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THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

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ILLUSIONS

Socialists cherish no illusions, no fancies, no dreams. They are scientific before all things. That is, they face facts. They demand clear thinking. The reason they fear no antagonist. They always welcome discussion. They want all the truth brought to light.

Now, in the present discussion concerning "Opportunism," "Revolutionary Jargon," "Taxpayers' Platforms," etc., a few points ought to be made clear. Confusion of thought will thereby be avoided.

First Illusion.

No Socialist is so narrow as to refuse admission to the party of any honest applicant, no matter what class he may belong to. Wayland and Willshire are both members of the capitalist class, but no one on that account ever thought of rejecting them as members of the Socialist Party. Ernest Burns of Vancouver and H. P. Whartney of "Taxpayers' Platforms," of the lower middle class, but both were welcomed into membership with us. It is a total misrepresentation of our attitude to charge that we do not present our appeal to men of all classes. We do. But our main appeal, our main reliance, has always been and must always be the great propertyless class known as Proletarians.

The reason for this is that it is the interest of this class to oppose the capitalist class. On the other hand, it is the interest of a capitalist, high or low, to preserve the present system of wage-exploitation, by which he gets his income. For instance, the small farmer is obliged to get his farmhand at the lowest possible wages, and thus make the highest possible surplus-value out of him. He is thus interested in the preservation of the wage system. The farmhand, on the contrary, is interested in the abolition of the wage system by means of which he is robbed of at least half his product by that same farmer. If the farmer now could get the railway owned by the public and thus secure lower rates for his products—just as he secures low postage rates by public ownership of the postoffice—he would be so relieved by the ready market for his products that he would be even more interested in preserving the wage system by which he can exploit other men and make money.

For it is an illusion, a pure Utopian dream, to suppose that men in general will not be controlled by their self-interest, to.

Now the Socialist recognizes this fundamental fact of human nature and builds his platform on it. He is, therefore, practical to the last degree. He has studied the history of the human race and he knows that men have always been divided into warring classes by their divergent interests as classes. He knows that political parties always represent economic classes. He knows that no political party can endure beyond a campaign or two unless it stands for an economic class; that is, a group of citizens whose interests are identical. He therefore knows the Socialist Party cannot maintain its unity, integrity and efficiency if it is composed largely of two antagonistic classes, one interested in the preservation of the wage system and the other interested in its abolition. As Lincoln's famous phrase, the Socialist Party cannot endure half slave and half free.

We do not deny that men may enter and remain steadfast from philanthropic motives. But such are the exceptions. Men, as a whole, are not actuated by philanthropic motives. You can never construct a political party upon Christian or altruistic motives. It is an absurd and impractical dream. Let us not delude ourselves. Let us suffer no illusions. We must stay on the solid ground of human experience and not attempt to fly to the stars with the wax wings of idealism.

To sum up this first illusion: Let no one say we refuse the capitalist membership in our party, but let no one expect that the middle class and upper classes will contribute as large a percentage of their class as the proletariat itself. That is, an illusion which will prove fatal to our cause by introducing

conflicting interests, which will not fail to clash when the time for action arrives.

Second Illusion.

That there is no middle class any longer, is a second illusion which causes much confusion of tactics. It is said modern economic evolution has divided society into Big Capitalist and Workers, that the small capitalist does not count now, that there are now but two parties possible, Capitalist and Socialist. Hence make your appeal and build your program on workingmen and small capitalists alike. Do not make the wage worker distinction any longer. The class struggle in that old sense is passed. So say our comrades who are possessed of this second illusion. They would even make their main appeal to the lower middle class rather than the working class, because they are more intelligent and better able to lead the fight against capitalism. The working class is too stupid to emancipate itself. No race of slaves ever did emancipate itself, and the wage slave will not. So argues this class of illusionists.

The great error of these comrades is one of fact. The Middle Class is not gone by any means. It is indeed doomed, as we Socialists can plainly see. But the members of the class itself are far from convinced that their case is hopeless. A whole political party, the Democratic, is built upon the interests of these small capitalists. They are no more Socialists than Mr. Bryan is. If they accept that name, it is with the idea of regaining their lost position by state control of the trusts and monopolies which would reduce the enormous competitive advantages now held by the Big Capitalists. We Socialists know that this policy is reactionary and hopeless. But the great Middle Class, consisting of six millions of voters, does not believe or believe any such thing. They remember that they twice elected Cleveland president, and twice almost elected Bryan. They are indeed an economically disappearing class. But they have not yet disappeared by many millions, and they will not believe they are dying for years yet. In fact, they will not believe and vote as proletarians until they are proletarians. When in the course of events the present middle class of small capitalists, still fighting to become big capitalists, shall be precipitated into the wage class and be stripped of all hope of ever being anything else, then they will vote for Socialism that is Socialism. No palliatives will content them, because no palliatives will restore them their lost power. When they have lost nothing to lose, but their claims they will become a part, and the most valuable part, of a proletarian host that will proceed to expropriate the few expropriators who will then have exclusive control of the Means of Production.

