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# The Socialist

THE WORKINGMANS PAPER

A CARTOON WEEKLY

To Organize the Slaves of Capital To Vote Their Own Emancipation

Join The Party  
of Your Class

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## The Man Without a Country



### The "Blanket Stiff"

He built the ROAD—  
With others of his CLASS, he built the road,  
Now o'er it, many a weary mile, he packs his load,  
Chasing a JOB, spurred on by HUNGERS' goad.  
He walks and walks, and wonders why  
In H—L, he built the road.

This is a true picture, though it makes an effective cartoon. "The Man with his Blankets" is a product of our industrial system on the Pacific Slope.

"The Blanket Stiff" has no home. He is not a tramp, though he is obliged to tramp pretty often. He literally takes up his bed and walks. In this mild climate he can lie down anywhere and sleep with no protection but his blankets.

"The Man with his Blankets" is so common here that he attracts no attention. The Eastern eye would look upon him with wonder.

Yet this man is only a type of the working class as a whole. The American wage worker is on the go, always on the road. He is hunting for a job. He has nothing to lose but his blankets and the chains that bind him to this necessity of finding an employer.

The most pathetic sight on earth is this MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY, this CLASS WITHOUT A COUNTRY. Even the best paid and most permanently employed wage workers succeed in getting little more than their "Blankets." What is the little home that you have got by hardest saving and longest hours, what is it but a little larger "Roll of Blankets"?

Only a very small percentage of the World's Workers own any permanent plot on the earth. They are the real MEN WITHOUT A COUNTRY.

Yet the country belong to you. You made it what it is. Why not vote together to take what belongs to you? That is what the Socialist Party proposes to do, to restore to you the land and the wealth which have been taken from you. That is the kind of Patriotism which the Socialists are teaching.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CONVENTION

What changes do you think are necessary in the party organization?

Practically none. The forms of organization count little. If the spirit of Socialism is present, the mere forms will adapt themselves to the needs of the growing body. As we need changes, they will be demanded and made. The great thing now is to educate the wage workers, create in them an intelligent class consciousness, awaken them to action and then organization will follow.

One point in general as to organization: Whatever changes are made should be in the direction of democracy and against all centralization of power. We are not only Socialists, but Democratic Socialists.

For this reason a central party organ would be dangerous, placing prestige and undue influence in the National Committee or National Board of Control.

For this reason also changes are to be commended which will safeguard Referendum votes, and explicitly define the methods of taking same. Too often now a central committee is able to manipulate the party will as expressed in the Referendums. The Socialist Party is introducing the Referendum. It should introduce it right.

What, if any, action should be taken towards setting forth a working program for such members as may be elected to office within a capitalist government? Should such a program be attached to the platform, embodied in a separate and explanatory document, or entirely omitted?

We are not in immediate danger of electing such officials, except in municipalities. In any case, it is more important that such officials be well grounded in the fundamental principles of Socialist economics than that they be supplied with a Procrustean bed of proper things to do, called a "working program."

"Whatever is to the interest of the working class, that I will do," is the one pledge of every Socialist nominee. If he is not intelligent enough to decide for himself what is to the interest of his class in any given conditions, he is not fit to be a Socialist nominee.

In my judgment, it is better that we do not win elections, even in municipalities, for some years to come. The majority of our membership are so raw in the Socialist army and so soaked with capitalist notions of politics and economics, that it will be better for us to pass through several campaigns of education before we win political campaigns. In fact, our political campaigns have their chief function for the present as means of education.

Have you any suggestions as to the methods of controlling those who represent the Socialist Party on the public platform?

Control them by controlling the selection of them. After a speaker is selected, he must be given freedom of expression. Here, again, it is all important that the fundamentals be understood. If a man is educated in the principles of scientific Socialism, his utterances will need no control. If he is not, no methods will control him. He is a ship without a rudder.

I can suggest no better way of selecting speakers than the present. Local and state committees must decide according to their best judgment. They will make mistakes and correct them. The final test will be the educated instinct of the comrades, which will not long tolerate any serious departure from proletarian principles.

What action, if any, should be taken towards securing uniformity of action by Socialists elected to municipal positions?

Let our Municipal Committee's report be published, embracing a full discussion of this matter. This will serve as a helpful stimulus to such officials toward reaching Socialist decisions on all pending questions. But no "Rules and Regulations" for a Socialist legislator or executive when occupying a capitalist office! If the comrades are so deficient in judgment

as to select and elect a "chump," they and the party ought to be punished by his blunders, and so learn better.

Should there be any special expression of our attitude towards the farmers or negroes? If so, what?

Yes, something as follows:  
Resolved, That the negro wage slave is robbed of the greater part of his product, the same as the white wage slave, and the Socialist Party is his only hope of emancipation. We therefore welcome the negro vote as we do the vote of all wage slaves, without respect to color, sex or nationality, and we advocate active propaganda and organization among the negro population of the United States.

Farmer Resolution.

Resolved, That the small farmer has no hope of deliverance from his present hard conditions except by uniting with the wage workers' political organization, the Socialist Party. The small farmer must recognize that the United States is no longer an agricultural but a manufacturing country, and that therefore the dominant, typical class is the class of wage workers, the one class that must save society. We call upon the small farmers to look beyond their own class, to recognize the supreme class struggle between capital and wage labor and to join hands with that class which alone can bring freedom from all economical bondage.

Should the present "trade union resolution" stand? If not, how should it be changed?

