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# The Socialist

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THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER  
A CARTOON WEEKLY

TO ORGANIZE THE SLAVES OF CAPITAL TO VOTE THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION

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## THE REAL UNCLE SAM—HIS FATE



THE STORY OF THE CAMEL WHO WANTED TO GET HIS NOSE IN.

According to the old legend, a camel once applied to the door of a tent for shelter, saying, "Oh, worthy Shiek, give me shelter, I pray you." "I have no room," answered the master of the tent, "but I'll protect you this much—you may put your nose in my tent." When the camel got his nose in the tent, the thought came to him that he might as well take possession of the tent—which he did.

### MIDDLE CLASS SOCIALISTS IN OREGON

The "Broad" Socialists, the "Christian" Socialists, the "New Thought" Socialists, and the "Middle Class" "just as good a Socialist as you are" claim you are narrow-minded while they are working for the cause of humanity.

It is best for the growth of a strong organization that this element in the Socialist Party be understood.

In Oregon this "Utopian" Socialism has held full sway, 41 locals being organized during the hurrah of the last campaign, most of them dying soon after. Direct Legislation Leagues were attracting more notice among the Socialists than Socialism. And the initiative and referendum was the principal topic under discussion and anyone that dared to show that it was simply a ruse of the capitalist parties to side track us, was hooted down as an enemy of Socialism. The public school system, postal system and public roads were the principal examples of Socialism. If the working class was spoken of, it was with an expression of sympathy. The prevailing sentiment was that the working

class must depend upon the middle-class for advisers and leaders. We must all admit that this condition is surely deplorable and hasten to inquire as to the cause of it. These people have received their ideas concerning Socialism from "The Appeal to Reason" and the literature that it advertised, also from lectures on "The Inspired Life" and broad-minded Socialists who pride themselves on their ability to reach all classes, especially the capitalist class and who point with pride at our postal and school systems as living examples of what Socialism will do. The only reason that this middle class Socialism and its teachers did not create a split here on a fusion or compromise deal as was the case in San Francisco, Spokane, Utah and Denver or deliberate case of accepting bribes as in Montana and Nebraska, was that there was no working class element in the party to attempt to hold them in line, so they voted for the best man in all parties, there being but few straight Socialist votes.

It is becoming noticeable that the lines are being drawn and "birds of a feather are flocking together," papers and speakers are lining up, some standing up for a working class program, others getting on the "broad" plan of abolishing the class character

of their program simply working for votes.

The policy of this latter element has ended in disruption wherever they have been able to get control, and although being expelled for their traitorous actions we find them still being supported by the "Middle Class" element among our papers and speakers in opposition to the regular party organization.

The time is coming when the rank and file of the party membership will refuse to countenance such actions whether it be by an editor, a National Committeeman, or a prominent speaker—"The Liberator."

#### GOOD ECONOMICS FROM "LIFE."

In declining to place any obstacle in the way of the employment of very little girls in factories, the Legislature of Pennsylvania stands up manfully for the fullest measure of industrial progress. Sociologists long ago discovered that the younger the operative is, the less it costs, in proportion to his availing working strength, to keep his body and soul together. That is to say, children are the cheapest help in the world.

This is a wise provision of nature, and good for many millions of national wealth, provided all legislatures are as discerning and as brave as the Legislature of Pennsylvania.—"Life," June 18, 1903.

Brother to the Ox—Why is it that I work hard and have nothing, while you don't work at all and have more than you need?

Brother to the Fox—I vote for my interest, while you, instead of voting for your interests, vote the same ticket that I do.

Brother to the Ox—I don't understand why, if we vote the same ticket, I don't get half of the benefits.

Brother to the Fox—I know you don't understand it. That is the reason you don't get half of the benefits.—Exchange.

The editor of "The Socialist" begs the indulgence of his readers and of Comrade Untermyer as well, for the further delay in publishing the continuation of the Farmer Debate. Untermyer's part is all done and has been for weeks. Illness in the editor's family and an immense pressure of outside work has not given him a single waking hour of leisure all this last month.

#### CONVENTION ANNOUNCEMENT.

Tacoma, Wash., June 24, 1903.

As Tacoma is the place of the convention on July 4th, Local Tacoma has engaged Foresters Hall, corner of Pacific avenue and 11th street, for the occasion, and we are in hopes of seeing all locals represented.

J. W. SMITH, Chairman.  
J. V. MUDGETT, Secretary.

### NEWS AND NOTES

The Western Federation of Miners is one of the richest labor organizations in the world. It has 75,000 members and \$3,000,000 in its treasury.—Exchange.

One year ago, the American Labor Union, which is committed to class-conscious action on the political field, had only 18,000 direct members, and 70,000 affiliated members. It now has 70,000 direct members and 200,000 affiliated. The workers are getting their eyes open very rapidly.

The Socialists of Denmark gained two seats in the parliament at the recent election. The minister of finance lost his seat to a Socialist.

The Socialists of Stockholm, Sweden, have elected their first member of the city council in the person of Comrade Bloomberg, president of Machinists' Union.

The Emperor of Austria has instructed his army officers to take severe measures to check the alarmingly rapid increase of Socialism in the army. Mother Partridge should send him her little broom.