A second error of these illusionists is this: They forget the fundamental, ever-working law that men will advocate measures in their own class interests. No matter what they profess or what their ideals, they will do what it is their interests are. You get a lot of taxpayers into your party; they will inevitably make a municipal platform in the interests of the taxpayers. In Whatcom "Socialist" was ready to support any candidates who would vote to let the cows run at large, because he had purchased a cow.

Cherish no illusions, comrades. Middle class Socialists as a rule will support a middle class program when it comes to a show-down. The members of the British Columbia Executive Committee who prepared that platform of "Immediate Demands," omitting all reference to what the secretary calls "Revolutionary Jargon," are members also of precisely that lower middle class that we are discussing. Consciously or unconsciously they have formulated a platform which exactly expresses the interests of that class to which they belong.

No; the middle class remains in existence and is fighting for its own interests. They might easily adopt the name, Socialist Party, in order to win proletarian support for a Public Ownership program, but we were to make our main appeal to them, they might enter our ranks in droves, and thus by means of the working class win a tem-

porary victory. But it would be a victory for reaction, individualism and the wage system—of no use whatever to the working class, and foredoomed to ultimate defeat. Then we should have learned our bitter lesson and have to begin all over again with a party based on the interests of those who have nothing to lose but their chains.

Let us keep our vision clarified. No illusion about there being no middle class with middle class interests. We Socialists, having a scientific program for certain victory, would be fools indeed to call to our aid and leadership the members of a class which is economically disappearing, but which is still valiantly though vainly fighting for the Lost Cause.

(To Be Continued.)

THEN AND NOW.

My father's oxen, I recall,
Were pounded, whipped and beaten;
Yet stupidly they labored on,
Till killed at last and eaten.
Just fill their maw with chaff or straw,
These cattle, strong but humble,
Would eat and haw, would work and
But never, never grumble.

But people nowadays require
More rapid means for meeting,
The vast demands of modern greed
For pomp and show competing
And so the working class invent
Machines that work and rattle—
A single one creates more wealth
Than many thousand cattle.

The crafty drones, detesting work,
Direct the busy construction;
And thus they legally acquire
Machines, and their production;
But shrewdly give the working class,
With various abuses,
A wage, which buys about a sixth
The class itself produces.

And they, creating all the wealth,
That still demands of modern greed
Accept this little mealy sixth,
And smoke and eat contented.
The rest is legally the drones',
And round the world they wander
On pleasure bent, with dude and rakes
To gamble, waste and squander.

They dwell in royal palaces—
The working class have made them,
Who live in squalid huts themselves,
With rents which soon degrade them.
Now, every dozen years or so
They strike for lack of money.
The parasites lock up the mills
Lest profits be arrested.

The land is burdened so with wealth,
It seems unique and funny;
The working class have made so much
They starve for lack of money.
Then patriotic zeal requires
Some foreign complications,
To sell the goods our workmen need,
For clothing, heat and rations.

The press responds, the eagle screams,
Old sabbres clank and rattle;
E'en churches cheer the volunteer
To deeds of blood and battle.
We kill and burn, good times return,
To save us all endeavor;
Our wage soars high, yet when we buy
Their little left is ever.

Again we hear, from far and near,
How strike a day is our rage;
Deluded men! not one in ten
Will strike for living wages.
The working class have votes enough,
By learning how to use them,
To claim the earth, and get it, too,
When drones could not abuse them.

Instead, they take their master's vote,
In ballot box they chuck it,
Content if they can only fill
That old tin dinner bucket.
And when I see them voting thus,
Or volunteer for battle,
My mind reverts with some relief
To father's stupid cattle.

J. E. NASH.

Minneapolis, Minn.

Comrade Seibert will start out on his propaganda tour next week. On account of having to advance some money toward the expenses of our national committee, the organizers' fund is rather low. All who desire to aid in this important work should send in money or pledges immediately.
J. D. CURTIS,
Chairman State Committee.

A DANGEROUS RIVAL



The Archbishop—"Holy Smoke, but she makes me look little! I must get rid of her somehow."

ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN AGAINST SOCIALISM.

New York, Monday, Jan. 6.—Archbishop Corrigan has just preached a sermon on Socialism at St. Patrick's Cathedral, which is attracting general attention. He said that the theories of the Socialists would be found faulty in actual practice. He did not agree with them that religion had nothing to do with morality and that Socialism alone is able to do away with wrong-doing and crime. One of the chief arguments to prove the divinity of Christianity, he said, was that of the amelioration of the characters of the adherents. TODAY SOCIALISM APPEARED BEFORE THE WORLD WITH MOST SEDUCTIVE PROMISES OF AN EARTHLY PARADISE.

"Modern democratic Socialism may be found to be reducible to practical usefulness under certain conditions," he added. "If all men became angels, or again, under some strictly absolute government such as that of the Incas, or again, for a short season under the influence of some wild revolution, such doctrines might overcome the whole country, as a cyclone does, but unless human nature be changed, they would, like the cyclone, lose their power soon, and old habits would return."

