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THE WORKINGMANS PAPER
A CARTOON WEEKLY

To Organize the Slaves of Capital To Vote Their Own Emancipation

Published by The Socialist Educational Union

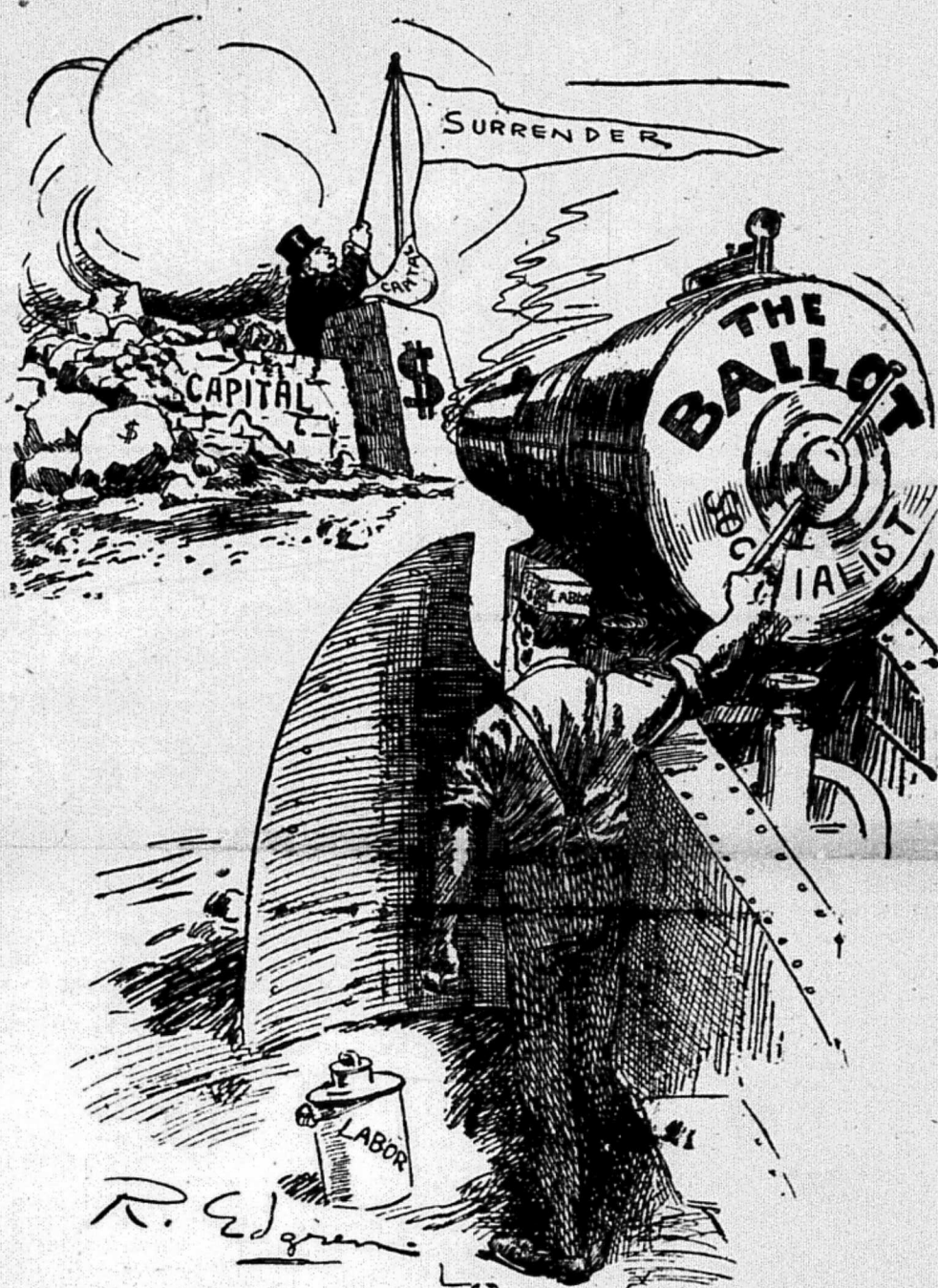
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USE THE MODERN WEAPON, BOYS!



