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A CARTOON WEEKLY

To Organize the Slaves of Capital To Vote Their Own Emancipation

Published by the Socialist Educational Union But R

116 Virginia Street, SEATTLE, WASH., June 26, 1904

50 Cents a Year

Look up Your Label-Number

This is No. 203

Shall "The Socialist" Live or Die?

this number of "The Socialist" so greatly changed in size and appearance. You will look in vain for the usual Cartoons and you see only two pages in

The reason is simply this: "The Socialist" costs more than the sub scribers pay for it. Our financial statement for the last two months shows that there is a deficit averaging more than One Hundred Dollars a month.

For several months previously the income and expense have been about We do not know why this sudden drop. It may be the hard times beginning, or it may be accident. At any rate, we have not cash enough to stand it, and that is the reason for the change you see. We must cut our garment according to our cloth.

It may be asked why "The Socialist" cannot pay its way as well as other Socialist papers? We reply, it does. We do not know of a single Socialist paper printed in English, except the "Appeal," which is not running behind 'The Chicago Socialist," though owned and backed by the Party in Cook County, situated in the largest industrial center in America, established pefore this paper, is at this moment trying to raise money to pay of a deficit of a Thousand Dollars. "Wilshire's Magazine," a privately-owned enterprise, has, we are assured, cost its founder nearly all his private fortune

"The Socialist" is not privately owned, nor, is it party-owned. It is owned by a group of about thirty-five members of the Socialist Party, nearly all of them wage workers, and every one of them absolutely in favor of the proletarian policy this paper has always pursued. There is no stock and no These men are incorporated as "The Socialist Educational Union," and the paper is under the control of a Board of Trustees elected every six They can suspend the editor at will.

"The Socialist" will be four years old in August. It was started in the midst of the presidential campaign of 1900, soon after the organization of the Social Democratic Party in the State of Washington. It has never really paid expenses. It has survived only because of the constant sacrifices of the members of the S. E. Union. Several members have put up One Hundred Dollars apiece in times of emergency, and several not members have done the same, while smaller sums have been contributed by all members. Besides these money sacrifices, many comrades both in Seattle and elsewhere have assisted steadily. For instance, from five to twelve thousand papers per week have been folded gratis by many comrades during these four years That alone means a saving of at least Five Hundred Dollars. The Editor has never received compensation of any kind and we have had nothing to pay for

Our expenses have been kept down to the lowest possible notch consis tent with the high standard of the paper. Our paper has been purchased by the ton so as to get low rates. The lowest bidders for our printing have al ways had the contract. Almost nothing has been paid for salaries, the three rades who have worked in the office at times the last year getting only five dollars a week and a bed. Our high item of expense has been our Cartoons. We may say that in this feature "The Socialist" has been unrivalled in the Socialist press of America. We have had on our staff about all the essful cartoonists among the Socialists, and many of these have contributed their work without pay. But our engraving comes high and we know

Now, comrades and friends, in spite of all our economies and sacrifices cannot pay our way and maintain the standard of the paper. Our arrears on current expenses up to date, not counting what the Editor has furnished, amount to about Six Hundred Dollars. It does not seem a great deal. But when you have not Six Hundred Cents to pay with, it is as great as so many ds. Heretofore, we have sometimes got over difficult places by calling on the Editor to make up deficits. But his well is pumped dry, plumb dry Other comrades in the Union have been called upon to the full extent of their ability. We are nearly all proletarians and it is a wonder we have kept on so

We have made a frank, full statement of the condition of "The Social We are going to leave the future of this paper in your hands. For the -that is, until "The Socialist" is four years old, on August -we will continue on the present basis, furnishing as good a paper as the income will allow and publishing a report every week, that you all may see w we stand.

If during these seven weeks the believers in "The Socialist" rally to its support, we shall go on as before. But, if not, then we shall conclude the mision of the paper is ended as at present conducted.

