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A CARTOON WEEKLY

To Organize the Slaves of Capital To Vote Their Own Emancipation

Published by The Socialist Educational Union

116 Virginia Street, SEATTLE, WASH., JANUARY 10, 1904

"BIGGEST BUNCO GAME YET"

WORKINGMEN!

DEPOSIT YOUR BALLOTS
INTHE SLOT
INTHE SLOT
TAFFY.

This is No. 179

Campaigns of 1904

The year of 1904 will be Campaign Year for the Socialist Party of the United States. For the second time the party will enter the Presidential

We have no expectation of winning, but we shall make a record, increase the effectiveness of our organization and, best of all, get the attention of thousands of working men to hear and learn the principles of Socialism. We shall do much in this campaign year to create Class Consciousnes in the breast of the great working class of America

This paper aims to do its part in this work. "The Socialist" opened its work for the campaign of 1904 with its Great Cartoon Issue, No. 178, which tracts taken from the capitalist dailies will reach thousands of new readers. You got there a fair sample of our past work. Our pictures should be hung up to be appreciated. Put them in are fully cognizant of the importance windows. Paste them in any conspicuous spot with plenty of paste all over of this great question. The masters them. When dry they will outlast weeks of weather. Men will stop to look and read who never enter halls.

These pictures constitute our special method of propaganda. All are intended to awaken the class feeling so essential to a Socialist. The very first step of Socialism is to become aware that you are a member of a class whose interests are against the capitalist class.

Special Features for 1904.

We propose to make "The Socialist" during this year no less a party paper than before, but more a Propaganda paper. We believe the fundamentals of Scientific Socialism can be taught in the easiest, simplest manner. Our famous series of A B C articles, four of which were reproduced last week, gave widespread satisfaction. This year the first issue in every month will be a propaganda special. We except to take up live questions month by month.

Orders for these specials should be sent in advance that we may know how many to print.

Our Campaign Year Offers.

First:-We will send 20 subscription cards, each good for one year of "The Socialist" for five dollars. This is half price and is especially adapted Society led to a discussion before the for Locals. By reselling the cards at 50 cents, they can easily make Five meeting of the board of directors Dollars for the Local Treasury. This offer holds good only until March 1. yesterday afternoon as to whether the

Second:-Five copies to one address, one year, Two Dollars. Third:-Ten copies to one address, one year, Three Dollars.

during the campaign.

Fourth:-Twenty copies to one address, one year, Five Dollars. These "Bundle Rates" afford opportunity to distribute to non-Socialists

· Our Guarantees.

First Guarantee: - We will guarantee to refund the money in any instance where "The Socialist" does not make a Socialist out of a wage worker who relief funds. The question confrontreads it from now to next November.

Second Guarantee: - We will guarantee to pay \$5.00 to any wage worker who reads "The Socialist" from now to next November, who will then claim

to be a Socialist and vote a Capitalist ticket. We feel perfectly safe in making these guarantees, from past experience. "The Socialist" is a dead sure cure for the capitalist mind in the working- out the Sound country, is a sufficiently man. It is the best kind of an antidote to the evil influences of the daily grave situation to call for a public re-

Special Seattle Offer.

The Seattle City Campaign opens at once and lasts till March 8. We will send "The Socialist" to any address in Seattle twelve weeks for ten cents. This is the best offer we have ever made. From January 3 to March 13,-twelve weeks for Ten Cents. Comrades in Seattle should push during the month. the paper among all their friends. This offer should be accepted by thousands of workingmen in Seattle. We shall stand, as always, unflinchingly for the Socialist Party ticket as the only ticket for workingmen.

We will guarantee that this twelve weeks of "The Socialist" will make it impossible for any workingman in Seattle to vote a capitalist ticket on Swedish 6, American 23, English 3, Tuesday, March 8, without knowing that he is scabbing on his own class.

For convenience, we print a blank in this issue that can be cut out and 2, Mexican 1, Finnish 1. Jewish 2, months and had managed to live on deed, we are then allowed to vote. used in getting subscriptions. Now for the best year for Socialism! Ten thousand Socialists in Washington! One million Socialists in the United

States. Two hundred thousand dues paying members of the Socialist Party! Those are our goals. We will do our part toward reaching them, if you will co-operate with us.

SLAVE MARKET REPORTS

Conducted by D. Burgess.

"feverish, unsteady, fluctuating," etc., hush is their aim. To teach submis-The masters report that wage reductions are proceeding with great ships and the wrongs of the system satisfaction, and so they are—with which oppress es and degrades the satisfaction to the masters, for no such reduction. In this cold-blooded and the press, and well do they perstatement in the market reports in the form such functions. capitalistic papers we have strong cumulative evidence that the capitalists are class-conscious. They realize distinct from the interests of their While class-conscious themselves, they exert all their powers to delude the slaves into the belief that his interests are in some mysterious way identified with those of the mast ers. The continued power of the master depends upon the continued delusion of the slave.

So well are the masters convinced tions to the church, to colleges, to the press and to charity organizations for the purpose of imposing upon and

The markets are reported to be To conciliate, to allay, to sooth, to sion to the injustices, to the hardwhich oppress es and degrades the slave and exalts the master is the supreme task of the church, the school

> The labor question is fast become ing the question of all questions. Its insistent demand for a solution is absorbing the attention of all thinking minds who are at all in touch with the trend of the times.-Seattle Mail and Herald.

The wage system will pass away. It is, as has been shown, unsatisfactory in many if its applications. It again. I'll try and get in chokey depends too largely for its equities (jail) till better times. I am sure of the votes or actions of their emplo and who would be incapable of taking petty or great advantages of their workmen is happily true. That there

hose who labor.

The system that will take the place of that under which mere wages are paid probably will be composed of the profit-sharing and co-operative plans. The work people will then acquire the interest of investors and the more capable will rise to their or portunities and the less worthy will find their level.—Extract from a recent speech by Carrol D. Wright.

I suppose I could easily fill the colimes of The Socialist with similar exfor one week. They as well as we are trying to solve it in their own interests. It is the duty of the slaves to solve it in their own interests. Will you do all you can to aid in the correct solution of this problem?

The capitalist's papers are constantly bearing testimony to the truth of Socialistic teachings, as witness the following from the Post-Intelligencer, of Jan. 4, 1904.

SOCIETY NEEDS HELP.

Unusual Number of Subjects for Charity this Winter.

A scarcity of funds for carrying on the work of the Charity Organization society should revise its policy and seek subsidy from the public treasury for relief. purposes. The society has been opposed to the subsidation of private charitable enterprises from public funds except in cases of emergency or of public calamity, when a private society is asked to administer public ing the society is whether the presence of the exceptionally large number of unemployed men and women in the city this winter, due to the closing down of the lumber industries throughcided.

The report of the secretary for Deember showed that the society had been called upon to care for 108 cases

The nationalities of these cases serves to show the cosmopolitan char longshoresman. This is quite a sight civilization (?) feel it their "painful acter of the population of Seattle. They were; Danes 2, Norwegian 2, ple do not see it at all. One fortu-Canadian 3, Swiss 1, German 6, Scotch to earn \$8 a month for the last four as becomes voting sovereigns, if in-Austrian 1, Persian 1, Irish 1, French 1. that.

The society secured material relief for twenty-five families during the als for seven individuals. Employment was secured for eight people and afraid to sgn his name. ransportation for three more.

Agents of the society made 120 visits to families in need, and the society secured from various sources

You will observe from this report that there are a few Americans among the number in need of help. But the important thing about this report is the cause assigned for the prevalence of so much poverty—the closing down of the mils and logging camps. These people then are slaves which, if they could have a master, would not need assistance, but private ownership turns them out to die unless some of the masters will dole out soup and other cheap and meager means of support.

nearly a cord of wood for two fifteen-

AN ENGLISH SLAVE.

