash. Agent for: Great Western Tailoring Co., Chicago, Ill. Progress Tailoring Co., Chicago, Ill. The People's Tailoring Co., Milwaukee, Wis.

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7:30 p.m.	Everett, Spokane, Rossland, Kootenai, etc.		9:30 a.m.
5:10 p.m.	Everett, Whatcom, Hamilton and Anacortes		11:30 a.m.
8:10 a.m.	Everett, Whatcom, New Westminster, Rockport and Anacortes		4:45 p.m.

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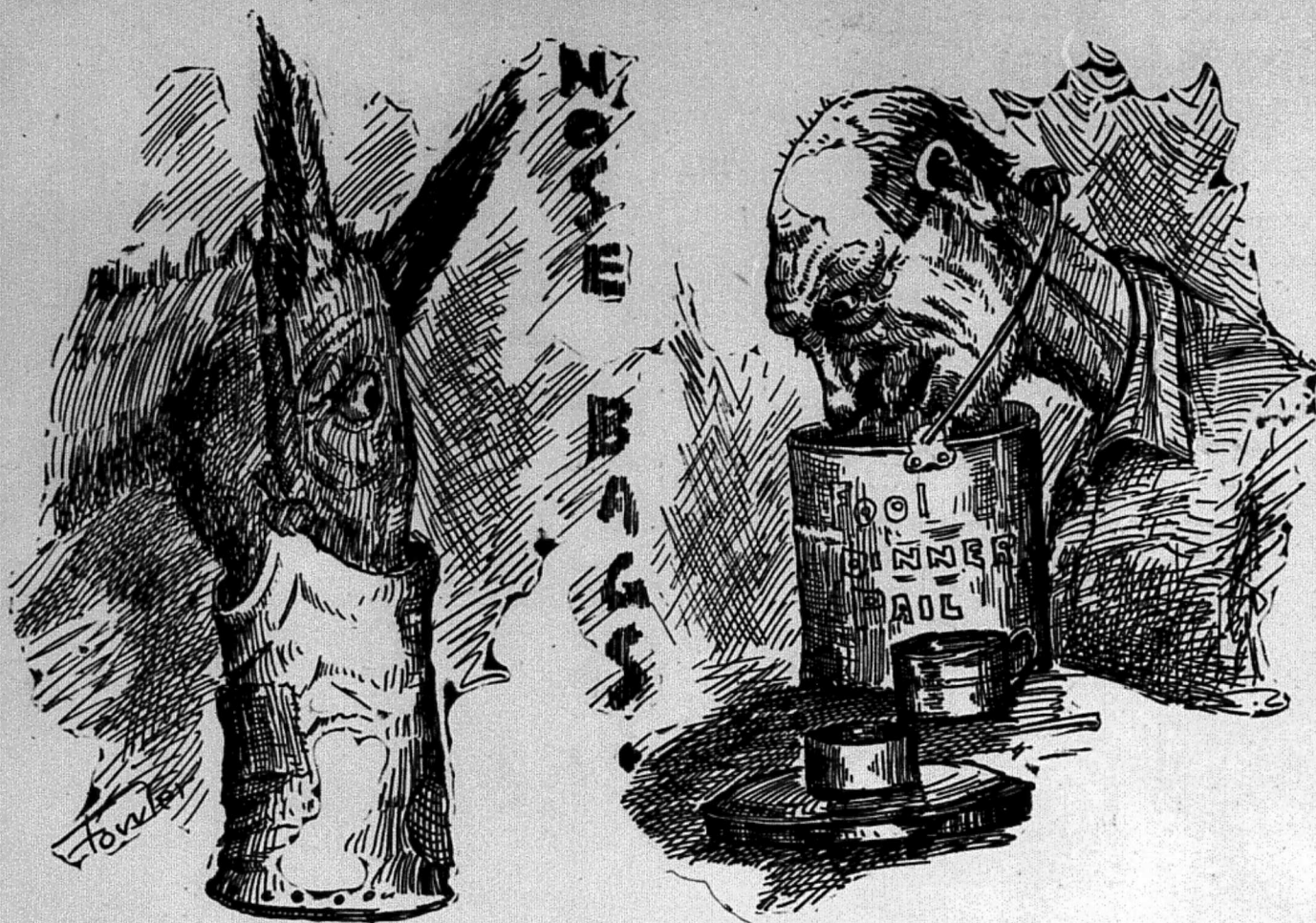
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# The A B C of Socialism

Socialism, the Hope of the Workers

By JOHN SPARGO. (Editor "The Comrade," New York.)

(Will be published in 5 cent pamphlet with three other "A B C" articles found in this paper. See page 5.)

From Sir William Petty, who lived in the seventeenth century, and whom Karl Marx calls "the Father of Political Economy," to John Stuart Mill, every one of the great economists of England held it to be a cardinal fact in economic science that all wealth is produced by labor applied to natural forces. And Benjamin Franklin, who alone of American writers added anything to economic science, laid a great deal of stress upon that same primary fact.

And what the economists have insisted upon with so great unanimity is confirmed by the life experience of the most unlearned worker. Scan as closely as we may the whole area of our industrial system no other means of wealth can be found. Even if Manna descended from the skies, as in the Bible legend, still it would not be available without the labor of collecting, a fact which John Stuart Mill insisted upon more than fifty years ago.

### Only Valid Claim to Wealth.

In view of this fact, it is in my judgment evident that only those who labor can have any valid claim to own wealth. And yet, strange as it may seem, the great bulk of the wealth of this and most other countries, is owned by those who do not labor, whilst those who do labor own little or no wealth. Upon this also all writers of authority are agreed, and even were that not the case it would surely be evident to every honest observer.

### "Useful Class" and "Useless Class."

This fundamentally is the great "Social problem" about which we hear so much, and it seems fairly obvious that there can be no solution of that problem except that which goes to the root of the evil and destroys the power of the idle parasites to live upon the result of others' toil. Always having in mind that "Labor" in political economy means useful effort whether of hand or brain, the Socialist declares for just such a radical remedy—the whole product of labor to be enjoyed wholly by those who belong to the useful class as opposed to the useless class, the parasites.

"The world for the workers," epitomizes the demands of Socialism. That is to say, that all who are physically and mentally fit to labor must labor to live.