"The Socialist" now goes to about Five Thousand regular subscribers occasionally with special orders to Eight, Ten and Twelve Thousand. . .

Comrades and friends, it seems ridiculously easy for you five thousand to put the paper on Easy street. If each one will send one subscription of 50 cents-we shall have Twenty-Five Hundred Dollars, enough to pay our deficit lieve in this paper? Is it enough to go out and get one subscriber? If that subscriber is a workingman, the paper will make a Socialist of him in six months. Can you do better for the greatest cause on earth, this campaign

We have said nothing as to the specific work accomplished by "The Sc cialist during the four years of its existence. There are those in the best position to judge who have said that this paper has had no small part in saving the Socialist Party from becoming a middle class organization. If this be true, it is worth while for "The Socialist" to have lived, even if it is to die now. If the comrades decide to keep it in the field, if they think it still has a mission, they can rest assured that the experience of these years will be employed to maintain and still further unify the Socialist Party as the Party of the Working Class.

There is one other point: It has been suggested that the reason so many Socialist papers fail is because they attempt on a small circulation to compete in price with the "Appeal," with its large circulation. No 50-cent paper can pay expenses till it has at least Twenty Thousand Subscribers. It is claimed, therefore, that the regular Socialist papers should all charge One Dollar a year. St. Louis "Labor" and one or two others have already made the change. Will all our friends please send us their judgment on this matter of change in price from Fifty Cents to One Dollar a year?

"Considering:—That the emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself, and therefore in the working class itself, and therefore in volves a class siringgle, which on the side of the workers is not for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of all class rule; "That the economic subjection of the san of labor to the monopolizer of the sources of life and instruments of labor lies at the root of social misery, mental degradation, political dependence and servitude in every form:
"That the economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a means:
"That all efforts aiming at this greatend have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions

end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries:

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, involving all countries in which the month may not close with delayed coin eards out. Take a little time ther a local nor a national, but a social problem, involving all countries in which the modern state of society exists, and depending for its solution on the practical in the open mail.

PREAMBLE FOR "THE INTERNA TIONAL.

By Karl Marx, 1864.

"Considering: —That the emancipation of the working class nust be achieved by the working class itself, and theoretical co-operation of the most industrial countries of Europe, while it raises new hopes gives solemn warning against a respect to the working class itself, and therefore in "For these reasons the international "The premational "The premation of the most advanced countries:

"The prematical co-operation of the most advanced countries:

"That the present re-awakening of the working classes in the most industrial countries of the premation of the most industrial to the premation of the premation of the most industrial to the prematic of the p "For these reasons the International Workmen's Association has been founded All its members shall recornize that Truth Morality. Justice, must be the basis of their conduct towards each other and towards all men, regardless of color, creed or nationality. They shall regard it the duty of a man to demand the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every one who does his duty. No rights without duties: no duties without rights."

PLATFORM NOTES

read and find out quickly what he party stands for. The other party platforms are usually manifestos. Iuli of explanations and arguments.

Second. It is indefinite, not precise enough, more literary than scientific, does not state in formal and consecutive fashion the tenets of Socialism. This criticism is similar to the first, and it may be answered that a platform is not intended for the educated Socialism, but for purposes of propaganda. Are not the principles of Socialism presented in such a shape in the Chicago platform as to attract the attention of the ordinary reader who knows nothing of Socialism?

Most of the other criticisms that are not mere outeries without evidence, like the spithet of "middle class." etc., are directed at those parts which declare Socialism to be the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty. Yet no one critisizes Marx and Engels for saying: "Workingmen, unite you have nothing to lose but your chaisa." a poetic way of urging Union for the sake of liberty. None of these crities objects to the term wage slavery, Why, then, object to the cry for ilberty, the abolition of wage slavery?