THE DEVIL'S RACE.

London, Jan. 5.—The workers in the building trades have been given an object lesson in American exploitation. Recently the "Daily Mail" gave as one of the union rules, binding the bricklayer under the gravest penalties, as follows:

"Rule 5: You are strictly cautioned not to outstep good rules by doing out the work you are required, and causing others to do the same, in order to gain a smile from your master. Such foolhardy and deceitful actions leave a great number of good members out of employment the year round. Certain individuals have been guilty who will be expelled if they do not refrain."
The union rules further provide that 450 bricks laid per nine hours' day, shall be the limit.

Now employers and members of trade unions alike are marveling over the accomplishment of the Westinghouse Electric Company in erecting vast works at Manchester. Buildings which cost \$7,000,000 have been constructed in less than a year.
English builders estimated that this work would require five years. The work has been done by British workmen under American supervision, but instead of the 450 bricks per nine hours a day, which is the trade union average, each British workman laid an average of 1,800 bricks, with 2,500 on the very plain work.

J. C. Stewart, of St. Louis, acted as manager. For one day Stewart had

twenty policemen on hand in case of emergency. The next day found him presenting the foreman with a ten-guinea suit for his expeditious achievement.

The manager's representatives said yesterday that Stewart had started in by initiating a system of daily reports of the progress from each of the seventy-five foremen or sub-foremen. The last two weeks showed no particular record except that a great deal too much money was spent for the work done. This representative said:

"After that we got to 900 bricks for a man and by a continuous process of elimination, guided by the daily reports of progress, we reached an average of 1,800. Yes, (trouble was threatened from the trades unions at times, but we met the delegates and defined our position plainly. We were willing to work with union men and in every way according to union rules, and we gave 11 pence per hour instead of 10 pence, which is the rate stipulated by the union.)"

"We made it as clear as spring water, however, that we were going to have those bricks laid, that we intended to be masters of our own work, that we were not going to let the slowest man on the job set the pace, that each man would have to do his utmost, and that we should have men to see that this idea was carried out. Either we were to run the job or the unions would be disregarded and other men employed."—Weekly People.

THOUGHTS,

By Your Uncle.

THE comrades had secured the municipal courtroom for my first meeting, Wednesday evening, Jan. 8, and in spite of no advertising save an item in the Chronicle, it was packed to the doors. The success of the meeting so encouraged the boys that Oliver Hall was secured for Friday night, and again with no advertising every seat was filled. Much enthusiasm was manifested and the local was encouraged to cling closer to the class line. There have been evidences of wobblying due to certain opportunist ideas, but there is reason to believe that hereafter there will be less danger of that sort. All the members were quick to see and recognize the importance of a working class programme and working class government, if benefits of any kind are really desired. Two years ago it is doubtful if with the most liberal advertising a score of people could have been induced to attend a Socialist meeting, while now—well, it is simply astonishing how quick the people are to attend a meeting if given the opportunity. Spokane can do a power of good for Socialism if they emphasize the class struggle and realize that the Socialist movement can have no consideration whatever for those outside the line of the class line. Only a couple of Socialists objected to criticism of the Appeal, and even then they realized the straddling of that paper, merely objecting to criticism in public print. However, they will get over that.

BURKE, IDAHO.
Could not arrange for Wallace, Idaho, as hoped, but did get a meeting at Burke, where the bullpup of the past and the blacklisting of union men have drawn the class line so plainly that all may see. The local at Burke received its charter the same day I arrived there, Saturday, Jan. 11, and thus the meeting was a ratification, as to the new members well as to the public. It is quite an honor nowadays to hold the first Socialist meeting in any community, especially in a locality where efforts of the workers have been met by bullets, imprisonment and blacklisting. Every member almost of the Burke local is a wage slave, but they recognize their interests are bitterly opposed to the interests of any other class in society, and there is no possibility of them ever wavering and being misled by the ignis fatuus of opportunism—public utilities—in order that the dying middle class may still longer hold on to their parasitic position in society and thereby still continue their plundering of the workers.

HELENA, MONT.
Was all day Sunday getting to Missoula. Intended to lay over there to catch Helena train Monday and hoped to have a meeting. I had been able to reach any one in Missoula but twenty-four hours and there is still no word short of do anything. As it was the train was about an hour late and I failed to meet the only person I knew was interested in the cause, Comrade H. Hazelton. It was bitterly cold, to me, at least, and I was selfishly glad to put my feet in the fire. I would have been housed indeed to meet Hazelton, for I believe through him it would have been possible to arrange the formation of a local in a few days. Reached Helena Monday and met at depot Comrades Heldt and Rogers. Helena local, under the disguise of "Public Ownership Club," has arranged a series of lectures by a locally prominent, and one had been arranged for Monday night. A. M. Eggleston, editor of the Daily Independent, was the speaker. He is a single laborer; his subject was "Capital and Labor," and his talk, which he carefully read "for fear of being sidetracked," was entirely devoted to a polemic and defense of the rights of interest and profit. He denounced, of course, the landlord, but wanted the small factory, the small business man to remain. In other words, he justified and defended, from his capitalistic position, the right of the capitalist class to plunder the wage slave. No preparation had been made for the local to answer him, but a Socialist to close the meeting, and only my accidental arrival in the face of a mild protest of one or two "Socialists" gave the meeting any semblance whatever of a Socialist gathering. The Helena committee, some of them while I was trying to do what they believe best to aid the growth of Socialist thought, make serious errors sometimes through their not thoroughly understanding the nature of the economic struggle now rocking society. On the bills distributed advertising the meeting not one word ap-