### No Man's Product By Itself.

Adam Smith, in that wonderful book, "The Wealth of Nations," argues that "the rightful reward of a man's labor is the whole product of that labor," a principle which the Socialist affirms, though in a higher form consistent with changed industrial conditions. For, as Marx has shown so clearly, it is no longer possible to determine what is the product of any individual's labor. Labor is a social and complex thing, as a brief survey of any department will show. The simplest articles of commerce are produced under a system of divided labor which makes it impossible to determine the share of any individual. Nor is it alone between the individuals engaged in any industry that this complexity is seen. Between the different industries it is equally evident. The miner depends upon the farmer, the blacksmith, the railway worker, and hundreds of other workers; and so it is all through our industrial life.

### Frederic Harrison's Absurdity.

Because of this fact we do not demand for any body of men engaged in a particular trade the exclusive ownership of what they produce. That is, to say the least, an absurd view to take of Socialism. Yet no less a person than Mr. Frederic Harrison, the eminent litterateur, has seriously claimed it to be Socialism, and as seriously replied to it. Taking a railway as an example, he says that it is "a favorite argument" of the Socialist, that if 10,000 men make a

railway in three years, it will belong to the capitalist under present conditions, whereas it ought to belong to the 10,000 men without reference to the surveying and engineering which preceded their labor. Mr. Harrison has not yet seen fit to quote from the writings of any accredited Socialist in support of this view in response to my challenge, nor do I expect that he will do so. Far from that, we should object to the ownership of the railway by the 10,000 men just as we should object to its ownership by Mr. Morgan.

### Who Makes a Railway.

For a railway is essentially a social thing. It springs from social necessity and its use or abuse influences not only the lives of the 10,000 men, but of whole communities. In a very real way we are "all members one of another," to use the scriptural language. To give the railway to a minority whether it consist of ten men or of ten thousand, is to place the rest of the people in a position of servitude. Moreover, a railway cannot be said to be the product of the labor of so many men. In order to have a railway, before a single man could be set to work, there must have been the toolmaker, and before the toolmaker the iron



miner and the coal miner, and the farmer to provide these with food, and so on. Before a single steel rail could be laid innumerable workers had borne a share in the sum total of the labor required to make it. Never was intellect keen enough to fully unravel the tangled threads of wealth production. A railway, a ship, a factory, a plow—in a word any one of the varied mechanical contrivances which surround us, is a social product, the result of common labor and common experience. But they are not owned in common. On the contrary, they are owned by a comparatively small number of people, who are thus enabled to dominate over their fellows. And to this fact most of the evils which infest society may be traced, whether they be economic, political or moral.

### "The World for the Workers."

Socialism (a word derived from the Latin *Socius*—a comrade) demands that all this great social product shall belong to society as a whole, to be enjoyed by them in common. In other words, that all the means of wealth production, distribution and exchange, shall be owned by the people as a whole democratically organized, and used always for the social well-being.

### Municipalism a Step Down.

"By the people democratically organized... for the social well-being," that is the supreme test, the distinction between Socialism and the so-called "public ownership," which often masquerades as Socialism. It is highly important that there be no confusion between the two. Much of the vaunted "progress" of English municipalities, for example, is in truth a step further into the quagmire of capitalist exploitation. It is easy to see how in this country, if nationalization of the railways should be decided upon, London might—and with a capitalist government would—be issued, the interest upon which would equal the present profits. Just as with the "slumlords" in London and other English cities there is scarcely a department of industry where this kind of "public ownership" might not be made even more profitable to the holders than the present system. And the position of the workers under such a system would be worse than at present. In Italy where they have government owned railways, when the workers went on strike the capitalist government placed them under martial law and effectually broke the strike. Does anybody doubt that a capitalist government in America, whether Democratic or Republican, would do less? Government ownership of anything will not help the workers while Mr. Morgan and his associates own the government.

### The Great "Class" Issue.

Thus we come in any practical survey of the question upon the great "class" issue. We have seen that the present problem consists in the exploitation of the workers by the idlers and the problem can only be solved by eliminating the idler. Hard as it may appear to some well meaning Socialists, and would-be Socialists, therefore, it is essentially a "class" question. And the Socialist Party in all lands is a working class party, pledged irrevocably to the interests of labor and influenced by no other consideration. The conscious aim of all its efforts is the absolute overthrow of the idle, parasitic class and the reconstruction of the whole fabric of society upon the right of the workers collectively to the whole product of their labor. In the pursuit of that revolutionary principle, we find the whole of the forces of plundering capitalism arrayed against us, and, whether we will or no, we are forced to recognize the fact that there is a bitter and relentless class struggle in which we are consciously or unconsciously participants. For there are no neutrals. In this war it is terribly and profoundly true that "he who is not for us is against us," which translated into the language of politics means: "he who does not vote for labor votes against it." Let the timid take heart; we wage this "class war" not because we desire it, but because there is no escape from it. If there were no class antagonism, we should not need Socialism, and there would be no social problem.

### End the Class War.

Finally, we do not seek to overthrow the present rulers of society in order that we may rule them. That would only be reversing the form of the class oppression and tyranny of today. Equally with those who shudder at mention of the terrible phrase, we abhor the class war. Therefore, we seek to end it by using the powers we possess as citizens to wrest from the oppressors their power, and having done that, we shall be able to say, "Now is the ghoulish strife forever ended and brotherhood made possible." Socialism means human brotherhood—the fulfillment of the ages' dream of "peace and good will among men," but it will only be made possible by the unflinching, unrelenting struggle of the working class itself to secure its own emancipation.

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"Crucify him, crucify him!" This is the bloody cross on which the modern slave is to be crucified at the first sign of revolt.

All this will be explained in our special issue of February 7th, 1904. Order as many extra copies as you can use.

We shall have in this special issue, a large cartoon, illustrative of this modern cross, the cross for which 11654 stands.

The business firms that advertise in "The Socialist" number some of the most responsible in the city. Study our advertising columns when in need of anything.

You get the best of everything in the market from our advertisers.

### STRIKE WITH BALLOT.

Rochester, N. Y., Dec. 24, 1903.