Of course that is absurd and silly to the last degree. The desire for liberty, for independence, for self-expression, began with the primordial cell and is essential to individual existence. It must exist through all stages of historic development barbarism, feudalism, capitalism. Socialism We need not call Liberty a "natural right." but it is a condition of Independence meant

OUR OLD PLATFORM

the Chicago platform further along says, "our American institutions came into the world." All this is the simple statement of a historic fact.

But, say our Omaha comrades, the liberty and self-government that Socialists mean, those 15th century Americans had no iden of. True, for the capitalist system was only in its infancy and in America scarcely born, even. The dominant class in America then was the small farmer or preasant proprietor, possessing his own tools of production and hence dependent upon no one for the means of life. He had that "essential private property" which the Chicago platform declares capitalism has destroyed. "The embattled farmers" who stood at Concord Bridge and "fired the shot heard round the world were true champions of that generic idea of individual liberty which Socialism alone upholds in these days of wage slavery.

It was not indeed possible that the achievement of liberty for himself and his class should also liberate the entire rac and abolish classes, as the wage slave will do. But he stood for the same kind of liberty for himself ham seek for himself, namely, the undisturbed control of his means of livelihood.

The great mistake which Comrade Mc

We intended to print the Omaha Critique, we intended to print the Omaha Critique, already appeared in "The Work It We intended to print the Omaha Critique, but it has already appeared in "The Work et" and our reduced space forbids. It statement of economic conditions in America during the 18th and 19th centuries is in the main correct and good for all Socialists to read. Its one defect, as criticism of the Chicago platform, apart from the surprising misunderstanding moted above, is the failure to discriminate between the period and economic motive of the Declaration of independence in 1776 and the period and economic motive of the Constitution of the U. S. in 1789. The Chicago platform makes no reference to the Constitution where a different economic class from those who issued the Declaration. The Constitution represented the land holders and rising capitalists and was explicitly and definitely afraid of and opposed to Democracy. The Constitution was made to be a fetter on the spirit of Liberty and self-government which found expression in the Declaration. This is amply proved by a reading of Elliotr's Debates, the debates of the constitutional convention, which were ordered not published till forty years afterward. And the Constitution has well served the purpose of its makers.

The Chicago Elatforce occuration the with the content of the makers. we need not call laberty a "natural right." but it is a condition of progress.

This is what the framers of the American Declaration of Independence meant when they spoke of "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness" as "inalienable rights." Certainly this "deal of Liberty and self-government" is not a had idea because it was set forth in the Declaration of Independence. The Socialist Party and self-government" is not a had idea because it was set forth in the Declaration of independence in 1776 and the period and economic motive of Independence. The Socialist Party claims to be the only political representative of that idea now before the American people. What is there wrong about that it is said this nation was not born in this idea of Liberty and self-government, as the platform assumes. This seems like hangling over a word, a preposition. But it is said this nation was not born in this idea of Liberty and self-government, as the platform assumes. This seems were too the constitution in the Declaration of the U.S. In 1789. The constitution were a different economic class from those who issued the Declaration. The Constitution were admitted and holders and rising capitalists and was explicitly and definitely afraid of and opposed to Democracy. The Constitution was made explicitly and definitely afraid of and opposed to Democracy. The Constitution was made of ilberty, as if the idea was causative, and the constitution of the U.S. In 1789. The explicitly and definitely afraid of and opposed to Democracy. The Constitution was single of the constitution of the U.S. In 1789. The explicitly and definitely afraid of and opposed to Democracy. The Constitution was single of the constitution was single of the constitution was single of the constitution of the U.S. In 1789. The constitution of

rades would out Marx Marx.

We do not think the Chicago platform the final expression of American Socialists. It is rather their first attempt at self-expression. The next time we try in out discussion should precede, not follow lits adoption by the convention. In another four years we shall know more about platform writing. The different states and even cities are constructing their own platforms. For the six months preceding our next National Convention, we shall probably have several excellent drafts thoroughly discussed. Meantime our education is proceeding. We are learning both the theory and practice of Socialism.

