

CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT

Conducted by Arthur Morrow Lewis and Lena Morrow Lewis. Address: 225 Parrott Bldg., S. F., Cal.

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO.

Propaganda meeting at Turk St. Temple, 117 Turk St., every Thursday night. Business meeting of San Francisco Local every Monday night at Turk St. Temple. Local headquarters, Rooms 29-30, 1504 Market St. Thomas Bersford, Organizer; Miss Mary Fairbrother, Secretary.

Socialist Party, Local San Francisco, Headquarters: I. O. O. F. Bldg., 7th and Market Sts., Room 5. We vote as we strike.

Notes of a lecture delivered in Turk Street Temple on the subject of Socialism and Materialism:

By Arthur Morrow Lewis. It is undoubtedly unpleasant to be obliged to recognize the fact that there are two schools of Socialism in America, as there is in most European countries. They are probably classified as the Utopian and the Scientific.

Utopianism marks the infancy of the individual Socialist and the infancy of the movement; just in the same way that the open space next to the big toe peculiar to the human infant indicates the babyhood of the human species.

The principal bone of contention between the two schools is the question of materialism. The utopian usually displays among other things great sensitiveness on the question of religion. He is of the Church—Churchy. This is because theology and idealism are twin vultures of the same egg.

As an example of this a communication comes from Boston and is published in Los Angeles Socialist and in the Seattle Socialist carrying the signature of John Ellis. I wish to express my gratification as one Socialist, to the editor of the Seattle Socialist for publishing a reply to Comrade (I presume) Ellis. In Los Angeles Comrade Ellis' reactionary proposals, so far, seem to have called forth nothing but approval.

We do not know who Comrade Ellis is, but we are obliged to admit that he is not alone in his attitude. His position, while it is in its death throes, is yet stoutly defended by some of the most prominent speakers on the Socialist platform. Comrade Ellis is anxious that we should relieve ourselves of the burden of the philosophy of materialism. It is usual for people of Comrade Ellis' views to proceed upon the assumption that Socialism is pledged to some theory of the origin of the mind or the universe. This, it is needless to say, is an error, as Comrade Ellis ought to know.

It is sufficiently obvious, however, that the thing which is the real bugbear to the Theological, Idealistic Utopian, is "the Materialist conception of history," but he is blessed with a saving sense of the manifest absurdity of openly asking the Socialist movement to throw overboard its central and most fundamental truth.

Now why does not Comrade Ellis take his courage in both hands and tell us frankly that what he wishes is that the Socialist party shall 're-visit' its position, discard the materialist conception of history, and supply its place with a choice collection of Free Methodist or Congregational theology. No John it won't do, we have had enough of theology. Theology! Bah. It has an ancient and a fishlike smell!

It is extremely generous of Comrade ... to be willing to overlook the blunder of the European writers upon Socialism who have mixed with the economic truths of Socialism a thorough going theory of materialism. And so our Bostonian comrade thinks we should correct the errors of Marx and Engels and Lafargue and Bebel, and instead of the Socialism of these wicked atheists we shall give the American people the American Socialism of Father McGrady, the Christian Socialism of Martha Moore Avery, or the Higher Life Socialism of Comrade J. Stitt Wilson.

This would be 'revisionism' with a vengeance! But it will not do! The foundations of Socialist philosophy were laid in the blood and tears of half a century and we cannot afford to have this grand work undone to please the befuddled disciples of Mother Eddy and the new thought.

(The remainder of this lecture consisted of an analysis of the relationship if the materialist conception of history to modern ethical science.)

GENERAL NEWS.

A. M. L. Last Monday night at the business meeting of local S. F., the office of Organizer fell vacant and the present writer was unanimously elected to the position. The change came without a moment's warning and I accepted the position so suddenly thrust upon me with some considerable misgiving as it

meant a complete overturning of all my plans for the summer's work. There seemed to be nobody else available, however, and having accepted the position I wish to ask the hearty cooperation of the S. F. readers of the Socialist. Keep your eye, in particular on the Thursday night propaganda meetings in Turk St. Temple, for they are going to be lively and interesting.

The prospects for Socialist propaganda in this city at present are tremendous. The whole city is in a state of ferment over the threatened deadlock between the street car men and the United Railway company. They have just now (3 o'clock, May 1) concluded a midnight meeting at which they have decided to postpone action three days, at the suggestion of the mayor.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of the men to avoid a strike, it seems that their only choice will be between a strike and a lockout.

The master seems to consider the battle already won and judging by certain signs the struggle is to be one of life and death.

The capitalist press is already getting into line. We have seen something before of a reptile and gutter press, but the sline that oozes up in the columns of the Evening Post is enough to bring a blush to the cheeks of the notorious Herbert George.

But the capitalist class has never been fool enough to rely entirely upon moral or immoral suasion and the more conservative members of the Carmen's Union are agast at the way arms and ammunition are being distributed at every courthouse in the city. It would seem that the Colorado outrages are to be perpetrated in San Francisco.

The officers voted unanimously against the terms offered a few days ago by the slavemasters. The slave masters asserted that the men did not want to strike and that if a secret ballot was taken the men would vote to accept the terms offered. The challenge was accepted and a secret ballot was taken, and only six per cent voted to lie down, and as one of the carmen said to the writer, "where will you find a labor union with less than six per cent of suckers in it?"

Mrs. Lewis is holding street meetings at Sacramento and is speaking tonight at the May day meeting at Pythian Castle where the striking builders will probably be present and learn of better ways of fighting the common enemy than merely striking.

The California locals are busy preparing for the State Convention, though the place for its meeting is not yet settled.

NOTES

LENA MORROW LEWIS.

The enthusiasm and interest displayed by the wage workers all over world on May 1st, International Labor Day, was indeed significant.

The lines between the working class and the capitalist class are being clearly drawn and it is becoming very evident that there is no ground between the two classes save a battle ground.

The most active force in bringing on this great war is not the workingmen themselves but their masters. The huculean efforts of the capitalist class to save itself will help to precipitate a revolution. No better proof is wanted than is to be found in the aggressive work of the Manufacturers' Association and the Citizens' Alliance, recently organized in this country. It is quite possible that the majority of the readers of the "Socialist" have not read the report of the annual convention of the Citizens' Industrial Association and for the benefit of those who have not seen a copy of it we append the following from the report.

The convention met in Indianapolis, Feb. 22, and had delegates from Ala., Cal., Col., Ill., Ind., Iowa, Kan., Ken., Md., Mass., Mich., Minn., Miss., Mont., Mo., Neb. N. Y., O., Penn., D. C., Wis., Wyo., with especially large delegations from Ill., Ind., Mich., Mo., N. Y., and O.