Dear Comrade:

Please send on 25 copies of New Year's Edition No. 178. Should have ordered more but am on strike now for ten weeks. We are waging one of those conflicts so common these days. Wage slaves known as clothing cutters on one side and the arrogant capitalist class of clothing manufacturers on the other. As an active militant, Class Conscious Socialist I am doing all I can among my fellow wage slaves to have them learn from this experience by giving them literature and in every way show them wherein lies the power of the boss and where their power lies to change all this, so shall use the 25 copies of your valuable paper to aid in this good work. Try to have them here as soon as possible. I wish you would please call unionists attention, in Seattle and vicinity, to aid us morally by going to the retail dealers and asking them not to place any orders with any Rochester clothing concern until this strike is over.

We humbled ourselves and begged for a conference, but they refused to confer before going on strike. Every clothing cutter in the country enjoys eight hours in the cutting department. We are only asking for same as other places enjoy.

Sammy Gompers, president of A. F. of (Hell) asked for a conference and he was turned down too, so I ask you to try to do what you can to make these Class Conscious Capitalists realize that they must recognize us workers if it is at all possible on the economic field. At least it is our duty to aid in all the struggles of the working class actions. Assuring you of our appreciation for your kindness in doing this for us, I am, fraternally,

JOEL MOSES.

Comrades and friends always mention this paper.

Remember our advertisers are reliable and will be as square in their dealings with you as it is possible for business men to be under this hellish competitive system.

### STATE COMMITTEE OF INDIANA

WILL NOT.

"Whereas, Order and discipline in the Socialist Party is absolutely necessary to its preservation and growth, and,

"Whereas, A number of party speakers in Nebraska ignored the regular party organization and officers by

speaking under the auspices of a "Socialist Propaganda Club" of Omaha, said club having as members individuals who were convicted of being paid tools of capitalists parties, and,

"Whereas, If this is allowed to continue and the same methods are pursued in other states the result must be to make them superior to the rank and file and disrupt state organizations, therefore be it,

"Resolved, That the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Indiana will in no case consent to such speakers working in this state ad be it further.

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be furnished the National Secretary for publication in the Party's press.

"JAMES ONEAL, State Secy."

### VOTES OR ORGANIZATION, WHICH?

Omaha, Neb., Dec. 20, 1903.

Editor "The Socialist,"

Seattle, Wash.,

Dear Comrade: I have noticed that a large portion of the Socialist papers is devoted to "Why Socialist votes will save the workingman." "Why workmen should vote the Socialist ticket," "Strike at the ballot box," "Vote as you strike" and cartoons which give the impression that the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery depends entirely on votes, votes, votes.

On the other hand how many articles appear in the Socialist press devoted entirely to, and showing the absolute necessity of organization.

Votes avail nothing without an organization to back them. The press is a large factor in moulding public opinion, Socialist as well as anti-Socialist. With this fact in view I believe it would be a great benefit to the movement, for the press to show the necessity of co-operation and organization, organization of that class whose mission it is to overthrow capitalism and establish the co-operative commonwealth and whose guide is Socialism.

We preach organization and expound its beauties in the co-operative commonwealth, but we forget its value now. Members of the working class must co-operate not with their enemy, but themselves. That co-operation must be in the form of organization, that organization must have control over its members and permit neither anarchy nor autocracy, where leaders are unknown and the solidarity of the rank and file makes the organization impregnable. Let us stop appealing for votes and do all we can to convince the proletariat that it must organize and fight with Socialism as their guide.

We need votes to count noses. We need an organization back of the noses. The capitalist has nothing to fear less than working class mobs; they have nothing more to fear than working class organization.

There is another feature which is embodied in organization. That is the education of the working class. They must know why they are organized. They must know why it is necessary to organize on class lines. They must

know who their enemy is, especially the traitor, in other words they must be class conscious. They must understand the basic principles of Socialism and apply them to bring about their own emancipation. If they keep their eyes too much on the ideal and pay no attention to their footsteps they will fall into the slimy mud holes of capitalist society and possibly pay the penalty of death. One of the most difficult tasks we have is to convince the Utopian ("The fertile soil for grafters") that the organization is of more importance than the individual. They would see a whole state-organization riddled with the relentless tools of capitalism rather than one hair of a silver tongued orator harmed. I know of no other way in which the Utopian can be "cleared up" more easily than through the press. I would therefore suggest that Comrades Simons, Heron, Unterman and other able writers be invited to contribute to "The Socialist" on the subject of organization.

Fraternally yours,

J. ALFRED LA BILLE.

[Certainly! We hereby invite not only these "able writers", but any comrade who has 500 words to say on this important subject.]—Ed.

Looking over the counters as well as through the show cases of our advertisers you will find the Union label displayed without exception.

Union men, be true to yourselves! Demand the Union label!

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A sign of the times.

These figures are symbolic of the ferocious cruelty of the masters. Our special issue of February 7th, will contain a cartoon illustrative of the class character of present society.

Order as many papers as you can use among your friends and shop mates. All lovers of freedom ought to see this issue.

### What's Brewing?

A note from a comrade in Kansas City, Mo., informs "The Socialist" that Carl D. Thompson of Nebraska, and Howard H. Caldwell of Ohio by a peculiar coincidence happened into town at the same time during the week beginning December 21, and it was rumored around that a caucus was held at which Walter Thomas Mills, Frank P. O'Hare, George E. Baird (of Omaha) and other well known Millites were present. If this is true, we can probably very soon expect some interesting developments in party affairs as a result.