An article in these columns on "Who Pays Wages?" by A. M. Simons, should have been credited to "Boyce's Weekly," alias "The Decoy Weekly," a paper which publishes enough good things to mislead workmen.

Secretary Critchlow, of Ohio, is acting as a Lecture Bureau for a number of high-priced Socialist speakers. He does not confine his appointments to his own field of Ohio, but is making dates all over the country. In some cities, where he fails to get the consent of the regular organization of the Socialist Party, he sends in one of his speakers under the auspices of expelled members or of opposition "Socialists." In this way, he comes into direct conflict with the party, acting exactly like Mills in this respect. When it is remembered that Critchlow was the defeated Mills candidate for the National Secretaryship, this upbuilding of a rival Lecture Bureau of national proportions, looks ominous, quite like Mills' own aggressive acts in pushing himself into cities where Locals refuse to receive him.

The latest returns from the German election give the Socialists a gain of 25 seats in the Reichstag, or a total of 81 seats. This may be increased by later returns. The main thing, however, to be kept in mind, is the increase in the popular vote of nearly 300,000 in the past five years. Should a proportionate gain be made in the next five years, the Emperor Billee, and all of his ilk in the German empire will be out of jobs.

"The Independent Labor League," organized by an Albany, N. Y., preacher called Rev. E. M. Fairchild, ostensibly with the purpose of conciliation between employers and employees, has developed already into a full fledged scab agency and strike breaker, and is offering its services to employees with strikes on hand. Class-conscious workers alone are aware that there is no possibility of harmonizing the interests of capitalists and the workers.

The strike of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees on the Canadian Pacific Railroad has been settled to the advantage of the Brotherhood. It has been a long strike and the N. B. R. E. has fought a good fight, and is to be congratulated on the result.

From the A. L. U. Journal we glean that at Oxnard, in Southern California, where the great sugar beet works are located, the Japanese were the first to organize a union, to hold jubilee meetings to unite the workers and urging them to strike for a fair wage. Afterwards when the hired assassins of the corporate interests fired upon the unarmed union men, killing one and wounding others, Japanese and Mexican blood poured out together. But when the Japanese union applied for a charter in the A. L. U., Sammy Gompers refused them. This decided the Mexican unions not to accept an A. F. of L. charter. In making such an extraordinary ruling President Gompers has violated the expressed principles of the A. F. of L. which states that race, color, religion or nationality shall be no bar to fellowship in the American Federation of Labor.

#### "LET ALL UNIONS FALL IN LINE."

Fargo, N. D., June 21, 1903.

"The Socialist."

Dear Comrades:—I am instructed to inform you that The Journeymen Tailors' Union, Local No. 237 of Fargo, N. D., at the last regular meeting, by regular vote, endorsed the Socialist National platform.

Fraternally yours,

C. A. HEDLUND,  
Secretary.

Comrade Wm. McDevitt speaks at Carpenters' Hall Sunday evening, July 5th.



REMARKS OF JAMES J. HILL, CAPITALIST.

Says Capital to Labor: "We must be friends, and the sooner you find it out the better for you!"

"Let by-gones be by-gones and shake. I will forget how much financial loss you have caused me. I will forget the many strikes against me (which forced prices up and yielded a tremendous profit.) I will even forget the attempts to destroy my property and the many sleepless nights you have caused me in my anxiety to defend that property. In short, I will forget everything if you'll only shake. Come lay your head on my breast while I continue to pick your pockets, and I will love you still."

"How much I love you no one but myself knows,—so much that I never want to lose you. And I love your wives and children also. I love them enough to let them work for me. I will take them to my heart and let them work in factories and sweat-shops while you stay at home and wash dishes and tend the babies. Now isn't that a soft snap?"

"By the way, you mustn't have too many babies, for there are getting to be too many of you, and your howling disturbs my rest nights. In fact I think it would be better if only about one out of ten of you would marry. There are those who believe that a workingman has no business to marry at all, but I don't go as far as that, for if there should be no one to take your places, how would my sons and daughters and their sons and daughters get any shelter and clothes or anything to eat? They couldn't work, you know; they're not used to it!"

"Now, there's poor Lord Lipton, who has to build a yacht every year or two. How could he build yachts and live in a palace if he couldn't continue to get young girls to work in tea factories for a few cents a day?"

"By the time he builds Shamrock No. 49 he'll need a good many young girls in the tea factories to keep him going, and a man who builds so many yachts (even though he builds them out of the blood of young girls) is a real benefactor to the working class, for think of the amount of money he gives in wages in building and sailing the yachts! John D. Rockefeller, one of the workingman's best friends, thanks the Lord every day for the privilege he has had in giving away so many millions to the honest workingman in the form of wages."

"Has the workingman given him anything? Certainly not! And there are the steel works. How many of my sons do you think I could get to work in a temperature nearing the boiling point at an average of \$2 a day? And the coal mines, who would work them? Why you couldn't get a son of mine to sit on the outside of a mine, let alone working miles underground at the risk of his life for an average wage of 78 cents a day. Why, do you think he's a fool? So it's easy to see that you workingmen must marry (that is, some of you must), to keep us going."

"But I wish to show you that it is necessary for your sake that we be on friendly terms, and in the words of that great and glorious Jim Hill, the sooner you find it out the better for you. And why?"