In the president's opening address we note the following: "The great majority of those whose time is absorbed in business life are apt to give but little heed to the business of government, but a convention like this I believe, is evidence that the business man is beginning to see that it does not pay to neglect his duty as an American citizen. The government is only that which the people make it and unless those elements of citizenship which have a substantial interest in the country's welfare exercise their proper share in the shaping of public events, it need not be surprising if those elements that have nothing to lose but everything to gain succeed to some extent in giving a socialistic trend to government."

Again President Parry says: "You have come together not for selfish ends but for furthering the best interests of the nation." The only true solution of the labor problem must lie in an appeal to the intelligence of the people. The methods and the economic ideas of trades unionism cannot survive thorough public discussion; but the public is not to be greatly blamed if it arrives at erroneous conclusions by virtue of having but one side of the question continually

put before it. There must be some antidote provided for the poisonous doctrines of socialism."

As an evidence that Parry does not believe in trying to harmonize labor and capital as Mark Hanna did is seen in the following: "Who do not want any more national arbitration tribunals to haggle with labor trusts as to the terms upon which they will consent to allow industry to proceed in this country, and we do not want to see a great public sentiment demanding the creation of such tribunals for such an inane purpose."

(This was greeted with applause.) Another important end to be accomplished by the Citizens' Industrial Association is that of influencing the policies of political parties and the official conduct of public officers. (It is very evident that Parry has no notion of keeping out of politics.) Again he says in speaking of political action, "No political party is apt to follow after the false gods of socialism or allow the irresponsible labor agitator to write its national platform if it thereby challenges the opposition of a strong industrial association of business men and women such as the Citizens' Industrial Association. (Applause.)"

(If the Citizens' Alliance succeeds in keeping the democratic and republican parties from putting any socialistic measures in their platforms and leave the coast clear for the Socialist party we shall be greatly obliged to it. One thing is certain, the Socialist Party is not going to be frightened out by the Citizens' Industrial Association.)

Again Parry says: "Not until unionism has become disrupted or has thoroughly purged itself of its socialistic and unlawful tendencies and policies will the need of the employers' organization be removed."

F. E. Matson, secretary of the Indianapolis Employers' Association, in his address of welcome to the convention gave utterance to the following:

"The centuries past have been spent by the human race in the effort to attain a proper degree of personal liberty, and that means simply that a man may be permitted to do whatever he wishes to do so long as he does not infringe upon the legal and property rights of others. I would like for some man to name for me a higher right, a more natural right, a more essential right, than the right of the common laborer to work for whom he pleases, for what he pleases, and under what circumstances he desires, without interference from any one. (Applause.) And gentlemen, we must not be misled by the high sounding phrases in which the champions of this new tyranny choose to couch their terms and their arguments."

Daniel Davenport of Connecticut, who represented the American anti-boycott association had the following to say: After quoting the declaration of principles as given out by the International Union of Textile Workers, which principles are similar to those of the Glassworkers and the Brewery Workers and Bakers' unions, he says:

"Now in view of these principles adopted by great labor organizations I say, gentlemen, that the great interests represented in this convention are alarmed; that a movement has already attained such great dimensions in America is something that gives them pause, and I leave it to you, gentlemen, that they have reason to be alarmed. I put it to you individually and personally, gentlemen, because this is a question that transcends all local matters and individual matters also—if it were to please God tonight to call you into the eternal world, if you were this night to leave your wife a widow and your children fatherless, could you go when you know doctrines like these and great organizations like these are in existence—could you go in the confident assurance that organized society will preserve and protect and defend to them—I do not speak of their children but to them—the fruit of your labors and your savings and your anxieties? And I put it to you also, gentlemen, whether it is not incumbent upon every citizen in this country, who values the institutions derived from his fathers and who desire to transmit them to his posterity, to bestir himself to check the progress of such a movement?"

The preachers had a part in the meeting and the Rev. Boetcker, a prominent minister of Shelbyville, Ind., made a very spirited address. Among other things he said: "Do not leave this convention with the impression that you had a splendid meeting, that you listened to some of the most able speakers of the country, but leave this city with the steadfast intention to become a voluntary 'waiting delegate' for the Citizens' Industrial Association of America." (The strenuous efforts of the clergy to harmonize labor and capital is seen in the following from Rev. Boetcker's speech: "Now gentlemen, I am confident that we can and will get the majority of the American workingmen on our side. How? Not by putting all the employers on one side, thus increasing the class hatred that has already been arrayed by some irresponsible so-called labor leaders. Let us not make this association a one-sided affair, but impress upon the workingmen especially that this is a movement for the employers and employees." (Applause.)

The following advice to his brother ministers was no doubt pleasing to the Capitalist class: "I believe it is the duty of every clergyman in this country to take an active part in this great movement. (Applause.) I believe it is the duty of every minister to show the men that the unions of today are mostly sailing under a false flag, for they are neither patriotic nor are they an American institution."

Mr. Farquhar of Pennsylvania, gives us the following valuable information: "Labor is paid from what labor produces." (Of course for labor to demand all that it produces would be very, very wrong.) A little later in his speech he says: "Since the wages of labor come from capital and capital is created by labor, quarrels between them can only be injurious to both and logically absurd. Let it be the mission of our organization to teach this great truth, to stand out against oppression from either upper or nether mill-stone and bring permanent peace and prosperity to all."

The deep interest and concern that members of this convention had for

the workingman is noted particularly in the speech made by John B. Stoll, editor of the South Bend Times, South Bend, Ind.

"All of us were profoundly impressed with the wisdom and vigor of the utterances of the honored president of this association. He urged in his address the importance of inaugurating a propaganda for the purpose of relieving industry of the iron heel of despotism and labor of the fetters that bind it to the demagogue and that at times deliver it over into the outstretched arms of socialism and anarchy."

The convention sent a telegram of congratulation to Governor Peabody of Colorado and received a representative of General Otis, the editor of the Los Angeles Times, with marked enthusiasm.

As a fitting climax to the convention they closed by singing "My Country, 'tis of Thee."

