

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Vote their Own Emancipation

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The Socialist

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

Published by The Socialist Educational Union (Inc.)

114 VIRGINIA ST., SEATTLE, WASH., SUNDAY, SEPT. 15, 1901.

NUMBER 58.

THE ASSASSINATION—ITS CAUSE.

The Terrible Deed.

Wm. McKinley shot by Leon Czolgosz!

The head of the U. S. Government shot by an Anarchist.

An innocent, kindly American, trying to do his duty, shot by the self-centred Pole, who only said: "I am an Anarchist. I did my duty."

The world is turned dumb. J. Pierpont Morgan, the most powerful man on earth is thunderstruck to silence, retires to consult his partners and remains inaccessible.

Senator Hanna, keenest political manager, cries out, "My God, it can't be possible."

Here is a shot heard round the world in every household from Odessa to Chicago. The multitude of civilized men and women who do no thinking but to think all's as it should be, shiver with fear and horror at this unheralded thing.

In their panic they call for the strong man to suppress this Red Terror. Men say, Roosevelt would take good care of these savages. Increase the army, multiply the police, banish the Anarchists, suppress free speech, exterminate these hell-dogs who infest the world.

And is that all? No more to be said or done by men who were created to think and progress? Here is a phenomenon to be explained. This man is a product of the times and every intelligent person must demand, Why?

The Conditions.

This is the third assassination of an American President. The other two had their origin in the fierce struggles of their times. Lincoln's death was due to the passions of the civil war, Garfield's to the fight for official power. And this attack upon McKinley is the offspring of the present class strife as exhibited in the great strike.

Before any news had come as to the person of the assassin, an acute observer was overheard to say to a group in front of the bulletin boards, "You will find this man is an intelligent Anarchist and a workingman." In fact, this Czolgosz proves to have been employed in one of the steel corporation mills. He is clearly a product of the proletarian class in the United States today. He and all his family are wage-workers and very poor.

Subsoll of Injustice.

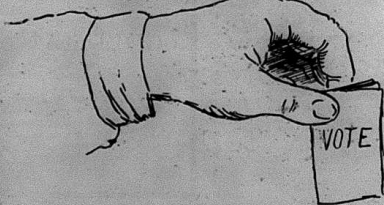
ism would be impossible. The Anarchism would be impossible. The Anarchists see as clearly as the Socialists the terrible injustice of the capitalist system of exploitation. They seek the remedy in violence, either rebellion or assassination. Therein they are wholly wrong. Socialism holds life sacred and has always contended against the Anarchist method.

But here is the point to be observed by every member of the capitalist class now in power, the class which now feels itself responsible for the suppression of Anarchy, the class which is responsible for present conditions.

It will be utterly impossible to prevent these violent outbursts while injustice underlies society.

Your whole capitalist system is

THE SOCIALIST WAY.



Capitalism the Real Assassin—



Socialism the only savior

The Spirit of Anarchy.

From the Seattle Union Record, Aug. 3, 1901.

Is this country on the eve of a reign of terror? Signs seem to point that way. It begins to look as though, if labor has no grievance on which to strike, capital makes one. The attitude of trusts is that of being "willing to fight at the drop of the handkerchief and drop the handkerchief themselves." * * * The contest has nearly reached the limit of present methods, and others will be adopted if the struggle continue. There can be but one further step in this industrial strife—revolution. * * * Labor is slow-suffering, easily cajoled and long to resent its wrongs. * * * But if labor is driven to the desperate stage, congress and courts, bullets and swords will no more be able to resist it than is the dew the midday sun. * * * If driven to desperation the brawny men of this country would become the fiercest revolutionists this world has ever known; their weapons will be whatever would win—and who could blame them!

built upon a process which denies human rights. Your vast accumulated fortunes are robbed from the workers. Your robbery has the sanction of law. It is supported by force. The worker has no redress. His strikes and boycotts fail him. He finds his largest unions and widest combinations helpless against the mighty aggregations of capital.

The unintelligent worker—like the labor union editor quoted elsewhere—calls for violence and revolution. The Socialist worker, having studied and learned, insists calmly and deliberately

ly upon the peaceful methods of education, co-operation and the ballot.