In one of the restaurants when

fears to sign his name.

Every time a boat enters the harhor there are crowds of men pushing each other over when a boat comes in, in at most, when our masters will, in agents of the master class. These conclusion may be justified from the their eagerness to obtain a job as the interests of Christianity (?) and judges issue injunctions to compel the view point of such an observer but to see, but strange to say most peonate fellow told me he had been able slaves will bow in humble submission

month; medical aid was secured for are the worst I have seen on this conti- satellites, The Times and the Post-In- Presently a bronzed rancher with a the emisaries of capitalism, but it is three; hospital care for three persons nent, but in spite of this fact the Do- telligencer, is shouting lustily to the long, bushy beard came into the cabin, losing its influence over the creators and institutional care outside hospi minion official labor gazette says, poor and the depraved to go back to "howling prosperity."

In Eastern Kootenay, the big mining and coking industries of the Crows Nest Pass Coal Co. are only running whistling as try to turn back evolu- with much caution, he scanned it to sell themselves to the Moran's, but Christmas dinners and baskets of half time and most of the logging tion by such little pfanks as they are critically for a moment or two and a very small per cent of these slaves toys for eighty families not included camps and saw mills have shut down altogether.-From a slave who does not sign his name.

> In Vancouver the ranks of the un employed are forever swelling. Walkjail is being constructed I saw the following notice on the door: "Keep out. No workmen wanted."-Just s

In the "Province" the C. P. R. capi talistic organ published here, the captain of the Salvation army bemoans the fact that more men apply to him for permission to saw wood for a meal and bed than he can possibly use. Conversing with one of the "buck- He says he has always had a number saw" sinners, he said, "I have sawed of names on hand but never so many buy S. A. wood, and benevolent men to inform him when they need wage slaves. He says he has an-exper upon the generosity and great-mind-shelter and something to eat there. English bank accountant on the buck eduess of employers. That there are I can't earn 50c without earing the saw route to heaven who would be glad of some office work. Truly the way of the sinner is hard .- Only s

Vote yes, or no, and return by Jan. 15th, as this is important.

It is only a question of a few years, duty" to "benevolently assimilate" the South American republics, and we

One of the great regenerating agents Wages and conditions here in B. C. of the Northwest together with its of The Socialist about, the cabin. Marion B. Baxter deals in, may amuse and they won't do so. Evolution is not copy of The Socialist, and at once making progress in that direction. These "redeemers" may as well try cialist." This was uttered with an seen every Monday morning at to stop the earth in its course by air of alarm. Picking the paper up Moran's ship yards in Seattle, seeking cutting with their papers.

> Not a day passes that I am not refree and the home of the brave, and we are slaves. Almost every mail women are anxious to do something of losing the only means they have of to work when my master tells me and supporting a helpless family, prevents I must cease to work when he orders, them from taking an active part in and I am always dependent." Whiskthe work of emancipation. I see evi- ers looked disgusted, the crowd smiled dences of a similar nature in many and each man in it got a copy of the of our exchanges-men and women write of local conditions but fear to sign their names, and in scores of cases I am convinced that these fears my and the oppression of "The Bull and then went to their new field of are well founded. Do yeu, reader think such people are free? Are they until you have counted 1,000,000.

Then there is Judge Griffin. Judge that he holds court through the hot month of August in order that he may hunt geese in November. It is a workmen is happily true. That there was eating the other day I was talk—are others, however, who make use of the proprietress about business of the system and argues for a vertised for a girl waiter and that 42 grass-widow marries a grass-widower along about the middle of August the tollers from a car window or from the warden. No name.

lief fund. As yet the matter is under applied for the job.—A brave man who will their children be grass-hoppers?" Judge (and I know this to be true) inside of an upholstered coach, and Lake Chelan than do anything else on mah who seeks promotion must do earth.—Seattle Mail and Herald.

in idleness winter and summer.

pened to get into the cabin before driver gets promoted regardless of other arrivals, and I made use of the efficiency as a toiler. opportunity to distribute a few copies and with him came a few admiring of wealth. ejaculated: "There's that d-d Sothen repeated, almost mechanically, are able to get a master there. As a "Slave Market Reports," and then he result these free, voting sovereigns go threw the paper on the floor, saying: mined that this is the land of the "That d-d sheet ought to be suppressed." A meek man who had come the sun the sun never rolls above me in and was seated near by asked that I am not forced to confess that "why?" "Because," said whiskers, tyrannous as the tyranny of the mas-"there are no slaves in this country." brings evidence of this. Men and "Well," said the mild mannered, little

naner and sat down to the feast

Pens" of this century must be told action, but we learn that owing to the around the fireside of every slave in brave? Don't answer the last question the world. Get authentic accounts of ley's father, these Comrades will soon these outrages, post yourself care- go east. fully and then lose no opportunity to arouse the wronged wherever you find rade Wrigley, Sr., "The Socie ist" of

Marion B. Baxter in the Times for

would rather fish for Dolly Vardens in she has reached the conviction that a honest, earnest, energetic work in And judges, you know, are the order to receive such promotion. This slaves to toll while the masters loll the toiler is no longer deluded by such rot, for he knows better. He knows that promotions are made for I was recently a passenger on a the same reason that investments are small steamer or the Sound. I hap-made-for profit. The best stave

Mawkish sentimentaliey, such as

pendent voting sovereigns may be elsewhere to find a master.

King George in the height of his power never attempted anything so ters in Colorado today. In open and noto: lous violation of their own laws man, "I feel just like a slave. I can and their own constitution these masfor their own emancipation, but fear do nothing as I want to; I must go ters outrage every sentiment of right, instice and liberty.

The simple, unvarnished truth of their acts of tyranny and oppression

See our issue of February 7th next.

Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Wrigley re-The story of the cruelty, the tyran- cently stopped a day or two in town continued illness of Comrade Wrig-

> As a result of the illness of Com-Toronto, Canada, has been suspended

Jan. 2, says: "Work is for the work- writes: "Miners here work 10 hours product is for the idler.

Openly since the 'bull pen' of 1899.

Mrs. Baxter has been watching the Wages still \$3.50 a day except at



The American Labor Movement

BY G. A. HOEHN, EDITOR OF ST. LOUIS "LABOR."

(Extracts from "Int. Socialist Review" of January, 1903)

The Most Vital Question.

Many years' experience has convinced me that the relationship between trades-unionism and Socialism, i. e., the attitude of the politically organized Socialists toward the Trades Union and general labor movement, is the most vital question in the American Socialist movement. The very existence of the Socialist party depends on the solution of this question, while the trades-union movement will be greatly benefitted and strengthened and its permanent success assured by the adoption of such fundamental Socialist tactics as will guarantee the healthy co-operation between the economic and political forces of labor in the great struggle of emancipation.

Compare the Growth of Both.

It is significant to know that the Socialist movement develops in about the same manner and ratio as the trades unions. Compare the growth in the membership of the American Federation of Labor to the growth of the Socialist vote since 1893. The A. F. of L. had just recovered from the general reaction that followed the eight-hour movement of 1885-86, with its Haymarket and November 11 tragedies. For some time the Federation membership remained almost stationary at the 100,000 mark. Today its membership is nearly 1,500,000, or, to be more conservative, at least ten times as high as in the early '90s. The same can be said of the Socialist movement. In 1893 the Socialist vote in the United States was less than 26,000. Today the entire Socialist vote is about 300,000. Which goes to prove that the same economic causes that produced Trades Unionism also produced Socialism The economic truth that "Labor creates all social value" is recognized and propagated by the Socialist and Trades Unionists; and the more powerful Capitalism, the more intense the exploitation of the masses of the people. the more hopeless the prospects for better times, the more general the unrest the desire for economic, political and social changes, hence the more intense intellectual activity among the working class and those directly and immediately dependent on the productive labor of others. All this tends to extend and strengthen the organization and influence of Labor, both economic and political.