"I could get along (though I should hate to) without yachts, and automobiles and race horses and the rest; but, tell me, how could you get along without food and shelter and clothes? Have you tried that yet? Well, look out; you'll have to one of these days—if you don't hurry up and get on friendly terms with me. I own everything! I own even you. I also own your wives and children. If I own the earth and all the people on it, including the guns to shoot you down, if you object to anything I say or do, what can you do? Can't you begin to see that it is best for you to be on friendly terms with me? Surely you're not such fools as to think you can change the order of things. They have always been this way, and they always will be. In the words of scripture: "The poor ye have always with you." Showing that God Himself is on our side as well as the guns. But there's one thing that will bring you to terms, my man (and I should think your many unsuccessful strikes would have taught you that long ago), and that is the necessity of eating to escape dying. There are a few men who would rather starve than to come to my terms—but they do not form the majority; and then there are the women and children! You may be able to starve yourselves, but how about the children and the little innocent babies? I have known of some of the children of workingmen who actually starved to death in the panic of 1893, and though the fathers were only workmen they seemed to feel almost as bad as I would under similar circumstances."

"But you can't expect me to care for your children. No, I'll work them to death or starve them to death as I choose, and that's just what I will do with the whole lot of you before I'll give up any part of my property—be it land, mines, railroads, mills, factories, lawyers, ministers, the press, courts, legislatures, armies or governments. So let us cease fighting each other. Let us be friends. And don't forget to vote for me in 1904. It will be best for you. See?"

AUNT SALLY.

### MILLS AT SEATTLE

Prof. Mills spoke last Tuesday night in the Seattle Armory to about 1,000 people. In this speech he did a number of things.

First, He made a very entertaining address concerning Parry and the Unions. He made a particularly effective exposure of the new Military Bill which enrolls every able-bodied citizen in the United States, declaring, "this law makes the United States government a more damnable despotism than exists or has existed on earth for 5,000 years."

His speech was a capital one, abounding in capital hits and his audience heartily applauded him. There was scarcely a sentence in it with which any Socialist could disagree.

Second, In his answers to questions, he made a determined effort to square himself with respect to the class-struggle, taking occasion at the same

time to call the editor of "The Socialist" a few affectionate names such as "an ass" and "a fool" and "a liar." He almost succeeded in making an unequivocal declaration on the subject of the class-struggle, and he did explicitly accept the language used by Liebknecht and Vail, as quoted against him in last week's issue of "The Socialist."

In answer to a question sent up by someone: "Is the class-struggle the central feature in the Socialist program?" He replied "No"; explaining that the class-struggle cannot be a program at all.

It would appear that the exact language used by "The Socialist" had escaped both Mills and this questioner of his. We have always used one precise expression and a phraser like Mills ought not to fall to quote it (Continued on Page Two)



# A RIDICULOUS DEBATE

NATIONAL ECONOMIC LEAGUE AGAIN.

The Kellogg Comedy Continues—Debate with Hickey at Everett, Wash. Vivid Report by an Eye Witness.

"An exhibition of opera bouffe" is the only expression which can properly characterize the extraordinary performance of Rev. Dr. Kellogg, paid agent of the National Economic League, in his debate with Comrade Thomas A. Hickey, in Everett, last Sunday. The audience that filled the Labor Temple on that occasion came there expecting to hear an economic argument. The reverend gentleman has for some time been posing as a representative of the capitalist position, divinely commissioned to show Socialists the error of their ways. His methods are confined to a most preposterous biblical exegesis, combined with almost incredible insults to the entire working class. In Everett, he fully lived up to the undesirable reputation acquired by him in Seattle.

Comrade H. P. Whartenby presided at the meeting, which was mainly composed of non-Socialists. The truth of this statement is evident from the fact that there were about 300 present, while the total Socialist vote of Everett at the last election was only about 65. The class-conscious spirit is notoriously deficient among the workmen of this city. Never was better material for an opponent of Socialism to work on. The audience, as a whole, was prepared to listen impartially to facts and logic on either side.

Comrade Hickey opened with a description of the historic development of society along economic lines, proceeding with a careful analysis of modern capitalism, and a clear-cut definition of the aims and methods of the Socialist movement. Those who have heard Comrade Hickey need not be told that his treatment of the subject was masterly and convincing. The audience was visibly influenced by his forcible array of unchallengeable facts, and the irresistible logic with which he fortified his position.

Rev. Dr. Kellogg was given a hearty welcome; and his opening statements were received with close attention. But this could not last long. When one Munchausen yarn after another flowed from the lips of the reverend gentleman, and it became evident that his entire case consisted of an obsolete theology and an insulting contempt for the working class, signs of

indignation began to appear. These, however, soon gave way to inextinguishable laughter. It is impossible long to be angry with the grotesque antics of a clown. Not even in the same man's Seattle performance, was there a greater display of the most colossal ignorance and conceit. Not one economic fact was enunciated by him in the entire course of the discussion. Not a single attempt did he make to answer one of Comrade Hickey's arguments or to assail any real principle of Socialism. With a deal of bluster, but not a scrap of evidence, he was forced to experience one of the most humiliating defeats ever administered to a public debater. The entire audience went over to Comrade Hickey. If a single individual took the reverend ignoramus seriously, or sympathized with his hopeless position, he had sufficient sense of shame to keep very quiet about it.

