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# The Socialist

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

A CARTOON WEEKLY

TO ORGANIZE THE SLAVES OF CAPITAL TO VOTE THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION

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## THE PARADE OF THE UNIONS



### THE MINERS' RESOLUTIONS

(Passed at the 11th annual convention Western Federation of Miners, at Denver, June, 1903.)

Whereas, The natural resources of the earth, upon which humanity depends, are being swiftly concentrated into the hands of the privileged few; and

Whereas, Political independence is a bauble and a delusion, while the toiling millions wear the yoke of wage slavery on the industrial field, and

Whereas, No man among the vast army of laboring humanity can successfully assert his manhood, while the necessities make him a suppliant at the foot of another for a job which he must have in order to sustain life; and

Whereas, The privileged few who own the jobs which the many must have must necessarily own the many; and

Whereas, Capitalism can never be dethroned and wage slavery abolished until the natural resources of the earth and the machinery of production and distribution shall be taken from the hands of the few by the political power of the many, to become the collective property of all mankind, to be utilized for the use and benefit of all humanity; and

Whereas, The Socialist Party is the only political party in any nation of

the world that demands that the land and the machinery of production and distribution shall become the common property of all, and that labor shall receive the full product of its toil; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the delegates of the Western Federation of Miners, in the eleventh annual convention assembled, reaffirm the political policy of the tenth annual convention, believing economic development.

Once this great truth is recognized—that there is a class struggle—we are in a fair way to improvement. So long as we listened to the siren song that the useless and unproductive members of society had something in common with the worker, progress was impossible, or almost so, but as soon as we realize that he who does no work is not entitled to eat, let alone waste, our advancement is assured.

Again our organization accentuates that the principles enunciated by the Socialist Party will make man the "noblest work of God," woman the queen of home, and the child the bud and blossom of an emancipated generation.

### THE MACHINISTS TOO

(From Leading Editorial in "Machinists' Monthly Journal" for July, 1903.)

Great economic progress was made by our organization at the Milwaukee convention.

We now recognize that there is such a thing as a CLASS STRUGGLE! This simply means that we give official recognition to the fact that there must be something wrong in the social equilibrium when a few members of society who do no work or render useful service, waste the product of labor on the entertaining of monkeys, while the children of other members of society die for want of the commonest of life's necessities—food, air and sunshine. In doing this the International Association of Machinists takes a step greatly in advance of other labor organizations. And in doing so it marks another epoch in our belief that economic freedom can only come through political action. Again it emphasizes the fact that we must not forget we are organized on election day; that it's the very essence of folly to be unionists and co-operators at all other times except when we cast our ballots. The members of the International Association of Machinists will in future—if they follow the advice and believe in the tenets of the organization of which they form a part—VOTE for men from their own class, pledged, tried and proven to and in the class conscious struggle.

### ALL UNIONS

WISCONSIN FEDERATION OF LABOR SPEAKS OUT.

Whereas, The capitalistic system of production creates two antagonistic classes with necessarily conflicting interests, viz., a small exploiting class and a large exploited class, although the capitalist class has always tried to hide the fact of the class struggle; and

Whereas, The Trades Union Movement of America is the expression of the class struggle of the American wage worker upon the economic field, and any attempt to hide the class struggle is necessarily an attempt to mislead labor; and

Whereas, The union men of America expect the Trades Union leaders to be leaders in the class struggle, and rather to point out than to hide the shortcomings and cruelties of the present capitalistic system; and

Whereas, Certain prominent officials in the labor movement are in close connection with Mark Hanna, Grover Cleveland, and the Civic Federation, therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor assembled, hereby emphatically oppose, as seriously mistaken tactics, any alliance of prominent labor leaders with the most prominent representatives of American capitalism.

### HEART AND SOUL OF THE SYSTEM

The essence of our commercial system is unpaid labor. This proposition is the Socialist reply to the natural question: "Upon what then does this system, which you hold to be the cause of so much evil, depend? What is the basis of it? Can we get at the heart and soul of it? Can we find any fundamental principle that runs through it?" To this enquiry the answer has been given by Karl Mark. He showed us clearly for the first time the hidden principle upon which the whole business rests. He was the first to see clearly the actual meaning and origin of surplus value and to analyze surplus value completely. For a popular argument I may be permitted to use the phrase "unpaid labour" instead of the more technical "surplus value." The latter is, of course, created by the former.

Labor Not Paid For.  
What then is the meaning of these two words—the solution of the riddle—"unpaid labour"? This. That every working man, woman and child the whole world over gives every week a certain amount of labour which is not paid for. The product of that labour not paid for passes into the possession of the masters, the companies, the possessing class. "Ah! but," cries the capitalist mind, "every one of them receives his or her wages at the week's end." Precisely. But the wage system is only another name for the capitalist system, and is based upon unpaid labour. That is to say, the amount of the wages paid each week to any given worker is really equal only to a certain fraction of the value that the worker has imparted to the materials he has handled during his week's work. The remaining fraction of that value, unpaid for is pocketed by the capitalist class. The magnitude of the fraction does not matter. The wages may represent one-half the value created by the worker, and then one-half his labour is unpaid. They may represent 99-100 of the value created by the worker and then 1-100 of his labour is unpaid. The essential point is that for part of his work he never receives any wages at all, and that the value, which should rightly belong to him, created by that part of his work goes into the pockets of the master class.

What Makes "Raw Material?"  
"Ah! but," cries the Capitalist Mind, "the master class have provided all the raw material, all the machinery, the factory buildings." In the first place, they have done nothing of the sort. The raw material is raw material by virtue of the labour of the working class. The machinery and factory buildings were built by the labour of the working-class. It is they and they only who have provided these things necessary to future production. But even if we put on one side, as we certainly cannot work it out here, this argument; even if we grant for a moment the false proposition that the means of production are provided by the master class, even then the whole of the value of them, allowing for waste, reappears in the manufactured product. All the value of the raw material and all the value ultimately of the machinery are by the labour of the worker transferred to the product, which the capitalist calmly annexes. So that even on his own showing, which alas! is generally the showing of the capitalist working man, he gets again all the value he is supposed to have advanced, and he also gets added to that the value created by the worker's labour for which he has paid and to which he is entitled. But he also gets the additional value by that labour for which he has not paid and to which he is not entitled.

Vast Sum of Unpaid Labor.  
It may be said that the amount of this unpaid labour in each individual case is but little. Without disputing that very disputable statement, which reminds us of the wet nurse's explanation in Midshipman Easy that her baby "was only a little one," we may point out in the first place that the amount of unpaid labour is not the principle of the question. The principle is that there is in each individual worker's case a certain quantity of his labour for which he receives no wages. And in the second

### KENTUCKY ENDORSES "THE SOCIALIST"

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE KENTUCKY STATE COMMITTEE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Covington, Ky., July 26, 1903.