But the radical, turbulent spirit, the extreme individualist, the stern, tragic sort of man that is always to be found, resolves to use his personal power to the utmost. He defies. He throws himself against the world. He kills.

The Only Remedy.

How can you stay his hand? How suppress the fiend?

Never by violent methods like his own. For every Anarchist you hang, a score of others will spring forward to be hung—SO LONG AS YOU LEAVE UNTOUCHED THE SUBSOIL OF INJUSTICE, FROM WHICH ALONE THEY DERIVE THEIR SUSTENANCE.

Violence breeds violence. "They who take the sword shall perish by the sword."

Socialism pleads for justice, for the rights of man, for peace on the earth. Socialism will be emancipation, co-operation, just distribution of the wealth of the world.

Until men are allowed to get these things, all now seen to be possible in the near future, that is, until Socialism wins, nothing under heaven can prevent the occasional rise of this terrible man of violence and blood.

The Spirit of Socialism.

From The Socialist, Aug. 18, 1901.

Brother Rice, of the Labor Union organ in Seattle, has reached his logical destination—Revolution. We always thought he was an anarchist in principle. He is now so mad at the insolent power of the trusts that he threatens bloody resistance by the workmen. Now, friend Editor, learn a little bit. The Socialists passed that stage about 25 years ago. That's the reason they advocate peaceable, lawful resistance instead of forcible, unlawful resistance. We Socialists say, Get possession of the government first, and then what you do will be lawful. See?

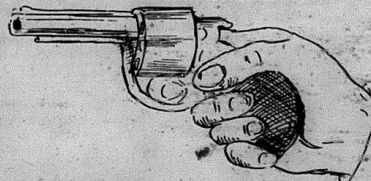
We say, unite in a party of your own class, vote together and win at the ballot box. Then you've got them where they've got you now. See?

Then, we say, we'll take away from them the very thing that keeps them powerful, namely, the possession of the instruments of wealth-production. See? Come on, Editor Rice, and all the rest of your half-educated friends, get over your anarchist craze and become a sensible Socialist.

Whatcom, Fairhaven and Everett comrades and friends are specially requested to notice our new advertisers from those towns. Make it pay for them.

The Newsboys' Union contributed \$25 last week to the Iron Workers' strike; the Plasterers, \$50; Building Laborers, \$50; Stonecutters, 25 cents a week; Tile Setters, \$1 apiece, and more to come. The Typo's assessment of 2 per cent of wages is still on. Building Trades also strong in line. The Machinists and other Iron Workers hold splendidly together and are confident of victory.

THE ANARCHIST WAY.



GUILTY OR NOT GUILTY.

Socialism charges Capitalism with the Crime of the Age.

What have the defenders of Capitalism to plead in answer, Guilty or Not Guilty?

Socialism is ready to proceed with the trial on the evidence of Capitalism on the charge, "Guilty of the assassination of McKinley." She asks no delay. She demands an immediate trial. She assumes the burden of proof.

Are you ready, gentlemen of the defense?

If you are ready to defend your system from the charge of "Criminal of the Age," speak, gentlemen of the capitalistic press. Silence cannot avail in the presence of this awful crime that blackens America.

Anarchy is the legitimate child of Capitalism. It is individualism carried to its logical extreme.

Socialism deprecates violence as inhuman, illogical and unwise.

Socialism offers the only possible escape from Anarchism, both in method and result. Its method is peaceable and legal. Its result is peace, contentment, riches, ample and normal human development.

Modern machines able to produce 13 times as much as the tools of a century ago, and actually producing the enormous wealth that lies all about us.

The workmen of brain and hand, the vast majority of them barely able to get a living, and the wealth accumulating in the hands of a few! Proletaire and Billionaire!

Such is the awful contrast that drives an unbalanced mind to commit the Anarchist's crime.

Don't blink your eyes to this fact, you capitalist physicians who hunt for a cure-all.

Socialism urges and argues and beseeches that all these Anarchist fanatics turn with the great host of Proletarians to the Ballot Box and capture the powers of government, wherewith they can take possession of the modern machine and use its mighty productive capacity for the benefit of all.

Then will the Anarchy fiend disappear from the earth.

Another Capitalist Lie

Chicago Socialists Denounce Violent Table a Foolish Resolution.