Socialist Organization

It is a political organization, it is the organization of the working class to capture the government.

Socialism as a political party would be impossible without the ballot. It is an organization of voters. In the words long carried at our masthead, we aim "To organize the Slaves of Capital to vote their own emancipation."

Some people think the working class incapable of organizing. The Labor Unions give the lie to such fears. The men who organized and sustained the American Federation of Labor and the American Labor Union are all working men. The United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners do not consist of Capitalists or Capitalist lackeys. These are among the most compact and powerful organizations on earth. They have been able to cope with such enormous combinations of Capital as the U. S. Steel Corporation and the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. With all the powers of government and of accumulated wealth behind them, able to command the military and to purchase the intellectual, the corporations have had the "fight of their lives" to defeat the great industrial organizations built up by unaided workmen.

So we need have no fear that working men cannot organize. As they have organized on the economic field, they are organizing on the political field.

But such organization does not come

of itself. It requires work and drill. Only practice makes perfect. The Labor Unions have been practicing for years. They know how to conduct business meetings. They have learned how to submit to the will of the majority. They have learned how to marshal their forces, how to communicate with one another, how to keep their own counsel, how to "stand pat." And they are democratic in their management. Nothing proves this so well as the fact that corrupt leaders and spies cannot ruin the Unions. In spite of all the traitors in their ranks, the workers have been so well organized in the Labor Unions that they have gone on fighting capital and winning many a battle. They could not do this, if they were systematically sold out. The truth is, they are too democratic for leaders to mislead them. The rank and file, by means of the Referendum always win out in the long run.

Now the thing for the working class to learn is just this capacity for organization on the political field which "Organized Labor" has learned on the economic field. The workers must learn to act as one man in politics. Because the Unions contain a vast number of men already trained in methods of organization, it is of the very highest strategical importance, that these Union men be won over to the Socialist organization *right now*. The amount of ignorance among Socialists of the commonest rules of order, their incapacity to conduct business in a meeting or to ascertain the will of the majority, or to work together

on committees, would not be believed by those who have not seen it all in our Locals.

For instance, many Locals cast a Referendum vote for the entire membership at a meeting attended by a bare quorum. In this way ten members present have been known, by a vote of 6 to 4, to cast the whole 40 votes of the Local for a certain measure.

In some of our Locals not a single comrade knows how to put a motion. One of the commonest practices is to put a motion without allowing discussion. In this way one self-assertive man may run and ruin the Socialist organization in a community.

On the other hand, nothing is commoner than to find a comrade refusing to work if he is outvoted, he kicks, he sulks, he quits. Many strong individualists have been drawn into this new movement, too independent to work with others, men who are practically anarchists, who are incapable of social organization. These men will have to step down or out or down and out.

But all these difficulties belong to our newness and rawness. When the workingmen engaged in politics have had a few more years' experience in organization, when especially, they have won over their brothers in the Union ranks, then we shall witness in the U. S. as we now witness in Germany, a political organization of working men, a Socialist Party, which will act more nearly like one living body composed of many members, controlled by a common intelligence, than any other mass of men in the world.

Whatever be the defects in details of organization, there are three general principles which are essential, without which no political party can maintain itself, and with which no political party can be disorganized.

These three essentials are:
First—Interests in Common.
Second—Knowledge in Common.
Third—Action in Common.

First—If a political party is composed of those who have common interests, hardly anything can separate them permanently.

This is the reason why the Socialist Party is composed of wage workers. There is no doubt whatever that all wage workers would be benefited by the abolition of the wage system, which robs them of more than half they produce. So long as Capital remains Capital, namely, the Means of Production in private hands, so long will wage workers be exploited. To abolish this exploitation, to capture for themselves these Means of Production, this is the Common Interest of all wage workers. Therefore these wage workers naturally form one political party.

The greatest temptation and danger to the Socialist Party in America is to disregard this first Essential of Common Interests.