peared that would lead any one to imagine a Socialist meeting was to be held. The word Socialism was carefully eliminated. They meant well, no doubt, but it was a serious mistake, and it is doubtful if they will do it again. There is a great error than to suppose you can fool people into becoming Socialists without knowing what Socialism is. However, my friend, the democratic editor, got through at half-past nine, and strangely like our Seattle single taxers, he and a couple of his friends had excuses to leave without hearing what the Socialists had to say. I called into the proposition for thirty-five minutes. Couldn't say much, but I laid down the class line, illustrated the diverse interests of the two classes, and declared strongly the idiocy of expecting the least benefit while allowing the wage system to remain. I believe, and without egotism, that I punctured the beautiful middle-class bubble most thoroughly, even though the next morning he printed the whole of his lengthy paper and "accidentally" refrained from mentioning that there was such a thing as a Socialist in town or even a Socialist Idea.

HELENA COMMITTEE.—EHEM! I believe, and without egotism, that I punctured the beautiful middle-class bubble most thoroughly, even though the next morning he printed the whole of his lengthy paper and "accidentally" refrained from mentioning that there was such a thing as a Socialist in town or even a Socialist Idea. Helena comrades, if they are wise to their own interests and to those of their own class, will let politicians and muddlers like the sample democratic editor severely alone. Otherwise the necessary change in tactics to preserve and foster working class revolution to the end that all wealth producers may be emancipated, may have to be taken instead of naturally, and logically when in process of formation, as at Helena today—long after organization of diverse interests and futile attempts to harmonize middle class reform with working class necessities, and when the inevitable recognition of the economic truth will split and disintegrate and bring about the disintegration, instead, as it should, harmony and strength. Local Helena is well situated for a strong and steady growth that will aid the movement, but it must be based upon the recognition of the basic principle that upholds the capitalist system—wage slavery. I believe from now on Helena local will advance along the right lines. Many members were present at the meeting. They and the audience seemed to grasp my meaning, and the questions did not show any serious objections to emphasizing the fact that the Socialist revolution is a movement for the material interests of the exploited class and for them alone. How the line, boys, and you will advance much further than if you catered, in the least, to win those who can never be a strong staff because of their material interests being antagonistic to yours.

The meeting did not break up until long after midnight, and for a while the audience lingered in groups, the number who pressed forward to shake my hand with renewed courage and enthusiasm shining from their faces, together with others who volunteered their subscription to the Socialist, testified strongly to the fact that Helena local will hereafter come forward for Socialism and all it stands and fights for. Comrades Carlson, Rogers, Luchmann, Mr. and Mrs. Heldt, Saund, Douglas, Martin and others recognize that hereafter no quarter can be given on either side. It is a fight to the finish. There can be no compromise, and they mean to keep Helena local on the battle line as the fight goes on.

Each active Socialist should make a Socialist every month. We have now 500 organized Socialists in British Columbia. Suppose 200 of these are active; that means 400 in another month, 800 a month later, 1,600—'I'd better stop, or I'll have Socialism here in less than a year. But, to be earnest, I firmly believe that in five years we'll have the co-operative commonwealth. I may be optimistic, but when I see the great strides it is making and the great success I—a common plug of a workman, with no ability as a speaker—now can I help but have this glorious hope? If my hopes are to be realized, I'll merely renew my hope, that's all."—J. M. Cameron.

Organizing Fund.
Local Aberdeen \$3.00
Local Granite Falls \$1.05
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Secretary-Treasurer.

Help along the organizers' fund, so as to put us in good shape for the election next fall.

A BLOOMIN' BLUFF.

"As it was in the beginnin'"
"That's the yarn the rector's spinnin'"
"Is today and ever shall be."
Did you hever 'ear such stuff?
We'e says, must be contented
With what pleased our late lamented;
But I answers, soft and mid-like,
That's a bloomin', blasted bluff.

God, 'e says (the bloke is silly),
Will 'e feed soft fat with skillly
An' evaporated apples,
While 'e bloats on plummy duff,
Grub as cats with keen enjoyment;
But I answers, soft and mid-like,
That's a bloomin', blasted bluff.

An' 'e keeps his gawkin' flunkey
Dancin' round 'im like a monkey,
Riggin' 'is 'outy carcass
With a dozen sorts of stuff;
But I answers, soft and mid-like,
That's a bloomin', blasted bluff.