REPORT OF NATIONAL SECRETARY

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party, May 1st, 1904:

Comrades: In submitting this report as National Secretary of the Socialist Party, I shall confine myself to those questions which I have come to consider as essential to the development and progress of the party organization, believing that in the settlement of these questions is bound up the future of the movement in whose interest I desire to emphasize, therefore, the necessity of our members giving increased attention to the methods of transacting the party business in their respective local, state and national organizations. They must acquaint themselves thoroughly with all the executive and administrative details, such as conducting business meetings and correspondence, keeping accounts, making reports, and other duties involved in the general government of the party. They should post themselves as far as possible upon the detail of party activity in every field and they should elect as their officials and representatives only those comrades whose fitness especially qualifies them for these positions. More important still, they must continue to develop the spirit of self-confidence, of dependence upon themselves, of faith in their ability through their own foresight and wisdom to settle all the problems and overcome all the difficulties which lie between here and the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Of the writing of books, the making of speeches, and the editing and publishing of papers, there is no end, but there is an appreciable lack of application to the executive branches of our party work. However important the literary and other educational features of the movement may be, yet these factors will continue to be more or less barren of results so long as the party organization is not properly equipped to take full advantage of them. Heretofore (and this was perhaps unavoidable in the early stages of the movement) the greatest amount of energy has been expended upon the dissemination of literature and the holding of public meetings, regardless of the methods employed or of any direct purpose to which the results accruing therefrom were to be applied. There was competition instead of cooperation, and a consequent waste of energy, money and enthusiasm. As one result, there is now in this country a tremendous amount of Socialist sentiment of which we cannot take advantage because our organization is not yet in a position to do so. From this time forward we should try to adjust the mechanism of the party to secure the best results with the least expenditure of effort and money, so that the gathering forces of Socialist thought and sentiment can find concrete expression at the ballot box.

Perhaps no other task to which a Socialist can apply himself offers less of individual glory or immediate reward of any kind than that of faithful participation in and unremitting devotion to the details of party organization, but this very fact makes it all the more necessary that the task should be undertaken. It is easy and convenient to let things run themselves, but sooner or later the party members pay the penalty for their indifference or carelessness by becoming involved in disagreeable situations which create discouragement and disgust, but which could have been well avoided in the first place. The lecturer or writer will always flourish and receive his proper meed of public reward and admiration. For this reason these positions will naturally be the most coveted and the persons holding them will continue to have a greater personal influence through their association directly and indirectly with the general membership.

For example, during the past year the number of applications for commissions as national organizers and lecturers has far exceeded the actual number within the ability of the national headquarters to employ at a

given time. The comrades filing these applications were in many instances new and inexperienced, but filled with a creditable enthusiasm to be of service to the movement. Several others were from comrades of more experience, but displaying a singular lack of comprehension of the scope and character of the party work. A majority of the applicants desired to be placed at work at once, and some were so insistent that they would brook no delay and appeared aggrieved when their wishes could not be gratified.

It did not seem to occur to these comrades that, however worthy their motives and ambitions might be, it was quite impossible for the national headquarters to utilize all the available material placed at its disposal. Nor did they seem to realize that there were other ways through which they could perform valuable service to the movement, ways relatively as important as those sought for, although fewer inducements to the enthusiast, but requiring qualities of the highest possible value to the cause of Socialism.

The comrade, however, who assumes the burden of executive and organizing detail must be prepared to accept responsibilities which are comparatively unknown to the worker in other fields. Such a comrade must be possessed of patience with himself and others. He must exercise caution, fortitude and courage. He must be impersonal and impartial. He must be prepared to accept the will of those for and with whom he works, even at the temporary sacrifice of his own opinions. And, above all, he must expect to be misunderstood and misrepresented by those to whom his services are devoted.

All of this will be difficult and disagreeable and other lines of work will offer greater attractions, but none will bring the immediate and permanent benefit to the Socialist movement faster than this one. This fact in itself will be the most satisfying and satisfactory reward that can come to any Socialist. If the course indicated has not been followed more generally in the past it is not because the will to serve the movement has been lacking, but because the relative importance of this special phase of the party work has not been recognized. It only requires such recognition to call into action the latent executive ability which now lies dormant in the membership everywhere and upon the development and exercise of which the future success of our movement greatly depends.

This subject has also another phase which should not be overlooked. If the Socialist Party differs from other political organizations, it is in this: that the membership and not a few leaders control and direct the movement. It is this very difference which constitutes its chief strength and must make it unconquerable and triumphant in the future. The organization must be democratic in the true sense of the word or lose its identity as one representing the working class movement to democratize the world. It follows, therefore, that only in the encouragement and development of self-government within the organization can the spirit and practice of democracy be maintained and the movement held to its true course. Embodying as it does the vital principles which make for the liberation of mankind from all forms of industrial and political despotism, the Socialist Party must announce, through its own actions, democracy as a fact limited only by those restrictions which capitalist conditions impose upon it.

But we should understand that a democratic movement does not imply unrestricted individualism, as some comrades seem to believe. True democracy involves co-operation, and upon our ability to co-operate successfully everything depends. And co-operation in turn involves adaptation to one another; the ability to accept the will of the majority, wherever and whenever expressed, as our individual will, until such time as our individual will can be expressed by the majority. And this again in turn involves faith in the movement as an organized force, the exercise of charity toward each other and of the prevalence of the spirit of comradeship throughout the movement.

Nowhere perhaps in the capitalist world will it be more difficult to organize a Socialist movement upon purely democratic lines than in this country, where the spirit of individualism has been distorted out of its true proportions until the simplest rules of organization are condemned even by some Socialists as "bureaucratic." These have yet to learn that the purest and highest individualism is that which can subserve itself when occasion requires to the social will and social good. The real bureaucracy to fear is that which would make a few people the ungoverned and ungovernable authorities and dictators of the movement. There need be no fear of any kind of a bureaucracy so long as the party machinery remains in the hands and under the control of an alert and enlightened membership.

When these self-evident propositions become more generally recognized and accepted by Socialists everywhere after a short and precarious existence, and lapses in membership will become less frequent. It is an encouraging sign that the number of comrades giving their attention to this subject is increasing, and with a still greater consideration we can confidently expect a stronger and more effective organization with which to conduct the struggle with the rapidly combining forces of the capitalist enemy.

National Constitution.

The present condition of the party organization is generally satisfactory, when the stage of its progress is considered. The form of organization is as yet practically new and difficulties have been presented as a consequence which, with a revision of the constitution and the development of the organization, should gradually disappear. The present constitution was a hastily prepared document and it was natural that it should be faulty in construction, although basically correct.

My ideas upon the character that the organization should take have been expressed elsewhere as follows: "The Socialist Party must be more than a

THE WASHINGTON PLATFORM

"WORKINGMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS; YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN!"

We, the Socialist Party of Washington, in convention assembled, proclaim our allegiance to the Socialist Party of America, and affirm our unflinching adherence to the principles and the program of international revolutionary Socialism.

