

Join The Union
of Your Craft

The Socialist

Join The Party
of Your Class

THE WORKINGMANS PAPER
A CARTOON WEEKLY

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Box 389

To Organize the Slaves of Capital To Vote Their Own Emancipation

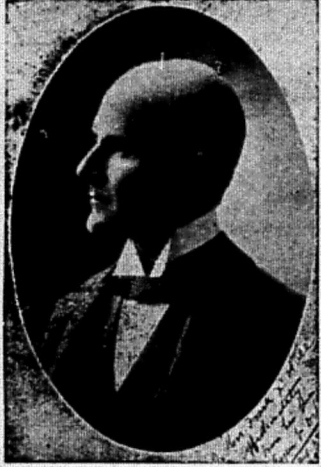
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Debs' Speech of Acceptance



"In the councils of the Socialist Party the collective will is supreme. (Applause.) Personally I could have wished to remain in the ranks, to make my record, humble though it might be, fighting unnamed and unhonored side by side with my comrades. I accept your nomination, not because of any honor it confers—for in the Socialist movement no comrade can be honored except as he honors himself by his fidelity to the movement—(Applause.) I accept your nomination because of the confidence it implies, because of the duty it imposes. I cannot but wish that I may in a reasonable measure meet your expectations; that I may prove myself fit and worthy to bear aloft in the coming contest the banner of the working class (applause); that by my utterances and by my acts, not as an individual, but as your representative, I may prove my-

self worthy to bear the standard of the only party that proposes to emancipate my class from the thralldom of the ages. (Applause.)

A Historic Convention,

"It is my honor to stand in the presence of a historic convention, and I would that Karl Marx might be here today (applause); I would that Lassalle and Engels, the men who long before the movement had its present standing wrought and sacrificed to make it possible for me to stand in this magnificent presence—I wish it were possible for them to share in the glories of this occasion. We are on the eve of battle today. We are ready for the contest. (Applause.) We are eager for the fray. (Applause.) We depart from here with the endorsement of a convention that shall challenge the approval of the working class of the world. (Applause.) The platform upon which we stand is the first American utterance upon the subject of International Socialism. (Applause.) Hitherto we have repeated, we have reiterated, we have followed. For the first time in the history of the American movement we have realized the American expression of that movement. There is not a line, not a word in that platform which is not revolutionary, which is not clear, which does not state precisely and properly the position of the American movement. We leave this convention, standing on this platform, to throw down the gauntlet to the capitalist enemy (applause), to challenge the capitalist oppressor who stands for the perpetuation of the system that keeps in chains the workers in whose name we meet today. (Applause.)

Corruption Rampant.

"There is a Republican party; the dominant capitalist party of this time; the party that has its representative in the White House; the party that rules in both branches of Congress; the party that controls the Supreme Court; the party that commands the

press; the party that gives inspiration to the subsidized pulpit; the party that guides every force of government; the party that is in absolute power in every department of our public affairs. And as a necessary result we find that corruption is rampant; that the Congress of the United States dare not respond to the demands of the people to uncover the sources from which corruption flows like lava streams down mountain sides; that they adjourn long before the regular hour in order that they might postpone the inevitable. (Applause.)

"There is a Democratic party (a voice, "Where?"); a party that has not stock enough left to proclaim its own bankruptcy (laughter and applause); an expiring party that totters upon the crumbling foundations of a dying class; a party that is torn by dissension; a party that cannot unite; a party that is looking backward and hoping for the resurrection of the men who gave it inspiration a century ago; a party that is appealing to the cemeteries of the past (applause); a party that is trying to vitalize itself by its ghosts, by its corpses, by those who cannot be heard in their own defense. (Applause.) Thomas Jefferson would scorn to enter a modern Democratic convention. He would have as little business there as Abraham Lincoln would have in a latter-day Republican convention. (Applause.) If they were living today they would be delegates to this convention. (Tremendous applause.)

"The Socialist Party meets these two capitalist parties face to face, without apology, scorn or compromise; it throws down the gauntlet of battle and declares that there is but one solution of what is called the labor question, and that is by the complete overthrow of the capitalist system. (Applause.)

The Coming Campaign.