"Whereas, The 'Seattle Socialist,' in its fearless adherence to the working class program of International Socialism, as well as by its no less fearless policy of laying bare the internal affairs of the organization, and making public to the membership the acts of individual comrades, has stamped itself pre-eminently the totem of the proletariat; therefore, be it

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

F. H. STREINE, Assistant Sec.-Treas.  
CHARLES TOWNER, Organizer.

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

place, if we multiply this amount, whatever it is, by the number of workers in the workshop, by the number of workshops in the town, by the number of towns in the country, by the number of countries in the civilized world, think what a colossal mass of unpaid labour is accumulated at every week's end. Multiply the weeks by four, the months by twelve, the years by the centuries, and try to realize the incalculable quantity of labour that has never received its reward. Then you will understand the source of the wealth of the masters, of the well-to-do classes. It is the product of this accumulating accumulation of unpaid labour that is cut up amongst the possessing class in such forms as rent, interest, dividends, profits—that pays the fancy salaries of great statesmen, buys the millionaire's house in Fifth Avenue, the celebrated actress' yacht on the Mediterranean.—Dr. Aveling.

### WHAT THEY THINK OF US.

A banker of New York wrote to a large manufacturer asking him his opinion of the outcome of a present labor agitation. The manufacturer replied:

"A slave is no more willing to have the shackles struck from his limbs than the working people are to lift a hand in behalf of their rigats. Some of their leaders howl and try to arouse them, but it's all wind. Nothing will come of it. One half deride the rest, and hence will remain helpless. Their votes tell the tale. They want masters, and don't desire to be free.

We have to do is to smile on one and kick the other. The fact of the matter is that they think they are helpless. It's our duty to make them believe it. An empty stomach and a naked back is our argument. That is all we need to remain masters. With all their growlings during their secret meetings, next day they are the first to discredit their leaders who work for principle and without remuneration. The whole thing in a nutshell is that they are so cowardly they are

unwilling even to vote for themselves. They realize they are our slaves.

"Let them believe it—it pays us. We would be fools not to use them in every way to coin money out of them. Have no fear of the workingmen, as they'll never disturb our mastery, for where cowardice is added to ignorance resistance to our power is impossible."—New York paper.

Correspondents will have to excuse us. We are simply overwhelmed with work. What seems neglect on our part is simple inability to do the impossible. Practically all the work on "The Socialist" is done by two men, and one of these makes his living at other business.

We have on hand a number of letters and questions on the Farmer Debate, completed in the issue of August. Comrade Untermyer himself wishes to write in reply to the strictness of the Editor of "The Socialist." So look for some interesting discussions yet to come on this all-important question.

Ryan Walker, the Socialist cartoonist, has started a new monthly, taking temporarily the name of "Warren's Monthly," for fear Madden would not admit such radical Socialist pictures. Whatever Walker does is worth while. The first number is immense. It ought to become the basis for a Socialist "Puck" or "Judge." One Dollar a year. Address Warren's Monthly, Rich Hill, Mo., or No. 28 Lafayette Place, New York.

St. Louis "Labor" comes out in enlarged and improved form. It makes a new departure, likely to be followed by other Socialist papers, by charging one dollar instead of Fifty Cents a year. The latter is a ruinous price, for any paper with less than 25,000 circulation. This is the one reason so many new Socialist papers fail. They try to do the impossible. One dollar a year distributes the burden of cost, instead of throwing it all on the publishing comrades.

### CONFISCATION OR RESTITUTION?

La Vernia, Tex., July 5, 1903.

"The Socialist."

Comrade Editor:—I admire your clear-cut class-consciousness, and as well your striking cartoons, teachings, etc. But I believe you are erring when you use the term "confiscation" where you do. However, you may be right. It looks to me that the confiscation (proper) is in progress now, and that when the people become cognizant of the fact and return that product of their labor back to themselves, we should call that act Restitution.

Comrade, I understand that Industrial freedom depends upon a transfer into the hands of the people (collectively) the machines, i. e.: Increased facilities for production. But if this be effected even without compensation, it would not (properly) constitute confiscation.

If any be entitled to compensation it is the workers, but there is not the wealth wherewith to compensate them for all the robberies of the last single year.

Comrade, I write this because of the masses who do not understand these questions as well as you or I, and are

even afraid their claims will be confiscated by inaugurating the Co-operative Commonwealth.

I have just returned from a lecture tour, taking in Union, Dewville, Leesville, Rancho, Riddleville, and Stockdale, Tex. Earlier I lectured at San Antonio, Keezee, Marcelena and La Vernia, Tex. Good houses, and left many who were against what they supposed Socialism to be, arguing for it. The old comrades are enthusiastic and going after the enemy with renewed strength and vigor, realizing that the walls of capitalism are not longer able to withstand the broadsides from the weapons of the invincible Socialist army.

There are a great many who would investigate Socialism if they could be made to realize that they would not lose their homes which they have worked so hard and long to get. Write a good article on this, setting forth the fact that they would be absolutely secure of tenure under Socialism, and that none would be forced at any time to have to first earn the present price of homes to have the privilege of a home.

With best wishes for the cause of Socialism, I am

Yours fraternally,  
DAN C. CRIDER.

It's all the same, Comrade Crider,

If you make 'em "savy." We don't care much about the words used, if the people get the "idea." If men are dead asleep in Capitalist thought, "confiscation" may wake them up.—Ed.

### A CAPITALIST WORKINGMAN.

One of the worst foxes that ever beguiled labor died the other day. One has only to read the fulsome eulogies in the editorial pages of the capitalistic dailies of the land to understand the place that P. M. Arthur, of the Railway Engineers, occupied. Arthur was a capitalist, being very wealthy, and ruled the brotherhood absolutely in the interests of the railroads. It was with his organization as with the other aristocratic railway brotherhoods, the Firemen and the Conductors, only a man picked up by the owners of the road could hold the highest position in it. For it is in this way that the railroads hold the key to the labor situation on their lines. Every revolt of the men in the railway service against bad conditions or for a better wage, is blocked by the puppets of the magnates who hold the commanding positions in the three organizations we have specified. As to rather himself he was a man who back of his hypocritical smile had as greedy a heart as the capitalist system ever developed. He was a penny-pinching, selfish soul, absolutely without humanity, and the Engineers' brotherhood is well rid of him.—Soc. Dem. Herald.

### WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

The definitions of Socialism are coming in. They will be published soon. Remember the conditions—25 WORDS AND 25 CENTS. One person can send as many definitions as he chooses. Fifty cents entitles you to two answers. Any order for 25 cents worth of "The Socialist" entitles you to answer the question, What is Socialism? in 25 words, and have it published in the competition for the ten best definitions sent in during the month of August.

A new subscription for six months, a renewal, or an order for our "Birthday Edition," are all good for this contest.

Every Socialist thinks he knows what Socialism is. Very well. Here is your chance to state it in 25 words and let the other comrades decide for themselves.

Write your answer on separate sheet of paper under the heading, "What is Socialism?" and sign your name and address below.

### SNAP SHOT AT CIVILIZATION



# THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

BY CHAS. R. MARTIN, OF OHIO

Shall the middle class be admitted to membership in the Socialist party, appears to be becoming a leading question in the Western states. The question is not a new one. It is new west of the Mississippi, because the Socialist movement is young in that territory. In nearly all of the states east of the big river the question has been answered and settled, and settled right, after much stress, recrimination and internal disorder. The Socialist movement in the Western states is passing today through a stage which, in the others, belongs to yesterday. And just as the struggles of yesterday have fitted the older Socialist movement for the battle of tomorrow, so, also, will the Socialist movement of the Western states emerge all the stronger from the present experience. But the working class Socialists of the West must not allow themselves to be deceived by phrases or tricked by apparent zeal and pyrotechnic oratory.