In presenting our candidates to the working class and those in sympathy with it, we base our appeal upon the following declarations and our PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES:

1. Labor produces all wealth.
2. Under the present economic and political conditions labor's share in the wealth which it creates is merely a mean and uncertain subsistence.
3. So long as the present organization of industry remains the capitalist class will monopolize the machines of production and will appropriate, through the wage system, the wealth created by the working class.
4. This appropriation of labor's wealth by the capitalists is so complete that it enables them to live in luxury and idleness.
5. As a necessary consequence of this exploitation of the laborers by the capitalists—this expropriation of all property out of the hands of the toilers into the private ownership of the holders of capital, there is an inevitable war between the interests of the working class on the one hand and the interests of the capitalist class on the other.
6. This class struggle between the wealth-makers and the wealth-takers will endure so long as our present system of production for profit continues.
7. In this conflict between the workers and the capitalists, labor is disarmed on the economic side, all the instruments of production and distributing wealth being owned and controlled by the holders of capital.
8. There is only one weapon with which the working class can successfully oppose the capitalist class—and that is the BALLOT.
9. This fact demands as an inevitable conclusion the organization of the working class into a political party that shall be, everywhere and always, distinct from and opposed to every political party not founded entirely upon the interests of the working class. The Socialist Party is organized to meet this demand, and is therefore the party of the working class. We recognize that in a municipality our power for permanent relief of the working class is limited, but
10. The Socialist Party, when in office, shall always and everywhere, until the present system of wage-slavery is utterly abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it does, the Socialist Party is for it; if it does not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.
11. In accordance with this principle, the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs of this state in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class.
12. In conclusion, we appeal to all working men to study the principles of Socialism, to vote with their class at all elections until they overthrow the power of capitalism, abolish industrial classes in society, terminate forever the class struggle and inaugurate the Co-operative Commonwealth based upon this fundamental principle of justice: TO EVERY WORKER THE FULL PRODUCT OF HIS LABOR!

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News and Correspondence

IS THE CONSTITUTION CONSTITUTIONAL?

This Question is Greatly Agitating Some of the Slaves.

The governor of the state of Colorado has placed himself by the authority of himself above the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution, the statute laws and the courts of Colorado. He is acting as if he were a Russian despot anointed by the Most High with the divine petroleum of authority to interpret the laws for the people of Colorado and usurp the powers of the courts. The courts of Colorado he openly defies and his autocratic edicts are enforced by his hired military thugs of private individuals. All laws both state and national are dead-letter laws to him and his hirelings. He is the "real thing" of the dime novel anarchist, a subservient tool of private greed and unlawful associations. What has he done and what laws violated that this should be written? He has ordered at the command of private greed and without any process of law, the private militia to force at the point of the bayonet peaceful, law-abiding citizens, home owners, to be deported from the city and county where their homes are, for the sole reason because said citizens refused to work for a private corporation they disliked:

"Nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law." Fourteenth amendment to United States Constitution.

He has ordered the private militia (paid by private corporations), to search private houses for fire arms and private correspondence in various cities in Colorado in the dead hour of the night without any warrant of law:

"The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." Second amendment to United States Constitution.

He has prevented by armed force the publication of newspapers, pamphlets and hand bills which commented upon his unlawful acts and usurpation of illegal authority, and imprisoned men and women who have exercised their legal right of freedom of speech:

"Congress shall make no law... abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." First amendment United States Constitution.

He has suspended the law courts of certain counties in Colorado and by the force of arms prevented the criminal and civil law from being administered by the constitutional power:

"The military shall always be in strict subordination to the civil power." Constitution of Colorado, Section 22 of Article 2.

Without authority of law he has ordered a large stockade to be built with scarcely any conveniences, a rough, cold structure, where he has ordered to be confined hundreds of men without any charges whatever being preferred against them; he has ordered the arrest of men, women and children and caused them to be imprisoned in the stockade simply because they laughed at the private thugs parading the streets; he has caused men who have been released by the constitutional authorities of the civil courts on writ of habeas corpus, to be again arrested and confined in the stockade; he annuls all statute laws and constitutions; he sneers at the decrees of courts; he scoffs at the petitions of the people of Colorado who request him to act as required by law; he insults the flag of our country by permitting the hired assassins of private corporations to commit their dastardly acts beneath its folds; he laughs at the fears of women and children whom he causes to be arrested and confined in the stockade. He is an enemy of the Republic of the United States; his unlawful acts are the entering wedges that will disrupt it. He is either insane or mentally incompetent to hold the high office of Governor of Colorado. Sane, insane or incompetent he will undoubtedly be removed from the office he has disgraced. If sane he is an anarchist. "Anarchist. One who promotes disorder in a state." Webster's Dictionary.

The Governor of Colorado promotes disorder in Colorado.—The Daily Press.

Commercialism in Colorado has gone crazy, running amuck. Mammon and murder have arrogated the rights of the people. Liberty is on the auction block and men and women considered as beasts of the field. Human life, the cheapest commodity in Colorado. This, in the only real Republic in the history of the world.

H. O. CUMMINGS.

Editor Slave Market Department, Seattle Socialists:

Reports from Winnipeg say there are hundreds of masterless slaves at that place, though the capitalistic reviewers opine that in three weeks every one will be able to find a master.

Reports from Montreal say that 900 Slavonians are landed, most of them billed for the West. Talked with an Englishman today and he told me that he had already learned that it was next to impossible to get a job at the mines except you had an influential friend to speak for you. He said 42 applied for masters one morning at the mines, but no slave was wanted.

The railroad up here is lined with masterless slaves, all looking for masters. As you have said, they call it, looking for a job. If they could learn to understand that in reality they are looking for masters I think missionary work among those slaves would be easier. A small little pamphlet properly named and explaining the real condition of the modern wage slave would be of great help to reach minds which a copy of the ordinary Socialist publications will not affect. I think you ought to take it under advisement to compile and publish such a work. If it was possible to make such a booklet so small and concrete as to put it on the market for 1/2 cent so much the better, both for economical reasons, as well as the fact that most masterless slaves are not in a state of mind to read tireless, long treatises, "so brevity would in this case be the wit of wisdom." Hope you will at some future time find opportunity to consider this plan.

"Waverly Magazine" says: "Most of us would be absolutely free, but for the chains we have ourselves riveted on."