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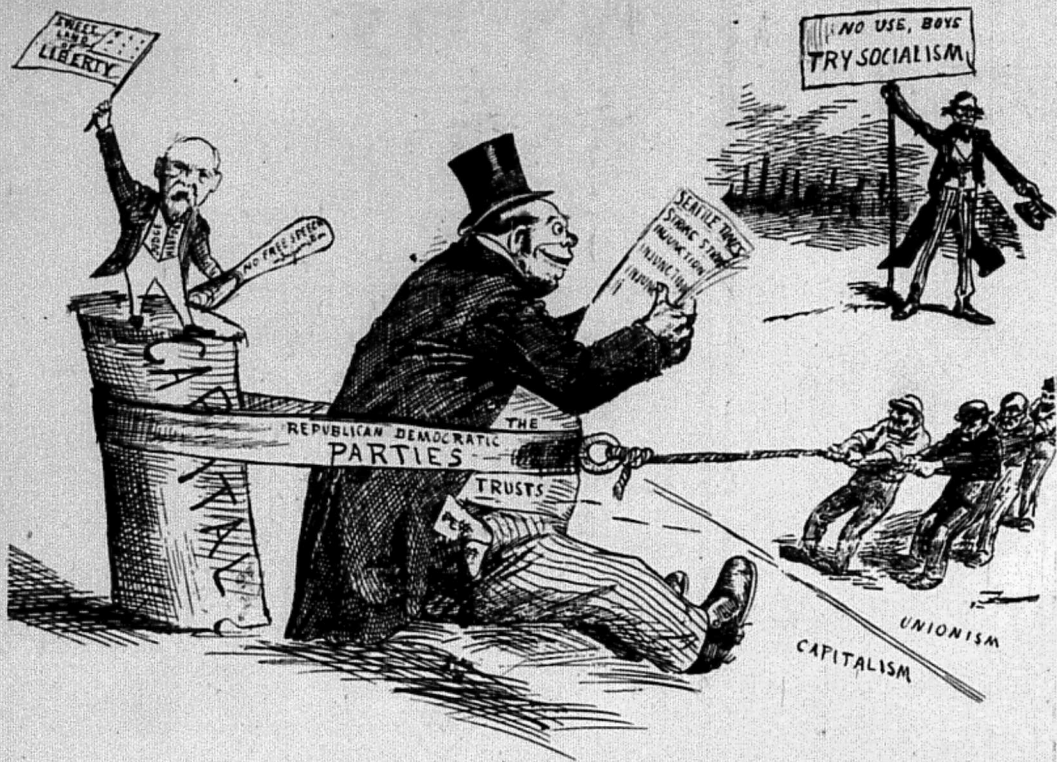
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# HANNA-HEARST, OR TWO OF A KIND



HE LIKES THE FAT  
I LIKE THE LEAN  
IF THERE IS ANY THING LEFT  
THE WORKMAN GETS IT, SEE!

# Socialism and Labor Unions



Adopted at National Convention July, 1901

The trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage working class. The trade union movement is the natural result of capitalist production, and represents the economic side of the working class movement. We consider it the duty of Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades and assist in building up and unifying the trades and labor organizations. We recognize that trade unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned.

We call the attention of trade unionists to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trade union forces today, while it may result in lessening the exploitation of labor, can never abolish that exploitation. The exploitation of labor will only come to an end when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trade unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on Socialist lines, to join the Socialist Party and assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage working class, whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of a co-operative state of society, based on the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution.

Adopted by National Committee January, 1903

The National Committee of the Socialist Party in annual session assembled, hereby reaffirms the attitude of the party toward

the trade union movement as expressed in the resolution on the subject adopted by the Indianapolis convention of 1901.

We consider the trade union movement and the Socialist movement as inseparable parts of the general labor movement, produced by the same economic forces and tending towards the same goal, and we deem it the duty of each of the two movements to extend its hearty co-operation and support to the other in its special sphere of activity.

But we are also mindful of the fact that each of the two movements has its own special mission to perform in the struggle for the emancipation of labor, that it devolves upon the trade unions to conduct the economic struggles of the working class, that it devolves on the Socialist Party to fight the political battles of the working class, and that the interests of labor as a whole will be best conserved by allowing each of the movements to manage the affairs within its own sphere of activity without active interference by the other.

The Socialist Party will continue to give its aid and assistance to the economic struggles of organized labor regardless of the affiliation of the trade unions engaged in the struggle, and will take no sides in any dissensions or strifes within the trade union movement. The party will also continue to solicit the sympathy and support of all trade organizations of labor without allowing itself to be made the ally of any one division of the trade union movement as against another.

We also declare that we deem it unwise to invite trade unions as such to be represented in the political conventions of our party.

Bishop Matz has been telling the people of Denver who were stupid enough to listen to him a whole lot about Socialism which is not so. I can hardly blame him for this, however, because if he were to tell only what is true about Socialism he could not long pose as the anointed of God. By telling falsehoods about Socialism he proves his fitness to hold the coveted name of the anointed and he holds such name without any apparent danger of losing it. This bishop, this anointed one, told his congregation that "We consider it (private property) so just that any violation of it on our part would beget within us a bitter remorse, which nothing but restitution could appease." Still this bishop looks out upon a world of disinherited workers, a world of propertyless slaves, whom the present system has despoiled and exploited, and if this violation of the right of the creator of wealth to possess such wealth as private property has begotten bitter remorse, such remorse has not been followed by restitution, nor will it be so followed until the worker arises in his might and takes his own. This bishop does not seek to restore this stolen wealth, but he does seek to delude the slave with the cry that any attempt to retain his own will result in the destruction of the home, the loss of property, the extinction of religion, but such hysterical cries of despair as this bishop utters will not scare sensible people.

The trouble about getting men to subscribe for "The Socialist" for a year or more is that you are likely to make "repeaters" out of them. But "The Socialist" repeaters are harmless to the slaves, and the only harm they propose to do to the masters is to give them jobs for which they have some aptitude. Send in the subs.

Editor Cartoon Socialist:  
I have been a subscriber for your paper for nearly two years. I consider it the best of all Socialist literature I have ever come in contact with.

I intend to take the "Cartoon Socialist" as long as I live, if I can get receipts regularly when I send the price.

I am an old soldier. I hope to live to see this country run in the interests of all the people, and not for a few, but we all know the fault lies with the fool majority who vote the old party tickets.

Fraternally,  
JAMES W. NEWTON.

This tells in her own language how capitalism has broken up one mother's home associations:

"My boy has gone to Ballard to investigate the slave markets there. Oh! I tell you, it makes my very soul rebel to see him driven from the little home he has worked so hard to provide for his sister and me."

In their conflict with organized capital, the Trades Unions of Seattle have been forced to issue a daily of their own. The effort is in every way a credit to organized labor when we take into account the many obstacles to be overcome. The Daily Seattle Union Record is the name of this new venture. Support it, men who are opposed to the tyranny of the masters.