We notice the "Erie People" suggests the platform was smuggled through the con-

We notice the "Eric People" suggests it platform was snuggled through the covention by political trickery of some so the "Eric People" has certainly been minformed. The only delay in present the platform was due to a stow steno rapher. The Committee were impattent the delay, having to adjourn once becaused in the property of it. The printed platform was distributed through the convention before its reating by Chairman Herron, and there is no the least ground for any suspicion of in fairness on the part of the Committee anybody else.

anybody else.

The platform is now before the party membership for acceptance or rejection. If they prefer the old one from Indianapolis they will reject this one from Chicago. In any event, the party will make the same proletarian fight and stand by the same well recognized principles of International Socialism. A platform does not make or break us.

The "FOSTORIA WAY" is to take month. Then you sell them for 50 cents apiece and Make Five Dollars for yourself or the Local.

one 25-cent subscription to "The Socialist" each week from now to elec tion in November.

Which "Way" do you choose?

lessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate
slaughter is encouraged and the destruction
of whole races is sanctioned in order that
the capitalists may extend their commercial
dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist
class and the class of wage workers. And
the active force in bringing about this new
and higher order of society in the working
class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual condicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of
private ownership. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership
parties, and all other parties which do not
stand for the complete overthrow of the
capitalist system of production, are alike
political representatives of the capitalist
class.

The workers can most effectively act as
a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting
themselves into a political party, distinct
from and opposed to all parties formed by
the propertied class.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

other public utilities, as well as of all indistries confroited by monopolies, trusts
and combines. No part of the revenue of
such industries to be applied to the reduction of faxes on property of the captailst class, but to be applied wholly to inincrease of wages and shortening of the
hours of labor of the employees, to the
mprovement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the
hours of labor and the increase of wages
in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worke,
in the product of labor.

3. State of national insurance of works.

in order to decrease the same of the worker italist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, hack of employment, sickness and want in old age the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The lunguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose, in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years and state and municipal ald for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, pre-

recall of representations these measures steps in the overthrow of capitalism the establishment of the Co-operative of monwealth, we warn the working against the so-called public owner movements us an attempt of the capit

THE NEW SOCIALIST PLATFORM

We, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people; as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratiz-

ing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false.

They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and the still further enslavement and degradation of labor

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They been selzed upon by the capitalist chass as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically n private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting .ew and misinterpreting old laws they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to

silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent 'pon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into service submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual perty upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic incendence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class

produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of emment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and poli

cialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

11. As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of inter national Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all mations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the laterests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make habor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national, but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interest for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining

between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the free-dem of the workers of all nations, and in so standing it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a pos-sessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectua

inction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may ye

clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means o production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civili Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity

terests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, ex-cept in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be

TV.

The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The capitalns of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world in the world the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of emp rsal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trade d apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institution italist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization the Socialist movement comes as the only saying or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from claus, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist Party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the union for the common good of all its criticens. It is the first tive that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users: that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers: that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end: that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men. Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization the Socialist movem

The recomming devication of the relation of the relation of the positive and the relation of production are hand upon the relation of production and properties in the relation of production. It is relation to the relation of production and the production of the productivity, the relation of production and the production of the productivity, the relation of production and production, and the production of the relation of production and production is the short of production. It is relationally the relation of production and production is the short of production and the production of the relation of production. It is relationally the relation of production and the production of the relation of production. It is relationally the relation of production and the production and the relation of productio

THE GERMAN PLATFORM

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system: the lives of the working class are reck-

Private ownership of the means of projection and distribution is responsible for

duction and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of liveli-hood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and ware workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the