One dramatic incident occurred at the close of the capitalist hireling's final speech. He had charged that it was the teaching of Karl Marx that Socialism would disrupt the home and destroy all family ties. Comrade Hickey demanded his authority for this monstrous calumny. The reverend slanderer was thrown into confusion, and stammered that he did not know where it could be found in the writings of Marx, but he had seen something about it somewhere in an unidentified copy of the "Appeal to Reason!" He will not soon forget the seathing rebuke he received amid tumultuous acclamations of the entire assemblage. No unparliamentary language was used; but there could not be the faintest doubt that he was branded as a dastardly liar in the mind of every person present. As previously in Seattle, Dr. Kellogg dared to say in so many words: "Socialism will breed a race of bastards, to be bond servants of the state." Of course, this insult was hissed, as it deserved to be. Argument is one thing, and indecent abuse is another; nor can a clerical, garb protect a cowardly cur from the contempt and loathing of all decent and honest men and women.

It would take all the space of the "Socialist" to give a full account of the numberless absurdities of the reverend debater. If he said one sensible thing during the entire discussion, it was wrung from him against his will. He repeated the wretched lie that vice slavery lay at the root of all the suffering of the working class. He cited the statistics of liquor sell-

ing, gambling and prostitution, and actually charged it ALL on the wage workers! This was too much; and it is safe to say that even the hardened cheek of this venal tool of capitalism mantled with the blush of shame, as he winced under Comrade Hickey's crushing reply. Again, he referred to Moses as the author of the wage system, to the undignified amusement of his hearers. (He had, by the way, begun his statement by complaining that Comrade Hickey had too much to say about history!) He admitted that the laborer should receive all that he produces, and aroused a tempest of laughter by claiming that this actually takes place today, and that the millionaire becomes wealthy through appreciated values, without exploitation and with no corresponding loss to anybody! He declared that the working class had only to be industrious and to abstain from vice, in order to be able to buy all the tools of production. The illustrations with which he en-

forced these astounding claims were puerile and absurd almost beyond conception. Dr. Kellogg, while a glaring failure as a lecturer and debater, has a great future awaiting him on the vaudeville stage. There alone can such peculiar talents as he possesses receive adequate appreciation. For the sake of the Socialist propaganda, however, it is to be hoped that he will not soon be withdrawn from the platform. Wherever he goes, the Socialist movement gains accessions. Before the Everett debate, the reorganized local contained only seven members. After the debate, a business meeting was held, at which ten more were admitted, with a number of others in prospect. Good Socialist tactics will include the continued encouragement of Kellogg, whose mountainous vanity is proof against successive defeats and universal public contempt.

A NON-SOCIALIST.

## STIRRING QUOTATIONS FROM LIEBKNECHT.

Omaha, Neb., June 14th, 1903.

To the Editor of the "Socialist."

Dear Comrade:—When Comrade W. T. Mills was in Omaha recently and later in his speech in Denver, published in the "Alliance," he made the statement that he had never read in any Socialist book that the "class struggle" was the central feature of the Socialist movement. I would like to call his attention to the following, taken from Liebknecht's "No Compromise, no political trading," page 34, under "Socialism and Ethics." (Should be read by every Socialist just now. 10 cents, sent to Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill.—Ed.)

Liebknecht on "The Class Struggle." Pity for poverty, enthusiasm for equality and freedom, recognition of social injustice and a desire to remove it, is not Socialism. Condemnation of wealth and respect for poverty, such as we find in Christianity and other religions, is not Socialism.

The Communism of early times, as it was before the existence of private property, and as it has been at all times and among all peoples, the delusive dream of some enthusiasts, is not Socialism.

The forcible equalization advocated by the followers of Babeuf, the so-called Equalitarians, is not Socialism.

In all these appearances there is lacking the real foundation of capitalist society with its class antagonisms. Modern Socialism is the child of capitalist society and its class antagonisms.

(This is the feature which Mills will not or cannot embrace—according as his material interest is affected.)

Without these it could not be. Socialism and ethics are two separate things. (Another feature which Mills is mixed on.) This fact must be kept in mind.

Whoever conceives of Socialism in the sense of a sentimental, philanthropic striving after human equality, with no idea of the existence of capitalist society, is no Socialist in the sense of the class struggle, without which Modern Socialism is unthinkable.

To be sure Bernstein is nominally for the class struggle. In the same manner as the Hessian peasant is for "the Republic and the Grand Duke." Whoever has come to a full consciousness of the nature of capitalist society and the foundation of modern Socialism, knows also that a Socialist movement that leaves the basis of the class struggle may be anything else, but it is not Socialism.

This foundation of the class struggle, which Marx—and this is his immortal service—has given to the modern labor movement, is the main point of attack in the battle which the bourgeois political economy is waging with Socialism.

The political economists deny the class struggle and would make of the labor movement only a part of the bourgeois party movements, and the Social Democracy only a division of the bourgeois Democracy.

The bourgeois political economy and politics direct all their exertions against the class character of the modern labor movement. If it were possible to create a breach in this bulwark, in this citadel of the Social Democracy, then the Social Democracy is conquered, and the proletariat thrown back under the dominion of capitalist society.