Unbecomin' to our station;
But I answers, soft and mid-like,
That's a bloomin', blasted bluff.
Then 'e calls us stiff-necked people;
(All 'is brains in 'is steekle)—
'Tis our backs, and not our necks, sir,
As you buff, an' sure enough;
But 'e vows the Lord intended
That our lot should not be mended;
But I answers, soft and mid-like,
That's a bloomin', blasted bluff.

Now I rises to remark, sir,
For 'e declares all decoration, sir,
Then 'e makes has been contented
With the sweepin' long enough;
And the common workin' classes
'As got hover bein' bossed,
'As got hover bein' 'oodoo'd
With a blasted, bloomin' bluff.
I believe, and without egotism,
That I punctured the beautiful
Middle-class bubble most thoroughly,
Even though the next morning he printed
The whole of his lengthy paper and
"accidentally" refrained from mentioning
That there was such a thing as a
Socialist in town or even a Socialist
Idea.

An Altruist Speaks

Editor The Socialist.—In The Socialist of January 5 you say in your article on "Socialism vs Politics": "Many well-meaning Socialists, like Wayland, make a general appeal to all classes alike, and expect the party to be made up of all classes indiscriminately. It is a vain hope because it contradicts history. It is a delusion which will prove disastrous if it prevails to such an extent that a heterogeneous political alliance shall get together under the name Socialist Party."

Now, I do not believe there is very great danger of a heterogeneous political alliance of classes getting together under the name Socialist Party. Socialism is a science of government as exact and definite as arithmetic or astronomy. You know that it is not a made-up plan or program to be followed or not, just as we choose, and yet you seem to fear that after one understands it and wants it, that class interests will prevent him getting what he wants.

No one understands Socialism until he "perceives the facts of political and industrial evolution," and that "the proletarian class is the only possible basis of Socialism-politics." It takes a great deal of study and thought, and it must be done with an earnest desire to know the truth before we can understand the subject, and even then we must compare our ideas with others to be certain that we are entirely consistent. A great deal depends upon the honesty and intelligence of the individual, whether he wants justice for others as well as himself, and learns that he must help the lowest out of the ditch before he can escape the danger of being thrown into it himself, as to the result of this study.

I do not believe that we must all become proletarians before we can realize what the class struggle means, and consistently work for Socialism. As one of the middle class I see the class struggle and understand the necessity of strictly adhering to this fundamental doctrine, and must I be refused opportunity to work for Socialism because I am one of the middle class? I want Socialism. I want only one class and want it to include all the people.

Now as to Wayland and his Appeal, Appeal is the fiftieth among Socialist papers and has less than a dozen people to study Socialism than any other paper in the country. It contains the milk of the doctrine and teaches that Socialism is inevitable. Every Socialist should read it, but unless the beginner should read other Socialist literature it will take him a long time to know what the class-consciousness means by reading it.

I believe Wayland is right in not teaching it in the Appeal. It is usually better to start a child in a primer, and adults are but grown-up children, and if the beginner should be one of the middle or upper class it is useless to teach the class-consciousness argument, in fact injurious.

(We quite agree that "The Appeal" is adapted to reach the middle and upper classes; that is, the capitalist class. The essence of all its teaching is that capitalism is becoming Social-

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ism, or, as Dr. West puts it, it teaches that Socialism is the inevitable outcome of capitalism. It is all the while pointing out the beauties of ultimate Socialism and urging men to accept it because it is beautiful and reasonable. Now we say that is a Utopian method, an impractical dream. Capitalists will never become Socialists because Socialism is right. As Prof. Sombart says: "What a mistaken estimate of the true world, what boundless under-estimate of opposing forces, lie in the belief that those who have power can be moved to a surrender of their position through preaching and promise."

Dr. West fails to see the great danger which lies in the "Appeal army" of small capitalists pouring themselves into "The Socialist Party" under the mistaken notion that they are Socialists. They will constitute a majority, and being a middle-class majority will make a middle-class platform. "The Appeal" is true to this forecast even now. It pushes New Zealand and the postoffice to the front as Socialistic, and its official platform, its flag always at the masthead, is: "For Public Ownership of Monopolies.—Ed. The Socialist." They at once array against you, become class-conscious on the other side, and then you must convince them that Socialism is inevitable before they will give it any attention. All this is easier and better done by getting them to read such papers as the Appeal until they learn the alphabet of Socialism.

I did not learn it by this method, for I had known for a long while before I began to study political economy that disorder reigned everywhere, but it would have been easier for me to have reached the understanding of it that I have, had I done so. Now I want Socialism had enough to spend money trying to get others to understand it. I want it because it would give justice to all. I want it because it would make my lot in life easier. I want it because it would bring joy and happiness to millions that are now living in distress. I want it because I could then live the life of a Christian.