The economics development of industrial society tends inevitably to the ruin of small industries which are based upon the workman's private ownership of the means of production. It separates him from this means of production and converts him into a destitute member of the proletariat, whilst a comparatively small number of capitalists and great isnd-owners obtain a monopoly of the means of production. Hand in hand with this growing monopoly goes the crushing out of existence of these shattered small industries by industries of colossal growth, the development of the tool into the machine, and a gigantic increase in the productiveness of himan labor. But all the advantages of this revolution are monopolized by the opposite of the tool into the machine, and a gigan it is not a state of the production are monopolized by the opposite of the tool into the productiveness of himan labor. But all the advantages of this revolution are monopolized by the opposite of the tool into the production and the rapidly sinking middle class, the small tradesum of the towns and the peasant proprietors. However, the peasant proprietors the contrast in the peasant proprietors and continued in the contrast proprietors. The production are made oppositely of the town of the town of the town of the contrast of classes between oppositely into two hostile camps and is the common characteristic of every industrial country. The gulf between the propertied classes and the destitute is widened by the crisis arising from capitalist production, which becomes dally more comprehensive and omplotent, which makes universal uncertainty the normal condition of society, and which furnishes a proof that the forces of production have outgrown the existing social order, and that private ownership of the means of production has become incompatible with their full development and their proper application.

Private ownership of the means of production has become incompatible with their full development and their proper application.

Private ownership of the

carried on by and for society in the place of the present production of commodities for exchange, can effect such a revolution that, instead of the large industries and the steadily growing capacities of common production being, as hitherto, a source of misery and oppression to the classes whom they have despoiled, they may become a source of the highest well-being and of the most perfect and comprehensive has a source of the highest well-being and of the most perfect and comprehensive has a source of the highest well-being and of the most perfect and comprehensive has a source of the highest well-being and of the most perfect and comprehensive has a source of the highest well-being and of the most perfect and comprehensive have a common interaction. Subvate ownership of the mosas of production and have a common interact production and have a common interact in maintain.



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CAN FURNISH THE BEST POSSIBLE PROTECTION FOR THEM.

TALK WITH HIM

Have you yet contributed that Helf Day's Pay which has been asked by the National Committee from each Socialist or sympathizer some time during the month? If not please send it in.

One-third of the amount thus obtained sees to the Local, if any: one-third to the

State, and one-third to the National Cap-paign Fund. The sees you with a list, send if no one has seen you with a list, send if you contribution to this office and it will be duly accredited and distributed. Speak to your friends shout it also. Seeds the Composign Fund. E. E. MARTIN,

Editor The Socialist:

I do not feel very much like going into an extended argument, either as to my particular fitness or nonfitness for the office of national committeeman. To me it seems too much like an old-party bid for office. The comrades of the state ought to know exactly where I stand. I am for a working-class party, first, last and all the time. Having, been a wageworker all my life, and my father before me, I look to no other class to free the wageworkers. I hold the position, so often stated by "The Socialist:" "Those from outside the working class, but in sympathy with them, are welcome to the ranks of the Socialist Party, but they should come to us with the full knowledge that they must sink their immediate and little capitalist class interests and work for the advancement of working class interests alone." Purther, as a safeguard of this position, I believe that where other things are equal a wageworker should always be chosen as candidate and official of the Socialist Party.

As far as the office of the national

equal a wageworker should always be chosen as candidate and official of the Socialist Party.

As far as the office of the national committeeman is concerned, there should be some way devised whereby the members whom the committeeman is supposed to represent may instruct him how to vote on any question that may arise. Fraternally,

GEO. E. BOOMER.