However small such a breach may be in the beginning, the enemy has the power to widen it and the certainty of final victory. AND THE ENEMY IS MOST DANGEROUS WHEN HE COMES AS A FRIEND TO THE FORTRESS, WHEN HE SLINKS IN UNDER THE COVER OF FRIENDSHIP, AND IS RECOGNIZED AS A FRIEND AND COMRADE.

The enemy who comes to us with open visor we face with a smile; to set our foot upon his neck is mere play for us.

The stupidly brutal acts of violence of police politicians, the outrages of anti-Socialist laws, the anti-revolution laws, penitentiary bills—these only arouse feeling of pitying contempt; the enemy, however, that reaches out the hand to us for a political alliance, and intrudes himself upon us as a friend and brother—him and him alone have we to fear.

Our fortress can withstand every assault—it can not be stormed nor taken from us by siege. It can only fall when we ourselves open the doors to the enemy and take him into our ranks as a fellow comrade. Growing out of the class struggle, our party rests upon the class struggle as a condition of its existence.

Through and with that struggle the party is unconquerable; without it the party is lost, for it will have lost the source of its strength.

Whoever fails to understand this or thinks that the class struggle is a dead issue, or that class antagonisms are gradually being effaced, stands upon the basis of bourgeois philosophy.

Yours fraternally,

JAS. J. CONDON.

There is one thing the working class must learn, and that is not to depend on leaders or those "higher up" to do the heavy work, or any great part of the work in the struggle for emancipation from wage-slavery. Man's material interests determine his ethics, and the material interests of the capitalist are, in conserving his fortune at the expense of all who are in the way of that end; the interest of the farmer is in securing his farm to himself no matter what happens to anybody else; and the interest of the leader is in keeping those that follow blind

to their own reason, and strong only in blind obedience to his will. The workers can never hope for anything from these. The farmer makes a good fighter when he loses his farm, and the capitalist is often times useful when he loses his capital, but not until they are members of the working class, with material interests identical with that class, will they fight for and with that class and come to victory in the end as an inherent part of that class. The regeneration of the world rests with the workers; let them see to it what they do.—E. B. Ault, editor "The Young Socialist."

## MILLS ARTICLE

(Continued from Page One)

precisely. Our expression has been: "The class-struggle is the central element in the Socialist political program." We did not suppose any one would think that meant the Socialist statutes, that is, the Socialist legislative program. Our "political program" means our program for conducting political warfare, our program for getting together a political party. What we have been contending for is that the class-struggle between capital and labor is and must be the basis, the central element in that political program.

We wish we could believe that Prof. Mills had only failed to understand our expression and meaning. But why then has he been silent for eight months and never written a word of denial or explanation? It is eight months since we asked him or his friends to point out anywhere in his writings any expression affirming the class-struggle to be the basis of our political program, and they have been silent.

Why, too, has he said that "No Socialist teacher ever said what we said?" Has he not understood what we meant? We never meant that Socialist enactments after they obtain possession of the powers of government would be the class-struggle. That would be absurd and meaningless. Of course what Mills states as the program for our victorious party to carry out, is correct. We shall take possession of the means of producing the means of life and administer them democratically, etc.

But that is not our present and political program, which is, rather, the formation of a compact political organization out of workmen whose common interests shall hold them together till victory is won. That means our political tactics, our essential course of action as politicians, as political strategists. The essential element in these tactics is the class-struggle between wage laborers and capitalists.

Does Mills agree with this? All elaborate explanations are unnecessary. A single sentence would be sufficient, like this, for example: "I advocate the building of the Socialist Party on the basis of the class-struggle, just as stated in our National platform." One single, flat-footed statement like that, would settle all the controversy. Why does he not make it?

We again offer him these columns to make any statement he sees fit on this subject. Third, He raised an issue of veracity between himself and Local San Francisco. He denied saying: "Thank God, I do ignore the class-struggle," and vehemently declared, "It is a lie, and the man who printed it knew it was a lie."

As to the latter accusation, the editor of "The Socialist" believed it the truth when he printed it, and is still compelled to say that the preponderance of evidence favors its truth. Comrades Appel and Shenken, Chairman and Secretary of Local San Francisco, sent us an official communication from that Local over its official seal, which is printed elsewhere. Here is a direct and irreconcilable conflict of testimony, one man against many men.

Bearing on this question is the dilemma of Mills at Seattle. Here he faced an audience who must have an acceptance of the working-class program or the speaker would be dead as dead with the whole crowd. The Seattle crowd of Socialists would tolerate no explanation or evasion. There was nothing to do but confess or deny. Mills denied and impeached Local San Francisco's truthfulness. You can take your choice.

Fourth, His veracity was again put to the test in answer to the question: "Why do you co-operate with discredited or expelled members of the Socialist Party?"

In the most explicit and emphatic manner, he denied that he ever did or ever would do such a thing.

This is in face of the fact that he went to Omaha under the direction of members both expelled and discredited and against the protest of the party Local.

It was in face of the facts, too, as stated in Local San Francisco's official communication concerning his recent lecture in that city.

And in face of the fact that he goes to Spokane this week advertised by expelled members of the party in this state.