A great deal depends on the point of view. And a great deal also upon the way the question is put. From the point of view of the Socialist who is a proletarian the answer to the above question should be easily, No! From the point of view of the Socialist who is not a proletarian, the answer comes less readily. And why? Because the Socialist proletarian views the question as a proletarian, as one whose interests are alone centered in the working class, the proletariat. Class interest makes his vision clear. The class struggle has sharpened his class instinct and made keen his class intelligence. He knows that, as a class, the middle class are exploiters, the degree of exploitation varied only by opportunity. The middle class are capitalists, small ones, it is true, but only through necessity, and not by choice. They would be large capitalists—that is to say, large exploiters—if they could. And this is true of them, as a class, whether they be storekeepers, contractors or what else. The Socialist proletarian knows this by experience, and as he knows his Marx, his Engels or his Kautsky.

But with the Socialist who is not a proletarian the case is different. It is difficult for the member of the middle class or the large capitalist class (more difficult for the former than the latter) who becomes a Socialist, to view the question as the proletarian does. And this for the sole reason that the small capitalist considers the question from the standpoint of his class interest, just as the proletarian does from his. The middle class Socialist is invariably a Socialist either through sentiment, engendered by sympathy for his own class, which he sees being destroyed on all sides, or because his individual interest as a member of the middle class has been injured. Very seldom does he become a Socialist because he feels for the working class, or believes in the working class power to emancipate itself. And he never will. He would have to be born again, and then as a member of the working class.

But let the question be put a little differently. Shall individual members of the middle class be admitted to membership in the Socialist party? Now the scientific Socialist proletarian will answer, Yes. But on one condition. The member of the middle class who joins the Socialist party must disown his class interests and accept only the working class revolutionary platform as his guide and mentor. He must understand that he leaves his class interest, or individual interest as a member of the middle class, behind him when he enters the Socialist local. More than this, he must submit to working class domination in the Socialist party. This will be hardest to bear, because, forsooth, the average middle class person cannot lose his sense of superiority over the working class. He cannot comprehend such a phenomenon as the working class producing its own executives, its own orators, its own statesmen. The ancient bourgeois scorn and contempt for the working class, filtered through the centuries, still has an abiding place in his blood, and hide it as he will, unconscious of it as he may be, the contempt peeps forth when he least desires or is aware of it.

How difficult it is for the average Socialist whose interests or sympathies are with the middle class, to disassociate himself from his class

viewpoint, was shown in a recent article, published in a Western paper, written by a gentleman whose training and environment, at least, were of a middle class character, and to whom the term "working class" means everybody who works, including the \$100,000 a year trust president and the corner grocery keeper, who adulterates his sugar to get his 5 per cent. This gentleman declared that the Socialist party should appeal to "all classes," and to show how indispensable the middle class is to the Socialist party he gave the names of certain well-known Socialists as "the leaders of the Socialist party" in America. Modesty probably forbade his using his own, but the names quoted were those of men who were either born or trained in the middle class. He did not state that many of those cited were men who would repudiate his position, and who appealed mainly to the proletariat, spoke and wrote from the proletarian standpoint, and directed their agitation, only incidentally to the middle class, if at all. These are the exceptions which prove the bad rule illustrated by himself. And he could not see that mere prominence does not make a man a leader. Popularity or notoriety does not necessarily constitute leadership. The list given proves that.

In his anxiety to show how necessary it was that the middle class be invited and persuaded to save the middle class by joining the working class party for working class emancipation (shades of Frederick Engels, what a contradiction!) he omitted mentioning the prominent working in the Socialist party who are proletarians and outnumber the kind he names ten to contradiction! he omitted mentioning the prominent men working in the Socialist movement in America, Carey, Hanford, Barnes, Hayes, Slayton, Chase, Wahpope, Kilnke, Berlyn, Boyce, Collins, Spargo, Hoehn, Brown (of Connecticut), White (of Massachusetts), White (of Connecticut), Sleveman, Long, Mally, Irish, Cowen, Bandlow, Robinson (of Kentucky), Oneal, Mahoney, Ray, Dobbs, Croke, Coulter and numerous others I could name? These were Socialists, speaking, writing and working for Socialism, and struggling to organize the Socialist movement when the flamboyant gentleman in question was probably shuddering when he heard the word Socialism.

It is true that the movement in the West has produced few prominent proletarian Socialists, but there is yet time. That it has not, is but added proof of its youth. As the movement grows along with the industrial development, there will develop with it, and out of it, men capable of directing and organizing the proletariat of the West into the Socialist party. At present I suppose we will have to tolerate the type of Socialist "leader" whose definition of the class struggle is as clear as mud, and whose methods of self-advertising and self-adulation would shame a hardened ward politician, whose egoism ignores decent and legitimate party rules and constitutions, whose library is a scrap book, whose devotion to the cause is gauged by the size of the collection, and who judges the progress of the Socialist movement by the amount of the gate receipts—the "tolerant," "broad-gauged" Socialists who are constantly insinuating, but never openly charging, base motives against tried and true Socialists, and whose ammunition of attack is the slander springing from half-truths, whose egoism and ambition lead them to attribute similar characteristics to other men, and who disclaim sectionalism in one breath and shout it in the next. We can, "narrow-minded" though we be, tolerate these gentlemen, recognizing that they are the fruit of their class training and environment, and that they can, even now, serve a useful purpose, if kept in their proper place; but we must not permit them to control the Socialist movement, to poison its press with their manifestos and fulminations, or to breed hatred and distrust in our ranks, or the Socialist party will become a prey to every selfish passion and a creature to every petty and mean personal and political ambition.

CHAS. R. MARTIN.

Tiffin, Ohio, July 25, 1903.

## DEBS ANALYZES THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

(Milwaukee Free Press, July 18, 1903.) President Roosevelt will be nominated by acclamation in the next Republican national convention, and will be re-elected without question," said Eugene V. Debs, the famous labor leader, who is to deliver the address at the second annual picnic of the Social Democratic party of Milwaukee at Schlitz park, recently.

"That is," continued Mr. Debs, "unless something occurs between now and the time the convention is held to completely upset the present trend of political events. As things now stand, there is little doubt of Mr. Roosevelt's nomination without opposition. His election seems little less sure, because a split in the Democratic party is almost a certainty. If the Bryan element wins, the Cleveland wing will bolt; if the Cleveland crowd controls the convention, the radicals will cut them at the polls.

"Clarks' Chances Are Bright." "Of all the various candidates suggested by the contending factions of the Democratic party, Chief Justice Walter Clark, of the supreme court of North Carolina, seems to have the best chance of bringing harmony into camp. But he is not well known, and so far as I know, has no very enthusiastic following. A man who never makes enemies seldom has many fast friends. It takes positive qualities to make either friends or enemies.

"Of the old liners (there isn't much difference between them and the rock-ribbed Republicans) the contest lies between Gorman, of Maryland, and Hill, of New York, with the chances it seems to me, slightly in favor of Gorman.

"Hearst Boom and Bryan." "Hearst? Now, shouldn't he be greatly surprised if Bryan would throw his support to such a man as that. Mr. Hearst has launched quite a boom, but as to how long it will last I am not prepared to judge. He's a man who will attract attention, but if he should be nominated there would be a tremendous bolt among the Cleveland men."

"Socialists Gain Strength." "The Socialists will poll a large vote at the next election, large enough to demonstrate that hereafter they are to be a factor in national politics. Candidates? Oh, it doesn't make much difference who our candidate is this time. But four years from now there will be some excuse to talk. The next big battle is to be fought out between the Republican party and the Socialists. The Democratic party has outlived its usefulness.