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And the masters say, let their blood be on us and on our children. The figures 11654, arranged as above, are the symbol of the modern cross upon which the slave must expiate the crime of desiring better conditions.

Our special issue of February 7th, 1904, will contain a full exposition of the meaning of the figures 11654.

Order as many copies of this issue as you can use.

## Stand Pat, Brewers

The Boycott of Rainier Beer in Seattle is evidently hurting the Seattle Brewing and Malting Co., by the way that new manufacturers' Association is squealing. The Butler Hotel is run by the Brewing Co. and will not unionize its cooks and waiters. Every workingman in the city should stand pat on the boycott. No Beer rather than Rainier Beer, should be the slogan.

That the brewery workmen who claim to be Socialists are not standing pat, is the one blot in the situation. Socialists should show all other workers that Labor is one, that when capital touches one workingman, it touches all. If Socialists are untrue to their own motto, what can they expect of others?

## "STAND TO YOUR GUNS."

The following letter was written by one comrade to another, and it contains so much that is illuminating that we take the privilege of publishing it:

Your letter at hand. Your sarcasm which I presume you thought was very biting, did not stir me overmuch. It was about as ineffective and harmless as your Socialism, however I thought it invited a reply.

So stand to your guns! I guess you may strike my name from your membership, unless, indeed, some of your active members want to pay the back dues, and use the proxy to further some opportunist scheme. I grow reminiscent when you speak of the sturdy band of ten. Yes, I know them all, bless your heart. From constant association with them I was always prepared to expect just what they would say and do. When, one memorable afternoon in a barber shop, about five years ago, I put my name down as a charter member, I expected there would be something doing.

As time passed I became class conscious; I saw the futility of the peculiar milk and water propaganda carried on by you.

During all this time, I stood with you and paid my dues, thinking that in the eternal law of change (that in the evolution you harp about so much) you might do as I had done, i. e., evolve into class consciousness. Vain hope. As well expect the leopard to change its spots. "The Appeal" nursing bottle you were brought up on was quaffed too deeply by you.

Disheartened at the lack of progressiveness, I became more and more lukewarm and apathetic, until finally when three of your leading members sallied forth to the State Convention to capture it in the interests of revision I failed to participate altogether. I made a mistake in ever giving any support to you.

What have you accomplished during all these years? Respectability, and respectability that even the capitalists damn with faint praise.

Bah! such rot! As though anything done in the interests of the workers would ever meet with the approval of the masters. Be assured that such Socialism is mighty harmless to masters and most harmful to the slaves, when the masters do not attack, condemn and vilify. In face of this plain fact you carry on propaganda (?) mainly among the respectable element, (so-called) preachers and shop keepers.

At one time or another, I have heard all of you say, "The working class does not know enough," besides "that's too narrow and we want to win."

I do not see that you have won much yet, do you? But do not lose heart, for don't you still have your mutual admiration society of ten or more who pay the bills, etc.?

I would suggest a new slogan, revised and up to date. Here it is without money and without price:

"Business men, shop-keepers, tax payers, etc., unite; you have nothing to lose, but your interests, and you might gain a pile."

Ha, Ha! it would be laughable, were it not so pathetic and criminal. The class war right in your midst is becoming daily more apparent. The plutocratic government, the masters' government, is using force to subdue any working class revolt. Witness any working class revolt in Colorado, and yet there is a body of men, thinking men, they call themselves, Socialists, they call themselves, who instead of doing their plain duty by showing up this real class war and thus thoroughly educating the members of the working class which is necessary to the overthrow of international capitalism—instead of this, I say—behold them trying to blur and obscure this central and fundamental point in International Socialism as La Mills et al.

Excuse me if I get personal. I am in earnest and I have been holding this in for a long time, and if I cannot get the platform, perhaps I may get a hearing in this way. In this connection, I may say I always hated to disturb your serenity. Everyone of you always looked so shocked and mortified if I said a word touching class antagonisms; even in bated breath, whispering, was not to antagonize our friends, the enemy.

I am sorry I cannot do justice to you,—and the other fossilized freaks, who, in the words of Wayland "are making history."

When the class war reaches the cumulative point, and the ruling capitalist class attempts to drown the working class, I presume that you inspired idiots will still be preaching brotherhood, harmony, etc. Well, — go it, as for me I am glad to say that there is a very different sentiment here. If some of your crowd could see and note the effects of working class propaganda as carried on here, it might startle you from your Rip Van Winkle slumbers.

The people we gain by conciliation, by compromise, by blotting and blurring the lines of the class war, will only be with us so long as they have a hope of gaining by such alliance. When this hope dies, they will desert us and all our efforts will be dissipated in thin air.

Is Arrested for Damaging the Sidewalk Where He Fell.

Chicago.—"It's hard luck to fall off a ladder and nearly break my leg, but it is worse still to be brought into a police court on a charge of spoiling the sidewalk where I fell," said Chas. Hill, a billposter, who was arraigned before Justice Quinn in the Hyde Park police court. He was charged with spilling the contents of a paste bucket on the sidewalk at Forty-first and Michigan boulevard.

"Your honor," said Hill. "I was working on my ladder, and I fell and spilled the paste and nearly broke my leg," and the prisoner limped about to prove that he had been hurt.

"I am sorry that you were hurt," said Justice Quinn, "but you ought to have been more careful, and at least you ought to have cleaned up the sidewalk. I will fine you \$3 and costs."

## Socialism in Twenty-five Words

The Best Ten Definitions.

As requested by the Editor, we have selected the following ten definitions as the ten best among those sent in during September, and given in the issue of "The Socialist" of October 25.

U. G. MOORE.  
J. D. CURTIS.

What is Socialism?

The order in which placed does not have any significance. As far as possible, we have selected those which represent Socialism of today, that Socialism which we must apply to secure our economic independence.

What is Socialism?

Class Conscious working class control of the powers of government, using the same to abolish the wages system and to establish the co-operative commonwealth.

M. H. SPANGLER,  
Fort Casey, Wash.

What is Socialism?

An industrial government and collectivist society established by the working class after overcoming the capitalist class on the political field.

M. H. SPANGLER.

What is Socialism?