We hear it said by many advisers among us, "But we must have votes in order to win, and there are not enough wage workers in the country to give us the majority if we had them all together." Hence, they urge, we must get the votes of the farmers and business men, or we shall never have a chance to win.

Now, it is not true, even now, that the wage workers do not form a majority of the voters. The wage workers have been increasing at a great pace these last ten years. Any city directory will show us that. A recent calculation in "The Worker" makes out 52 per cent of wage workers in the United States.

But it would not matter if we only had 25 per cent of the voters. In that case we should have to wait until the percentage increased to over 50 per cent, as it soon will.

The point is this: If farmers and business men have interests different from workingmen, it is suicidal to get them into a working men's party. For the first essential to a successful political party is Common Interests.

Differing interests are bound to show different programs. For instance, if the farmers would be relieved by the public ownership of railways and thus their interests promoted, their program would demand such a measure though the wages workers' interests would not be promoted in the least by such ownership. Now, if farmers and wage workers were combined in the Socialist Party so as to have votes enough to win, what good would such a victory bring to the wage workers, if the farmers had their way? Would not immediate division and defeat follow?

We are not saying that the farmers' real ultimate interest does not lie with the wage workers' party. We are only now driving home this first point, that a political party must be composed of people with interests in common.

If the wage workers' interests and the farmers' interests are not the same, it is absolute folly to get them into the same political party. Such a shortsighted policy is unworthy thinking men.

The second essential to a political organization is Knowledge in Common. Interests in Common are not enough. For example, a Union Labor Party might be formed which should include the great mass of wage workers. If its membership had no more knowledge than Mayor Schmitz, it would become the prey of designing politicians as he has. Such a party would be like a crowd of prisoners escaping from Libby Prison. They have common interests, namely, to reach the lines of the Union Army. But they are wholly ignorant in which direction that army lies. Some one in that crowd must know the way, and he must be able to prove to the rest that he knows the way. In one word, they must have such a knowledge of the facts of their situation that they will act so as to save themselves.

This indicates the necessity to our organization of correct, scientific, economic knowledge, that knowledge which distinguishes Socialist politics from mere Labor politics. Labor politics is a Samson, strong but blind, crushing himself and others in the ruins his misdirected efforts bring. Socialist politics is a Hercules, performing incredible labors and cleansing the world, because he sees and knows more than all others put together.

The greatest danger ahead of the working class in the United States today is that it shall plunge into politics without knowledge. This is what the Hearst newspapers are advising. It is in the air. The Unions from San Francisco to Bridgeport are feeling it. The failure of the strike and boycott when pitted against the Trusts, has come home to the Unions everywhere. They are turning instinctively toward the Ballot.

The question is, Will they use an intelligent ballot? Must they pass through the long preparation and discouraging defeat of a Labor Party before they learn what Socialists can teach them?

That depends largely upon the Socialists themselves. Will they recognize this opportunity? Mark Hanna's last word to the country was, "Save the Labor Unions from Socialism." Hearst's seductive appeal is, "There must be one great Labor-Democratic Party with the Unions as the militant backbone."

It depends on the vigor and perception of the Socialist Party whether these capitalist attempts to mislead the Giant shall succeed. If all Socialists would at once enter the Labor Unions, cultivate their friendship and institute the most strenuous and wise propaganda among them, Hanna and Hearst would prove false prophets, and an organized, educated proletarian army of Two Million voters would confront one Capitalist Party within the next five years. The dying Middle Class would recognize its only hope in the Party of the Future and the most of its members

(Continued on Page Four.)

AN EASTER LESSON



What Parry is doing for Socialism

SLAVE MARKET REPORTS

Conducted by D. Burgess.

"Mark Hanna meant well," say all the papers who profess to be friends to labor. No doubt he meant well for his own class. We admit that much.

The time was that the capitalists and their hired lackies could squelch the blatant Socialists by simply saying: "If you don't like things in this country, go back to where you came from." The native Socialist has taken the sting out of that gag and the lackies are correspondingly mad.

Sound morality and business integrity have a market value.—M. H. S. M. H. S. is the author of a work on "Morals in business."