Special Dispatch to The Socialist.

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 10.—Resolution was foolish in its statements and was laid on the table. All of the speakers declared themselves against all violence and strongly denounced the attempted assassination of the President. There is no significance whatever in the rejection. The daily press has lied about it generally. A. M. SIMONS.

Socialism is the only hope of the race.

THOUGHTS, By Your Uncle,

ONE of the most shameful things in connection with the attempted assassination of McKinley is the haste with which government officials use the occasion to issue another lot of bonds for the people to pay interest upon.

I don't mean the slightest disrespect, but I would like to ask a question! Aren't you proud of a stable (?) industrial system that threatens to collapse because an official is in danger of death?

For days I have struggled through column after column of "Notes of Notables" in an eastern paper. There's mention of empresses, majors, barons, emperors, kings, queens and dukes, but nary a mention of a John Smith or a Mary Jones, without whose industry and toil there would be neither "notables" or anything for them to king or queen over. Did you ever think of that?

Did you ever stop to think that when the daily press brags of our commercial superiority abroad it simply means that the workers are being exploited more successfully than usual. The "increase of exports" is merely a synonym for industrial robbery at home.

The fact that the future queen of Saxony is taking a course as trained nurse at a Dresden hospital reminds me that if it wasn't for queens and other useless rulers it wouldn't be necessary to have so many hospitals. Instead of testifying to the present industry of the future queen it emphasizes the uselessness of her entire career.

THERE are a few people in Tacoma at least in whose minds the capitalist press cannot confound Socialism with Anarchy. A couple of years ago I put in one of the most exciting evenings of my whole career as a Socialist speaker. Emma Goldman was in Tacoma and had held several large meetings. Knowing the vast difference between the teachings of Anarchy and Socialism I challenged Miss Goldman to a public debate. The affair came off in Chickering hall before a crowded house, and the hundreds present will never be made to believe, even though a thousand capitalist editors yell "Anarchy and Socialism," that the two widely divergent theories have anything whatever in common. Emma is a good talker and seems to be a rather nice little woman, and she won applause because of that, but the opinion of the majority of the audience was that Socialism and its political method are superior to Anarchy, its various methods of passive and active resistance, and its non-belief in the use of the ballot.

THE average Anarchist who believes in the "propaganda of the deed" is usually a well-read and intelligent fellow along all lines except the very one upon which he ought to be well posted—that the killing of an individual in a country where the humblest citizen has a vote is reactionary in its effect and actually holds back progress and evolution instead of aiding. Such acts are foolish and suicidal and Socialists have no sympathy with them.

WAR against houses of ill-fame in Cincinnati has begun to prove successful, to a limited extent, only because several heavy taxpayers entered complaint. Thus again is the value of the big property owner illustrated. For what would the common people do without him to occasionally urge the enforcement of some useless law? Why, they tell us, if it wasn't for the capitalist there wouldn't be any laws. This may or may not be true, but they fail to dwell on the fact that were it not for private property there would be no necessity for nine-tenths of the laws anyway. Some people, notably the Socialists, are foolish enough to imagine that one or two vital and natural principles, strictly held to, are of more worth than a thousand disregarded statutes.

The Seattle Union Record is tickled to death because the laboring people "confined their celebration of Labor Day to a showing of their strength," which strength was shown by parading up and down the streets. Naturally a capitalist labor paper ought to be overjoyed that the celebration was thus "confined." If Labor can only be induced to continue to thus "confine" itself, and refuse to show its strength at the ballot box, the only place where Labor is not weaker than its enemy, the parasites who feast off of Labor can continue to gorge themselves without fear of undue molestation. As long as Labor is thus "confined" the joy of the mis-leader will be unconfined.

The efforts to suppress vice and gambling in New York city somehow doesn't seem to frighten the members of the stock exchange.

Down in Long Island the rights of private property have got their work in in a way that causes many a small merchant, who, by the way, also believes in private property, to gnash his teeth and tear his hair in impotent rage. A wealthy suburban resident, disliking the hordes of excursionists who were wont to descend upon the little seaport village and tread over his lawns, instead of getting mad and buying bulldogs and putting up trespass notices, quietly bought up all the hotels in the place and closed them, together with all the theatres and amusement resorts. Result: No more excursions, and all the little local merchants on the verge of ruin because of no more throngs of victims. Meanwhile the wealthy resident passes his days in unbroken peace and his lawns and fields and his waterfront remain unblemished and undefiled by the foot or presence of common people. There's nothing more exhilarating to the Socialist, and nothing more aidful in causing a peaceful calm to pervade his soul, than to see the right of private property swat itself in the neck hard enough to dislodge a few of the parasites that thrive upon it.