Yes, with an additional resolution, somewhat like this:

Resolved, That the trade unions at this moment stand at the parting of the ways. The capitalist is making supreme efforts to capture them by spies and hired leaders, by flattery and negotiations, by insisting on the common interests of labor and capital, by alarmist appeals against Socialism and Socialist agitators.

On the other hand, the strategic moment has arrived for the Socialists to outmaneuver these capitalist tactics by making the most strenuous efforts to educate the trades unions in Socialist economics. We therefore reiterate our former resolution and call upon our comrades to join their respective unions with a view to saving them from capitalist control.

We urge our comrades to point out three things to their trades union brothers. (1) That the great combinations of capital in vast industries, embracing many trades, make it impossible for mere trade organizations to succeed as formerly and render it necessary for unions to be organized along industrial rather than trade lines. (2) That the growing power of concentrated capital renders even the best organized labor unions more and more impotent and must make it evident that only by united action on the political field can labor achieve any permanent benefit for itself. (3) That nothing short of the Socialist program, abolishing the wage system itself, will be of any use as a political demand.—Hermon F. Titus, Editor The Socialist, Seattle, Wash., in the "International Socialist Review" for April, 1904.

The press dispatches announce that two distinguished Russian diplomats are coming over here to create a favorable sentiment for Russia among the American newspapers. The Russians know a good thing when they see it. So do our great capitalist newspapers, which have become the paid pleaders of capital, whose motto is, "Money talks."

## "Nothing To Lose But His Chains"



Actual picture of Henry Maki a striking miner of Telluride, Colorado, arrested because he was not working, though he had money in his pocket, condemned to the chain gang as a vagrant, and finally, because he refused to work in a sewer when ordered to do so, CHAINED TO THE TELEGRAPH POLE as you see.

What do you think of it, workers of America? Is Liberty dead in this country? Yes, for wage workers, dead long ago.

What will help you? Vote your own emancipation and capture the power of government for yourselves. Nothing else will restore the ancient freedom and free our flag from desecration.

Did you vote a Republican or Democratic ticket? Then this is what you voted for,—to chain yourself and your brother in slavery.

Cincinnati is the largest leaf tobacco market in the world. The Tobacco Trust has created consternation among the "independents" in that city by swooping down on them and controlling the market before they were aware that the trust was after them. The trust has also cornered almost the entire crop at Maysville, Ky., another large tobacco market. The "independents" are raising a big howl, but they virtually admit that the days of individual competition in their business are numbered.

John Mitchell still insists that the interests of labor and capital are identical. He has now evolved to the point where he talks of the rights of capital. When John was a coal digger, and even for some time after he became president of the N. M. W. of A., he talked only of the rights of labor. It is strange how much broader and more liberal one becomes in his ideas of capital after he has hobnobbed awhile with humanitarian employers, eminent divines and clever politicians. A few more years as ambassador to the court of capitalism will make John a firm believer in the bosses' idea of running their business to suit themselves.

Those Democrats who are making for Willie Randolph Hearst's "barrel" probably have in mind the old saying, "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." Willie's "barrel" is a condition. Grover's clover patch is a theory.

It is a pity Prof. Kincaid was pitted against a learned ignoramus last Sunday night in the debate on the question, "Has Darwinism Been Sustained?" Kellogg, with "D. D." and "L. L. D." to his name, actually declared that when oxygen and hydrogen are burned together in the blow-pipe, the two gases cease to exist and all that was left was light, heat, electricity. Prof. Kincaid treated him with silent contempt, contenting himself with the ironical remark, lost on the pachydermatous "D. D., L. L. D., that if any one had discovered how to annihilate oxygen and hydrogen, he should hasten to announce his discovery to the scientific world and achieve everlasting fame. This is the same Dr. Kellogg who was put forward by the National Economic League as their champion writer and debater.

He knows just as much of economics or Socialism as he does of chemistry, and he is just as ignorant of his ignorance.

What the outraged workers in Colorado will do for Peabody next November will be a plenty, but what they will do for Peabodyism in their eagerness to down Peabody will make the master class smile all over themselves. It is time the working class were thinking of elevating themselves instead of always trying to down the miserable tools of the capitalist class. If there were no Peabodyism in Colorado there would be no Peabody.

Rev. Howard Melish, of Cincinnati, the bold fighter of gamblers, graft and gang rule, has been "called" to a larger field of work. He has gone to Brooklyn to fight the "head center of official corruption in America." As a

fighter of effects, Rev. Melish has no equal except Dr. Parkhurst, but he is as ignorant of the causes which are producing the effects he deplors so eloquently as Roosevelt or Bryan is of the cause of trusts.

A number of Catholic bishops in their annual conclave at Washington, announce that the Catholic church is the only antidote for Socialism. A few years prior to the French revolution which overthrew the despotic rule of monarchy a number of Catholic dignitaries also announced that the Catholic church was the greatest power to destroy democracy. The church will be as powerless against industrial democracy as it has been against politi-

cal democracy. The workers will be more loyal to their stomachs when a great unemployed problem comes on us than they will be to the church which will give them a stone when they ask for bread.

Gov. Odell, of New York, has denied that he made an attack on trades unions in one of his recent speeches. He says he believes in unions that are conducted on the right principle. To be sure, he does. So does Parry and even Peabody. They don't object to "good" unions. What they are opposed to is the unions which seek to enforce their demands. Then they become "bad" and un-American, and must not be tolerated in a "free" country.

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