Just think of morals with a market value! Such morals are in evidence in St. Louis and in all our large cities. And then reflect upon the sort of integrity that possesses market value! How rotten our whole system must be when such declarations go unchallenged!

Some of the respectables have raised a howl about the danger that Socialism threatens to "widows and orphans." The care of these "respectable" people for widows and orphans might be very touching if we did not know that they are concerned only for one class of widows and orphans, and that is the class to which these "respectables" belong. For our widows and orphans they have no care, no thought, no sympathy.

Dear Sir: You have been sending papers to me, thinking, perhaps, there was a local here. But not so. I have tried to organize one here, but so far have failed. There are only two of us here who dare to show our colors. Most of the Socialists here work in paper mill and are afraid of losing their job, and they will not come out. I am boycotted myself, and have to go away from home to work. There are about twenty Socialists here.

I find a good many men who claim they are O. K. Socialists, and vote straight, but claim they have to keep still and saw wood. I hope we will be able to form a Local here before fall election. A SLAVE.

Dear Comrade: Communication from "The Socialist," containing monthly report of the S. E. U. I approve highly of this method of keeping members informed of conditions financial of "The Socialist."

I regret exceedingly that I must again plead poverty, the mills here having been shut down, my wife ill and consequent expenses. The Brown meetings here were fairly successful. I helped distribute "The Socialist." A SLAVE.

Arlington, Wash., March 23, 1904.

Dear Comrade— Find enclosed herewith another mite to help the cause along. It isn't much, but the best we can do at present.

This is a contribution toward paying off that debt. Hope to be able to do more in the near future. Would like to be in the city in the thick of the fight, but at present our living is more certain here. But I do not intend living among the stumps always, where so little can be done. Again I say: Long live "The Socialist," and I am going to help it live by contributing hard cash whenever I can, and may it expand and extend its sphere of usefulness until every slave is roused to action and we usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth. ELEANORA MAURER.

Muscatine, Iowa. The city of Muscatine is located on the banks of the largest river in the world, the Mississippi. It has for the last ten years become quite a button cutting center, it having at least twenty button factories. The business in its infancy, was quite aggressive for a while. They could not furnish enough buttons for the outside world markets. Therefore they set to work all idle working men in the city and, on account of the fair wages paid there, they induced a lot of farmer's sons and men living in the adjoining small cities to seek work at cutting button blanks. But the year of 1903 saw the market flooded with buttons; shut down for weeks, and when the did start up, they only worked half crews. Now, it seems as though during this dull period the button factory owners got their heads together and decided to cut the wages of the men, and they certainly were wise enough not to cut the wages in all the shops at the same time, so they made a start at one of the factories. Of course the men working at this shop went out on strike, but as they were not organized, they simply had to take the cut or look for another job. Of course, there not being much of a demand for labor, they had to go back with their wages cut.

Then, one after another, the other factories cut the wages also. These men cut these button blanks at so much for the gross, having to cut fourteen dozen for a gross, a new kind of a gross, and beside having all had buttons counted against them. They used to average about \$10 per week, but now they average about \$8 per week, which is simply a subsistence wage, I myself, being forced to go into one of the button shops as a green hand could not make over \$5.50 a week, and there were quite a number who could not make more than a dollar a day. Now the manager, seeing that the machines were not being worked to their full capacity, decided to discharge every one who did not make \$1 per day. Of course I only made \$5.70, and was therefore discharged. But in the short time I was there, I and a few more comrades did stir those working slaves up, and when I was discharged nearly every man in the shop realized that the button business has gone to the dogs. They also realize that the only recourse left to them is the ballot,

through which the working class can capture the powers of government, and once having the power establish the Co-operative Commonwealth, which means Socialism. LEE W. LANG. 700 West Eighth St.

From the land of sun and flowers comes a voice saying: Prior to the War of the Rebellion the negroes were owned by masters who also owned the land and the tools by which the land was tilled. As a result of the war the slaves were set free—free from ownership, but they owned none of the means by which wealth is produced and distributed. In order to live, these free(?) men and free women and free children were forced to sell their laboring power back to their old masters. Now, that they are free, they sell themselves on the installment plan for the least sum that the masterless slave will accept. As a result the mass of these black slaves is worse off now than before their so-called emancipation. Before his emancipation he never fretted about a job, but now the fear of want keeps him in a state of anxiety and dread. So-called freedom has robbed him of contentment. The negro is just as free as any worker who must sell himself and those who must have a master in order to live are not free, to call them so is but to mock.