I wish to add that I believe the confidence of the working class of the United States can never be gained if they see us going outside the ranks of the hona fide wageworkers for such officers as our national secretary, or in choosing candidates for high public offices. If the Socialist Party has not within its ranks members of the army of the proletariat with intelligence sufficient to fit them as 'he standard bearers of their own class, then the Socialist Party should refrain from making nominations until the workers are capable of conducting their own affairs. A political party always reflects the immediate material interests of those who control that party.

so, he must act in accordance with their convictions and wishes in so far as he is able to ascertain what these convictions are. He represents the collective or majority sentiment of the members in his state; he does not represent himself or anybody less than the party itself; his guiding rule of conduct is to be sought in the sentiments of his constituents, the rank and file of the party. (In the Socialist Party the rank and file includes us all, at least in Socialist theory; but conditions always have given and always will give to some individuals greater prominence and stronger influence than to other individuals; and, sentimentalize as much as we please over the no-leader idea, we must in our saner moments recognize that certain circumstances, such as the power of eléquence or rhetoric, the control of the party purse or the party press, the power of personality or diplomacy or a predominating self-interest more pregnant than the self-interest more pregnant than the self-interest of the individual many, must give to some

then the Socialist Party should refrain from making nominations until the workers are capable of conducting their own affairs. A political party always reflects the immediate material interests of those who control that party.

G. E. B.

COMRADE M'DEVITT'S STATE-MENT.

To the Socialist Party of Washington: In accordance with the suggestion of the editor of "The Socialist" that the two caudidates for the office of national committeeman state their position on national affairs, I take this opportunity of expressing my views.

1. First of all, the national committeeman is essentially a representative and not an executive officer, and he is the two caudidates for the office of national committeeman is essentially a representative and not an executive officer, and he is the two caudidates for the office of national committeeman is essentially a representative and not an executive officer, and he is that while I have never been anything else but a proletarian wageworker, and while personally I should have no fault to find with the principle that our party should always be controlled and officered by wageworkers alone, still I realize as true that this ideal may have to yield in places and at times to local environment, as all ideals must adapt them selves to actual conditions, and the party in certain localities may not be able to confine itself strictly to the principle of wage-workers control, but must allow itself to be governed, in part, at least, by nonwage-earning workers. But here as elsewhere the class conflict must be the compass and the rudder—our party the party of the exploited working class, and all other parties with absolutely no mission to emancipate the workers from wage slavery.

4. With respect to my views of what our party platform should be

no mission to emancipate the workers from wage slavery.

4. With respect to my views of what our party platform should be in this state at the present time permit me to refer to the Seattle or Washington platform which we have stood upon in several campaigns, and which has seen service in many other cities and states. This platform, conceived and written by myself three years ago, still expresses my conclusions as to the best working platform for cities and states in the earlier stage of their Socialist development—in that stage when education and distipline is everything and political cess practically nothing, if not, indeed, a danger. I am naturally glad to see that Washington still retains the working or program part of that platform as its standard in the present most significant campaign. And if the comrades will permit a digression here, I will say that there is one easy and obvious and inevitable answer to the shallow and inane criticism made by President Will and other equally veteran end equally scientific Socialists.

the party pure shally or diplomacy or presentality of diplomacy or pregnant than the self-interest of the individual many, must give to some of our contrades in the cause all the attributes if not the name and style of 'leaders.')

Whenever a representative finds himself unable to the conscientions where the interest of the working class and allow the members to choose a representative who will stand for their views wherever their views are ascertainable.

Hence all the actions of a national referredum and the members and the right to the refere endum cannot be withdrawn from the members, as I have always contended, the right to demand a referendum and the right not demand a referendum and the right not demand a referendum shift of the party that elected him, and it is done to the way of the party that elected him, and it is done to the right to appeal for you. A referendum by committeemen, if you do whish to use this right, no one else need appeal for light of appeal, and if you do whish to use this right, no one else need appeal for light of appeal for light of appeal, and if you do whish to use this right, no one else need appeal for light of appeal, and if you do whish to use this right, no one else need appeal for light of appeal, and if you do whish to use this right, no one else need appeal for light of appeal, and if you do whish to the whole the referendum by committeemen, if you represent me, for instance, in avertice the right to a peal for light of appeal, and if you do whish to use this right, no one else need appeal for light of appeal; and if you do whish to use this right, no one else need appeal for light of appeal, and if you do whish to use this right, no one else need appeal for light of appeal, and if you do whish to use this right, no one else need appeal for light of appeal, and if you do whish to use this right, no one else need a referendum all the profession of the referendum manely, that a referendum should all ways come from those who are going to vote on that referendum. If you have the right to appeal, nobody else should have the right to appeal for you, if you do not wish to use your right of appeal; and if you do wish to use that find, ho one else by the members, a referendum by locals should be demanded by the locals; a referendum by delegates should be demanded by the locals; a referendum by delegates should be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates; a referendum by delegates should be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by delegates abould be delegates; and the delegates abould be delegates; and the delegates abould be delegates; and the delegates; and the delegates; and the delegates; and the delegates; and