"You have honored me, in the magnitude of the task you have imposed

upon me, far beyond the power of my weak words to express. I can simply say that obedient to your call I respond. (Applause.) Responsive to your command I am here, to serve you to the limit of my capacity. My controlling ambition shall be to bear the standard aloft where the battle waxes thickest. (Applause.) I shall take advantage of every opportunity to proclaim the emancipating mission of the Socialist movement. I shall be heard in the coming campaign (applause) as often, as decidedly, as emphatically, as revolutionarily (applause), and as uncompromisingly (applause) as my ability, my strength and my fealty to the party will allow.

"I invoke no aid but that which springs from the misery of my class (applause)—no power that does not spring spontaneously from the oppression and exploitation of the workers of the world.

"Above all things, I realize that for the first time in the history of the ages there is a working-class movement ("Hear, hear," and applause)—perfectly free from the patronizing cant of those who riot in the misery of the class who make up that movement.

The Awakening Class.

"Upon this occasion, above all others, my comrades, we are appealing to ourselves, we are bestirring ourselves, we are arousing the working class, the class that through all the ages has been oppressed, crushed, robbed and debased, for the one reason that it has lacked the consciousness of its overwhelming power that shall finally give it supreme control and make it the sovereign ruler of the world. (Applause.) This class is just beginning to awaken from the torpor of the centuries (applause); the most hopeful sign of the time is that from the dull, dim eye of the proletariat there shoots forth the first gleam of intelligence, the first signal that he is waking up, and that he is becoming conscious of his power; and when through the vi-

talizing power of the Socialist movement he shall become completely conscious of that power, he will overthrow the capitalist system and bring emancipation to his class. (Great applause.)

My Supreme Ambition.

"To consecrate myself to my part in this great work is my supreme ambition. (Applause.) I can only hope to do that part which is expected of me so well that my comrades, when the final verdict is rendered, will say, 'He is not remembered because he was a candidate for President; he did not aspire to hold office; he did not try to associate his name with the passing glories, but he did prove himself a worthy member of the Socialist Party (applause); he proved his right to a place in the International Socialist movement of the world.' (Applause.) If when the service to which you have called me shall have been completed this can be said of me, my acceptance of your nomination will have been far better made than I could hope to frame it in weak words, and so I close, with the wish and the hope and the ambition that when the fight has been fought, when the task you have imposed upon me has been performed, so far as it lies in the power of an individual to perform that task, my acceptance of the honor you have conferred upon me will have been worthily made, and that your judgment will have been vindicated by the membership of the party throughout the country.

"From the depths of my heart I thank you. I thank you and each of you, and through you those you represent. I thank you not from my lips merely. I thank you from the depths of a heart that is responsive to your consideration. We shall meet again. We shall meet often. And when we meet finally we shall meet as a victorious host to ratify the triumph of the Socialist Republic." Great and prolonged applause.)

Hanford's Speech of Acceptance

"Mr. Chairman and Comrades: You notice we went a long way around to get here. (Laughter.) I have noticed that Socialists sometimes do go a long way around to get a very short distance, but just so we get there, that is the main thing. (Laughter and applause.) I very much regret that Comrade Debs is not here. I should not only much rather that he had spoken first, but really I am in doubt as to whether I am doing exactly the conventional thing. However, Socialists do not always do the conventional thing, anyhow. (Laughter and applause.)

Debs the Best Possible Man.

"I want to say briefly a word in relation to Comrade Debs, that, for a long time past, myself and many other comrades have considered with each other, in an entirely informal way, as to who would in all probability be the best possible choice as a candidate for President, and while none of these comrades that I have mentioned were considering it from any other standpoint than the good of the party, every one of them was unanimous in the opinion that Comrade Debs would be the best possible man to nominate for President at this time. (Loud applause.)

The Benefits of Socialism.