Another Panic in Prospect.

"Conditions points to another panic. It may be in two or three years, and it may be sooner; but it will surely come before four years have rolled around. The reason for this is that we are over-producing. We can not begin to consume what we produce. That's the reason we are seeking the 'world's markets.' But we forget that there is a limitation to even the world markets. They will be glutted soon, just as our own is now. Then there must be a reaction. The wheels of industry will stop and the factories will shut down. We are at the height of productivity now; when we fall we will fall to the bottom."

## CHICAGO ON MILLS.

The Chicago city central body has passed resolutions requesting the Illinois state committee to instruct the national committee from Illinois to demand of the national committee that it declare vacant the national committee of Kansas, now held by Comrade Walter Thomas Mills, because of Mills' action in speaking under the auspices of organizations antagonistic to the regular local organizations at Omaha and San Francisco. Under state autonomy the only organization that can unseat Mills would be that of Kansas itself—"Social Democratic Herald."

(But Kansas itself could be dealt with by the National Organization, if it came to that.—Ed.)

## FINE PHOTOGRAPHS

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## YOU KNOW YOU ARE IN THE MILITIA!

THE NEW UNITED STATES MILITIA BILL, CHIEF SECTIONS.

(Introduced in the house of representatives, on June 30, 1902, as house bill No. 11,654, and rushed through over the head of a small opposition, by 180 ayes against 28 nays. No personal roll call taken. Passed unanimously by the senate on January 14, 1903. Approved by the president on January 21, 1903.)

Public Document—No. 33.—An act to promote the efficiency of the militia, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, That the militia shall consist of every able-bodied male citizen of the respective states, territories, and the District of Columbia, and every able-bodied male of foreign birth who has declared his intention to become a citizen, who is more than 18 and less than 45 years of age, and shall be divided into two classes—the organized militia, to be known as the National Guard of the state, territory, or District of Columbia, or by such other designations as may be given them by the laws of the respective states or territories, and the remainder to be known as the reserve militia.

Sec. 4. That whenever the United States is invaded, or in danger of invasion from any foreign nation, OR OF REBELLION AGAINST THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES; or the president is unable, with the other forces at his command, to execute the laws of the Union in any part thereof, it shall be lawful FOR THE PRESIDENT to call forth for a period not exceeding nine months, such number of the militia of the state or the states or territories or of the District of Columbia as he may deem necessary to repel such invasion, suppress such rebellion, or to enable him to execute such laws, and to issue his orders for that purpose to such officers of the militia as he may think proper.

Sec. 7. That every officer and enlisted man of the militia who shall be called forth in the manner hereinbefore prescribed and shall be found fit for military service shall be mustered or accepted into the United States service by a duly authorized mustering officer of the militia WHO SHALL REFUSE OR NEGLECT TO PRESENT HIMSELF to such mustering officer upon being called forth as herein prescribed shall be subject to trial by court martial, and SHALL BE PUNISHED AS SUCH COURT MARTIAL MAY DIRECT.

Sec. 8. That COURTS MARTIAL for the trial of officers or men of the militia, when in the service of the United States, SHALL BE COMPOSED OF MILITIA OFFICERS ONLY.

To provide means for carrying into effect the provisions of this section, the necessary money to cover the cost of exchanging or issuing the new arms, accoutrements, equipment and ammunition to be exchanged or issued hereunder, is appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

## ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE FRIDAY NIGHT.

Pike Street Branch, Seattle.  
The Pike Street Branch will hold its second social and dance on Friday evening, August 7th, at the hall on Second avenue, corner Pike street, occupied by Street Railway Employees' Union.  
Music will start promptly at 8:30. There will be a recitation, mandolin solo and vocal solo, with violin obligato, interspersed between dances.  
Ice cream and cake will be served. Admission at the door, 10 cents. Everybody had such a "lovely" time last Friday night, nobody can afford to miss it next Friday night. Lueben's first violinist, with piano accompaniment, will provide the dance music. Come and bring your friends.  
Per order ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE.

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## WILKINS STIRS UP THINGS

Olympia, Wash., Aug. 4, 1903.  
For "The Socialist."

Dear Comrades:—these days of good cheer 'tis only fair to add a bright bit of inspiration from the Capital county of the Evergreen State—which, when Comrade Wilkins has thoroughly traversed it, will rank A. I. in enthusiasm, membership and organization, according to population. Never were prospects brighter for the crystallization of Socialist sentiment into permanent, hustling organizations than to-day, and never have we had such an effective and inspiring worker as M. W. Wilkins, of Oakland, Cal.

The writer has just made a complete tour of south and west portions of the county and we are banking on from four to six new locals in entirely new territory, and two large and influential locals just over the border in Lewis county, at Centralia and Chehalis.

The sleepy old city of Olympia has never had such a stirring up as with this series of five consecutive evening meetings of our California Cyclone. His thorough knowledge of many branches of labor appeals to the heart of the wage worker as no professional or middle-class man could. His unanswerable logic and sledge hammer blows of practical, common sense, batter down the fortresses of prejudice within which many have entrenched themselves, and several that we had given up as hopeless, are now practically with us. It is my earnest desire that Comrade Wilkins may be retained in Washington until every city and hamlet has felt his influence for good. To the comrades everywhere let me say: Advertise him to the extreme limit; he will never disappoint you.

His dates for Thurston county and adjacent territory, billed and arranged for are as follows. Little Rock, Aug. 4 and 5; Gate, 6 and 7; Grand Mound, 8; Centralia, 9, 10 and 11; Chehalis, 12, 13 and 14; Bucoda, 15 and 16; Tenino, 17; Yelm, 18, where Congressman Cushman has been challenged to meet him in debate; South Bay, 19; South Union, 20; and would suggest the following route into the Gray's Harbor section: Oakville, 21-2; Elma, 23; Montesano, 24-5; Aberdeen, 26-7; Hoquiam, 28. On return trip a meeting at Satsop, or Porter on the 29th, and to make sure of railway connections, a jointification meeting could be held jointly with Chehalis and Centralia on the 30th, thence to South Bend on Aug. 31 and Sept. 1, from whence Tacoma could be reached, if desirable, on Sept. 2.

We confidentially expect organizations in our county at Little Rock Gate, Grand Mound, Bucoda, Tenino, and South Union, and trust all friends of human betterment in and around these points will spare no effort towards that goal. A long, strong pull will do it, comrades.

The meeting at Tumwater last night was well attended—the Socialist Brewery Workers' Union appearing in a body, who had secured the best hall in town, and gave a collection of \$6.20 for carrying the good gospel of labor's emancipation to the remotest parts. At Gate one enthusiastic comrade—an ardent Democrat in the 1902 campaign—claimed a plurality vote in 1904 for the Socialists.

Had a pleasant chat with those sterling friends of "The Socialist," J. S. Topper and G. W. French, at Grand Mound. Standing on the streets of Centralia I approached a man and remarked: "I am a stranded Socialist looking for my kind." "Put it there," said Comrade Wm. Ruble, and in less than half an hour I found myself surrounded by several energetic workers who will make it very pleasant for our national organizer during his brief stay in Lewis county.

All along the line the laborers are thinking as never before, and sooner than we think are going to heed that inspired admonition of Marx in 1848: "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain!"  
E. E. MARTIN, Socialist.