Prosser, Wash. June 12, 1904.

Editor The Socialist:

I do not feel very much like going into an extended argument, either as to my particular fitness or nonfitness for the office of national committees for the office of national committees and political candidates. I am in favor of new men for a work ing-class party first, last and all the time. Having been a wageworker all look to no other class to free the wageworkers. I hold the position, so often stated by "The Socialist: "Those from outside the working class, but in sympathy with them, are welcome to the ranks of the Socialist Party, but they are the first of the case of those offices of those offices of case of those offices which are in the nature of clerical or technical work without the power of the course of action of our change the course of action of our party must first create by education a demand among the members for such a change, and then these teachers and political candidates. I am in the offices of executives, representatives and political candidates. I am other words, every demand for any significant change in the tactics or program of the Socialist Party must committees, state committees, naticular the position of national executive come from the "core" or heart of the retention in office of such employees of the party as national secretary, state secretaries, and similar of ficers, when the holders of these of fices have shown faithful and efficient and single-minded devotion to duty.

3. I favor the most complete state in the nature of clerkal or change the course of action of a demand among the endured party must first create by education and emmand and act in accord with it; in other words, every demand for any significant change in the tactics or program of the Socialist Party must committees, naticular and single minded devotion to duty.

3. I favor the most complete which are in the chircle or change the course of action of a d the head of the party, this head being composed of prominent members who may be simply reflecting unconsciously or consciously their own personal material interests. The collective membership is the mass to which the "leaders" should gravitate; the prominent individuals should be satellites of the Socialist sun or central body; they must not expect to be the sun and to swing the party around their radiant heads as their shining satellites.

5. In conclusion let me say that I do not submit these remarks with any

fices have shown faithful and efficient and single-minded devotion to duty.

3. I favor the most complete state autonomy possible, so far as such autonomy does not affect the purity of our revolutionary principles—the principles (a) of the class struggle; (b) no fusion, no compromise, no political trading; (c) absolute working-class or proletarian party; (d) the recognition of the fact that the Socialist Party must stand primarily for the whole revolution in dueseason and only secondarily for something now or for a little here and there—the immediate demand is simply an incident, the ultimate demand is the essential, the formative and determining soul of our movement.

I recognize, however, two inevitable facts. The first is that whenever any lemand for new standpoints or new "points of view" comes solidly from the rank and file in an irressistible cry for a broadening or expansion of our policy or tactics, then and not till then is the time surely ripe for the party to modify its platform and its program; but such modification should and to come in advance of a clear demand for it by the rank and file, and in view of an almost universally recognize that the time surely ripe for the party to modify its platform and its program; but such modification should and to come in advance of a clear demand for it by the rank and file, and in view of an almost universally recognized need of the times. The second is that while I have never been anyworker, and while personally I should

the nomination my name would probably never have gone before the convention. Certainly I was surprised when my name was placed in nomination, and I was amazed to see the result of the rising vote. I then expressly inquired of many of the members with I was ablested and I members and I was ablested and I members. bers why I was selected, and I was told that the sentiment seemed to be against electing a member for a third term to the same office. Hence I re-luctantly permit my name to stand, although I may venture the remark that the comrades of this state have term to the same office. Hence been well represented by Comrades Boomer, and I am convinced that if he is re-elected he will again serve the interests of our party faithfully and efficiently.

efficiently.
Yours for the cause that is always right, and for the one class that, so long as there are classes, must always be the right class.