The really astonishing thing just now is that, with an industrial system which seems to result, principally, in a continual increase in both size and number of insane asylums and jails, a greater number of the increasing army of insane and criminals do not break out with violent homicidal tendencies.

BECAUSE of the large percentage of weak-minded citizens it may be a necessary precaution to banish Emma Goldman because of her anarchistic teachings, yet it is not a matter of pride to a republic of 70,000,000 people that they are afraid of one little woman.

ANYONE can write a set of resolutions of sentimental sympathy. It is upon sentiment and sympathy the trained lawyer builds his plea to lighten the sentence of a proved criminal. Hence the Chicago Socialists, knowing this, did the proper thing. They showed, instead, that as the working class had nothing to gain by the death of McKinley therefore the Socialists, standing for the working class had neither reason nor motive to either desire or encourage such an idiotic act as that of Coalgroez's.

"If these weapons (the strike and the boycott) are withheld from them (the workers) then, indeed, are they left naked to their enemies."—Seattle Union Record.

What ho! As long as the workers limit themselves to the weapons of the strike and boycott they will in truth be "left naked to their enemies." And the howls which the Record puts up at the thought of the workers' unitedly voting for their own class interests would excuse one for thinking that the Record has some material reason for wishing to keep the workers naked. Striking will not give the workers ownership of industries, and boycotting is but flopping from one master to

another. And as long as the workers, misled by capitalist labor papers, refuse to become the owners of the industries by voting class-consciously for them, then they will always be dependent upon the few individuals who do own the industries, never sure of employment, of being able to support themselves and those they love, and never positive but on one fact—that as long as private ownership lasts, with its attendant wage system, Labor will NEVER get, no matter how much it may strike and boycott, more than a wage barely sufficient for the merest existence. Labor will get no more, and it has no legal right to demand more, until it becomes the owner of the instruments of production with which it must work. When it does this, then, and then only, will it be able to set its wage and its hours of toil. If Labor wishes to do this, and I know it does, then it must throw away the blunted and useless weapons which capitalist labor papers advocate and take up the mighty weapon of the ballot, which, intelligently cast, will forever overturn the citadels of Labor's enemy—Capitalism.

UNCLE SAM.

AS IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

How much interest the Capitalist Labor Leaders had in the fight against Capital is seen in the Capitalist Labor Day Celebration in Seattle last week.

Everything centered around the "Labor Temple." The capitalist sheet, The Times, capped the occasion with a gift of \$500 to bribe Labor, to advertise itself, and to show how good the Democratic party is to Labor.

A genuine fight against local Capital, the Iron Workers' strike, was entirely ignored. Here was a great opportunity to make an imposing demonstration to the public of the sympathy of all workmen for the striking machinists and their fellows. Every union in Seattle would have turned out en masse in such a parade. As it was, hundreds of men did not march in the parade. They recognized it as an empty show.

But if it had been made the occasion to show the world that Seattle's workmen stand together as Frisco workmen are doing over a strike of far less importance, then a real meaning would have been imparted to the parade, immense enthusiasm had been aroused all along the line and the Iron Workers greatly cheered in their brave fight.

But no. Bluthen and Bob Moran and Middleton didn't want the machinists to win, but they did want to build a "labor temple" to furnish a perpetual income to support a perpetual ring of Capitalist Labor Leaders who will always work for a Capitalist Political Party.

But the workingman is getting his eyes open in spite of his capitalist leaders. One of these days he will parade on May 1st, his own Labor Day, the true day of his own choice, the day which stands for the solidarity of the working class, the proletarians of the world, against the capitalists of the world.

Then will emancipation come.