I want it because it would make the kingdom of heaven possible on earth instead of the kingdom of hell we now have, and yet I am one of the middle class and recognize the proletarian class struggle and am as class-conscious as any proletarian, but I know we will never have Socialism because I want it, not because a great many intelligent people want it, nor because it is the great mass of people, but I do know we will have it because of the great number of unemployed, because of the proletariat.

I believe that every student of Socialism that wants it, will know what the class struggle means, long before we have enough voters to seriously menace the present order of society. I do not believe the Bernsteinists will ever influence the party further than to emphasize the necessity of adhering to past methods.

The Whattom incident should teach the opportunists that they cannot remain in harmony with the great body of Socialists without it. There is no place for the step-at-a-time reformer in the Socialist Party. DR. L. WEST.

Monett, Mo.

The Executive Committee of Local Seattle has decided to call a nominating convention on Friday evening, February 7, to make nominations for the city election on March 4.

Agent for The Socialist at Spokane, A. E. HARDER.
Agents for The Socialist at Burke, Idaho, PETER JOHNSON and WM. NICHOLS.
Agent for The Socialist at Helena, Mont., H. Luehann.
Agent for The Socialist at North Yakima, SAM. T. SHELL.

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HOLIDAY PRESENTS
until you have seen what

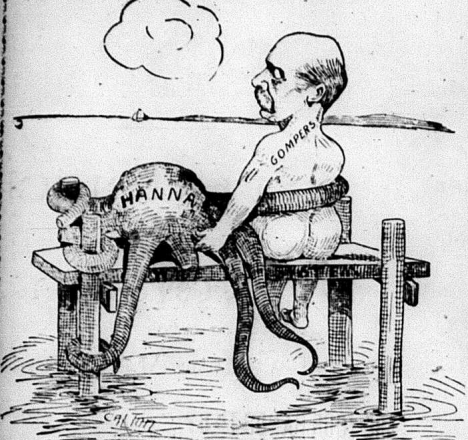
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Socialism is simply applied Christianity; the Golden Rule applied to every day life. What we need is growth in that direction.—(Prof. R. T. Ely.)

LOVING FRIENDS



THE INDUSTRIAL PEACE COMMISSION. Mottos: "Arbitration," "Conciliation," "Identity of Interests," "Brotherhood of Labor and Capital."

Capital and Labor on One Platform.

The following is the membership of the now celebrated Industrial Peace Conference. Twenty-four capitalists and twelve labor leaders, all agreeing that capital shall continue to rob labor by the same old wage system. Labor really hasn't the slightest interest in this pretended peace committee. Combers and Hannan! Hannan and Combers. Me and Mark, or me and Sam—it's all one. Our artist has well hit them off by his parody of a popular print.

Yet listen to this simple song of Archbishop Ireland:

"May the winds carry the news over the continent, around the world, that such a meeting as this has taken place in the great City of New York. The hope of the twentieth century is that the great principles of brotherhood, charity and justice announced by the Holy One of Palestine shall become broader and deeper at this time than at any other. Let us have industrial peace. Let employer and employee know that they are brothers. Let charity and justice, and justice more than charity, be the prevailing light of this great nation."

The Capitalists.

To represent the employers and capitalists—Senator Hanna, James A. Chambers, president of the American Glass Company, Pittsburg; William H. Pfabler, president of the National Association of Stove Manufacturers; F.A. Galloway, president of the American Locomotive Works; Lewis Nixon, president and owner of the Crescent Ship Yard, Elizabethport, N. J.; Chas. M. Schwab, president of the United States Steel Corporation; H. H. Vreeland, president of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, New York; Chas. A. Moore, president of the Machine Manufacturing Company; John D. Rockefeller, Jr.; E. D. Ripley, presi-

dent of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad; Marcus M. Marks, president of the National Association of Clothing Manufacturers; Julius Kruttschnitt, general manager of the Southern Pacific Railroad.

The Laborers.

To represent organized labor—Samuel Combers, president of the American Federation of Labor; John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers; Frank P. Sargent, grand master of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen; Theodore J. Shaffer, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers; James Duncan, secretary of the Granite Cutters' Union; Daniel J. Keeffe, president of the International Association of the Brotherhood of Longshoremen; James O'Connell, president of the International Association of Machinists; Martin Fox, president of the Iron Molders' National Union; James E. Lynch, president of the International Typographical Union; Edward E. Clarke, grand master of the Order of Railway Conductors; Henry White, secretary of the Garment Workers of America; Walter MacArthur, editor Coast Seamen's Journal, San Francisco.

The "Public."

To represent the public—Ex-President Grover Cleveland, Archbishop John Ireland, Bishop Henry C. Potter, Charles Francis Adams, Cornelius N. Bliss, ex-secretary of the interior; Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard University; Franklin McVeagh, Chicago; ex-Comptroller of the Currency James H. Eckels; John J. McCook of New York; John G. Milburn of Buffalo, Charles A. Bonaparte of Baltimore.

Chairman of the Conference Oscar C. Siraus and Secretary Ralph M. Esley are ex-officio members of the committee.