Amid the clash and clangor, conflict and tumult over the division of the wealth which belongs to the slaves, there arise the sounds of feasting and rejoicing of the masters, mingled with the groans, curses and denunciations of the slaves.

There is a steady decline in wages and a corresponding advantage goes to the master. The slaves plead, cower, and suffer in shack and hovel. The masters deride the slaves and while parading their stolen wealth in costly apparel, stately palaces and splendid equipages, they send the militia against such slaves as dare to attempt to exercise rights guaranteed by the masters' constitution and the slaves are murdered by these hired assassins.

"Respect for the flag," is the cry of the patriots just now. They are highly excited over the use to which a fac-simile of the flag was put by the Colorado miners. These miners used this fac-simile of the flag to declare the usurpations of the patriots to the world. This filled these marauders with consternation and they are causing the slaves to be thrown into bull pens and other filthy and disreputable places. If the flag is to be respected it must be made respectable.

When a hobo found \$10,000 and returned it to those who were the real thieves, the Seattle Daily Times says that he was rewarded with a life job. The Times would have more accurately stated the truth by saying that he was punished with a life job. In Colorado the champions of private ownership are striving to starve and intimidate the slaves into the acceptance of jobs on the terms proposed by the masters. Our Seattle Times would say that the masters are generous in offering these life jobs to the slaves—that the masters would reward these slaves with life jobs. But the Times is a great josh.

W. A. Spaulding wants an auditorium for the use of Seattle audiences. He thinks we might build a commodious hall in connection with the Carnegie Library and suggests that we might touch the generous heart of the man who has done so much for us, and that he would donate \$50,000 or possibly \$10,000 for the purpose of building such a hall. If Carnegie would listen to this siren and give the amount indicated, then W. A. Spaulding would call the old robber a philanthropist, but the slaves are beginning to see that these donations are only possible so long as the masters continue the robbery. When the slave gets the product of his toil the masters can make no further donations.

A lady friend of mine, a slave who has three dependent children, paid \$1 for a job, but as there was a slave ahead of her she returned, asked to have the dollar refunded but the agent asked to see her receipt and upon securing it, he tore it into shreds and told the poor slave to do her best. But she could do nothing except to look for a chance to sell her laboring power to some master.

That function is reserved for the master.

Why Are We Organized

Or What are We At? Arlington, Wash., Mar. 23, 1904.

Dear Comrade: In No. 3, Vol. 1, of "The Crisis," Salt Lake City, Utah, I find the following:

Call for a State Convention. Salt Lake City, Feb. 13, 1904.

A call is hereby issued for a State Convention of the Socialist Party, to be held at Salt Lake City, Utah, on the sixth (6th) day of April, 1904, to convene at ten o'clock in the morning in Federation of Labor Hall, for the purpose of electing delegates to the National Convention to be held in Chicago on May first, and the election of a new State committee. Also to transact such other business as may properly be brought before it.

The basis of representation in said State Convention shall be by Locals, each club being entitled to one delegate for the first five members in good standing, or fraction thereof.

It is suggested, however, that on account of the many comrades living in isolated localities where affiliation with a local is out of the question, that representative Socialists from any part of the State will be welcome and admitted to the deliberations, without regard to whether or not they are members of any Local.

By order of State Committee. J. A. KAUFMANN, WM. BOGART, BRIGHAM BIRCH, Quorum.

C. L. SPIEGEL, Asst. State Sec.

Well, and how does this strike you? There is the organized Socialist Party of Utah, holding a State Convention. Well, the holding of a convention is natural enough. The puzzle which irritates my thick tank is the last clause in the enclosed call for that convention. It invites all representative Socialists in unorganized parts to participate in the deliberations, regardless of whether they are members of the party or not. I would like to know:

First: Are those non-members allowed to have a voice and also a vote in that convention, or are they only allowed to talk, without having a vote?