Socialism is a theory of social progress, accounting for the past and outlining future developments, which finds expression through the demands of the Socialist party for the collective ownership of the instruments of production and distribution. Fraternally.

CHAS. R. MARTIN,  
Tiffin, Ohio.

What is Socialism?

Socialism is a system of society giving labor all it produces. It can only be established through a political revolution accomplished with working class ballots.

G. WESTON WRIGLEY,  
Organizer Local Victoria, S. P. of B. C.

What is Socialism?

Reducing society to a producing and distributing power. Turning society upside down. Organization of working men into a political party to capture the national government.

THEO. FOULBOEUF,  
Hale, Mo.

What is Socialism?

Socialism is a scientific analysis of society affording a basis for all just government, by establishing the principle: ALL REWARDS FROM LABOR, NONE FROM PROPERTY.

WM. L. GARVER,  
Chillicothe, Mo.

What is Socialism?

A movement to make the workers' wage equal to product, through collective ownership and management of capital; accomplished by the workers' votes. Universal, economic justice.

HENRY E. WRIGHT,  
201½ J St., Sacramento, Cal.

What is Socialism?

Socialism—A fundamental, economic, scientific, revolutionary ideal to be attained by a revolutionary class preaching a revolutionary propaganda through the means of a revolutionary party.

JAMES T. VAN RENNELAER,

What is Socialism?

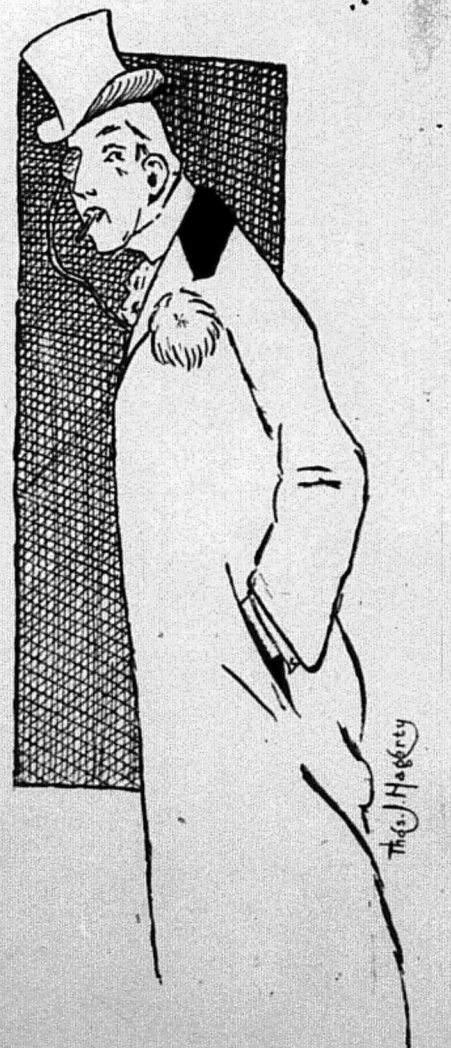
Socialism considered politically is an attempt of the producer to get the product of his labor.

J. WRIGHT,  
Coupeville, Wash.

What is Socialism?

That state of society which substitutes for capitalistic government over men, the administration of things by the people collectively, is Socialism.

F. A. WEBSTER,  
St. Paul, Minn.



A "Patriotic" American Gentleman



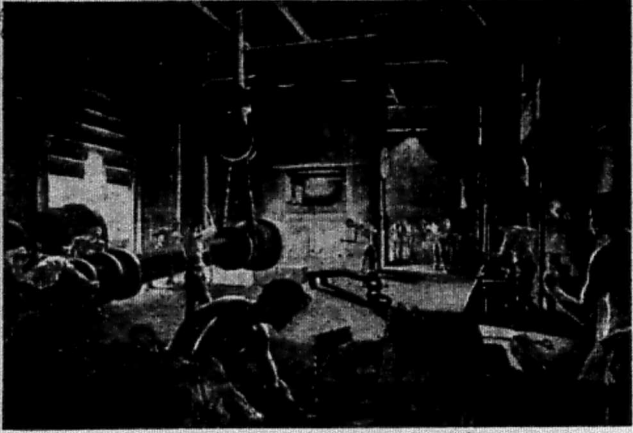
That "Foreign" Workingman

"Workingmen of All Countries, Unite. You have NOTHING TO LOSE but your Chains. You have A WORLD TO GAIN."

# WAGE LABOR AND CAPITAL

Homestead Steel Works

The New York Yacht Club



THE WEALTH MAKERS.



THE WEALTH USERS.

## The Working Class and the Leisure Class

HARPER'S WEEKLY, WHICH CALLS ITSELF A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION—THAT IS, A JOURNAL OF CAPITALISM—FURNISHES US THESE TWO CLASS PICTURES, PUBLISHED ON SUCCESSIVE WEEKS.

THE TWO TOGETHER COMPRISE A COMPLETE PICTURE OF CAPITALIST CIVILIZATION. THEY ARE LIKE TWO SIDES OF ONE COIN. YOU CANNOT HAVE ONE WITHOUT THE OTHER. THEY ARE THE HELL AND THE HEAVEN OF MODERN LIFE, AS INSEPARABLE AS THE THEOLOGICAL HELL AND HEAVEN.

THOSE NAKED MEN IN SO HOT AN ATMOSPHERE THAT EVEN A COTTON SHIRT IS INTOLERABLE, LABORING LIKE TITANS TO MAKE ARMOR-PLATE FOR VESSELS OF WAR!

AND THOSE OTHER MEN, "GENTLEMEN," LOUNGING IN THEIR COOL LUNCH-ROOM, WITH WINE AND CIGARS, DISCUSSING THE COMING INTERNATIONAL YACHT RACE, THE PROSPECTS OF SIR THOMAS LIPTON'S "SHAMROCK" AND PIERPONT MORGAN'S "COLUMBIA."

NOW, WHAT IS THE RELATION BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES? WE SOCIALISTS REPLY, EXACTLY THE RELATION WHICH EXISTED BETWEEN THE SLAVE AND THE SLAVE OWNER. THE SLAVE IS A SLAVE BECAUSE HE MUST WORK FOR WAGES. THE SLAVE-OWNER OWNS THOSE SLAVES BECAUSE HE POSSESSES CAPITAL.