A Million Unemployed in '86.

It might be claimed that the economic organization of Labor in this country was stronger in 1885-86 than in 1893. This is not correct. With equal right we could assert that the Socialist movement of 1878-80 was stronger than in 1902, because two or more Socialists were elected to the Chicago city council. The fact of the matter is that the Socialist movement of 1878-80 was a straw fire of the first Socialist enthusiasm without any backbone, a political protest of Labor against the atrocities committed by Capitalism during the great railroad strike of 1877. In 1885-86 the American proletariat for the first time in the industrial history of Capitalism, felt the general depression and the rapidly increasing misery and poverty. According to Carroll D. Wright's first annual report, that appeared in 1886, the number of unemployed had increased to over one million.

soon became the general demand of Organized Labor. After less than six months of agitation and organization on the part of a small number of American pioneer Trades Unionists and German-speaking Socialists this country witnessed one of the most wonderful proletarian uprisings in the history of the international labor movement. From those days on the Trades Union movement became an important factor in the industrial and social de velopment of this country.

What was to be done? Reduction of the hours of labor! Reight hours!

Historical Recapitulation.

Here is, in short, the historical recapitulation: The emancipation of the chattel slaves increased the desperate competition on the "free labor market." The new civil war began. While the capitalist tried to buy the commodity. labor, as cheap as possible, the wage worker, in order to sustain life, had to demand as high a price for his labor power as possible. These diametrically opposed class interests caused considerable friction, and soon a lively fight was begun. Seeing that the individual wage worker was a mere straw in the wind when it came to the question of resisting the encroschments of capitalism, the workmen united into unions-local national and international unions-and Knights of Labor assemblies. The capitalists lost no opportunity to reduce the wages and lengthen the daily working time of their employes. Wherever human labor power did not realize the desired rate of profit for the employer, new labor-saving machinery was introduced; thousands of men being forced out of work. Women and children were hired to do the machine work, because they worked for considerably less wages. The conditions of the wealth-producing people grew worse from day to day and this state of affairs caused general alarm. The workmen demanded higher wages and shorter hours of labor. While certain trades unions had exist many years before the civil war broke out, and while efforts were made by these trades unions to better the condition of their members, it must be borne in mind that the modern labor movement, the struggle between capitalism and labor, did not amount to much until 1885 and 1886, when the general eight-hour movement was inaugurated, i. e., the movement for a general reduction of the hours of labor.

The capitalist class had never dreamed of the possibilities of such a movement. Indeed, the movement was a surprise to them, and many granted the demands of their employes out of sheer fear of an impending social

revolution. However, the enemies of labor were not resting on their oars; they soon organized for self-defense and resistance." The struggle between Organized Labor and Organized Capital was on.

The order of the K. of L. went out of existence: it had fulfilled its historical mission by demonstrating the power and solidarity of labor. The K. of L. went down, not because Powderly was a demagogue, not because Sovereign was a capitalist politician, not because Prof. De Leon tried to use the "remnants" to mend the S. L. P. coat, but because the very form of the K. of L. organization was not adapted to the modern forms of warfare in the proletarian class struggle

Socialist Attitude for Fifteen Years.

Tat attitude of the Socialists towards the Trades Union movement during the last fifteen years furnishes a most interesting subject for the student of the American labor movement. It is a fact that the old German Socialists, most of whom were compelled to leave their country, their homes, their relatives and friends under the Bismarckian Anti-Socialist laws, became the most active pioneers of American Trades Unionism. Hundreds and thousands of unions were organized by and through them.

When, after the Haymarket tragedy in Chicago, May 4, 1886, the capitalists seemed to have things all their own way, when the dark wave of reaction swept all over the country, threatening to destroy every labor organization, the small pioneer band of German-American Socialists once more appeared in the deserted arena of the class struggle, appealing to the wageworkers to resist the desperate attempts to crush Organized Labor, by organizing an independent political labor movement. This appeal was heeded. In the various parts of the country union labor parties were organized and thousands of votes cast for independent labor candidates. In New York 67,000 votes were polled for Henry George, and the capitalist politicians were frightened like little children overtaken by a severe thunderstorm. "Labor laws" by the bushel were passed by the different state legislatures and city councils and everything possible was done to check this independent political labor movement. Later leaders were provided with political jobs, thereby mortgaging themselves, body and soul, to the old capitalist parties. Democratic and Republican politicians tried to get control over the local central labor unions, and the struggles the Socialists had to get these elements out and force them to the rear are of historical significance and importance.

In 1890 the Socialists of Germany polled about one million votes, thereby putting an end to the political life of the Iron Chancellor, Prince Bismarck, the originator of the anti-Socialist laws. This tremendous Socialist vote surprised the entire civilized world, and, naturally enough, the Socialist movement in this country, being almost exclusively German up to but a few years ago, could not escape the influence of this great Socialist victory in the old country. The Socialist Labor Party decided to become an active political party and nominate straight Socialist tickets wherever possible. In 1892 the first presidential candidate on a strictly Socialist ticket was put in the field and 21,512 votes were cast for the same.

Influence of the Germans.

As already mentioned, the Socialist movement of this country was almost exclusively a German-speaking movement, and with the exception of Boston, Chicago and San Francisco there were almost no native American elements active in or for the Socialist Party. The conditions for a truly American Socialist movement were not yet ripe, and if a hundred silvertongued Socialist agitators would have preached the doctrines of Socialism it would not have changed the political situation very much. In 1892 the great strike in Homestead, Pa., broke out: 10,000 state militiamen were called to arms to break this labor insurrection, after the Pinkerton hordes had been almost annihilated during the memorable battle on the banks of the Monongahela river. A decade of the capitalist reign of terror began. In Buffalo, Cripple Creek, Coeur d'Alene, Brooklyn, Tonawanda, Chicago (Pullman), Cleveland, St. Louis and other cities the militia, federal troops, police and deputy sheriffs were pressed into service against the onward march of Organized Labor. Tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, of men went World's Fair in Chicago thousands of unemployed were holding meetings on the highways and byways all over the country, and soon hungry, suffering American proletarians were marching from the Pacific coast, "On to Washington!" singing Hamlin Garland's labor hymn:

We have seen the reaper tolling in the heat of summer sun, We have seen the children needy when the harvesting was done; We have seen a mighty army, dying helpless one by one.

Oh, the army of the wretched, how they swarm the city street, We have seen them in the midnight, where the Goths and Vandals meet; We had shuddered in the darkness at the noise of their feet-But their cause goes marching on.

But no longer shall the children bend above the whizzing wheel, We will free the weary women from their bondage under steel In the mines and in the forest, worn and hopeless men shall feel His cause is marching on.

Meanwhile the capitalist system of production developed wonderfully into pools and syndicates and trusts, and the concentration of capital went on in ever-increasing rapidity. While the wage workers were more and more pauperized, the middle class of manufacturers and merchants were driven

Under such favorable economic and social conditions it was only natural that both the Trades Union and Socialist movement should grow. The eyes of the intelligent working class elements were gradually opened, and no longer could the capitalist politicians scare them by waving the red flag

in the bull's face and by wrongfully denouncing the Socialists as the

enemies of "our Stars and Stripes.