"In relation to myself, I do not know that there is much that I can say, more than this: That I have never allowed myself to seek anything in the Socialist movement from a personal standpoint, or for that matter in any other movement, but at the same time I have always been in the position that, whenever the party told me to do something, I always did it, no matter whether I liked it or not. (Loud and prolonged applause.) Comrade Titus made one mistake in a remark about me in placing my name before the convention. He spoke of my having made sacrifices for the Socialist movement. It depends on the way you look at it. In one sense it might perhaps be truly said that I had done a little of this or a little of the other, where possibly in a certain way I might have done better for myself by not doing given things, but I want to say this: that the Socialist movement has done more for me than I can ever do for it. (Applause.) I don't know that I exactly agree with the philosophy which says that whom

the Lord loveth he chasteneth, but I do believe that there is nothing that a man can do in the world, that there is no blessing that can be conferred upon a man by any power on earth, which will be of the immense benefit to him throughout his whole life, so much as that of following the conscientious convictions of his own mind in matters of right and wrong. (Loud applause.)

What the Linotype Did.

"I can say here truthfully that I very much doubt that, so far from my having sacrificed anything for the Socialist movement, I very much doubt if I would have been alive today had it not been for the Socialist movement, and I will tell you why. As you know, in my trade about ten or fifteen years ago there came in what we call the linotype, or typesetting machine; that machine came along. They put one of them in the printing office, one man got a job operating it, and this one man with the aid of the machine did the work that it formerly took three or four or five or as high as six men to do. Because of that machine, every time that one of them was put in an office they told some of the old hand printers to get out, to walk the plank, take to the street, be a tramp. Now, strange as it may seem, just about the time that typesetting machine was entering the printing offices was about the time that I got tangled up in the Socialist movement. (Laughter.) Of course some people may imagine there is some connection between the two (laughter), but what I want to point out is this: I saw friends of mine, men that I had known for years, men better, abler than I was in every respect, men whom today, judged from the best standard of manhood, could not be improved upon, I saw men like that driven out into the street, placed there without an occupation, idle; idleness, not leisure, but enforced idleness, and I saw those men go to the gin mill today and take a few glasses, and tomorrow and take a few more. I saw them become despondent, I saw them look for work week in and week out, and not get it, and I saw men of the character that I have mentioned who went on down the line and eventually filled a drunkard's grave for no other primary reason than the lack of employment forced upon them through the entrance of that machine into my business.

Tangled Me Up in Socialism.

"Now, I did not follow that course, and do you know why? As I say, these men, many of them, were abler and better than I can ever be, but I got tangled up in this Socialist move-

ment and every day that I was out of work, when I was a victim of enforced idleness, instead of going to the gin mill and wasting my time, or becoming despondent, I used that time reading a book or paper, or making a Socialist speech on a soap box, or something of that kind. In other words, idleness for others was work for me, and what was despair to other people was the star of hope to me. (Loud applause.) That is one of the reasons why I say that I certainly cannot in any just sense be said to have ever made any sacrifices for the Socialist movement. It is to the Socialist movement that I attribute the fact that I am alive today. To use a slang ex-

I went down in the coal region in Pennsylvania while the strike was going on there. I spoke once or twice or three or four times a day. I think. Wherever I went all it needed was to put up a little placard and leave a notice on a telegraph pole for two hours, and there, as though they had sprung out of the ground, were a thousand men or five thousand men or ten thousand men, and I can say that they heard me gladly, and not only that, but they heard Comrade Barnes and other comrades who were with me, and they heard any number of speakers. In fact, they heard gladly all the speakers that the Socialist party sent there. And, do you know why? Not for one

Now, what I want you to understand is this, and after you hear the proposition I want you to go around and consider it, you comrades who disagree with me, but I do tell you this; that we have got to become more and more practical all the time. We don't expect to have another convention for four years, and yet we need to have a convention every six months. Do you know why? Why, for the experience that we get in it, working as an organized body. (Applause.)

Mistakes Good for Us.

"Now, this body so far has to my mind done its work well, but it has taken twice the time necessary to do that work. Why? Not for lack of intelligence; not for lack of integrity, but for lack of experience. (Applause.) There are some things in this world that you cannot learn out of a book, whether it is Roberts' Rules of Order, or be the book what it may. (Laughter and applause.) I want to be in a position where the trades unionists will listen to me, and our party, by taking the position that it has, can go out before the trades unionists, taking no part, no share in their scraps with each other—because they have their troubles the same as we do. You think it is an awful thing for two of these trade unions to have troubles with each other, but, Lord, look at us and the troubles we have had. (Laughter.) You think it is terrible when they make mistakes, but, good heavens, I would like to know, down to this hour almost, when we have ever had a chance to make a mistake that we didn't make it. (Laughter and loud applause.) But, they are like us again in this further respect: they have no interest in perpetuating their mistakes, any more than we have in perpetuating ours, and if they are wrong today they have got to be put into the crucible of experience so that they may come out right. (Cries of "Good" and loud applause.)