AND WHAT IS CAPITAL, AND HOW WAS IT GOT? THE SOCIALISTS REPLY, AND NO ECONOMIST CAN REFUTE THE REPLY—CAPITAL WAS BROUGHT INTO EXISTENCE BY THE LABOR OF THE WAGE-SLAVES AND RIGHTFULLY BELONGS TO THEM. EVERY BAR AND BEAM AND WHEEL AND FURNACE IN THAT STEEL PLANT WAS MADE BY SOME LABORER'S WORK. EVERY TABLE, CHAIR, PANEL, DISH, CIGAR, WINE-GLASS, JEWEL, COAT, YACHT, SAILS AND MASTS AND ENGINES—ALL WERE CREATED BY THE HANDS OF WORKINGMEN. IF THESE LABORERS WERE GIVEN THE WEALTH THEIR LABOR CREATES AND THE LEISURE IT WOULD ALLOW THEM, THEY AND THEIR CHILDREN WOULD BE JUST AS CULTIVATED, REFINED, RECHERCHE, AS "MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN" IN THEIR "GRILL ROOM."

THE GRANDFATHERS OF THOSE CLUBMEN WERE BLACKSMITHS, SAILORS, SHOEMAKERS, MACHINISTS, WHAT NOT. THEY GOT THEIR ADVANTAGE AND THEIR RICHES BY ROBBING THEIR EMPLOYEES OF A PORTION OF WHAT THEY PRODUCED.

NOW, EVERY READER MAKE A NOTE RIGHT HERE. THERE IS NO OTHER WAY (BARRING ACCIDENTS) OF GETTING RICH BUT BY PAYING WAGES, AND WAGES ALWAYS MEANS ROBBERY. GO AND FIND OUT WHAT THAT MEANS, FOR IT IS THE TRUTH, THE DEEP DOWN FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL LIFE. SOCIALISM IS BASED ON THIS SCIENTIFIC FACT, THAT WAGES IS ALWAYS ROBBERY.

WHAT HAS MADE SO MUCH WEALTH IN THESE MODERN TIMES, NEVER DREAMED OF BEFORE? WHAT MADE THE 19TH CENTURY DIFFERENT FROM ALL OTHERS? JUST ONE THING, VERY SIMPLE: THE MACHINE, MACHINERY, INVENTIONS, STEAM, MILLS, FACTORIES, RAILROADS. BY MEANS OF MACHINERY, MAN HAS SUBDUED THE EARTH AND BROUGHT FORTH ENORMOUS WEALTH.

NOW NOTE ANOTHER SIMPLE THING: THIS MACHINERY, REVOLUTIONIZING ALL OLD METHODS, BELONGS TO A FEW MEN, AND ALL THE REST OF MEN HAVE TO WORK FOR THESE FEW OR STARVE. THAT MAKES WAGES—JUST ENOUGH FOR THE WORKERS TO LIVE ON. ALL THE REST OF THE VAST PRODUCT GOES TO THOSE WHO OWN THE MACHINERY.

THE WORKERS CAN NEVER BE FREE UNTIL THEY OWN THE MACHINERY. THEY CAN NEVER OWN THE MACHINERY TILL THEY TAKE POSSESSION OF THE GOVERNMENT BY VOTING TOGETHER. THAT IS SOCIALISM. SEE?

### SOCIALIST PROGRESS IN OTHER LANDS.

(Compiled for the National Headquarters of the Socialist Party by Agnes Wakefield, Boston, Mass.)  
Omaha, Neb., Dec. 19th, 1903.  
Germany.

The Socialists of Woesslingen, Baden, have won their first victory in the common council elections. Nine Socialist councilmen were elected. A tenth comrade would have been successful had it not been for the inexact writing of a name.—Berlin "Vorwaerts", Nov. 11.

In Bernburg the Socialists have elected all their five candidates to the city council. In Wernigerode three Socialists have been elected. In Eisenberg three Socialists have been elected. In Alstedt six Socialist candidates, two were elected.—Berlin "Vorwaerts", Nov. 13.

The common council of Muelhausen, Alsace, Nov. 15, elected Comrade

Emmel representative to the state legislature. He had 17 votes, and the Democratic candidate 13.

In the 15th district of Saxony an election was held, Nov. 17, for a member of the German Parliament, to take the place of a revisionist Socialist, Comrade Goehre, who had resigned. An anti-revisionist Socialist, Comrade Stuecklen, was elected with 16,000 votes against 10,517 which the National-liberal candidate received. The opponents of the Socialists slandered them and made great efforts to defeat their candidate, but this district which formerly changed about is now firmly Socialist. In Saxony seven Socialist deputies with 270,654 votes were elected to the German Parliament in 1893; eleven Socialist deputies with 299,190 votes in 1898, and 22 Socialist deputies with 441,764 votes were elected to the German Parliament in 1903. The only Saxon member of the German Parliament who is not a Socialist is an anti-Semite. The Anti-Semite Party, based on fanatic race-hatred, lost three seats in the last parliamentary elections and now has only nine deputies to snarl at the 81 Socialists in the German Parliament.

Comrade Wackwitz reports that in the 6th district of Saxony, near Dresden, by energetic work, the number of women members in the Socialist Party has increased, from 128 to 230 in the past year. The women were of much service in the campaign. "Die Gleichheit" (Equality), the Socialist women's fortnightly review, is sent at party expense to all the women members of the Socialist Party. The women's trade organization is progressing well.

The Berlin Workers' School, founded by Wilhelm Liebknecht and managed by the Socialists, in the past quarter had 369 members including 45 women. The school's receipts for the quarter were \$42 and the expenses \$77, leaving about \$61 in the treasury. The school library has 1573 volumes.

Austria.  
The Socialists of Graz, Austria, have been very successful in the common council elections, as reported Nov. 20. In the third class, the Socialist candidates were elected with from 1415 to 1553 votes while their opponents had from 1104 to 1202 votes. The Socialists hitherto had only three representatives in that common council, now

they have nine.

Spain.

During the municipal elections in Spain there were disturbances in Santander and Valencia; several persons were wounded and a few killed. According to the latest returns, 4099 Monarchists, 975 Republicans, 80 Carlists and 60 Socialists were elected to common councils. Both Republicans and Socialists had gained. Hitherto the Socialists had 45 representatives.