This, I think, is not altogether true. I think our largest and heaviest chains are inherited from former generations, but because of our "Log Cabin Ideas"—the product of ignorance and prejudice, these chains are kept on our limbs both mentally and physically, and until we collectively possess modern ideas to cast those chains off, we have each singly to suffer and bear it.

The democrats consider themselves democratic by eating "Dollar Dinners." This is a soft rub to the wage slaves like the full dinner pail of old. Socialists and wage slaves consider themselves lucky to have ten cent sto spare for their dinners. How many slaves will think over this and consider its fundamental principles.

"KICKING MULE."

San Francisco, Cal., April 27, 1904. To the Editor Seattle Socialist:

My Dear Sir:—As a member of the Socialist party and a subscriber to your paper I wish to make some comments upon Mr. Arthur Morrow Lewis' report of "An Eventful Evening" in the "Socialist" of April 24th. I feel sure that I voice the opinion of the majority who were present on that evening when I say that Mr. Austin Lewis either totally misunderstood or grossly misrepresented what the speaker of the evening had said regarding "Dogma and Life in The Socialist Movement."

Mr. Wilson made the point very clearly viz: that it was just possible to become so burdened with its dogma that the life, the real living issue at the basis of its philosophy would be lost sight of in a quibble over mere terms and set figures of speech. He proved beyond question the vital necessity of the teachings of Marx and Engels as a foundation for scientific Socialism, but Carl Marx himself looked into the future and saw that the world and society would change and the speaker said it was necessary for us as Socialists to put life into what these great men wrote by interpreting their philosophy and thought in the light of the present day. Mr. Arthur Morrow Lewis was present at one or more of the lectures Mr. Wilson gave in March at the Academy of Science on Socialism in which he clearly defined his position regarding the Materialistic Conception of History and the Communist Manifesto—as far as many of us are able to judge the "fundamental proposition" which forms the "nucleus" of this philosophy is no more fatal to "divine healing" and "inspired living" than it is to Socialism itself. Professor Heron in his article "The Social Opportunity" in the April "International Socialist Review" seems to be still "straddling" "The Socialist movement must come speaking the language of the people, the familiar accents of daily life and not come in the mere language of economic dogma." "It is not to come by declaring from lecture room or street corner or propaganda tract that there is but one social revolution and that Marx is its prophet." Nobody tried harder to make clear the need of adaptation in Socialist effort and phraseology than Engels. It would be well for us as Socialists to get a good square idea of what real comradeship means. We would then be soon rid of the petty notions as to what the other fellow ought to do or to be, and stand shoulder to shoulder as one army fighting for justice and freedom upon the earth.

Yours for Socialism,

JENNIE WILBUR.

STATE CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM—WHICH?

In an address before the Grant Club on "Liberty and Corporations" at Des Moines, U. S. Judge Grosscup started some of his friends by stating that the people must soon own the trusts or the trusts will own the people. He claims that vast corporations are invading every field of business and fast destroying all legitimate competition, and that the only practical remedy is for the government itself to own and control them before a gigantic industrial and political despotism is established. All the forces of society are fast making for one of two forms of public ownership. Whether this ownership will be from above in the form of government ownership (state capitalism), or whether it will be from below in the form of public collective ownership and management by an administration of the working class (Socialism) will depend on the intelligence and solidarity of the working class. The capitalist class will give us state capitalism when they can no longer employ the workers at a profit, but the workers will find that they have merely changed their condition of slavery from that in which individuals and corporations are their masters to that in which the autocratic state will be their masters—a form of slavery more hopeless and galling than the present form of wage slavery. The workers should study economic conditions, and not be content with letting our present industrial masters solve the great industrial problems that are forcing themselves upon us. An industrial revolution is right at hand. Our "statesmen" and "business men" are all up in the air now over the changed conditions, and the worker who spends his time discussing base ball, prize fights, the tariff, and the like is criminally paying the way for the forging chains of steel about himself and family. Be serious, fellow workers, and do some thinking. The Socialist offers a practical plan for the emancipation of your class. Line up with your class and help in the great struggle for industrial freedom. Read good Socialist papers and keep informed on the great world-wide movement.

MARCEDO.

In reply to some inquiries by certain congressmen and senators, Attorney General Knox stated that no criminal proceedings would be instituted against the trust magnates in the Northern Securities Co., although he admitted that they have been shown to be guilty of violating the U. S. laws.

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REMEMBER THE PLACE.

THE FAIR
2213-2215 FIRST AVENUE

and are liable for fine and imprisonment. Of course they won't be prosecuted. He simply wants to enjoin them from doing any more acts of criminal violation of the law. Think of Attorney General Knox enjoining a lot of moonshiners from making any more moonshine. But then, the trust magnates are "eminently respectable citizens," while the moonshiners are just common, every day sort of criminals, you know.

"The Yellow Peril" is not a theory, but it is an actual condition," wrote Admiral Alexieff to the Czar when he resigned command of the Port Arthur fleet. No more torpedoes in his.

The press dispatches state that the citizens of Denver, Colorado, will make a desperate effort to rid the city of the domination of big corporate influences at the coming spring election. So the little business men of the Citizen's Alliance have troubles of their own, as well as the miners, and the big corporations who have them by the throat will use the militia against them, too, if they should be naughty boys like the "Socialist anarchistic" miners. Watch the little business fellows turn into rank anarchists when the plutocrats began to go after them. As my dutch friend Peter Neuner astutely remarked the other day, "dem leedle peennes mens in der Citizens' Alliance vill haf to go to hell yet, shure, before dey learn any sense about economic conditions." I didn't know what Pete meant, then, but now I see.

MARCEDO.

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF KING County, State of Washington. James McGregor, Plaintiff, vs. Ella McGregor, Defendant. Summons for The State of Washington to said Ella McGregor, defendant:

You are hereby summoned to appear within sixty days after the date of the first publication of this summons, to-wit: within sixty days from the 8th day of May, 1904, and defend the above entitled action in the above entitled court and answer the complaint of the plaintiff therein and serve a copy of your answer upon the attorneys for plaintiff at their office below stated; and in case of your failure so to do, judgment will be rendered against you according to the demands of the complaint which has been filed with the clerk of this Court.

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

RICHARD WINSON and EDGAR S. HADLEY, Attorneys for Plaintiff, Office and P. O. Address, Room 78 Sullivan Building, Seattle, King County. First publication May 8, 1904.

Carbeck & Childs, Attorneys at Law, 423-425 Arcade Building, Seattle, Wash. Sunset phone, Main 89.