How the gods and devils must laugh at that combination!

scious Socialists organize as a political party instead of using economic methods? To answer this we say the state is the public power created and maintained in society by their division into classes, a power which being clothed with force makes laws as to taxes. As long as the economically dominant class retain full possession of this public power, they are able to use it as a weapon to defeat every attempt to alter the economic structure of society, hence every attempt to destroy private property, to establish industrial freedom, to take the form of class struggle between the economically privileged class and the exploiting class. Marx, Engels, Deville, Ferri and Comrade Vail of New Jersey are a unit on the conclusion that the economic structure of society controls and shapes all the social, political, religious and intellectual processes of life. In view of the above I am indebted to Comrade R. L. Monte. You say love or brotherhood will solve the economic question; I say solve the economic question, and love and brotherhood then and then only are possible. Man is the product of his environment. First, of his natural environment second of his economic environment. This latter, created by the human brain from the natural environment, has been built up in ages of human progress so that under our so-called civilization it is the dominant factor. At first man had to take the material furnished by nature, later on the natural environment and the inherited economic environment, so that in the last analysis the material and economic factors are supreme. We are often accused of neglecting the intellectual and a whole host of other factors, but we do not. We recognize their existence and importance, but we refuse to devote our energies to side issues or diversionary schemes when we are able to see the decisive dominant economic factor. We do not neglect the cart because we insist it should be behind the horse instead of in front as you would have it. It is necessary that we should understand the present situation, the bread and butter question involved, and try to talk harmony. At present, brother, to say "protest too much"—Jno. G. Smart, Index, Wash., in The Co-Operator.

Letter From Comrade Wallace.

(Written before Committee took action on Fox's statement, and published by request of State Committee.)

Fairhaven, Wash. Dec. 12, 1901. Joseph State Committee, Dear Comrade—Your favor of the 24th received. I am disappointed, but not surprised. When I first joined the Socialist Democratic Party I felt it was only a question of time when all Socialists would be under one banner and under the same. The only thing that kept the Socialists of the Socialist Democratic Party apart was the matter of leadership. However, rolled by a graduation of the party, these were and are socially awakened to the fact that there was and is a vast difference in the Socialist principles advanced and the Socialists who are not so. It makes it absolutely necessary that each party should be independent of the other. Both Socialists and Social Democrats are in the doctrine of Marx. The Socialist Labor Party is truly claiming to be the party which, which to my mind is the essence of Marx, but all its propaganda, all its doctrine on the ground of class consciousness. The Socialist Party recognizes the fact that class-consciousness is not the effect and not the cause.

When the evolution has arrived at a stage in the individual where the individual recognizes his individuality, he will not have the present system society can have but two classes, economic classes, and either political, social and religious division or classes it may contain; then as far as many classes it is concerned the revolution has arrived and is ready for the change of system, and it is the duty of the Socialist to bring about this change by the use of force. On the contrary, if the individual has been drilled entirely in class-consciousness, the matter was, as before stated, is an effect not a cause, to the exclusion of the essence of Socialism, i.e., the freedom and the doctrine which the people understand the process or not; that the business as it is, the drawback and load to the cause. No better evidence of this fact is necessary than the dropping of the Socialist candidates by the class-conscious Socialists of San Francisco. Oh, but you say, they never were Socialists. I admit they are not evolutionary or constructive Socialists such as the Whatcom comrades represent, but those proper place is in the Socialist Labor Party where they will be in accord with its principles and doctrine. I do not say this with all respect for the Socialist Labor Party. I recognize the necessity of its existence, but it is not my object to see the Socialist Party Paralyze the Socialist Party. If the members of the Socialist Party are graded beyond or below, the party may be the Kangaroo, as we are called, spirit, let the party join the other party and we Kangaroos will respect and honor them, which we cannot do as long as they only pretend to uphold the principles of the Socialist Party. It has ceased to be, if it ever was, a question which party is the most important, but the judgment it might render. This question was not thought of when the State Committee was elected, and to my mind, it is a question in taking it up in the manner it did trampled upon class-consciousness, and we do not have authority it did not possess, and by judging comrades without a hearing showed it as a committee did not possess, but it regards the rights of others so necessary for officers and leaders in any organization, and more particularly for officers and recognized leaders. So-called Socialist Party, I don't want to be misunderstood, I don't want to be misunderstood, and while individual members, perhaps a majority or all of the individual members, as individuals, are in the Socialist Party, still the fact remains that the organization of the committee as a committee, and we do not want to see it safely be trusted to guide the Socialist Party in peace and harmony.

As I have to do, I call upon you the committee as I do to resign, and that each member of the committee as an individual, to resign. The serial addressed to be printed on one paper and mailed to the secretaries of the locals with instructions to have same

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Bread, Pies and Cake from the Wagon, which will call at your door or from the Salesroom, at 709 Pike Street, or get your grocer to handle it.

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A School of Socialism.

San Francisco gets the next term of the Training School for Socialist Workers.