Holland.

Comrade P. J. Troelstra, M. P., has resigned his position as chief editor of the Dutch Socialist journal "Het Volk". With great ability he had edited that paper since its foundation. His duties as members of parliament representing the third district of Amsterdam in the Second House, and his Socialist propaganda keep him too busy to edit the paper. Comrade P. L. Tak, an experienced journalist, takes his place as editor.

Sweden.

In Eskilstama, Sweden, Oct. 15, in spite of the unjust system of municipal suffrage which gives a rich citizen 100 votes or less, the Socialist candidate, Comrade C. A. Flodin, organizer of the Iron and Metal-Workers' Federation, was elected city councillor. He received 8,218 votes from 996 persons, the opposing candidate who came nearest him had 4,802 votes from 104 persons, and a third candidate got 2,892 votes from 52 persons.

The Socialist press of Sweden gains constantly in circulation. "Social Demokratien," which is published in Stockholm, now has 15,000 subscribers; "Arbetet" in Malmoe, 12,000, and "Ny Tid" in Goetborg, 6,000. These three are daily papers. The following five papers are issued three times a week: "Smaalands Folkblad" in Joenkoping, with 4,000 subscribers; "Aurora" in Ystad with 4,000; "Arbetarebladet," in Gefke, with 3,550; "Oerebrokuriren" with 3,000 and "Landskrona Kuriren" with 1,800 subscribers. The following three papers are issued twice a week: "Nye Samhaellet" in Sundswall with 2,000 subscribers; "Lysekis Kuriren" with 2,500 and "Arbetaren" in Motala with 2,000 subscribers. A weekly paper, "Folkbladet," with a circulation of 5,400 copies, is published in Stockholm. The 18 Socialist papers already named have 62,200 subscribers in all. Besides these,

the young Socialist organizations publish two periodicals, "Brand" and "Fram," each having a circulation of 3,000 copies. The Christmas issue of the Socialist paper "Julfacklan" has a circulation of 45,000 copies and the humorous paper "Karbassan" is published weekly with a circulation of 15,000 copies.

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This symbol means that the slaves will be forced to bow to the will of the masters.

If you are dependent upon the masters for bread, you ought to get as many copies of our February 7th issue as you can use.

This issue will contain a cartoon illustrative of the relations existing between the masters slaves.

Our advertisers stand ever ready to furnish you with the best of everything in their respective lines at the most reasonable prices. They are not excelled in Seattle. As a matter of Dollars and Cents this ought to be sufficient guarantee to you. Try them once and you will not regret having taken our advice.

In the new city of Bellingham, the Socialists made a fight. Comrade Wallace, the Socialist candidate for mayor, got 135 votes out of a total vote of 2,871—about 4% per cent. of the total vote. This is quite a drop from preceding Socialist votes of the merged cities, but the slaves up there are certainly deluded with the idea that their masters' rights are of interest to the slaves.

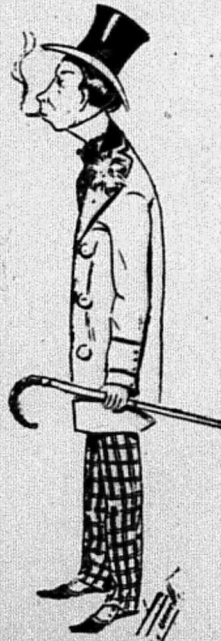
By all means don't forget to mention "The Socialist" when you pay at the counter. It will help our cause and at the same time assure our advertisers that their time and money have not been wasted.

The way in which "The Socialist" of Seattle, combines the liveliest of propaganda matter with serious discussion of scientific theory and with clear and fearless treatment of questions of party organization and policy must command the admiration of all thoughtful comrades.—"The Worker,"

"LOST IN THESE DIGGINGS."  
San Jose, Cal., Dec. 24, 1903.

Dear Sir and Comrade,  
Enclosed please find \$1, for which you will send 100 copies of Special edition. Your cartoons speak louder than words. We would be lost in these diggings without your paper. We have a box in the park and I put the 20 copies I get every week in it and they go like hot cakes.  
JOS. LAWRENCE.

AN OBJECTOR TO SOCIALISM.



A Good Thing, But It Won't Work.

FROM SAN FRANCISCO LEAFLET

Why

do Laborers use tools they do not own, and Capitalists own tools they do not use.

Why

do Laborers produce wealth they do not own, and why do Capitalists own wealth they have not produced.

Why

do Laborers toil and make Capitalists rich, and why do Capitalists remain idle and keep Laborers poor.

THE FAIR THE FAIR THE FAIR

Rebuilding Sale  
Every Dollars worth of stock to be sacrificed quickly

ONLY A FEW MORE WEEKS TILL WE VACATE

During the Christmas rush we disposed of a large amount of our stock, and the entire balance will be pushed out now, at startlingly low prices, because the lines are reduced in many instances to broken lots, hence for tomorrow and this week, you may buy

BROKEN LOTS OF DRY GOODS AT LESS THAN COST.  
BROKEN LOTS OF NOTIONS AT LESS THAN COST.  
BROKEN LOTS OF RIBBONS AND EMBROIDERIES AT LESS THAN COST.  
BROKEN LOTS OF DRAPERIES AND CURTAINS AT LESS THAN COST.  
BROKEN LOTS OF WOMEN'S UNDERWEAR AT LESS THAN COST.  
BROKEN LOTS OF CORSETS AT LESS THAN COST.  
BROKEN LOTS OF MEN'S CLOTHING AT LESS THAN COST.  
BROKEN LOTS OF MEN'S FURNISHINGS AT LESS THAN COST.

and in fact our entire line will be closed out at prices that will certainly cause a large amount of active buying within the next few days. Keep your eye on the Fair advertisements if you want to save money.

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the Socialist Party in Illinois

A SAMPLE FOR THE ASKING

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OLYMPER STEELE, Seattle, 9 years old.

His Own Definition of Socialism.  
"Socialism is that every one should have a chance to work and get all he produces; and that every child should get an education."

Socialism has no THEORIES. It has no use for anything but FACTS. The CLASS STRUGGLE is the Greatest of Social Facts