The cheapest laundry is not always the lowest priced.
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IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF KING County, State of Washington. Mary E. Bone, Plaintiff, vs. Albert W. Bone, Defendant. Summons for Publication. State of Washington to said Albert W. Bone, Defendant:
You are hereby summoned to appear within sixty days after the date of the first publication of this summons, to-wit: within sixty days from the 12th day of March, 1904, and defend the above entitled action in the above entitled court, and answer the complaint of the plaintiff herein, and serve a copy of your answer upon the attorney for the plaintiff, at his office below stated; and in case of your failure so to do, judgment will be rendered against you according to the demands of the complaint, which has been filed with the clerk of said Court.

That this action is brought by the Plaintiff for the purpose of obtaining a divorce from the defendant upon the grounds of cruel treatment and personal indignities, rendering her life burdensome; and for failure to provide for the support of this plaintiff and their child.
RICHARD WINSON, Attorney for Plaintiff, Office Address—Room 78 Sullivan Building, Seattle, King County, Washington.

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7:30 P. M.	Everett, Spokane, Bellingham, Kootenai, etc.	8:30 P. M.
8:10 P. M.	Everett, Whatcom, Bellingham and Anacortes	11:30 P. M.
8:10 P. M.	Everett, Whatcom, New Westminster, Rockport and Anacortes	4:45 P. M.

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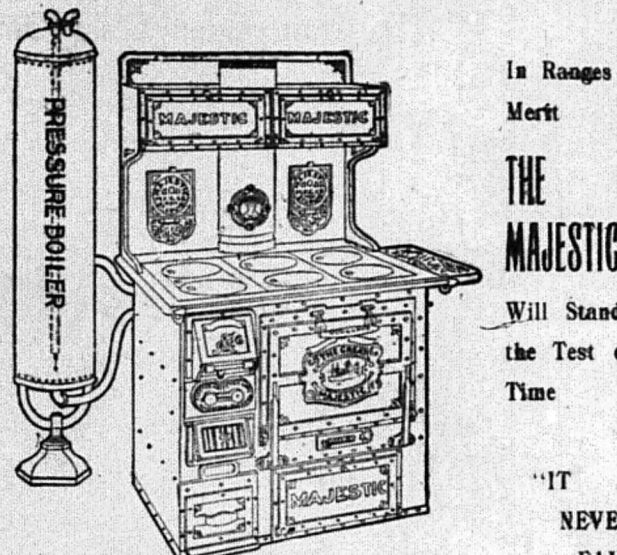
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We expect your trade not merely because this advertisement appears here, but because we attend to your wants promptly and thoroughly.
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Soon will the Slimy candidate
Swiftly, softly, circulate.
Soon will the Soothing Silver Slip,
Soon will the Sober Senjex \$kip.

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Latest From Chicago

Chicago, May 5th, 1904.

"THE SOCIALIST," Seattle, Wash.

The Convention of the Socialist Party has now been in session four days. Two hundred delegates are present, representing every state and territory.

Great energy and enthusiasm prevails. The working class are in full control and will impress the movement for all time with working-class ideas, and with the interest and destiny of their class.

The great rallies report a cyclone of talk. This is proof that convention is self-governed. Committees have been hard at work all the week and with satisfying results. Committee on Constitution reported Wednesday morning, and the entire day was spent on this report. The new Constitution has been adopted and includes a strong section forbidding members of the Socialist Party to hold office under capitalist government. Walter Thomas Mills made principal speech against the adoption of this provision.

Wholly new platform will be recommended by committee on Thursday, drafted by Herron. It is one document, and will contain no immediate demands.

It sets forth the class struggle better than in any previous document. A municipal program will be adopted.

A hot discussion on Trades Unions now in progress. Irene Smith, delegate from Oregon, is making a fiery speech in opposition to the Trades Union policy of the Socialist Party.

The probable ticket is Debs and Hanford. Convention will adjourn Friday.

This is the largest and most representative Socialist Convention ever held in America. It marks a new era. A self-conscious party speaks through this convention. H. F. TITUS.

STATE SOCIALIST CONVENTION.

(OFFICIAL CALL.)

Notice is hereby given to all Locals and Members at Large of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington, that the Annual Convention of the Party will convene in the city of Seattle, (place of meeting to be announced later), at 10 o'clock a. m. Sunday, May 29th, 1904.

The basis of representation from locals to said convention will be: One Delegate-at-Large and one for every ten members or major fraction thereof, said basis representing the average number of members in good standing in the local for at least three months prior to May 29th, 1904.

By order State Committee,

E. E. MARTIN,

MINUTES OF WASHINGTON STATE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Seattle, Wash May 1st, 1904.

Pursuant to action of the meeting of December 13th 1903 the Full State Committee of the Socialist Party of Washington, convened with and at the office of the State Secretary-Treasurer on Sunday May 1st, 1904, at 1.45 p. m.

There were present: Comrades L. Burgess, J. D. Curtis, William De Lilly, Mrs. Ada Gatchell, U. G. Moore and A. G. Seibert. Absent: George Croston, O. Lund and William MacClain.

Minutes of the meeting of Dec. 13th, 1903 read and approved. After extended discussion of the question of Party official standing it was

Moved and carried, That a committee of one be appointed to prepare a

pamphlet on the State Elections Laws and Regulations. The nominees were A. G. Seibert and J. D. Curtis. Seibert declined and the secretary was instructed to, and did cast the ballot of the state committee for comrade J. D. Curtis as such committee.

Moved by De Lilly and carried, That the matter of issuing credentials to the National Convention to comrades Geo. E. Boomer, of Prosser and O. Lund of Spokane, be discussed, full discussion followed by every member, comrade Burgess being called to the chair by chairman Curtis, who explained the issuance of the credentials and reasons therefor.

Moved by Burgess and carried, That the credentials of Geo. E. Boomer and O. Lund to National Convention be revoked by the state committee and that the state secretary-treasurer be authorized to notify these comrades of this action by telegram to national secretary and we especially declare that this action is taken without any intention of reflecting upon the honor or integrity of anyone. A roll call was requested with the following result: Yes, Burgess, Curtis, De Lilly, Gatchell, Moore and Seibert.

Moved by De Lilly and carried, That the basis of representation from Washington locals to the state convention to be held in Seattle, May 29th, 1904, be as follows: One Delegate-at-Large, and one for every ten members or major fraction thereof, and that the state secretary-treasurer be instructed to notify all locals immediately.

Expense bills of this meeting were as follows: Mrs. Ada Gatchell, Railroad fare.....\$3.70

Wm. De Lilly, Railroad fare,3.60
Telegram to national sec'y and messenger service.. 1.30 \$14.60
Comrade De Lilly donated his expenses toward state campaign fund.