The Spanish-American war, with the contemptible feature of "Cubar Emancipation" by the speculators in Wall Street, resulted in tearing the mask of patriotic hypocricy off the face of our American plutocracy. This Cuban Emancipation war, followed by the "benevolent assimilating" war against the Filipinos, 10,000 miles off our shores, disclosed the imperialist secrets and desires of American Capitalism. "Our Stars and Stripes" were used as a means to fool the people into a patriotism of the insane and to make them fight for American capitalist expansion in Central America and in far-off East Asia. "Overproduction" at home, with thonsands of working people starving, induced our industrial lords and commercial pirates to secure foreign markets, by peaceful tricks and speculations, if possible; if not, by force of arms and at the price of hundreds of thousands of human lives and the freedom of foreign nations that had been almost unknown to us five years ago.

During the last three or four years the American Trades Union and the Socialist movements have doubled and trebled their membership, which may be mainly attributed to the above-pictured economic, political

In view of the fact that the German-American Socialists were ever anxious to get English-speaking elements interested in their movement it can readily be understood how men with no exceptional or extraordinary intellectual powers or ability could play the leading roles in the Socialist movement. "We must have the Americans!" "We must reach the English-speaking elements!" were the often-repeated expressions of our old German comrades. I remember the great rejoicing of our old pioneer friends when in 1889 they succeeded in securing the services of the renowned adventurer, Prof. Garside, of Baltimore. Prof. Dan De' Leon entered the Socialist movement (as an inheritance of the Henry George campaign) as a man of less than average intelligence; but our German comrades were anxious "to reach the English-speaking people," and so Prof. De Leon was envelled with a cloud of supernatural gift and power, was nursed and flattered until he himself got the idea of being the personification of Socialist wisdom and the incarnation of political omnipotence.

The attitude of the Socialist Labor Party towards the Trades Union movement from 1890 on to the present day has been a most unfortunate one, and we should profit by their expensive experience. While theoretically the Socialist party adopted an entirely new policy, in reality the everyday practice of many of our party members differs but little from the S. L. P. methods. Unfortunately there are still many Socialists who look upon the Trades Unions as a movement without any historical missionary and emancipating merits of its own, but which should be made the tail end of some Socialist political movement.

S. L. P. and A. F. of L.

In 1891 the American Federation of Labor met in Detroit, Mich. Our New York comrades made a serious break that caused them much trouble and finally threatened the very existence of their Socialist movement for the time. Section New York Socialist Party was represented by delegates in the New York Central Labor Federation. This Federation elected Lucian Saniel as delegate of the Detroit convention of the A. F. of L. This caused a fight on the floor of the convention, and Thomas J. Morgan, delegate of the Chicago Trades Assembly, although not quite in accord with the New York move, fought a splendid battle in favor of Sanial's admission as a delegate. The A. F. of L., however, decided not to admit Sanial because he did not represent any Trades Union, but was a direct representative of a political party.

Here the trouble began. A campaign of revenge was opened against the A. F. of L., although Section New York, admitting their mistake of being directly represented in a central trades union body, withdrew its delegates from the Central Labor Federation soon after. Messrs De Leon, Vogt, Sanial and others continued their nefarious propaganda, and when in 1895 the A. F. of L. convened in New York, the above-mentioned "leaders of Socialism" had their plans and schemes cut and dried; they launched a Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance on the troubled waters of the American labor movement, and the birth of this "enfant terrible" was cele brated in grand style and with at least a dozen times more "enthusiasm and inspiration and hopes for the dawn of proletarian emancipation" than the late Denver convention of the Western Labor or American Labor

The Socialist Labor Party was almost a unit in indorsing the new union movement. In 1896 De Leon, Sanial and Vogt succeeded in hypnotizing and deceiving the Socialist Labor Party convention held in the city of New York and the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance was officially ndorsed. De Leon, Sanial and Vogt pledged their word of honor that their new union movement was not directed against the A. F. of L., or against any of the existing labor organizations. For hours they tried to prove by statistical figures how they would get the unorganized into line, and that they had not the least intention of organizing rival unions. Poor creatures!

From that hour on the open hostilities and attacks on the American Federation of Labor began, and with this warfare of revenge and destruction on the economic field also commenced the demoralization and the suicidal work of the Socialist Labor Party itself. The S. T. and L. A. got unavoidably mixed up in fights against a number of national unions, the S. L. P. could not escape the consequence, section after section of the party was suspended for violating the "Estiela" principles and tactics. Suspension and expulsion right and left, until Sanial expelled Vogt, and De Leon expelled Sanial, and Kuhn will expel De Leon, and the dog's tail will swallow the dog itself.

These are historical facts.

The True Socialist Attitude.

In 1898 the Social Democratic Party was organized in Chicago after the secession from the Colonists. The S. D. P., not without considerable opposition, adopted a new policy concerning the attitude of the Socialists towards the Trades Union movement. This attitude was re-indorsed by the Indianapolis convention a year later, and in July, 1901, the Unity conanimously adopted the following declaration, determining the attitude of the Socialist Party of America towards the Trades Unions:

"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 trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned.

"We call the attention of trades unionists to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trades 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 trades 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."

This resolution is characteristic of our Socialist Party movement, and sharply and strikingly draws the line between the truly class conscious Socialist movement and the misconceived, misunderstood, misinterpreted so-called class movement of De Leonism.

Debs' Position.

I fully agree with Comrade Debs when he says: "The party, as such, nust continue to occupy this friendly, yet non-interfering position, but the members may, of course, and in my judgment should, join the trades-unions east and west and north and south, and put forth their best efforts to bring the American labor movement to its rightful position in the struggle for

There is a class of Socialists here and they have formulated this definition of Socialism. Part of it is bortowed from Schaffle's quintessence of Socialism, with some corrections. It is so good that I think that it will pass all critics, WM. HUMPHREY.

ANOTHER DEFINITION.

Can a Socialist Be A Scab?

This is the question that agitates Seattle Socialists just now. The occasion of the discussion is as follows:

The unions of Seattle are boycotting the Hotel Butler because its management refused to employ union cooks. waiters and bartenders. The fight is a year old, but came to a fresh head a few weeks ago when the hotel was closed for repairs. The Building Tradesmen employed in the improvements struck because the management refused to agree to employ union help whenever they reopened the ho-

They reopened all the same with waiters imported for the purpose from San Francisco. Among these strike breakers was J. Kauffman who claimed to have a union card and who carried a Socialist Party card from Chicago.

Kaufiman was invited by Chairman Hutchison of the S. P. Speakers' Committee of Local Seattle, to speak at the general propaganda meeting last Sunday night. Many party members entered emphatic protest against his speaking under these circumstances and the following communication was presented to the City Central Committee at its regular meeting last Sunday

Cooks and Waiters' Union, No. 239.

Seattle Wash Jan 3 1904 To the Socialist Committee: Gentlemen-I understand that a waiter from the Hotel Butler, an unfair house to organized labor of the city of Seattle, is to address your meeting this afternoon, claiming that he is a union man, which he cannot be when he is working in an unfair house, and the Local which he comes from in Frisco cannot do anything but brand him as a scab.

Hope that your committee will not let him speak on your floor, or any of his stripe, as the Socialist are considered to be fair to all workingmen I remain, yours sincerely, HOWARD J. WEISER,

Pres. Local 239.

Reply of City Central Committee.

Resolved, That we send a letter to he Cooks and Waiters' Union saying that the invitation to this waiter had already been officially extended by a subcommittee which had that authority, and that we do not see how we can rescind their action, but we expressly deny responsibility for any utterances of his, and call your attention to the following resolution, which is the official declaration of the Socialist Party of the United States and which we have reaffirmed today in view of the present circumstances, and we invite representatives of your union to be present and reply to any statement of this speaker:

Trades Union Resolution. (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.

ists 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 perple. 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.