The idea that industrial slavery can be mitigated to any extent, much less eliminated, as long as the system of private capitalism exists, is nonsense, and the gang who are trying to impress the unthinking with such so-called arguments stand in the way of progress. Most of the half-baked middle class outfit will privately admit that the working class can never be freed short of the social revolution, but they are continually arguing against their own private admissions and making efforts to deceive the people about the social movement that must succeed before the people can be freed. No halfway measures can ever amount to anything, and those who are engaged in such business are worthless in the great movement to free humanity from economic servitude.—[Social Economist.]

It is reported that Hawthornthwaite, member B. C. legislature from Nansimo, in his Labor Day address at Victoria, declared for Socialism. What kind was it? These columns are open for his answer.

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Socialism not Anarchism

Marxian Socialism always "Peaceful" and "Law-Abiding" and "Parliamentary" in its methods.

It is easy to understand how a man out of work, in the horrors of starvation, his brain giving way for want of nourishment, may fancy that by giving a policeman a blow with his fist, by throwing a bomb, by raising a barricade, by taking part in a riot, he is hastening the realization of a social ideal, from which injustice will have vanished.

And, even apart from such cases, it is possible to understand how the power of impulsive feeling, the dominant factor in some natures, may, through a generous impatience, lead them to make some real attempt—and not imaginary like those which the police in all times and all countries prosecute in the courts—to spread terror among those who feel the political or economic power slipping from their hands.

But scientific socialism, especially in Germany, under the direct influence of Marxian, has completely abandoned those old methods of revolutionary romanticism. Though they have often been employed, they have always resulted abortively, and for that very reason the ruling classes no longer dread them, since they are only light, localized assaults on a fortress which still has more than sufficient resistant power to remain victorious, and by this victory to retard temporarily the evolution by removing from the scene the strongest and boldest adversaries of the status quo.

The processes of evolution and revolution—the only wholly social or collective processes—are the most efficacious, while partial rebellion and, still more, individual violence have only a very feeble power of social transformation; they are, moreover, anti-social and anti-human, because they reawaken the primitive savage instincts, and because they deny, in the very person whom they strike down, the principle which they believe themselves animated—the principle of respect for human life and of solidarity.

What is the use of hypnotizing oneself with phrases about "the propaganda of the deed" and "immediate action"? It is known that anarchists, individualists, "amoralists" and "libertarians" admit as a means of social transformation individual violence which extends from homicide to theft or stampede, even among "companions"; and this is then merely a political coloring given to criminal instincts which must not be confounded with political fanaticism, which is a very different phenomenon, common to the extreme and romantic parties of all times. A scientific examination of each case by itself, with the aid of anthropology and psychology, alone can decide whether the perpetrator of such or such a deed of violence is a congenital criminal, a criminal through insanity, or a criminal through stress of political fanaticism.

I have, in fact, always maintained, and I still maintain, that the "political criminal," which some wish to class in a special category, does not constitute a peculiar anthropological variety, but that he can be placed under one or another of the anthropological categories of criminals of ordinary law, and particularly one of these three: the born criminal having a congenital tendency to crime, the insane-criminal, the criminal by stress of fanatical passion.

Among the anarchist bomb throwers or assassins of our day may be found the born criminal—who simply colors his congenital lack of the moral or social sense with a political varnish;—the insane-criminal or madfold whose mental deficiency becomes blended with the political ideas of the period; and also the criminal through political passion, acting from sincere conviction and mentally almost normal, in whom the crim-

inal action is determined (or caused) solely by the false idea (which socialism combats) of the possibility of effecting a social transformation by means of individual violence.

But no matter whether the particular crime is that of a congenital criminal or of a madman or of a political criminal through passion, it is none the less true that personal violence, as adopted by the anarchist individualists, is simply the logical product of individualism carried to extremes, and, therefore, the natural product of the existing economic organization—though its production is also favored by the "delirium of hunger," acute or chronic; but it is also the least efficacious and the most anti-human means of social transformation.

But all anarchists are not individualists, amoralists or autonomists; there are also anarchist-communists. The latter repudiate deeds of personal violence as ordinary means of social transformation (Merlino, for example, has recently stated this in his pamphlet: "Necessita e base di un accordo," Prato, 1892), but even these anarchist-communists cut themselves off from Marxian socialism, both by their ultimate ideal and more especially by their method of social transformation. They combat Marxian socialism because it is law-abiding and parliamentary, and they contend that the most efficacious and the surest mode of social transformation is rebellion.