Speak Out in Meeting.

"As a concluding word I want to impress upon your minds just one thing: This has been a splendid convention. There is one thing about it that, with all of our what we might call our bungling methods, merely of doing business, simply to the fact that because of our not being accustomed to the tools, we do not know how to use them rightly; with all that, there is this thing that I have observed clearly in this convention. It is this: that absolute openness, frankness and good faith with which every comrade met every other comrade, both in debate and otherwise, no matter in what



pression. I consider that for the last seven or eight years, and all the more years I have got to come, I am what you would call 'living on velvet,' that is, I am already winner if I should drop dead right now; I have got more than is coming to me. (Laughter and applause.)

The Trades Unions.

"Now, I do not want to say a word about one of the acts of this convention anyhow; the trade union resolution today upon which we had the roll call. That to me was a very vital and important matter. Not in itself, but from this standpoint, and I want to illustrate again by calling to your mind the old Socialist Labor party of which we still have left practically the record only. (Laughter.) Two years ago

moment was it the question of the few dollars and cents that we collected for them, but simply because those men knew just this much about the Socialist Party, that it was in hearty sympathy with the trades unionists as against the capitalists in their scraps with the capitalists.

S. L. P. Not Heard.

"Now, there was another party that would have liked to have gone and sent speakers down into that field, but it did not send one, and had it sent a speaker there, that man would not have been able to have spoken one hundred words in any town in the whole strike field. The Socialist Labor party was not able to send speakers there just because of its attitude against the trades unions. (Applause.)

(Continued on Page 2.)

"NEXT!"

The semi-annual meeting of the Socialist Educational Union was held last Sunday and quite fully attended. The affairs of "The Socialist" were fully discussed throughout the two sessions and unanimous decisions reached. Sweeping changes were voted. The method and name and size of "The Socialist" will all be changed after September 1.

Heretofore "The Socialist" has been published for Socialists first and non-Socialists second. Hereafter, it will be published primarily for non-Socialists. That is, "The Socialist" will become a Propaganda paper and cease to be a party paper. Its prime object will be to make Socialism plain and simple to the man, the workingman, who knows nothing of it.

It is our belief that the character of the Socialist Party is now fixed as a working class party. The Chicago Convention made it plain that the American Socialist movement has caught step with International and Scientific Socialism. If anyone doubts that, let him get the "Proceedings" of that Convention and read the verbatim report of all that was said, and he will be convinced that the mission of the Working Class was consciously realized in that body.

For four years "The Socialist," or "The Seattle," as so many comrades call it, has fought squarely against all middle class tendencies in the party. This paper has borne a conspicuous part in driving all such tendencies to the rear. Now that they are in the rear and the working class elements represented by Debs and Hanford are in full control, the mission of "The Socialist" as a party paper may be considered fulfilled.

A second feature of "The Socialist" has been no less conspicuous, namely, its cartoons. These have been directed at Capitalism and have been very popular with the comrades for purposes of distribution and propaganda. It is this feature which our new departure proposes to emphasize. Our new paper will be chiefly a cartoon paper. "Cartoons and Comments" might be its name.

We shall take up live subjects, current events, and show workingmen what they mean. The experience we have gained these four years makes us confident we can do better and better work along this line. We have a staff of artists, all trained to make Socialist speeches in pictures, who will continue to work on the new paper. We have only to mention the names, Ryan Walker, A. T. Renfro, Arthur E. Fowler, Max Brodkey, W. Davis, to call some of the most powerful cartoons ever published to tear the mask off the hideous face of Capital.

We venture to say that nothing can be found so effective as these pictures and the discussion accompanying them to make Socialists and Socialist votes during the coming campaign.

There is considerable danger that the Socialist Party will get a host of unintelligent votes this fall. Never before were so many of the workers looking our way. Their attention is awakened. They are ready to learn what Socialism is. We want their votes, not only now, but we want them for every future election. The only way to keep them with us is to get into their heads this time the fundamentals of Socialism, the class struggle and its economic basis, the coming Revolution, the Doom of Capital, the Conscious Mission of the Working Class, the Economic Interpretation of Events, the Real Causes of Social Evils, and all the rest.