Unfortunately this reply of the C. C. C. was not delivered by Secretary Hutchison to the Cooks and Walters. and they therefore had no representatives present at the Kauffman meetng. The latter made a bitter attack on Trades Unions, maintaining it was "better to have no organization on the economic field." He argued that "a man must live," and that "the time will soon come when Socialists will have to take a job wherever they can get it." He repeated again and again. "I must live, I must live." He said it was against progress to be bound by any party resolutions.

(Continued on Page 4.)

News and Correspondence

HEADQUARTERS BULLETIN.

National Headquarters,
Socialist Party,
Omaha, Neb., Jan. 2, 1994.

National Organizing Fund.
The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report:
A. L. New York City. \$.30
Local San Diego. Cal. 4.50
M. Hillquit, New York City. 19.90
Local Kings County, N. Y. 5.00
Local Corona, Cal. 1.00
Branch 1, Providence, R. I.,
(German) 1.00 W. D. Altman, Rosenthal, Pa. 5.00

Total to noon Jan. 2d. \$ 26.80

Previously reported 2.482.11

South Carolina South Carolina

F. W. Evans, Corresponding Secretary, Local Union 59, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, Salt Lake City, Utah, reports to the National Secretary that the local union has adopted the Socialist platform.

State Secretary Cooney of Montana reports as follows to the National Sec-

refary:
"The following members of the Socialist Party of Montana have been tried and found guilty of the charge of having taken part in the political convention of another party and were duly expelled from the party: Robert Ellis, Butte: Wm. R. Pepworth, Bozeman; L. J. Caldwell, Red Lodge. The party in Montana will stand no 'monkeying' with the capitalist band waron."

gon."
Comrade Cooney also writes: "Comrade Wilkins spoke to two big meetings here and we were well pleased with him. His analysis of the class struggle was the best ever heard here; also his treatment of the tax question was superb. Wilkins has organized four new locals in this state: Stev-ensville, Victor, Rochester and Frants-

Wilkins will work in Montana until January 28, when he will enter Idaho. Receipts for m

State Secretary Holman, of Minnesofa reports the organization of three new locals in Carlton County by State Organizer Klein, at Carlton, Wrenshall and Scanlon.

Retiring State Secretary Lipscomb, of Missouri, reports the referendum for the election of state officials for the the election of state officials for the ensuing year as follows: Secretary—Hallowell, 113; Palmer, 251; Rathbun, 60; Garter, 150; Hoehn, 103; total, 677; T. L. Palmer elected. National Committeeman—Turner, 353; Hanson, 31; Behrens, 295; total, 679; Geo. H. Turner, Kansas City, re-elected. The state headquarters will be removed to Kansas City, where Comrade Palmer resides.

Minutes of last special session of Selbert.

Minutes of last special session of

National Organizer Jan. 15th in New Hampshire, under the direction of the State Secretary Arnstein.

James F. Carey's lecture dates ar-Newark, N. J. Pennsylvania—Jan. 4, Philadelphia; 5, Reading; 6, York; 7, Láncaster; 8, Wilmeching; 9, New Castle. Ohio—Jan. 10, Toledo; 11, Fre-mont; 12, Akron; 13, Cleveland; 17, Cincinnati; 18, Portsmouth.

John W. Brown will lecture in Cali-fornia until the end of January, when he will fill several dates in Oregon on his way to Washington.

John M. Ray will not begin his three months' work in Wisconsin until Feb-

The National Committee has voted to call the National Convention of the Socialist Party at Chicago, May 1st,

ANOTHER GOOD SHOWING.

The National Secretary's Financial Re port for December, 1903.

	a, Nel	ı. 1, 1	904.
For National		State	Com
Arizona		\$	23.10
Arkansas			5.00
California		 	52.5
Colorado			15.00
Connecticut .			25.0
Florida			15.00
Illinois			112.5
Indiana		 	15.00
Iowa			25.00
Kansas		 	98.0
Maine			25.00
Massachusetts			50.5
Michigan			15.00
Minmonoto		NAME OF TAXABLE PARTY.	90 00

New York

····· North Dakota Oregon
 Pennsylvania
 115.00

 South Dakota
 2.65

 Texas
 10.00

 Washington
 48.75
 Wisconsin Total\$1,164.70
From Unorganized States—
District of Columbia2.00
Georgia4.70
Indian Territory6.10

Total\$1,284.10 EXPENDED. Exchange\$ Freight and express Telegrams Salaries: Wm. Mailly \$ 85.05 W. E. Clark 60.00 C. R. Martin 60.00 On Account: -A. S. Edwards ... 55.05 Chas. H. Vail ... 50.00 Agitation and Organization J. W. Bennett ... 56.87 Geo. E. Bigelow. 51.00 P. J. Hyland ... 100.00 W. R. Gaylord ... W. R. Gaylord ... 20.00
Geo. H. Goobel ... 138.18
John M. Ray ... 80.69
Chas. G. Towner ... 75.00
Pa. State Comm ... 40.00
W. M. Wilkins ... 50.00 Lecture Bureau:
John W. Brown
Expense Quorum meeting.... Agnes Wakefield Total\$1,563.77

WILLIAM MAILLY, National Secretary. UTES OF WASHINGTON LO-

Charters Granted.

The following charters were grant-

retary was instructed to correspond with Local Clarkston to see if a new charter is necessary. Charters for Locals St. John, in Whitman; Wiser and Mountain View.

in Yakima County, were granted.

Carried that action on Pleasant Valley and Glendale organizations await earance of properly prepared ap-

Applications for speakers' permits ere discussed, but owing to absence of a full quorum, a formal vote was deferred till the next regular meeting.

Adjourned.

E. E. MARTIN, Sec.-Treas. First 1904 Session

First 1904 Session.

Jan. 6, 1904.

The regular semi-monthly meeting of the Local Quorum of the Socialist Party of Washington was held with and at the office of the State Secretary-Treasurer, on Wednesday evening, January 6, 1904, at 8 p. m. There were Present, J. D. Curtis, chairman; U. G. Moore: absent. A. G. Seibert.

Minutes of regular meeting of December 16, 1903, read and adopted.

Ballots on proposition to amend National Constitution canvassed with the following result:

following result:
For proposed amendment......329
Against proposed amendment.....181

ollowing expense bills were pre-ed and allowed:

Pleasant Valley, Deer Park, Loon

companied by fees, etc., was faid over till next meeting.

Resolutions from Local Spokane re-garding the "Coming Nation" Van, and demanding a state referendum thereon was read and filed.

Resolution from Local Tumwater opposed to collections at propaganda meetings was placed on file.

Adjourned.

13 Dues Local Edmonds...... 1.00 13 Dues Local Arlington......
13 Supplies Local Arlington.... 13 Dues Local Burlington......

 14 Dues Local Montesano
 1.40

 15 Char, App. Local Mt. View
 90

 15 Dues Local La Conner
 3.20

 15 Supplies Local Aberdeen ... 15 Char. App. Local Wiser.... 15 Dues Local Lynden..... 15 Dues Local Fairhaven ... 15 Dues Local Anacortes...... 15 Dues Local Lake..... 15 Dues Local Puyallup

18 Dues Local Echo Dec. 1, balance......\$ 165.37 Receipts for month....... 1,566.89 18 Dues Local Garfield... 19 Supplies Local Yelm 20 Supplies Local Yelm...... 20 Dues Local Clipper 21 Char. App. Local Alma..... 23 Char. App. Local Frances.... 1.00 23 Supplies, Mrs. Irene Smith.. 1.65 23 Supplies Local South Bend.... 1.00 Dec. 1, balance\$ 168.49

24 Char. App. Local Loon Lake. 24 Char. App. Local Deer Park. 25 Supplies Local Puyallup.... 25 Dues Local Issaquah 25 Dues Local Pomeroy 27 Dues Local Spokane 27 Dues Local Renton

headquarters will be removed to Kanhass City, where Comrade Palmer resides.