Carried That \$5 per week be granted for clerical help in state sec'y's office for month of May.

In the matter of the request of T. E. Latimer from Hillyards, Ohio, for a recommendation as national organizer, it was carried that the secretary inform comrade Latimer, that we have no jurisdiction, he not being a party member in this state at the present time.

Action on Charters.

Charters were granted for Port Townsend and White Salmon Locals. Moved and carried that action on the application of Local Stevenson, be left with the local quorum.

In the matter of Local Burlington's not giving complete information as to their reported fusion of some months since; state committee man Wm. De Lilly was authorized to visit that point and investigate.

Carried, That the secretary request Stevens County Central Committee to conform to the State Constitution.

Adjourned to meet at 9 o'clock a. m., Sunday, May 29th, 1904.

E. E. MARTIN,

Sec'y-Treas.

WHY STATE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON RECALLED THE CREDENTIALS OF CANDIDATES LUND AND BOOMER.

These comrades had been given credentials as delegates to the National convention of the Socialist Party of the United States by the Local Quorum, under a misapprehension of the facts in the case.

We desire to set forth the facts which will, we believe, fully justify the State Committee in its action in recalling the credentials of these comrades. At the meeting of Local Quorum on January 20, 1904, the following resolution was passed:

Delegates to National Convention. The following resolution was carried:

"Whereas, It will cost over \$100 for each delegate to the National Socialist Party Convention, to be held in Chicago, on May 1, 1904, therefore be it

"Resolved, That Washington send but one delegate."

Moved and carried that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to call for nominations by the Locals, for one delegate to the National Socialist Convention, also for one alternate; nominations to specify which is delegate and which alternate. Said nominations to close March 2, 1904.

Minutes read and approved.

Adjourned.

E. E. MARTIN, Sec. Treas.

This action of the Local Quorum was acquiesced in by every party

member in the State so far as the State Convention has information. Consequently every party member is estopped from complaining at the necessary results of the application of this rule.

The election was held and Hermon F. Titus was declared elected. He was entitled to credentials and he was given credentials in accordance with the findings of the Local Quorum.

No one else was entitled to credentials under the terms of the foregoing call, but the Local Quorum were laboring under the impression that they could and ought to issue credentials to such of the defeated candidates as could pay their fare and expenses to the convention.

The Local Quorum is composed of working men, whose time is fully occupied in the struggle to make a living and with little or no leisure for the study of their duties and responsibilities they have acted up to their knowledge and in full belief that they ought to do as they did.

But they now see that such interpretation of the accepted rule would involve serious infractions of democratic principles and vote to reverse their former action. The vote of the State Committee was unanimous.

But some one may say that as the credentials of comrades Lund and Boomer had been issued in good faith and these comrades having gone to the National Convention in good faith, a regard for common ethics would suggest that the situation should not be disturbed by official action.

We desire to call attention to the fact that the call of January 20, 1904, for the election of one delegate and the acceptance of this call by all members without protest was notice to all, including Comrades Lund and Boomer.

They also knew that the action of the Local Quorum was subject to a referendum by the State Committee.

They are estopped from complaining at anything that has been done unless the committee may have failed to correctly interpret the will of the party as expressed in the State Constitution and the call of the Local Quorum for the election of a delegate and an alternate to the National Convention.

Your State Committee contends that our only guide was this call of the Local Quorum. If this is correct can any one say that we are by such call authorized to issue credentials to any but the ones elected.

Would this call authorize us to issue credentials to any one that we might consider qualified to represent us. If so the State Committee or the Local Quorum could easily dispense with the Socialist Party in the matter of selecting delegates and alternates to the National Conventions.

Does any member of the party want to establish such a precedent?

NOTICE EXTRAORDINARY!

Amended Basis of Representation from Locals to State Convention convening May 29th, 1904, Adapted by State Committee, May 1, 1904.

Moved by De Lilly and carried, That the Basis of Representation from Washington Locals to the State Convention to be held in Seattle May 29th, 1904, be as follows:

One Delegate-at-Large, and one for every ten members or major fraction thereof, and that the state secretary-treasurer be instructed to notify all locals immediately.

NOTE:—Kindly elect your delegates to the State Convention on the above basis, and send me the "Duplicate" properly filled out at the earliest moment. Remember also; that this Basis of Representation means the average number of members in good standing in the locals for at least three months prior to the date of said convention. See Article VII, Section I.

E. E. MARTIN,

Sec'y-Treas.

"GOOD METHOD FOR EVERY LOCAL."

Helena, Mont., April 4, 1904.

"The Socialist," 116 Virginia St., Seattle, Wash.

Comrades: "The Socialist," No. 190, failed to reach W. C. Jensen and myself. Please send them, as the cartoons are placed in a frame each week, and hung up in the window of the cigar factory in which I work, showing the slaves the latest wireless Socialist news about the Labor-Capital war. It's a good method which every Local should adopt.

Yours for working class Socialists, FRED CARLSON,

Box C. C.

P. S.—Please renew my subscription for enclosed card. F. W. C.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON Financial Statement, April, 1904.

Receipts.
Amount brought forward.....\$.21
Dues—
Local Seattle (omitted in Feb.) 6.00
Local Clipper.....1.00
Local Humphrey.....2.00
Local Elma.....4.40

Local Ellensburg	1.20
Local Catlin	.40
Local South Bay	.90
Local Montesano	2.00
Local Spokane County	5.00
W. Turcott, M. A. L.	1.10
Local Garfield	1.40
F. P. Flala, M. A. L.	.20
Local Puget Island	3.00
Local Seattle	4.00
Local Long Lake	1.70
Local Hamilton	.70
Local Yelm	1.50
Local Prosser	3.00
Local Seattle	6.00
Local Mt. Pleasant	3.50
Local Salmon Creek	1.00
Local Renton	.50
C. E. Weitz, M. A. L.	.45
Local Fort Townsend	1.00
Local Stevens County	5.50
Local Tumwater	2.00
Local Spokane County	4.60
Local North Yakima	1.50
Local South Bend	2.50
Local Vancouver	1.00
Local Catlin	.60
Local Puyallup	1.00
Local Everett	.80
Local Lake	.40
E. W. Carr, M. A. L.	1.40
Local Whatcom County	6.20
Local Lyman	2.20
Local Thornton	.80
Local Sunnyside	3.10
E. M. Bozarth and E. F. Parker, M. A. L.	.60
A. L. McFarlane, M. A. L.	1.10
Local Seattle	2.00
Local North Yakima	2.70
Local Alma	1.50
Local Colfax	1.50
Local Ellensburg	1.50
Local Clarkston	.20
Local Aberdeen	5.50
Local Tacoma	3.10
Local Outlook	1.40
Local Edmonds	1.20
Local Seattle	6.00
Local Stevenson	.50