Fifth, A remarkable feature of this speech was Mills' admission that he wrote his Lessons in Socialism before he had read extensively in Socialist literature. His words were: "I wrote these lessons when a large portion of

# MILLS AT FRISCO—LATEST EVIDENCE

## LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO TESTIFIES

In order that comrades of the country may see Walter Thomas Mills in his true character, and in view of his actions in Omaha prior to his visit to this city, and the disruption that he tried to bring about here, Local San Francisco feels it is their duty as staunch adherents to our Party and its uncompromising policy to emphatically denounce and blazon to the world the contemptible work of the National Committeeman from Kansas. We have in our city about twenty people who call themselves Local San Mateo county, who were all staunch adherents of Fusion. They resigned from our Local while under charges and formed this little Local (?), holding propaganda meetings in this city in opposition to us. Although the city and county of San Francisco are one and San Mateo county is outside and has nothing to do with San Francisco. When Mills was arranging for his tour in this state—he a National Committeeman of the Party—instead of notifying Local San Francisco of the regular Socialist Party, with its 475 members, that he would like to speak under their auspices, entered into an agreement to speak for these other people whom we consider Rebels and Traitors to the Party. And the first intimation we got officially of his coming was when his committee—Backus and Walker—had the cheek to appear before us, saying he was to speak in the Alhambra Theatre and asked us to aid in the meeting. Local San Francisco at once appointed a committee of three to write to Mills, placing the case fairly before him, and asking him if he came here to put himself under the jurisdiction of our Local and we would arrange meetings for him. We got an answer evading all the main points in which he said his dates were arranged and for us to help make the meeting a success, and we would make the Golden State first in the Socialist ranks. The committee again wrote him, saying that was no answer, and if he persisted in speaking for these people we would be compelled to denounce him and demand his resignation as National Committeeman from Kansas. We got no answer to this letter, which was registered. But got a card through the postoffice which he had signed as receiving the letter. On Sunday, the 14th, we were holding our evening propaganda meeting when in came Mills and a lot of his satellites with what was evidently a pre-arranged plan to capture the meeting for Mills. They violated all the rules of the meeting by howling and yelling for Mills, who got the plat-

form. But alas, for the little Giant, the audience, who saw through his rule or ruin policy, gave him very faint applause. Comrade Costley then took the floor and exposed Mills, telling the audience what he had done and was trying to do against the Working-Class movement. The applause was tremendous. And when Costley said that this was a Proletarian movement, and the Proletarians would and could run their own movement despite the middle-class and people who would use it for their own ends, the hall fairly rang with cheers. The Mills gang again tried their noise and yelling, when they were promptly ejected. The meeting ended in a victory for the Proletarians and Mills and his cohorts went away disconsolate. On Wednesday evening, the 17th, Mills had a meeting in the Alhambra Theatre, and he—a member of our National Committee, our highest governing body—had for his chairman a member of another political party—The Union Labor Party. During Mills' speech he said he was accused of ignoring the class-struggle. And he said "Thank God, I do. The class-struggle has been in existence for ten thousand years, and the class-struggle has nothing to do with Socialism, but Socialism has something to do with the class-struggle." He further said we had a lot of kickers who, like Manufacturer Parry, are kicking at the old system, and we don't want kickers in the Socialist movement, but men with brains and hands, and not narrow-minded kickers. Thus showing the "Seattle Socialist" to be correct as regards its attitude on the class-struggle, and his hatred and contempt for straight Proletarians by calling them kickers when they exposed his trickery. Comrades, you have read the experience of Nebraska with Mills. You can see how similar our case is. The chief danger we have is from would-be leaders, who would manipulate the party for their own ends. The Proletarians must educate themselves, must be their own teachers. Our movement is based on the class-struggle and as Liebknecht says, remove that and we have no Socialist Party. What do you think of a National Committeeman and principal of a Socialist College of Economy who ignores it, thus setting at defiance our National and International movement? Close up the ranks, Proletarians; the class-struggle is here, the battle is to be fought and you alone can win it.

BY ORDER LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO  
I. SHENKEN, Secretary.  
ALVIN APPEL, Chairman.

Socialist literature was unknown to me. I do not claim to be an authority in history or science of economics." Yet he is principal of "The International School of Social Economy."

He also promised that when the lessons were rewritten, no well informed Socialist would find anything in them to find fault with. He implied that the new edition would contain a more satisfactory statement covering the class-struggle, though he read several passages from the old which mention the class-struggle and one at least which speaks of Socialism as seeking to form a political organization of workmen. In respect to these passages, we again invite him

to use these columns, to give them in full. Sixth, His endorsement of the language of Liebknecht and Vall quoted in last week's issue of this paper, if sincere and permanent, places Walter Thomas Mills, with all his conspicuous ability as teacher and orator, on the side of working class Socialism. For this no one will rejoice more heartily than "The Socialist."

BLACK DIAMOND NOTICE.  
WARNING—D. H. Hawkes is not authorized to take subscriptions for The Socialist.

## HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF



## THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. IN 1856.

Charged with "Free Love," Just Like the Socialist Party Today—But They Elected Lincoln in 1856.

Editor "Socialist."

The statement recently made by the Rev. Kellogg at the Grand Opera house, Seattle, that Socialists were free lovers, carried me back—way back to the central Mississippi valley and the first presidential contest of the Republican Party, with John C. Fremont as its gallant leader.