State Secretary Dial of Kentucky reports the re-election of Charles Dobbs, Louisville, as National Committeeman for the ensuing year, by "practically a unanimous vote."

State Secretary Will of Kansas reports the result of canvass of election of National Committeeman as follows:

Mills, 131; Lowther, 48; Ricker, 40; McAllister, 76; Wayland, 88; Mitchell, 27; total, 410. The state committee declared Walter Thomas Mills duly elected for the year 1904.

State Secretary Thomas of Wisconside result of Canvass of Wisconside responsible respo Total Receipts\$142.43

 Nov. Balance
 \$1.53

 Dues Locals & M. A. L.
 .121.50

 Charter Applications
 .11.59

 State Secretary Thomas of Wisconsin reports Victor L. Berger re-elected National Committeeman for the year 1904, by a vote of 455 for to 3 against. The three voted against were cast in Sheboygan.

State Secretary Healey of Florida reports the organization of four new locals by National Organizer Gaylord, whose work in that state will conclude Jan. 7th.

John C. Chase will begin work as John C. Charters Granted.

Total expenditures\$138.35
Total receipts\$138.35
Total expenses\$138.35
Balance "to the good" ...\$4.08
Comrades:—You are earnestly requested to call attention to any errors or or or or or or lecturers I have attempted to make fitness the principal qualification for appointment. I could not use you when you were first proposed in November, and I assure you that I would not have made the proposition I did not have made the proposition I did not have made the proposition I have attempted to make fitness the principal qualification for appointment. I could not use you when you were first proposed in November, and I assure you that I would not have made the proposition I had had the opportunity to judge of your qualifications which you have since, by actives may be arrived at. No entries Duplicate charter for Local Aberden (original lost in fire).

In matter of Clarkston charter, Secretary was instructed to correspond actness may be arrived at. -No entries

is carried in stock by the Secretary Treasurer personally.

E. E. MARTIN. State Secretary-Treasurer, 1016 Stewart Street.

Is your Local named in the above The Secretary was authorized to report? If not see to it that the name procure necessary stationery for his of your Local appears at least once office. No better barometrical indication of life and activity can be shown than this. Only two-thirds of the Locals of the state reported for December. Let's hear from every one of you the first month of the new year.

Ingon and then nome by way of atomic and the nome by way of atom

first month of the new year.

Report at Once.

An intensely busy week, getting out State and National reports, etc., precludes preparing a roll of honor as proposed, and besides I had expected a report from all, instead of two-thirds of the Locals, for December.

County Organizer Cline, of Lynden, spends another month in his home county, and sees an extra fialf dozen Locals, and at least a "baker's dozen" are "in sight," scattered all over the state. Get Busy, Boys, and show the two old corpse parties that We're "it" next November.

E. E. M.

There will be on Friday evening.
Jan. 18th, a social and dance with a
short program at Labor Hall. The music will be violin and plane; refreshments, ice cream, cake and coffee.
There will be no charge at the door.
Dance programs will be on sale at 25
cents for gentlemen, ladles free. Remember the place, Labor Hall, Pike
and Second. PIKE STREET BRANCH.

News and Correspondence Lake, Alma, Frances, Ellensburg, Everson and Delphi. An application from Clayton unaccompanience of the person and Delphi. An application from Clayton unaccompanience of the person and Delphi. An application from Clayton unaccompanience of the person and Delphi. An application from Clayton unaccompanience of the person and Delphi. An application from Clayton unaccompanience of the person and Delphi. An application from Clayton unaccompanience of the person and Delphi. An application from Clayton unaccompanience of the person and Delphi. An application from Clayton unaccompanience of the person and Delphi. An application from Clayton unaccompanience of the person and Delphi. An application from Clayton unaccompanience of the person and Delphi. An application from Clayton unaccompanience of the person and Delphi. An application from Clayton unaccompanience of the person and Delphi. An application from Clayton unaccompanience of the person and Delphi.

Correspondence Between Howard H. Caldwell and National Secretary.

National Secretary to Caldwell.

Your two letters dated Dec. 23rd and Christmas respectively, the latter in reply to my own of Dec. 23rd, have been received and unanswered until now, for the reason that a Christmas

visit took me away from the office for

three days, and also because I desired to reply to you with that degree of calmness which I believe commen-

For you to consider that you should address such letters to me is a mat-

ter both for surprise and indignation on my part—surprise that you should assume that I would welcome or en-

courage such correspondence, indigna-tion that you should consider me so

devoid of respect for the office I oc-cupy that I would consort with you in such work as you acknowledge having performed. I resent the implication

conveyed by your letters that I would be a party to any scheme that I would interfere in any way with the right of the membership of any state to choose as their representatives whomsoever they should see fit to choose.

"had brought pressure to bear that will result in Mills not being on next year's committee." is in my opinion a shame-ful one to come from a party member

who has just been declared elected a National Committeeman from one of the states affiliated with the national

organization. It shows a disregard for the rights of the other states which bodes ill for your observance of the

Why you should consider it neces-sary to write your opinion of the "Kan-sas City outfit" to me and to explain

sas City outher to me and to explain your past defense (as you choose to call it) of Comrade Mills, and also Comrade Critchlow's position, is beyond my comprehension. I am sure that no official utterance of mine has given you reason to believe that I would welcome any information you

would welcome any information you

could impart to me that would be det-rimental to Comrade Mills, and I have

never had any dealings with you in a private or personal capacity. I can only assume that because I have tried to maintain the laws of the national organization, to be impartial toward all those with whom I have had official

all those with whom I have had omchain relations, you have concluded that I was opposed to you and others with whom you have identified yourself until within the past few days. Such a consideration had no influence upon me. In the selection of organizers or lecturers I have attempted to make

I shall now refer the entire corre-spondence between us to the National

Quorum, so that its members can judge

whether or not you are qualified to fill the important position of National

Organizer, a commission which requires a sense of personal honor and

ty's true character as the organized expression of an economic and polit-ical ideal above that obtaining in and

represented by the capitalistic par-

I do not consider your letters confi

dential, as you request me to. I neither invited your correspondence nor de-sired it, and I feel under absolutely

no obligations to respect it. To do so would mean acquiescence in your

me a silent and willing partner to

your gross violation of party law and ordinary Socialist ethics, a position

which I do not care to take nor to have

WILLIAM MAILLY

National Secretary

you impose upon me. Very truly yours,

lignity as well as respect for the

Jan. 1st next.

Your acknowledgement that

urate with my official position.

Howard H. Caldwell, Gen. Del., Louisiana, Mo.

omrade:-

Dec. 20, 1903.

INTRODUCTORY.

Howard H. Caldwell, Gen. Del., Kansas City, Co. Dear Comrade.

1.40

I have your card stating that you will be in Kansas City for one week.

I received from Comrade Critchlow last week your name for appointment as a national organizer or lecturer and wish to write you now about same The prospect I have for using you within the near future is to send you into Arizona and California on an or-ganizing and lecture tour. The terri-torial secretary of Arizona and the state secretary of California both write me that a national organizer can work in their respective territories for some time. I am pretty sure from what I know of Arizona that a man could stay there for five or six weeks if not two months, and Secretary Helfen-stein of California writes me that he is prepared to make from 40 to 50 dates for a national organizer begin-

ning in March. This would ensure from three to four months work. I have not submitted the proposi tion of sending you on this trip to the Quorum, and would not like to do so unless I knew that you were available. Should you decide to accept this ap-pointment you would receive the regular rates paid our organizers, namely, three dollars a day for each day in the field, and all traveling and hotel expenses guaranteed. It is probable that I would charge a fixed sum for your services, but just enough to ensure

expenses I should like to hear from you about this right away, as the secretary of Arizona states that he should have at least thirty days' notice to arrange dates on account of the peculiar geo-graphical conditions.