The whole matter revolves on this pivot: Suppose, for instance, they are allowed to vote. Let's see what is there to do. The first is to agree upon a platform and to put up ticket. So far the Utah comrades might say this is their own business. Correct! But there are one or more delegates to the National Convention to be elected and this is a matter concerning us all.

Let's start at the beginning: First, every representative Socialist is allowed to take part—a free for all—door wide open policy. Those representative Socialists help to elect one or more delegates, to help to make the National platform and help to select the National ticket. Now, don't you think we are interested, just a little? By leaving open the doors, just think what wolves in sheep's clothing will rush in to that convention, as representative Socialists of course.

To get a true picture of this, just think of us holding a convention in Washington in the same brotherly, world-embracing way. In the first place the Utah way of electing delegates is wrong. The delegates ought to be elected by the party at large and not by a few men in the convention, some of whom are "representative Socialists."

I want to know if in case Utah elects her delegates, in this manner, with the help of those aforementioned representative Socialists, what the rest of the Socialistically elected delegates of the convention (those who pay their dues and are members) are going to do? I wonder if our teachers, the editors of our press, the watchmen on the towers of the party, are doing their duty and will sound the signal of danger?

"Watchman, tell us of the night." Fraternally yours, WILLIAM DE LILLY.

P. S.—On looking at the editorial columns of this new Socialist paper, "The Crisis," my surprise at a call for convention of the enclosed kind lessened somewhat, for I find as editors the names of Joseph Gilbert and K. S. Hilliard.

W. D. L. [For holding a city convention in Spokane, Wash., on similar lines, Local Spokane, including Joseph Gilbert, their chief leader, was deprived of its charter by Referendum vote of the Party in this state.]—Ed.

FROM SALT LAKE ITSELF. Salt Lake City, March 27, 1904. The Seattle Socialist, Dear Comrade.

I have read of different kinds of Socialists in different states and counties, but for different kinds of Socialists, Utah can skin them all, barring none.

We have here a self-styled Liberal Socialist Party with the accent on the Liberal. This Liberal Socialist Party is almost exclusively composed of intellectuals or natural born leaders, the Moseses as it were of the working class.

The working class of Utah being in their estimation so hopelessly ignorant that they consider themselves the natural custodians of us.

One or two of those leaders arrived here sometime ago from the state of Washington where they were leaders to such an extent, that they led themselves clean out of not only the Socialist Party, but the state of Washington as well, with the help of the Washington comrades.

They have ignored, insulted, and ridiculed National Secretary Wm. Mailly in particular and National Committee in general through this so-called Salt Lake Local. They positively refused to join State or National organization in answer to National Secretary Wm. Mailly's letters, until they learned that I intended to make such application,

The Necessity for Organization

By John M. Work.

When the American army invaded the Philippines, it easily conquered every Filipino alleged army with which it came in contact. Why? Because on the American side there was organization, order, discipline, modern equipment; whereas, on the Philippine side, there was almost nothing but bravery and love of liberty. Bravery and love of liberty are good, but, on a battlefield, they are no match for organization, discipline, Mauser rifles and Gatling guns.

When bravery and love of liberty are supplemented by modern means of warfare, they are invincible.

Disorganized and undisciplined Socialists, no matter how heroic and liberty loving, are no match for the capitalist class.

When Socialist heroism and love of liberty are coupled with close, compact, efficient organization, they are invincible.

Organization is the need of the hour.

A Socialist who goes it alone and fights capitalism single handed may be likened to a farmer who cultivates his corn with a hoe. He wastes most of his energy. He lacks up-to-date equipment.

Capitalism is a boulder which one Socialist cannot budge. Neither can many Socialists hitting it a clip at random do it vital injury. But when all Socialists get their shoulders against and heave simultaneously, it will go crashing over the precipice into oblivion.

The day of the free lance, both on the platform and in the ranks, is over. Grant that he did good service; his day is over nevertheless.

It is the free lance in the ranks to whom I am talking now, the man who thinks it is not necessary to join the party organization.