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The first term of this Training School closes at Girard, Kans., December 31st. No school was held in 1901, due to the unavailability of the students of its friends. A large number of the students will go at once into the field as party workers.

Of the twenty-two students in the regular course all are graduates. They should come after a period of actual experience in field work. Five of the number will go to San Francisco for the next term. Forty-nine students are already pledged for the San Francisco term. It will begin March 15, 1902, and last for twelve weeks. The next fall term at Girard will open with more than one hundred students.

The course of study at San Francisco will include lessons in Social Economy, History, Voice Training for Teachers, you should come to the address, Parliamentary Practice, Methods of Training School, or not, you should take the correspondence work at once. Send for circular to Walter Thomas Mills, Girard, Kan.

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The place where you can find bargains in
DRY GOODS
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We can please you in both quality and price.
C. G. MILLS

Entertainment and Ball!

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On Wednesday Evening, January 22nd,

ON Wednesday night this week Seattle comrades hold a Big Demonstration for the benefit of the Local. The expense of the Spring Campaign will soon be on us and a Full Treasury makes Cheerful Workers. Comrades, the time for ticket selling is short. Get in and work. Apply to Geo. W. Scott for tickets.

No Side Issues

As a member of The Co-Operative Brotherhood, I also claim a right to be heard and give answer to your criticism on the "class conscious" Socialist, and also deny your conclusions that the bread and butter side of life cuts but little figure in the fight we are making for industrial redemption. To answer you I have to take the "materialistic conception of history," or as it is properly termed "economic determination," and this scientific term means simply what every man by his daily life and conduct proves to be true; that the bread and butter question is the most important in life. All of the rest of the individual is affected, yet, dominated by the way he has to earn his bread and butter. As this is true of individ-

uals, so also it is of societies, and gives us the only way by which we can understand the history of the past and within limits predict future developments. This is easy to understand, and any man of common sense must admit its truth. No matter what views one may hold on philosophical or theological questions, he can with perfect consistency recognize the fact that the economic factor is the determining factor in every day human life. The political, legal, ethical, and all human institutions have their roots in the economic soil, and any reform that does not go down to the roots cannot modify the economic structure, the bread and butter side of life. This makes the social question an economic question, and all efforts should be concentrated on it. You may ask if this is a purely economic question, why do the class con-

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PARTY NEWS.

ARTICLE

The regular Socialist night proceedings... (transcription of text follows)

CORRESPONDENCE.

Editor The Socialist. Dear Comrade... (transcription of text follows)

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Lamps, Tinware, Etc.**
Frederick & Son
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ARE YOUR HANDS TIED?

LOCAL NOTES.

Carpenters' Hall had all its seats filled Sunday night to hear a lecture on Scientific Socialism... (transcription of text follows)

Editor The Socialist. Dear Comrade... (transcription of text follows)

Adolph Lindauer
PIKE STREET'S
**Watchmaker, Jeweler
and Optician**
EYES EXAMINED FREE with the latest and best instruments.
Watches Cleaned and Guaranteed \$1 up.
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Notice and Summons
In the Superior Court of the State of Washington for King County... (transcription of text follows)

PROSS BULLETIN.

Northland Headquarters.
Minnesota will hold state convention at Minneapolis on February 22... (transcription of text follows)

Editor The Socialist. Dear Comrade... (transcription of text follows)

**Our Line of
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Largest Stove House in the Northwest
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IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF KING COUNTY, STATE OF WASHINGTON.
Mary McCracken, plaintiff, vs. Thomas McCracken, defendant. No.—Summons by Publication.
The State of Washington to the said Thomas McCracken, defendant: You are hereby summoned to appear within sixty days after the date of this publication of this summons, to wit: within sixty days after the date of this publication of this summons, to wit: December 1, 1901, and defend the above-entitled cause in the above-entitled County, and answer the complaint of the plaintiff, the undersigned 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 demand of the complaint, which has been filed with the Clerk of said Court.
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Yakima Local. Socialist party meets every Thursday evening at 11 1/2 South Second Street... (transcription of text follows)

Editor The Socialist. Dear Comrade... (transcription of text follows)

General Information
We presented our ironical pledge to them they have balked. Hoping that you will kindly render us all the assistance in your power as the speakers mentioned, and with greetings from all the comrades. I remain yours for Socialism in our time.
C. KILBY,
Secretary Local Nanaimo.
35 Thirty-first Street, Chicago, Ill.,
January 7, 1902.
Editor The Socialist: Dear Sir, you will find enclosed 10 cents to pay ten weeks' subscription for The Socialist, and I wish to God that every man in this city was a reader of your good paper. I hope to live to see the Socialists in power. I cannot keep house without it, and the prospect is that this subscriber will continue to take it. He has but little confidence in our government. I am with you in the great cause.
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The local Socialist Club meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 P.M. Ryan Sec. Everybody welcome.
LOCAL ARLINGTON
Local Arlington, Socialist Party, meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the Fellowship Hall, Arlington, Wash., at 212 P.O. We have a new Touch Secretary.
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