## IMPORTANT REFERENDUMS.

All Washington comrades should be sure and vote on the Referendum now out on the acts of the State Convention, and especially on that electing the National Committee from this state. They must be in the hands of the State Secretary by Aug. 20.

Seattle Socialists should also vote on the all-important question of a City Organizer. Only four nominees are up. The City Central Committee did not give the branches a chance to nominate. It is still perfectly proper for any comrade to vote for any one else by writing in the name of his choice. This suggestion is probably too late to affect the result, but we have no use for such undemocratic methods. Votes on the last must be in by Aug. 12.

## SOCIALIST SAUSAGE CO.

At the last business meeting of Pike Street Branch, the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, that Pike Street Branch protests against the hiring of expensive headquarters and purchase of business fixtures by the City Central Committee without a referendum vote of the Local.

Resolved, That this branch refuses to be responsible for this obligation incurred without a referendum vote of the Local.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the City Central Committee and that the aforesaid res-

olutions be published in the first issue of "The Socialist."

By order

PIKE STREET BRANCH S. P.  
P. O. Olsen, Secretary.  
Seattle, Wash., Aug. 2, 1903.

The above resolution was called out by the action of the City Central Committee, or 6 members out of 22 of that Committee. Last Sunday morning they appointed a sub-committee with full power to act, and that committee has now committed this whole Seattle Local to a business proposition of at least doubtful expediency.

In order to keep the present headquarters beyond next October, they have rushed into a purchase of \$150 of a set of sausage fixtures and rented the sausage store, including the present hall, at \$70 a month for a year. A few comrades have advanced the money to the Local, that is, to the six members of the Local, who decided this matter in an hour. It is fortunate that every act of the City Central Committee is subject to a Referendum vote of all the members of the Local upon call of any three of its members or any two branches. It seems a wild-cat proposal and certainly should have been submitted to a Referendum. There is plenty of time. If it is so good a business proposition as its promoters claim, they should be willing to stand the responsibility till the comrades at large have a chance to discuss its merits and decide for themselves. Let us have more Socialist Democracy.

## PIKE STREET BRANCH, SEATTLE.

The Sunday afternoon meetings of this branch are very successful. Last Sunday's meeting, at which Comrade Will McClain spoke, was very well attended. A street meeting was held first, corner Pike and Second avenue, at which a large crowd gathered, who, after being made inquisitive by a few soap-box speakers, were invited by them to the meeting which was held in Street Railway Employees' Union Hall.

Comrade Thos. C. Wiswell will speak at next Sunday's meeting of Pike Street Branch at 3 o'clock.

All comrades and friends who can sing are invited to come to our Hall at 2 o'clock Sunday afternoon to practice Socialist Songs. Second and Pike. Entrance on Second.

A. WAGENKNECHT,  
Organizer.

## THREE MONTHS' PROBATION.

Whatecom, Wash., July 26, 1903.

Editor Socialist: Your report of the state convention at Tacoma is refreshing. I am pleased with the directness and positiveness of proceedings, but it took my breath away when I realized that the convention formally enacted that the revolution is to come on the wings of three dollars a day, with expenses limited to two dollars a day. The revolution will not be stayed by such puny edicts. The work will be done, and the most effective work will be done by men who will scorn to accept more than actual support.

The man who haggles over compensation is worth nothing to our movement. And then, I read that all applicants for membership in this party shall be put on probation for three months. If the convention is guilty of such enactment it must have been slumbering.

Who is to decide upon the worthiness of the probationer at the end of the probationary period? A man who is fired by the revolutionary spirit is worth more to the party than 1,000 suckers who will go into the hopper of a probationary mill. We are not candidates for heaven, who renounce reason and submit to the arbitrary acts of an official body.

Down with such childish tinkering! In most cases the proceedings of the state convention show virility, but these two instances would indicate that there were lapses from the normal state.

I hope the party membership will repudiate such impotency. Respectfully,  
D. BURGESS.

## LOCAL RIVERSIDE CONDEMNNS STATE SECRETARY.

Whereas, State Secretary Helfenstein failed to furnish local Riverside with a blank for the national headquarters referendum vote, thereby preventing said local from voting;

Therefore, Be it resolved, That we condemn the action of the state secretary as unjust to local Riverside and detrimental to the interests of the party; and further, that we consider his explanation as unsatisfactory and improbable.

Also, be it resolved, That these resolutions be sent to the Seattle Socialist for publication.

WM. SCHOFIELD,  
By order of Local Riverside, of the State of California.  
O. K.—ROBT. FITZSIMMONS,  
Chairman of Meeting.

# TOUGHEST JOB HE EVER TRIED AND THEN ONLY GETS THE "FOOL P. D."



EUGENE V. DEBS PAYS HIS RESPECTS TO CAPITALISM'S SOILED ERMINE.

That the court of law is administered in the interest of the capitalist class as against the working class is one of the self-evident facts of modern society.

It is of course conceded that now and then the workers get the benefit of a decision of no consequence and that on occasion even a case of seeming importance is decided in their favor, but this signifies little, as we shall see, and does not impeach the integrity of the general proposition.

Class rule is the fruit of class government and class government is based upon class ownership of productive capital or private property in the sources and means of production.

Class rule of course implies class society and a class struggle. The class in power in modern civilized nations, the capitalists, rule in their own interest, and to this end the courts, the army and navy, the militia and police, the school and church, in short, all departments of government and all social institutions are simply the branches and offshoots of the tree of capitalism that is rooted in class ownership of the resources of life.

With the regularity and precision of clock-work the "decisions" and "opinions" are ticked off and "handed down" by the courts to protect the interests and serve the purposes of the ruling class. This does not mean that judges are any more venal or corrupt than other men, but simply that, like the hands of the clock, they respond with automatic regularity to the machinery that controls their movements.

The lower courts, dependent directly upon the popular vote, are moved to vary the program with an occasional "glad hand" to labor, but if there is any substance in such an "off" decision it is quickly snatched away by the supreme court, to which it is, always appealed in the full confidence that the higher tribunal, far above the sway of popular passion, will quickly set aside the ruling of the inferior court, that there may be no friction between the capitalist machine and its judicial functions.

The favorable decision below vindicates the integrity of the court and satisfies "the people," while the action of the higher court safeguards the interests of the ruling class; and so all is serene and the fleeing of the workers, legally sanctioned, continues as before.

The Kansas man, asked about the prohibition law in that state, said it worked like a charm. Said he: "The prohibitionists have the law and the other fellows have the whiskey; what more do you want?"

In the meantime the press, the politicians and the preachers, the triple echo of the ruling class, roll their eyes heavenward and thank God for preserving the sanctity of our courts, the safeguard of the Republic.

The confidence of the workers in the purity of the courts of their exploiting masters must under all circumstances remain unshaken. The subject is really too sacred to be questioned. The solemn judge, in his spotless ermine, must not be profaned by the vulgar lips of the common rabble; and he who is base enough to assail the sanctity of the "bench" and question the infallibility of the wigs and gowns it shelters is guilty of treason and a menace to the country.

There is no greater sham, no more stupendous fraud than the alleged divinity of our present judicial institutions. Supported by the revenue wrung from the working class, they serve as instruments to keep that class in servile subjection to their masters.