Upon hearing from you whether you can accept or not, I shall immediately submit the matter to the Quorum, and I have no doubt that the Quorum will party laws when you assume the posi-tion of National Committeeman on

agree to the appointment.
Should you favor this proposition I would try to arrange dates for you in the states between here and Ari-zona, so that you could start in there about February. Please let me hear from you as soon as possible about this, so that I can get arrangements under way.

Fraternally yours, WILLIAM MAILLY.

National Secretary.

National Secretary.

P. S.—Of course it is probable that if you go into California I will also arrange for you to cover the coast states before returning east again.

Caldwell to National Secretary. Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 23, 1903. Comrade Mailly:

Since coming to Kansas City on a trip I was making out this way, I have seen some things here that have changed my opinion toward a very im-portant (to him) man who lives here

HOWARD H. CALDWELL.

Caldwell to National Secretary. Kansas City, Mo., Christmas, 1903.

Would be pleased to take the trip to Arizona and California. Must go to Ohio first and can be at your service after Jan. 15th. Would advis route through Kentucky, Tennessee Lauisiana, Oklahoma, New Mexico and returning along the coast to Wash ington and then home by way of Mon-tana. North Dakota, Minnesota, Wis-consin, Michigan, into Ohio.

ten you letter which you have prob-ably received by this time. This out-fit here in Kansas City is worse than I expected. Have brought pressure to bear that will result in Mills not being on next year's committee will probably withdraw from political activity in the party. Remember all this is strictly confidential. Better keep his name out of print as much and he will die out withou as possible and he wi friction in the party.

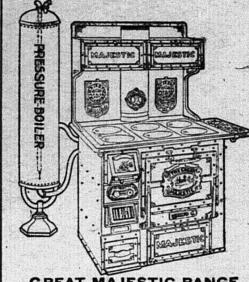
MINUTES OF WHATCOM COUNTY Hoff of Everson, C. E. Cline of Lyn-COMMITTEE. den and C. S. Wallace of Fairhaven.

Bellingham, Wash., Jan 2, 1904.
Owing to the indisposition of Comrade Martens, the Whatcom Coun,y Committee met at the studio of Comrade Hegg instead of Comrade Martens' shop. Present, P. L. Hegg of Whatcom Local, John Fox of Blaine, John Zimmer of Mt. View, Leude Hanson of Pleasant Valley, Fred

.C. E. Cline, County Organizer, mac a report of his work throughout the county. In all he made 10 addresses, 8 of which were at unorganized points. Receipts, including amounts turned over by the County Secretary-Treasures were as follows: Collections a report of his work throughout the county. In all he made 10 addresses, 8 of which were at unorganized points. Receipts, including amounts turned over by the County Secretary-Treasurer, were as follows: Collections, \$29.80; donations, \$5.00; membership fees, \$9.00; county ques, \$4.95. Total, \$48.75. Pzid out on expenses, \$11.75. Balance as per agreement at organizations of the county of the

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THE FAIR, Whatcom, Wash.

SHIRT SALE THIS WEEK



tion of County Committee, \$37.00, paid com county the best organized county County Organizer for services rending the result of Organizer Cline's pearing, the committee adjourned. CHAS. S. WALLACE. Secretary of Meeting.

EVERY

SHIRT

MUST

SOLD

BE

work is five new locals—an increase of about 40 dues-paying members, and the foundation laid for the organiza tion of other locals. The County Committee in accepting the report congrat ulated Comrade Cline on the result o his efforts.

The election of officers of the County Committee being in order, the following officers were unanimously elected Chairman, John Zimmer of Mt. View Vice-Chairman, P. L. Hegg of What com; Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. L. Ganson of Lynden.

On account of constitutional ques tion no election of organizer was made, the present incumbent, Comrade Cline, holding over until a successor bé elect

Comrade Cline, the organizer, agreed to serve the next month and endeavor to serve the next month and endeavor to complete the work already begun for the sum of \$60.00. The members present proposed to raise a fund of at least \$30.00 as a loan to the county organization to enable the organizer at once to begin work, this loan to be senable to the county organization. repaid by the county organization to the locals or individuals contributing. On motion the proposition was accepted. The following amounts were paid to the Secretary-Treasurer and by him turned over to Organizer Cline

Comrade C. D. Robinson was elected organizer of Local Seattle by referenlum vote counted last Sunday. He received 85 votes to 70 for Alfred

SEATTLE NOTES.

Socialists are registering numerous at the City Hall. "The early bird," Registration closes February 16. So

cialists ought to register 1000 voters at least and vote 999 of them. Get naturalized, if you have not al-ready done so. No "foreigner" is either a good patriot or a good Socialist who is not doing his best to become

Workingmen, keep vour residence in some one place, if possible. Don't let the capitalists disfranchise you by the capitalists disfranchise you by "firing" you between now and election. Register where you are and come back in time to vote.

Dr. Titus will speak at Carpenters' Hall Sunday night, January 10. Sub-ject: "The Socialist Campaign of

11654

See Propaganda Special No. 2. First issue in February, 1

LOCAL OMAHA JUSTIFIED

confession is forced out of Ricker.

And it is accompanied with extenu ation and half apology, even for Kharas and Alexander. In our judg- not do so we do not wish to assume ment, the apology is worse than the blame. We will cheerfully considoffense. If he had said, not after he has been proved guilty, not after months of attack on those heroic Comrades in Omaha who were trying to do their duty to the Socialist move ment, but if he had spontaneously and bravely said months ago: "Comrades in Omaha, you are right; there was no sort of excuse for such trading with capitalists. I despise myself for ever having been led into it and I wash my hands of all those Propaganda club proceedings"-then we could have ex cused him. But to our way of thinking and seeing. Ricker and Alexander and Baird and the rest have forever forfeited the confidence of the Socialist Party. They are not the sort of stuff that the Proletarian Party must be composed of to meet the wily onslaughts of Capital.

And we have no sympathy with his adroit attempt to smooth over everything concerning the Middle Class. Or his own showing concerning himselfand his development, the Middle Class. with its capitalist training, is naturaldiplomatic and compromising. Again we say, waste no time on the Middle Class and always be suspicious of them. They must come to the working class. Get the working class first and the rest must come.

"Appeal to Reason." Girard, Kan., Dec. 22, 1903. Ed. Seattle "Socialist."

Dear Comrade: -I am enclosing you herewith an open letter which I you would give space in your columns

We hardly see sufficient reason for publishing this letter of Ricker's, expublishing this letter of Ricker's and the ricker' cept that the staff of the "Appeal" appear to desire it. It is a personal coppear to desire it. It is a personal coppear. I am determined, however, to place this statement before the party. I have been as frank as I know how to be. I hold with you that the party has the right to know its active propagandists fully and completely. You with. But it comes too late. It is only after conviction, only after the Omaha Comrades have proved their case, in the "Inside History" published in "The Socialist" of Dec. 6, 1903, that this the office is sufficient demonstration of this fact. With my comrades of the staff, we desire that the "Appeal' sit at the Workers' Table, and if it does

> er criticism at any time. Fraternally yours, A. W. RICKER.

The "OPEN LETTER." Girard, Kan., Dec. 22, 1903. F. H. Alexander, Omaha, Neb.

From a somewhat intimate acquaint ance with you and your work in the Socialist cause, I am led to believe that what mistakes you have made have been errors of judgment, rather than purpose. Many of the members of your propaganda club also belong to the "Appeal" army, and are faithful workers. This fact, along with my knowledge of the Omaha movement has led me to exhibit more sympathy for you than I would otherwise have

Two years ago charges were pre ferred against me, by the Omaha local then under the leadership of the persons who later were expelled from the party. Had I been vindictive I would have shown them no mercy in the position of political writer for the "Appeal," which I have held for a year. The fact that I have not done so frees the fact that I have not done so frees me from this charge. The charge were later withdrawn, so technically at least, I am not on trial, but my name has been drawn into the controversy, and so I intend to speak out

frankly.