These assertions which respond to the vagueness of the sentiments and ideas of too large a portion of the workingclass and to the impatience provoked by their wretched condition, may meet with a temporary, unintelligent approval, but their effect can be only ephemeral. The explosion of a bomb may indeed give birth to a momentary emotion, but it cannot advance by the hundredth part of an inch the evolution in men's minds towards socialism, while it causes a reaction in feeling, a reaction in part sincere, but skilfully fomented and exploited as a pretext for repression.

To say to the laborers that, without having made ready the requisite material means, but especially without solidarity and without an intelligent conception of the goal and without a high moral purpose, they ought to rise against the classes in power, is really to play into the hands of those very classes, since the latter are sure of the material victory when the evolution is not ripe and the revolution is not ready.

History demonstrates that the countries where revolts have been the most frequent are those in which social progress is the least advanced. The popular energies exhaust

Manifesto Distributed in Milan after the Assassination of President Carnot.

The Socialist Party to the Workmen of Italy: Down with assassins! Humanity now understands that life is sacred, and does not tolerate brutal violations of this great principle which is morally the soul of socialism.

He who struggles for the right to life, in exchange for his labor, condemns every assault upon human life—whether it be the work of bourgeois exploitation in factories, or of the bombs or daggers of unintelligent revolutionists.

The Socialist Party, which has this principle for a shibboleth, which expects everything from the class-conscious organization of the working class, execrates the crime committed against the person of the president of the French republic, as a brutal deed, as the negation of every principle of revolutionary logic.

It is necessary to arouse in the proletariat the consciousness of their own rights, to furnish them the structure of organization, and to induce them to function as a new organism. It is necessary to conquer the public powers by the means which modern civilization gives us.

To revolt, to throw at haphazard a bomb among the spectators in a theatre, or to kill an individual, is the act of barbarians or of ignorant people. The Socialist party sees in such deeds the violent manifestations of bourgeois sentiments.

We are the adversaries of all the violences of bourgeois exploitation, of the guillotine, of musketry discharges (aimed at strikers, etc.), and of anarchist outrages. Hurrah for Socialism!

Differences clearly marked by Enrico Ferri, the great Italian anthropologist and Socialist member of the Italian Parliament. Quotations from his book, "Socialism and Modern Science."

and destroy themselves in these feverish, convulsive excesses, which alternate with periods of discouragement and despair—which are the fitting environment of the Buddhist theory of electoral abstention—a very convenient theory for the conservative parties. In such countries we never see that continuity of premeditated action, slower and less effective in appearance, but in reality the only kind of action that can accomplish those things which appear to us as the miracles of history.

Therefore Marxian socialism in all countries has proclaimed that from this time forth the principal means of social transformation must be the conquest of

the public powers (in local administrations as well as in national parliaments) as one of the results of the organization of the laborers into a class-conscious party. The further the political organization of the laborers, in civilized countries, shall progress, the more one will see realized, by a resistless evolution, the socialist organization of society, at first by partial concessions, but ever growing more important, wrested from the capitalist class by the working class (the law restricting the working day to eight hours, for example), and then by the complete transformation of individual ownership into social ownership.

As to the question whether this complete transformation, which is at present being prepared for by a process of gradual evolution which is nearing the critical and decisive period of the social revolution, can be accomplished without the aid of other means of transformation—such as rebellion and individual violence—this is a question which no one can answer in advance. Marxian socialists are not prophets.

Our sincere wish is that the social revolution, when its evolution shall be ripe, may be effected peacefully; as so many other revolutions have been, without bloodshed—like the English revolution, which preceded by a century, with its Bill of Rights, the French revolution; like the Italian revolution in Tuscany in 1859; like the Brazilian revolution, with the exile of the Emperor Dom Pedro in 1892.

It is certain that socialism, by spreading education and culture among the people, by organizing the workers into a class-conscious party under its banner, is only increasing the probability of the fulfillment of our hope, and is dissipating the old forebodings of a reaction after the advent of socialism, which were indeed justified when socialism was still utopian in its means of realization instead of being, as it now is, a natural and spontaneous, and therefore inevitable and irrevocable, phase of the evolution of humanity.

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