The stinging arraignment of Charles Sumner, during the anti-slavery agitation, reciting the crimes of the courts in ancient as well as modern times, and showing that they had always been the bulwarks of tyranny and the obstructors of progress, is one of the classics of our language.

The courts, aye, the courts of the land must be held in reverence and awe by the workmen who are shorn by them, or, at least, kept in law-abiding submission while the shearing is being done.

When the average workman is brought into the presence of a judge he approaches that august fetic with all the meekness and humility of a sinner at the bar of judgment.

An awful hush falls upon the scene. I have studied it closely, especially as the old balliff, in convening the federal court, used to explain: "God saves this honorable court."

That settled it for the crowd, and they scarcely breathed during the solemn rites of the farcical performance.

Judges are elected mainly by the serfs of the capitalist class. What sensible man expects them to do other than serve their masters, precisely as do the serfs who elected them at the behest of the same masters?

The recent decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals in the celebrated "Merger" proceeding has been exploited by the capitalist press as a great victory for the people. Roosevelt smiles and bows, the people applaud and throw up their hats, another term at the White House is assured and Jim Hill and Arch-bishop Ireland wink the other eye.

Will the anti-merger decision, which, by the way, is not yet final, as the supreme court has still to pass upon it (has this week reversed the decision

of the lower court.—Ed.), compel the Pacific roads to "compete" against each other and lower passenger rates and freight tariffs in the interest of the people?

Will not their owners co-operate in holding up the people just as if they were united under a single corporation title?

Of what possible interest is the decision to the working class who own no railroad shares and have no hand in the stockholders' game of freeze-out? What crumb of comfort can they extract from this so-called crushing blow at corporate power?

Isn't it all blow and no crush?—fine bait to catch political suckers?

Every judge on the federal bench today—district, circuit and supreme, with but a single exception—is a trained and successful corporation attorney, and instinctively subservient to corporate interests.

That exception is Henry Clay Caldwell, the last surviving appointment of President Lincoln, and he is a Socialist and has announced his determination to retire from the bench. I doubt not from scruples of integrity, for he is a pure and conscientious man.

And still our trade union leaders, for the most part, sanction the labor lobby that hangs around the ragged edge of capitalistic legislation to beg, like a mendicant, for what it ought to command like a man; and when, now and then, it receives a legislative crum, it is snatched away by the judicial tentacle of the capitalistic devilfish.

The supreme court of Indiana recently annulled the law providing for weekly payment of wages, and also the law fixing a minimum wage in municipalities for city employees.

The corporations and capitalistic interests objected, and that settles it. And yet the working class will elect the same legislature over and over again on the record they made as the "friends of labor."

Yet another thing about the courts. The poor man—and most men are poor in the capitalist system; that is its distinguishable characteristic—the poor man is shut out as completely as if he were an outlaw. The lower court is open to him, and that takes all the coin he can raise. If he wins, the case is appealed, and goes higher and higher until it is out of sight. The poor man is counted out in the first round. The corporations have their array of legal talent in court all the way up and all the time, and litigation is no extra expense to them.

Thousands of crippled railway employees who have had "good claims" under the statutes have been ground out of the judicial mill with nothing left but their mutilated crutch-propped bodies and their despair.

Workingmen, wake up! The time has come to open your eyes and see things as they are. You have been hoodwinked and robbed and enslaved long enough. Be a man and line up with your class in the great struggle for freedom. To train with the enemy, ignorantly or otherwise, as you have been doing, is treason to your fellow man. To be the ally on election day of the class that lives out of your labor and holds you in contempt, is not only cowardly and contemptible, but criminal, and means death to your manhood and infamy to the name you bear.

The courts can be reached in just one way. The road is straight and it has no connection with any of the side tracks. The Socialist party unerringly points the way.

The courts to serve the people, must be made free and untrammelled tribunals, and this they can only become in a co-operative commonwealth, a republic in fact as well as in theory, and when that time comes courts will probably be in little demand and they will make up in purity and honor what they lose in prestige and power.—The Social Democratic Herald.

Terre Haute, Ind., June 20.

### "BOTTOM FACTS."

Lawrence, Wash., July 30, 1903.

"The Socialist": I enclose a few stamps for extras of your "Birthday Edition"; would like to send more, but can't spare it now. Enclose a card also to extend subscription. I like your position on the "class struggle." It is all an education—and some are not born right to take the education necessary to make them good Socialists, and you are right, too, that some of those who are not members of the party are better Socialists than some of those who are.

Truth, honesty—the most we can get of it counts at last—bottom facts must be recognized before wage earning goes. Yours for the Workingman's Socialism.

J. W. H.

### SOCIALISM IN JAPAN.

The first Japanese Socialist convention was held April 5th and 6th in Osaka, the industrial center of Japan. A Socialist Party organization is lacking in Japan; the first attempt to form one, two years ago, was suppressed by the government and the leaders were sentenced to pay severe fines. So in order to hold a convention, the meetings were advertised as Scientific discussions. The purpose of thereby making the Socialist program known in the widest possible circle was successful. From 500 to 600 persons attended each meeting. The press could not slight the convention, especially as the "Osaka Asahi," the most widely circulated daily journal in Japan, helped advertise the convention by asking a Socialist leader, Comrade Abe, to publish several articles on Socialism in its columns. The program of the convention was very extensive; among other subjects discussions were held on "The coming party," by Comrade Katayama, formerly a Buddhist priest, now editor of "The Socialist"; "The History of Socialist Ideas in Japan"; "Municipal Socialism"; "Tactics," and "Agitation." They spoke also on the international Socialist movement and on that subject an Austrian comrade, Dr. G. Eckstein, of Vienna, addressed the Japanese Socialists. He received greetings from the Austrian and German Socialists. Several resolutions were passed regarding Socialist propaganda and tactics. The Japanese journal, "The Socialist" (formerly called "The Labor World"), which in each number publishes several pages in English, gives a report of the convention.

AGNES WAKEFIELD, National Headquarters, June 23, 1903. Omaha, Neb., June 23, 1903.

### NATURAL RESULT, ONLY 18 MEMBERS.

Watervliet, N. Y., June 24, 1903.

Dear Comrade:—Enclosed I send 25 cents. Please continue to send the "Socialist" to my address.

I took a copy recently to the meeting of our Local in Troy. I read it and distributed the papers, but failed to get any subscribers.

It is to be regretted, but you will understand if I tell you we have a great number of "Appeal to Reason" and "Coming Nation" readers, and that our Agitation Committee sent out 300 copies of "Appeal to Reason." We have only a few readers of "The Worker."

Result: 18 dues paying members and a lot on the membership roll unreliable in a city like Troy with a population of 75,000.

For the benefit of the members, I have been reading that excellent debate between you and Untermyer so as to get them interested in the paper, but without result, and how valuable is that debate, especially at the present situation. With all due respect to Comrade Untermyer for his valuable information and statistical figures in regard to the American farmer, but as you have stated time and again he dodges the question at issue and I fully endorse your position as the only position a true Socialist can hold.

Here in Watervliet, I am the only member of the party. We have a number of DeLeonites here and I have time and again given to the different members copies of the "Socialist," but they are beyond all reasoning. According to their views there is only one man that understands Socialism—DeLeon—and one paper that prints it—"The People." I have come to the conclusion they are "hopeless" fanatics.

Hoping the "Socialist" will continue the battle on the same line as in the past, I remain,

Yours in the class struggle,  
H. VITALIUS,  
210 14th St., Watervliet, N. Y.