In the reply to your manifesto the Omaha local gave to the public a let-Omana local gave to the public a let-ter I had written in June to Comrade McCafferty, which has proven to be emphatic testimony. I am glad the letter was published, for it gives me the opportunity to discuss the matter fully and frankly. I would use the

the party, I was cognizant of these facts and I myself have been given support of this kind by different individual Republicans.

In 1900 I used money received as a wise been a beneficiary of warring po-litical elements, though opportunities have offered galore. Neither have I ever personally appropriated money so received nor did I ever enter into any agreements binding me to do other than I personally chose. I justified myself on the ground that I was doing more work for the cause than I could have accomplished course this is unsound argument, but many another man has been beguiled by just such specious reasoning. I am prone to look behind a man's acts for

is motives before I condemn him. Perhaps one great element of the strength of the Socialist movement lies in its rigid honesty, and its searching enquiry into the acts of its members To the new convert this is irritating, but without this the movement would become the prey of tricksters and corruptionists. It has come my turn to be dissected and I cheerfully present myself as a subject. I was trained

Continuing the matter under discus columns of the "Appeal" for this pur-pose, and indeed did some time ago prepare such an article, but it was

reading was confined to Merrie England and the "Appeal." I was a utopian enthusiast, naturally tinctured with Populism, and middle-class ideals, but I had a dim conception of the class-struggle, and I desired to throw myself into the melting pot. If a man will stay in this pot long enough he will come out a useful worker. I have stayed in, stood the melting process, and am still there. If I carried into In 1900 I used money received as a stayed in, stood the meiting process, and am still there. If I carried into Democratic campaign, but never since that time have I received a penny of list tactics, and I did, I think they are money from other than legitimate channels, ridden on a pass or otherlist, and my comrades here on the staff are fully acquainted with all the de tails thereof. Let me add that they are as noble a band of Socialists as were ever assembled anywhere. I have been by their side in every strug-gle here in the office, and their hearts beat in unison with the throb of the comrades of the world. I have nothing to hide, nor will I conceal any knowledge which I possess. That which I wrote concerning Deaver, Boyce, and the ex-Populists of Nebra ka is true. Deayer, Guy and Baird must take the consequences of their action. If their motives were good let them confess the facts and defend themselves accordingly. If they can give the party no assurance that they have abandoned such tactics and are

then they cannot be trusted with party membership.

My connection with the Omaha myself as a subject. I was trained in the school of old party politics, and my evolution to the point where I have acquired a conception of Socialist politics has been a gradual one. Having the school of occultism. I moved to your city, and entered the Wharas school of occultism. I me Kharas while he was at the zenith of his erratic career. He had joined the sion, we arrive at last to the Nebraska local movement, was spending his case, and the Populist and Republican money freely for propaganda, and had become the party candidate for government, where Deaver and the midor. I was charmed with him and de-

now worthy of trust and confidence

blue penciled by Comrade Wayland, who is opposed to discussing matters of this kind in the "Appeal." I all of us who had taken a prominent of this copies of which will be sent both in the straight Populist revolt to the Omaha local and the Scattle "Socialist." I never seek to evade "sponsibility for my acts. If I make mistakes (we all do!) I prefer to conception, the straight of the were been on breaking up fusion, because (we all do!) I prefer to conception, tactics which I once endowed the sponsibility for my acts. If I make mistakes (we all do!) I prefer to conception, the middle of the Populist, have the disappeared throughout the middle were sponsibility for my acts. If I make mistakes two all do!) I prefer to conception, tactics which I once endowed the straight of the straight of the conditions, for by deep dealth of the straight of the straig him to be a martyr in order that the whole matter might be kept from the public. In this I blundered, though with good intentions, for if the matter measure. It has also chartered Mayney the state of the matter measure. with good intentions, for if the matter had been threshed out then and there, I feel certain that the now famou Omaha controversy would not have taken so much of the time of the party. When Kharas falled it carried me down with the rest, and I left Omaha with nothing but my chains. I went back to the lowa farm, and began once more to till the soil

> and easily a class-conscious Socialist. He is born to it, so to speak, but the middle-class man must be born again The student who delves in the materialistic conception of history, who analyzes capitalist production, who traces the class struggle through the years gone by and applies his acquisition to the present will experience this new birth. Utopia is supplanted by the class-struggle, and he realizes with Engels, that only in the triumph of a thoroughly aroused and revolu-tionary working class can the historic class struggle be ended and the co operative commonwealth established While in this state of mental foundity all the phenomena that attends growth will express itself. Socialism, co-operative commonwealth is a deduc tion of the class struggle. plan is the man of expedients. The Socialist who bases his activity on the class struggle has settled down to hard material facts or is in the process of so doing. Am I not to be believed then, when I say that with a change of

Socialism, and my utopian conceptions

The wage-worker becomes normally

commenced to burn out.

wood local. We sustained Thomps a party member, in his determination to discuss tactics with the party membership. (Rather, you sustained him in his determination to restore the Alexander crowd and down the "proletarian gang."—Ed.) The locals organized by Thompson have been chartered. We took the position that the members of your organization against whom there were no substantial charges should be admitted to the party membership, but not while you were still members of an organization in re-bellion against the party. We ad-vised you to disband first,—our plain duty.

I have made this plain state party membership to know without eserve what is contained in the above I have cast my lot with the Socialist movement, and with it I suall work to

Fraternally yours, A. W. RICKER.

CAN A SOCIALIST BE A SCAB? (Continued From Page 2.)

A Clear Issue. All this was wholly consistent with is practice. He is opposed to Labor

Unions in theory and practice. On the other hand, the Socialist Party, by its official declaration, is in fa-

STORE

vor of Labor Unions in theory and practice.

The issue is clearly drawn. The Scab says, "Let us all be scabs; let us destroy the Labor-Unions; let every one look out for himself; we must live!" The Socialist Party says, "It is the duty of every Socialist to assist in building up and unifying the Labor Unions."

As we said some weeks ago, it is Scab Socialism against Union Socialism. A fundamental principle is involved here. Scab Socialism says: "The material interest of the individual must control him." Union Socialism says, "The material interest of his class must control the individual!"

Scab Socialism would reduce all workers to a condition of units, a horde of disorganized men and women, each fighting every other for a job. like bogs at a trough for swill, practical anarchy, just the condition which would please organized capital best of all, and make coolles out of wage workers, throwing away all the gains of a hundred years.

Union Socialism would cultivate the spirit of solidarity among workingmen, would teach them that the interest of each is bound up with the interest of all, would compel a sacrifice of many an immediate personal interest for the more distant but greater personal interest secured by organized co-operation with his fellows. In a word, Union Socialism perceives that workingmen, by uniting, have a world to gain.

The Scab spirit which says, "Every nan for himself and the devil take nuch of it personal, because I want the the hindmost," will destroy the Socialist Party. It is significant and appropriate that the most of the men who support this disorganizing principle the end. I want to be subject to its are not members of any Socialist Pardiscipline and its guidance. If I may work at the front I shall be happy, but if I must work at the rear I will not less of felter or felter. to this anarchistic attitude toward or ganized labor. Such a principle will render all organization utterly impossible. He who claims he has a right to scab on the Union because he 'must live" will scab on the Socialist Party also whenever it is to his individual interest to do so.

> This paper will stand inflexibly by the party position on the Labor Union question, namely, that no Socialist can be a scab, because we believe it to be sound and sensible.

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