Allow me to quote the following from the Herald, of Milwaukee:

"The success of the Republican and Democratic parties in capturing the powers of government has always been due to their thoroughness of organization. Likewise the oppression of the masses by a few capitalists is possible, owing to the lack of organization of the masses, and they will never be able to break this yoke except by organized efforts. The hub of the great wheel of the masses is the Socialist Party. Around it center the aims and interests of the working class. Joined to it, like the spokes of a mighty wheel, are those workers that have discovered that a wheel is useless unless the spokes are all joined to the hub; also that spokes can make better progress in the wheel than out of it. Thousands of spokes that are not joined to the wheel have declared their desire to have the wheel move, by voting the Socialist ticket, but their desires will be realized much quicker when they assume their respective places."

Do you want to be a spoke rotting by the wayside, or a spoke doing good service by being in its place in the wheel?

There is no way to fight capitalism successfully except through close, complete, compact, thorough, efficient organization. We must fight systematically, not chaotically. We must fire broadsides, not pogons. We must meet the complete organization of the enemy with an organization still more complete.

A million unorganized Socialists have no terrors for the capitalist class. Twenty thousand organized Socialists, carrying on a systematic, methodical propaganda, have drawn fierce and furious fire from the Republican national committee.

A million unorganized Socialists have no terrors for the capitalist class. Twenty thousand organized Socialists have goaded the capitalists into organizing the National Economic League to propagate Socialism by fighting against it.

A million unorganized Socialists have no terrors for the capitalist class. Twenty thousand organized Socialists have scared the Catholic Church into sending forth its demagogues to propagate Socialism by railing against it.

You are not a good Socialist unless you are a member of the party organization.

Joining the party organization and paying dues promptly is the first duty of every Socialist. No other work you do for the Cause will have such a telling and far-reaching effect as this.

It was natural that in the early stages of the movement the organization should be loose. But, hereafter, it must be close and compact. Hereafter, if a local or branch permits a non-member to participate in business meeting or conventions, it will be guilty of a gross violation of discipline. Likewise, if it permits any member who is not in good standing to participate in such meetings. By no other means can a close and efficient organization be maintained. By no other means can a guard be thrown up against spies and traitors.

Every member of the Socialist Party is an integral part of the movement. Every member should be thoroughly posted, not only on the principles, but also on the tactics and current events of the movement, so that the organization will at all times be able to act with both wisdom and expedition. By no other means can a rank and file movement be maintained. And both a rank and file movement and a thorough and efficient organization are indispensable in the Socialist Party.

The time for scattering shot is gone. The time for rainbow chasing is gone.

We must be practical. We must use common sense.

We must advance upon the enemy in perfect order and in battle array.

me is too good. "One of those 'ign- together, not waiting to get regular blank or form as provided for, but sent in names of seven or eight persons on a sheet of common paper, in order to get in ahead of us, which they did. But, we got the charter for Salt Lake Local.

Of course, the worst they can say of me is too good. One of those "ignor- norants" to think! Much less act! "Preposterous!"

To cap the climax they have called a convention for April 6th for the purpose of forming a state organization and electing delegates to National convention.

Later to demand an unconditional entry to National Socialist organization, regardless of the fact that the state has not paid any National dues for over a year past, for which fact the state has been declared not in good standing.

Those leaders, Intellectuals, Liberal Socialists or, what not, have started a Socialist Abortion, misnamed "The Crisis," which made its appearance March 11th. The leading article being a defense of the beastly practice of Polygamy and cohabitation by the Mormon Hierarchy. That may be a good Socialist propaganda but, if a cow should stray into a horse stable she would likely get insulted upon being called a horse.

J. H. ZENGER, 221 So. 1st West.

"It is the fashion now to revise Marx. Every unripe pumpkin of a Socialist scribbler is ready to rough and tumble for points with old Marx. We may yet learn that we were too hasty in tampering with the famous passages in the Communist manifesto. We may yet learn to go slow in rejecting stones laid by the great builder."—Slobodin.

No social result of importance can be obtained without organization.

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