It will be the aim of our new paper to make all these matters as simple as A B C, so that the blindest workingman may see. We thought of calling it "The Eye Opener," for that is what it will be. The greatest single success "The Socialist" ever had was its series of articles on the A B C of Socialism. Well, that is what the whole paper will now be, a Propaganda Sheet to make real Socialism easy to understand.

Now, as to the name. Comrades will remember that above a year ago we invited suggestions as to a new name and hundreds of excellent ones were sent in. None of them seemed just the thing. In looking over the names of the Socialist journals of the world it will be seen how often those recur which contain the idea of advance, progress, development. Indeed, this idea of a process, the world

in process of incessant change, is at the root of Socialism. So we have "Vorwaerts," "Avanti," "Forward," "Advance," "The New Time," "The Coming Nation." We believe we have found a name which sums up all this in a single English syllable and foretells also the inevitability of Socialism. What better name for a cartoon Socialist paper than "Next"? If anyone asks you why a Socialist paper is called "Next," you will have the chance of your life to show him, in fact, to "get him next." Our name will be "Next"; our motto, "Get Next."

A word as to size and price: The size of page will be about the same as "Life" or "Puck" or "Judge." We shall begin with eight pages. The price will be the same as now. If we had continued the same sort of paper as before, the price would have been advanced to a dollar, as many comrades and subscribers have advocated. But for this campaign, at least, it was felt by the comrades of the S. E. U. that we ought not to put the price at such a figure as would hinder its wide circulation among non-Socialist workingmen. All subscribers to "The Socialist" will receive "Next" for their full time.

The following special offers are made with a view to encouraging comrades and Locals to put "Next" into the hands of thousands of their fellow workingmen during the campaign: Ten Copies to one address for the Campaign One Dollar Twenty-five Copies to one address for the Campaign Two Dollars Fifty Copies to one address for the Campaign \$ 3.50 One Hundred Copies to one address for the Campaign 6.00 Two Hundred Copies to one address for the Campaign 10.00

Single subscriptions will be 50 cents a year or 25 cents for six months. Two yearly cards will be sold for \$7.50.

Now, Comrades, it is up to you. We shall be required by the postoffice department to present a list of subscriptions and orders for same in order to have "Next" admitted to the second-class mailing rate of 1 cent a pound. You can make the postmaster at Seattle turn blue and white at sight of the thousands of orders for "Next" received in this office before September 1. That is only three weeks off. No time to lose, Comrades.

To make this week's effort more interesting we shall use the Fifteen Thousands Shares of stock in the Western Star Gold Mining and Milling Co., donated by Comrade D. D. Besse, of Talent, Oregon, reserving the other 35,000 shares for use in a later contest.

THE LUCKY THIRTEEN.

Fifteen Thousand Shares will be awarded to the thirteen persons who send the most money for subscriptions to "Next" before Sept. 1, 1904.

5,000 shares to the one sending in the most money.
2,000 shares to the second.
1,500 shares to the third.
1,000 shares to the fourth.
900 shares to the fifth.
800 shares to the sixth.
700 shares to the seventh.
600 shares to the eighth.
500 shares to the ninth.
400 shares to the tenth.
300 shares to the eleventh.
200 shares to the twelfth.
100 shares to the thirteenth.

These subscriptions must all be mailed not later than Aug. 31, 1904. In the second issue of "Next," on Sept. 11, we ought to be able to announce the awards.

This mine is situated in the rich gold region just north of the California line, in Jackson County, Oregon. Some of the richest mines in the world are to be found in the same region and this one has furnished high grade assays, as announced last week. We make no promises as to the future values of this stock, but it is altogether possible that in one year from now, when the shafts have been sunk, these shares will be above their par value of one dollar. It will add spice to our work in getting subscribers for "Next" to know that we may secure stock which will be worth from Five Thousand Dollars down to One Hundred Dollars.

Who will be the Lucky Thirteen? Be sure and say, when you send in your money, that you wish to be enrolled in the "Lucky Thirteen" contest.