The political pulse ran high, and in my uncle's family might have caused serious dissensions had not uncle been one of the best natured of men.

He was postmaster and placed upon the wall of his office, in the most conspicuous place, a large picture of which the accompanying cut is a faithful reproduction.

Uncle was a constitutional pro-

slavery Democrat, while aunt was a New England woman, with avowed abolition sentiments.

Whenever she heard a mingling of voices, and hilarious laughter, she readily divined the cause, and, preceded by their little daughter, would quietly enter, when after the laughter had mostly subsided she would very sweetly ask: "Annie, what is that picture?" "Why, that's—my—paw!" If they were hilarious before, there were roars and shrieks now.

To the lasting credit of the Republican Party be it said: They did not retaliate in kind, but carried on a clean, manly, vigorous campaign, inaugurating business methods in politics, and they were the direct means of dispensing with the vile mudslinging which had now so prevalent before, and which I now very much regret to know, the Rev. Dr. Kellogg is again resorting to.

MARY EVALINE WOOD.  
Seattle June 6, 1903.

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LOCAL NOTES.

zSocialism is the most talked of topic on the streets of Seattle. Strangers...

This is the way Socialist vote in Seattle has climbed up:

1900, spring election..... 96 votes
1900, fall election..... 153 votes
1902, spring election..... 312 votes
1902, fall election..... 616 votes

Comrade M. W. Wilkins spoke at Carpenters' Hall last Sunday night and his address produced a great impression...

BALLARD LETTER.

Ballard, Wash., June 30, 1903.
Editor Seattle "Socialist."

Dear Sir and Comrade:—Although I realize that space in your valuable paper is at premium yet I must ask you for space to report our meeting of last night...

The comrades here were both glad and sorry to hear of the resignation of Comrade Wiswell from the pastorate of his church...

At the request of Local San Francisco, we publish here the following resolution: "Whereas, in State Secretary Helfenstein's report published in the Los Angeles of June 6th, the following statement occurs:..."

AN EXPLANATION.

Log Angeles, Cal., June 27, 1903.
Editor Seattle "Socialist."

Dear Comrade:—If you have published the resolution of Local San Francisco censuring the state secretary of California for an erroneous statement in one of his reports, will you be kind enough to publish the following explanation from my report of June 16th:...

"Whereas, in State Secretary Helfenstein's report published in the Los Angeles of June 6th, the following statement occurs:..."

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the State Committee and to the... Worker, Seattle, California, and Los Angeles 'Socialist', as the State Secretary has published statements in his report, Local San Francisco demands that this report be published in his next report."

In explanation of the above will say that no misrepresentation was intended. We were misinformed through a correspondent who seems to have been also misinformed as to the number resigning and their reason for doing so...

JOHN C. WESLEY, Pres.
B. M. Strassman, Secretary.

disagreed somewhat as to party details, but always in a kindly spirit. Wherever I heard a word of complaint of the secretary's work, I ever...

EDGAR B. HELFENSTEIN, Secretary, S. E. C.

NATIONAL ORGANIZER WILKINS REFUTES A CRITIC.

Editor Seattle "Socialist."

In the final issue of "The Liberator" (of Portland) there is a somewhat bitter personal attack upon me...

It would seem that the editor wants to make it appear that I have had a "graft" in my Oregon work. He says: "Wilkins has received from the state for his services of 47 days \$215, in addition to \$50 from national headquarters, \$12 that we know of in Portland, and doubtless something more, as we have on good authority that he has Socialist money from individuals."

What does analysis reveal? Take District Chairman Ryan's report for a basis. That report is made upon 47 days' work from April 15th to May 31st inclusive. It shows that my total wages and expenses for that period amounted to \$215.81, of which \$141 was for 47 days labor at \$3.00 per day, and \$74.81 was for expenses, such as board, lodging, car fare, etc., in which amount was included \$16.40, my car fare and food en route from my home in Berkeley, Cal., to Ashland, Ore., where the campaign opened...

Before I left home the National Committee advanced me \$50. I have always considered this as an emergency fund, to be kept as nearly intact as possible. To prove this, when I reported to National Committee May 1st, there was a deficit in the First Oregon district of \$6.80, and a clause in my report read: "Cash balance on hand \$43.20." When I made my last report to National Committee on my First District work, there being still \$8.06 due, there was a clause in the report which read: "Cash balance on hand \$41.94."

I am accused of denouncing the California comrades, individually and collectively as a set of scoundrels and blacklegs. At last the scriptures have been fulfilled, and a young man "has dreamed dreams." With a single exception I never had a trouble with a Socialist in California outside of San Francisco worth remembering a half hour. In San Francisco the number with whom I have quarreled could be counted on the fingers of my two hands...

The editor further says: "In many places Mr. Wilkins insisted on a second collection." In reply: My family's support depends upon my daily wage. When I arrived at Ashland I received a letter from the District Chairman telling me that I was expected to make a strong bid for collections to the end of meeting my wages and expenses...

"At Eugene, Mr. Wilkins declared that unless he was guaranteed \$3 and expenses the campaign would stop." At Eugene I was a long ways behind in my wages, and I wrote a frank letter to Chairman Ryan that unless provision was made for my wages I would have to go elsewhere...