WILLIAM M'DEVITT.

Comrade McDevitt has fatroduced so many points that we feel at liberty to comment on three of them.

First. It is not clear to us why re-election is a bad thing for such an officer as National Committeeman, and a good thing for such as National officer as National Committeeman, and a good thing for such as National Secretary. It is more easy to remove a National Committeeman if he goes wrong than a National Secretary, while the Secretary has far more power and far more opportunity to establish a dictatorial influence and set up a machine. It seems to us a good rule to select the man best fitted for the place, whether it is his first or second or third election. If he has shown a disposition to assume power, that shows he is unfit for re-election. Second. Is it indeed true, when a Socialist official is elected, that his Local is better qualified to direct his

Local is better qualified to direct his public course—that is, to decide what is to the interest of the working class— than the whole National Party?

Spokane to reorganize along the old lines.

WASHINGTON DATES.

Bellingham, July 1, 2: Lynden (county convention, July 3; Ferndale, July 4: North Bellingham School House, near Poor Parm, July 5. Other north and west dates must be spoken for at once, as we must conserve expenses in traveling by making a connected route. The itinerary will be ammounced next week, when it is hoped the antire list can be given. Most of the dates have been spoken for, as only July dates are available.

Poaters have not yet come to hand, but will be forwarded at the earliest moment on their arrival. Com. Oaborn goes from the extreme north to south and west, through Skagit, Shohomish, King, Pierce, Thurston, Chehnila, Pacific, Lewis, Cowlitz, Wakhkakum, Clark, and winding up with six dates in Skamania.

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THE SUPERIOR COURT OF KING ounty, State of Washington. ames McGregor, Plaintiff, vs. Elia Meagor, Defendant. Summons for Publican. No.—

James McGregor, Plaintiff, vs. Ella McGreagor, Defendant. Summons for Publication. No. — and Ella McGreagor, defendant: Summons and Ella McGreagor, defendant:
You are hereby summoned to appear within sixty days after the date of the first publication of this summons, to-wit: within sixty days from the 8th day of May, 1904, and defend the above entitled action in the above entitled court, and answer the complaint of the plaintiff, and serve a copy of your answer upon the attorneys for plaintiff at their office below stated; and in case of your failure so to do, judgment will be rendered against you according to the demands of the complaint, which has been filed with the clerk of this Court.

This action is brought by the plaintiff or the purpose of obtaining a divorce from

This action is brought by the plaintiff for the purpose of obtaining a divorce from the; defendant upon the ground that the defendant has abandoned and deserted the plaintiff for more than one year before the commencement of this action without any cause or reason therefor,

RICHARD WINSOR and EDGAR S. HADLEY,

RICHARD WINSOR and EDGAR S. HADLEY,

Attorneys for Plaintiff.

Office and P. O. Address, Room 78, Sullivan Building, Seattle, King County,

Washington.

First publication, May 8, 1904.

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF KING County, State of Washington, Clara Colburn, Plaintiff, vs. Charles Colburn, Deefndant, Summons for Publication, No. 43.128.

State of Washington to the said Charles Colburn, Defendant:
You are hereby summoned to appear within sixty days after the date of the first publication of this summons, to-wit: within sixty days from the 19th day of June, 1994, and defend the mbove entitled action in the above entitled Court, and answer the complaint of the Plaintiff, and serve a copy of your answer upon the Attorneys for the Plaintiff at their office below stated, and in case of your fallure so to do, judgment will be rendered against you recording to the demands of the complaint which has been filed with the clerk of said Court.

That this action is brought for the nur-

BICHARD WINSOR,
CEDGAR S. HADLEY.
Office and P. O. address, Room 75 Sullivan
Building, Seattle, King County, Washington.

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