### "ZAK" SENDS GREETINGS.

Dear Comrade:—Please renew my subscription to "The Socialist." It is a very good and clear-cut Socialist paper. I hope it will stand for clear-cut Socialist program forever, without compromising its principles. My greetings to the Washington comrades.

L. ZAKSHEVSKY,  
Yours for the cause,  
116 Lee Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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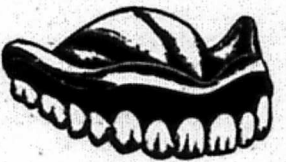
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# PARTY NEWS.

**SPECIAL APPEAL FROM B. C.**  
Cumberland, B. C., July 28, 1903.  
Editor Seattle "Socialist": Dear Comrade—Enclosed you will find an appeal for financial aid for election campaign fund, which we hope you will publish in next issue of your paper. Hope you will keep on in the good work of putting the class struggle clearly in fore-front. With fraternal greetings, I remain,  
**DAVID M. HALLIDAY,**  
Sec. Treasurer.

**Special Appeal for Financial Assistance to All Socialists and Readers of "The Seattle Socialist."**

We, the members of Cumberland Local, No. 13, of the Socialist Party of British Columbia, do hereby appeal for financial aid to all those who are in sympathy with the movement that is destined to emancipate the working class from wage-slavery, as we are going to run a candidate in the interests of the revolutionary proletariat of British Columbia. We are soliciting donations of money for our election campaign fund to help us to carry on the fight. We also solicit donations of literature to distribute among the various logging camps and ranching districts within the area of this electoral district.

The miners of Cumberland have been on strike for a period of three months, because the omnipotent Jas. Dunsmuir, ex-premier of British Columbia and king of Vancouver Island, thinks that we have no business to organize a Local of the W. F. M. When we organized here Dunsmuir proceeded at once to discharge some of our officials and most active members, which resulted in the men coming out on strike.

We now have the opportunity, in view of the coming provincial elections, of striking Dunsmuir at the most vital point, viz.: The ballot box. The workers here are at present in a particularly good frame of mind for digesting the naked truth. We therefore feel it our duty to give those workers the opportunity to vote their class interests by running a candidate who has a clear conception of the class struggle in human society.

The chief obstacle with us is a capitalist scheme to prevent, as much as possible, a working class candidate from running, viz.: The deposit of \$200. This deposit must be placed in the hands of the election officers before we can nominate our candidate. You all know that wage-slaves who have been on strike for three months cannot do much in the way of raising a campaign election fund among themselves. As part of the International Revolutionary Proletariat we feel bound to appeal to all Socialist and labor organization for donations of money and campaign literature.

All donations of money and literature will be thankfully acknowledged by sending same to  
**DAVID M. HALLIDAY,**  
Secretary-Treasurer Cumberland Local No. 13, S. P. of B. C., Cumberland, B. C.

**OMAHA LOCAL NEWS.**

Omaha, Neb., July 30, 1903.  
Editor "Socialist": Comrades Hyland and McCaffrey carried on agitation meetings Saturday night to good crowds. Sunday night Geo. E. Bigelow, of Lincoln, spoke in Jefferson Square park, on the "Arrangement of the Capitalist System," followed by B. McCaffrey and J. P. Roe, with a good attendance to listen.

The following extract was clipped from the Omaha Examiner, a weekly Sunday magazine of the bourgeois class, and speaks for itself:  
"The depth of feeling in the hearts of laboring men and Socialists against the state militia, or any company therein, is very great, and yet the people at large do not realize the fact."

In certain branches of organized labor, sentiment on the subject runs so high that it must find vent at the very first favorable opportunity. It is a fair prediction that the next conflict in Omaha between employers and organized labor, if carried to the point where the militia must be called, will result in bloody work. Any one who cares to investigate this subject may readily determine the serious aspect of the case. A brief statement like this may be regarded as 'hot air,' yet there are militia men in the city who are well aware of the true state of facts. Organized labor, it is said, looks upon the militia as the strong arm of the state, constituted for the sole purpose of defeating the purposes of the walking delegate. No matter to what extremes he may go, ignorance may lead a few hot-headed union men into acts of hostility against the militia, but it will require only one onset to settle the matter.

"The last congress enacted a very important law relating to the state militia, which in a sense elevated it to the status of the regular army whenever the militia shall be called into action. This being the case, any overt act of hostility to the militia feel that the boys have no right individually to defend themselves. In this they are mistaken, and it would be well for them to cease their open insults. No doubt Chief of Police would be sedition, one of the highest crimes in the calendar.

"The Socialists of Omaha do not hesitate to exhibit their contempt for the militiamen—probably because they Donahue understands the situation, for he handles the obstreperous Socialists without gloves. When the national headquarters of the Socialist party was moved to Omaha, very little benefit was conferred upon the city. Some of its doctrines are tolerable, but others logically lead only to one conclusion—anarchy. Socialistic opposition to the militia may be the manifestation of antipathy to our political government, the inference being that the militia is even a menace to the Socialist propaganda or the execution of its plans."

**Regular Mass-Meeting Notes.**

The following invitation from the Millard Rifles was received and read: "To the Officers and Members of the Socialist Party, City: Gentlemen—The Millard Rifles bespeak your kind patronage in connection with the military tournament at Krug's park, August 12 to 16 inclusive, and sincerely hope you may find it convenient to attend. The militia companies have ever been willing to assist in parades and whenever possible any and all organizations irrespective of creed or politics, who have called upon them, and we assure you that we shall fully appreciate any courtesy your honorable organization may extend. We believe you will agree with us that we are deserving of your encouragement and kind consideration. Very respectfully,  
**THE INVITATION COMMITTEE.**  
By GEO. W. SUES, Capt. Commanding Millard Rifles."

Motion was made to pass communication over to press committee. Amendment made to place it in the waste basket. Amendment lost. Motion carried. Answer anon.

Motion was made by Comrade Roy that any motion put in writing by any member in good standing, between mass meetings, would receive consideration at the following mass meeting. Carried.

The state committee, at its last regular meeting, adopted the Michigan plan of agitation. This plan consists of establishing stations at all points where one or more comrades will pay \$1 car fare and entertainment. They expect by this plan to build up the state and perfect organization.

**PRESS COMMITTEE.**

**A NEW FEAR.**

Carl Thompson Replies to Omaha letter published last week—Practically admits his former criticisms were unfounded—Now only objects to 80 per cent. wage earners, as proposed by Nebraska—But he has a new fear, namely, S. L. P. Comrades are actually joining our party. Timely comments on the situation by "The Worker" of New York.

**Thompson's Letter.**

"In answer to the letter signed by Comrade J. P. Roe I would say my article was certainly a very severe criticism. There should be given an opportunity to reply, and besides the method of their reply also throws light upon the situation.

"In reply I would like simply to say that nearly everything in it is a discussion of technicalities that are of no importance now. It certainly evades the question that should now occupy our attention. At one point the Omaha local is squarely at issue with the rest of the Socialist movement in the West, and I believe, in the whole world. They propose to limit the Socialist Party membership to the wage-earning class to the extent of providing that at least eighty per cent of the membership must be wage-earners. This is the point upon which I attack the Omaha position. This is the point at issue. And Comrade Roe's letter dodges this point. He declines to discuss it. But this is the only matter worth discussing. We want the Omaha comrades to face this issue squarely. So far as we are concerned, we are positively opposed to limiting the Socialist movement in this manner. We propose to defeat this amendment in the referendum if possible, and if we cannot do that we shall appeal to the national movement on the ground that such a provision is unconstitutional. If the Omaha comrades wish to discuss matters let them come to the point.