Charter App—	
Local Belma	1.50
Local Pt. Townsend	.70
Local Stevenson	.80
Local Chenoweth	.60
Local White Salmon	1.40
C. E. Weitz	.10
W. Turcott, M. A. L.	.10
F. P. Flala, M. A. L.	.10
E. W. Carr, M. A. L.	.10
A. L. McFarlane, M. A. L.	.10

Supplies—	
Local Mt'n View	.10
Local Elma	.20
Local North Yakima	.10
Emil Herman	.15
Local Snohomish County	.70
Local Tacoma	.50
Various sources	.95

State Camp Fund—	
W. F. Turcott	.70
F. M. Hettrick	.10
W. B. Heckman	1.00
E. E. Martin	1.00
Frank Davis	.50
H. J. Behrens	1.00
E. W. Carr, M. A. L.	1.20
O. Lund	2.00

State Camp Coin Card—	
No. 7. E. E. Martin	1.50
No. 22. Wm. Thorbeck	1.50
No. 95. C. A. Nelson	1.50
No. 67. D. M. Angus	1.50
No. 21. H. T. Burr	1.50
No. 6. Wm. De Lilly	1.50
No. 205. C. T. McRobie	1.50

Del. Exp. Fund—	
Local South Bay	.45
W. Turcott	.30
Local Puget Island	2.00
E. E. Martin	.30
Local Breidablik	2.50
Local North Yakima	1.75
Local Catlin	1.00
Local Puyallup	2.50
D. F. and Ethel Sanford	.60
Local Bellingham	5.75
E. W. Carr	.30
Local Lyman	.55
Local Thornton	1.80
Local Sunnyside	1.40
Local North Yakima	.45
Local Yelm	2.50
Local Clarkston	2.75
Local Outlook	.45
Local Edmonds	.45
Reported in March	12.30

Total receipts	\$179.11
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Expenditures.	
2000 Ref. Ballots, Ref. A.	7.00
1500 envelopes	1.85
Ink	.10
Postage and M. O. fee	13.70
Telegrams and telephone	3.75
Quire station paper	.90
April dues to Nat'l Sec'y	56.20
April salary state Sec'y	40.00
Help in office, State Sec'y	10.00
H. F. Titus, Nat'l Del. exp.	40.20

Total expenditures	\$173.70
Total receipts	\$179.11
Total expenses	173.70

Bal. "to the good"	\$6.41
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E. E. MARTIN,

Sec. Treas.

STATE CAMPAIGN FUND RECEIPTS

The new coin card system seems to have struck a popular chord, and the state committee is in hopes that it may soon be relieved from the incubus of debt resting upon it, and be enabled to put several first class agitators afield for the entire campaign.

The original intention with these cards was to equalize the burden and allow our members—who are ever sacrificing—to "tackle the other fellow," that "on the fence" friend, who will not come into the organization or contribute in a general way. The one who says: "I'm a Socialist in a way, too, but," etc. Present the card to him and ask him to what extent does he sympathize with our organization work; how much do you believe in Socialism when it comes to cold cash? Two bits worth? At least ten cents. Some who have sent in cards say: "Those cards are all right. I got mine full in an hour by passing it around in a crowd."

They are now coming in with very gratifying results. The following have been duly received and acknowledged in the order given below. Fire yours in as soon as "loaded."

Socialist Platform

The Socialist party, in National convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

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

The workers can most effectively act

as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes. While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employes, to the improvement of the service and diminishing of the rates to consumers.

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

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be furnished by the government and to be administered under the control of the working class.

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

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

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

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movement as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

The organized Socialist forces can co-

operate and act unitedly. The chief problem before us, then, as an organized body, is how to combine democracy in management, efficiency in action and economy in labor and expense, so that the best and most permanent results can be obtained.

The existing political system requires that state autonomy must necessarily continue to be the basis of organization, but its boundaries and limitations must be more definitely prescribed. There has been a tendency toward exclusiveness, to place the interests of a single state organization above those of the party at large, a tendency as injurious as the other extreme of concentrating authority over the membership in a central committee.

One carries state autonomy to the extreme and makes toward anarchy; the other denies democracy and makes toward absolutism. Both are dangerous and can only result in dry rot. Our national organization must be built enough to invite or encourage neither one nor the other.

Under the present constitution there is danger of both. The national officials may become aware, through the position they hold, that the officials of a state organization are, unknown to the membership, either neglecting their duties or perverting their powers, to the injury of the party in that state or the entire country, and yet the national officers are powerless to act. Provision should be made for action in such cases, although such action should not be arbitrary or authoritative, but merely along the lines of suggestion, information or investigation, leaving final action to the membership of the state itself.

On the other hand, there is no constitutional precedent against representatives or members of one state organization interfering with or usurping the duties or rights of other state organizations and their members, or the duties and rights of the national organization in organized states and territories. The activities of state officials should be confined to their own states where their responsibilities lie, except when agreement is specifically made either with other state organizations or the national organization, as the case may be.

There should also be constitutional regulations to protect the national party against the violation of the principles and platform of the Socialist Party in any organized state or territory.

The qualifications for membership in the party should be made as uniform as possible in all states so that all members may enjoy equal privileges. A system of regulation of transference of membership from one state to another should also be adopted.

In order to avoid the recurrence of having state organizations formed where geographical or other conditions are unfavorable to their effective or permanent existence, the membership in any unorganized state or territory should reach a certain number before the movement for a state organization can be initiated. Eagerness to establish state organizations before conditions were ripe for them has resulted disastrously in several places through failure on the part of these organizations to properly maintain themselves when thrown upon their own resources. The national office can usually take better care of locals in unorganized states and territories until conditions make a state or territorial organization necessary and justifiable.

7. E. E. Martin, Seattle.....\$1.50

22. Wm. Thorbeck, Pt. Towns-

end.....1.50

95. C. A. Nelson, Olympia.....1.50

67. D. M. Angus, Prosser.....1.50

21. H. T. Burr, Catlin.....1.50

205. C. T. McRobie, Stevenson.....1.50

6. Wm. De Lilly, Arlington.....1.50

51. Mrs. E. M. Bozarth, Gate.....1.10

82. B. F. Wood, Lopez.....1.00

71. Emil Herman.....1.20

E