"We have learned from good authority that he has received Socialist money from individuals." One would infer from that, that I have received money for which I have not accounted. Yet in a carefully itemized report to Chairman Ryan, and to the National Committee, every penny received is accounted for...

NOW FOR JUNE: This is the 30th inst. Through a misunderstanding an expected three weeks' trip in Eastern Oregon, ultimatum in six dates, out of which came four meetings, I have further spoken at two hall and one street meeting in Portland, and three hall meetings in Washington. My total income to date during June is \$34.27, and my living expenses and car fare, etc., are \$40.15; with today's expenses and tonight's collections to be yet reckoned in. So I must fall back on National Committee for my wages. So the Washington comrades who are warned against the "graft" from California, have the details as to the size of the "graft." In fact the "graft" is strictly limited by the National Committee...

I am accused of knocking everything and everybody in the state, the state secretary, the campaign committee, the candidate. My relations with the officials of the Oregon movement were very pleasant. As for the state secretary, Comrade W. S. Richards, I shall remember him as an honest and kindly man, and have never said ought different to any soul. To be sure we

As for my work in Oregon: I organized sixteen Locals, and gave most of those already organized some needed instructions. Hearty appreciation and kindly treatment was accorded me at every point in the state, save a very small circle in Portland. Even in Portland, the bulk of the comrades were appreciative and generous in their treatment. No one will deny that I entertained my audiences, and taught only straightforward, class-conscious Socialism. So here I rest my case.

M. W. WILKINS.

WHERE ALL GENUINE MINISTERS BELONG

Thos. C. Wiswell, pastor of the University Congregational church of Seattle, resigned from church and ministry last Sunday because he is out of place in the ecclesiastical environment.

Here are some words from his letter of resignation. "Organized ecclesiasticism of any sectarian name does not wish to know, much less to speak the message of Jesus, for the same reason that it opposes the principles of International Socialism (which is but the purpose of Jesus politically expressed), because it dreads the consequences to itself of the realization of those ideals which 'Will put down princes from their thrones, and exalt them of low degree.'"

"Organized Christianity seems to be no longer a life-struggle of the poor after God and truth, but a pastime of the rich and well-to-do, who would conserve the interests of Mammon in the name of the Father of Justice and Love."

"I have given time and labor and money in order to adequately prepare myself for the ministry, only to discover that the modern church is as strongly opposed to the message of Jesus as was the Jewish church which crucified Him."

It should be added that Comrade Wiswell has been a member of the Socialist Party for several months and will prove a vigorous worker in the future.

Hundreds of unselfish men have gone into the ministry to find scope for their highest aspirations—only to find a barren waste. It is hard to break away in mid-life from sacred associations and to abandon means of support for self and family, but the strong, true and brave have no other course.

The motto of Dante and of Marx applies to every soul true to itself.

"Follow thine own course and let the people talk."

A HICKEY HIT.

I have arrayed myself in my best boiled shirt, creased my \$3.00 pants, smoothed down my back hair, parted my whiskers in the middle and with my \$1.50 Panama firmly grasped in my strong right hand I arise to remark: "Hats off to the editor of the Detroit 'Wage Worker.'"

But now about the S. L. P. section of Chicago. If anybody has any fault to find with it, not the section, nor the principle of Socialism, nor yet the S. L. P., is to blame. That blame comes back upon the City of Chicago as a whole, and if any elements exist in that city who can stand more consistent than their predecessors have done, upon them falls the task of doing what others have failed to do...

Fallen is DeLeon from his high estate. He discovered that one Humpy Hanover enlisted the whole capitalist class to beat him out in the 16th N. Y. assembly district. Fallen is Henry Kuhn who came near destroying the whole capitalist class by secretly joining a building and loan association. The "Wage Workers" editor may now wear the S. L. P. laurels. Hence we say: Hats off to Melko Meyer, editor of the "Wage Worker."

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CONVENTION NOTES

A Convention of the Socialist Party for the State of Washington is to Be Held at Tocoma, Saturday, July 4, in Foresters' Hall, Corner of Pacific Avenue and 11th St.

This convention will be the first in this state to be composed of delegates. Last year the proxy method was not well liked and a new proposition is now presented by some Locals to abolish the Delegate method also and have future conventions of the most democratic character, namely, only members present shall have a vote and only one vote each.

It is reported an attempt is to be made at the State Convention to remove the Headquarters from Seattle. Why not?

It looks as if a big attendance of delegates was assured, though a delegate convention can never be so imposing as a Mass Convention.

The chief business will be matters of organization. By the constitution adopted last year, the convention has the absolute choice of the State Convention, unless, of course, five Locals call for a Referendum on the subject.

There are no nominations to be made this year for political offices, but an efficient organization of the Socialists of this state should be provided for.

It looks as if a good attendance of comrades not delegates would be secured. The convention will afford the best opportunity for the comrades of different sections of the state to find one another's measure, to interchange views and to decide on future policies.

Socialism is now called upon to define itself in this country. It is recognized as a fact and must be its own interpreter. The Washington convention will be looked to by the workers and capitalists also to speak no uncertain call.

An Alleged Socialist

Who has never read the Communist Manifesto and Socialism Utopian and Scientific is a good deal like an alleged socialist who has never read the gospel. His intentions may be all right, but the chances are that he does not know what he is talking about.

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