"Permit me an additional word of warning. Since writing my former letters regarding the Omaha situation I have learned still more definitely that it is the deliberate determination of those comrades to introduce S. L. P. or Deleonistic tactics into our party.

"When certain of the Omaha comrades were accused of being Deleonistic, to my surprise, instead of denying the charge, they frankly confessed it. And one of them now tells me that our tactics shall be even more severe than those of the S. L. P. And now the same week that this startling information is thrust upon me I learn that the New York People are saying that it is now becoming safe for S. L. P.'s to join our party. I learn that in Minneapolis leading Deleonites are just about to join us, I also meet, here in a little Kansas town, a traveling man who has been for six years a member of the S. L. P., who has now recently joined our party, whose talk and spirit classifies him at once with the Omaha comrades and corroborates the position I have taken. And now finally I am frankly informed that the S. L. P.'s are deliberately planning to come into our party for the purpose of strengthening this Deleonistic tendency.

"It is this sort of thing we protest against. It is this Deleonistic tendency as evidenced by the proposed amendment as well as in so many other ways that we oppose. The question now practically resolves itself into this—Shall we have S. L. P., Deleonistic tactics in the Socialist Party or Not? And to that question there will be but one final answer. The question of the amendment proposed by Omaha is the preliminary test.

"Sincerely yours,  
**CARL D. THOMPSON.**"

**"The Worker's" Views.**

An interesting question of party organization has been raised by the action of the Nebraska State Committee in refusing to issue a local charter, on the ground that all the applicants were either small capitalists or professional men, and the action of the state convention in approving the re-

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In stripes and solid colors that you pay 10c and 12 1/2c for, the yard—
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<b>36-inch Curtain Swiss</b>
either dots or stripes, the yard—
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usal and fixing a rule that no charter shall henceforth be issued unless four-fifths of the applicants are actual wage-workers. The course adopted by the Nebraska comrades, so far as it has been commented upon in the party press, has been generally condemned, and we have no hesitation in saying that it seems to us an unwise one, because unnecessary; but we would be far from making our disapproval of such a course absolute and unqualified.

To sum up: The Socialist movement should, as it does, in fact, welcome all recruits that may honestly come to it from the professions, from the small bourgeoisie, even from the ranks of the great capitalists, so long as its character as a working-class party is maintained, so long as these men from other classes consciously and unreservedly come over to the proletariat and accept its standards of thought and action. Only when the danger presents itself—as sometimes it may—that the party, through hope of immediate and temporary or illusory gains, may be tempted to give up its proletarian character in accepting such recruits from the other side, only then is it necessary, and therefore only then is it wise, to apply to individuals applying for membership the test of class affiliation. But if such conditions do exist, if such a danger does exist, then it is not only our right, but it is our most sacred duty, to take this or any other measure that may keep the party true to its proletarian basis through the crisis.

Whether such a condition now exists in Nebraska we are not altogether competent to judge. Perhaps the Nebraska comrades are mistaken in thinking that it does. We may advise them to use caution, to be very sure the necessity exists before they adopt such extreme measures; but we are not inclined utterly to condemn them.

...It is yet to be shown that the American farmers, as a class, are prepared to join with the proletariat of the world, on the proletariat's own ground, for unqualified Socialism. Some of them are ready to join us on that ground, and we should welcome them. On any other ground, we cannot afford to join them. And we can better afford to risk some retardation of the numerical growth of the movement than to take any considerable chance of its being diverted from its integral purpose. In those countries and in those portions of this country where the industrial proletariat predominates and where the party is firmly established, we have no ground for this particular apprehension; but in a region where the agricultural population very greatly predominates; where it has, in the very recent past,

shown itself aggressively discontented, but on a line very different from ours; and where, finally, our movement is still young and weak, is, so to speak, in the position of a beleaguered outpost—in such a region, and the more so in view of the peculiar nature of American politics, we may well be one our guard, lest those divisions of the movement come to be dominated by tendencies at variance with those of the wage-working class on which our movement, as a whole, must rest.

Comments by "The Socialist"

In a word, the Nebraska Question may be put thus: If there is danger in Nebraska that the middle class will capture the party and turn it aside from its working-class character and tactics, then the requirement of 80 per cent. of wage workers in any organization asking for a charter, is justifiable and should be carried by referendum.

A normal Socialist Party, holding International Socialist affiliations and accepting the International Socialist standards, would not need any such restriction. But the young Socialist Party in this country is not yet become normal. There is certainly danger that it shall be captured by the middle-class reformers of Populist and Radical antecedents, the Utopian, sentimental, idealistic, opportunist, get-votes-quick, crusading crowd. If that danger is acute in Nebraska, the comrades act wisely by proposing a vigorous and effective check, till the party has become class-conscious and its proletarian character fixed.

The comrades in Nebraska are to be trusted. Whatever they decide will hardly be interfered with by the national organization. Other states even may take lessons of them.

**ANOTHER PRIZE CONTEST**

We Socialists work hard. Now let's have a little fun. Comrade Curtis, in his notice elsewhere, gives us a war cry to be used while taking our "running jump."

We want a cartoon representing young Socialism (male in this case) making or starting for his running jump.

We want a poem from ONE to THREE verses, each verse ending with the words, "We want one hundred locals in 1904," or some part of that phase expressing the idea; 1904 may be read "nineteen four," NEW subscription (yearly or etc.

East contestant must send one less) to the Socialist. PRIZES.  
For the best cartoon or poem, five yearly subscription cards.  
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For the third best cartoon or poem, one yearly subscription card.  
For the worst cartoon or poem, a leather medal properly engraved.

Many can draw cartoons, and almost every one can turn a verse. Here is your chance, boys.  
"Full many a flower is born to bluish unseem,  
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."  
N. B.—Contest not limited to State of Washington.

**FINES HIMSELF.**  
Newport, Ky., July 17, 1903.  
Comrade—Dear Sir:—enclosed find one dollar—50c for the subscription of your paper and the other 50c you can just consider that a fine for not paying up when my subscription ran out. Hoping your paper will continue in the future as it has in the past, I am, Fraternally,  
**GEORGE MESSNER.**

**CROSTON SAYS "STAND."**  
Hoquiam, Wash., Aug. 2, 1903.  
Editor Socialist: Dear Comrade—Enclosed find 50c for which renew my subscription. Congratulations on the exceptionally able manner in which you answered Unterermann. If that don't bring the farmers to a realization of the proletarian nature of the Socialist Party, nothing will. Your exposition of the fact that the capitalist class exist by virtue of the confiscation of surplus value in the payment of wages, was an exceptionally strong feature, and well calculated to promote a spirit of class consciousness in the minds of the wage-earners.

The class struggle is our only "issue." Stand unflinchingly by that, and victory is assured in the solidarity of the working class. Ignore it, and we are lost in the intricate maze of immediate demands and factional divisions in the party.

Also find two definitions to go with my 50 cents. They are rather crude, but they are definitions from a proletarian point of view—one who is usually trained to work and not to think. Fraternally,  
**GEO. CROSTON.**

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