Ninth Year-No. 390

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, August 29, 1908

Price Five Cents

# COTTERILL WONTHELP UNIONS

Geo F. Cotterill, candidate for U. S. Senator on the Democratic ticket in Washington, proves an artful dodger. Boomed as the "Friend of Labor," he has no time to defend Bryan against Debs, even when it means hundreds of dollars for men on strike.

The correspondence printed on this page tells its own story.

George F. Cotterill's brother, Frank, is Business Agent of the Central Labor Council in Seattle, and George himself poses as a friend of Organized Labor. Just now, as a supporter of Bryan, and candidate for the Dem ocratic nomination for U. S. Senator, Cotterill is obliged to affect the

But George sidesteps any debate with the Socialists. He claims to be sort of Me-Too Socialist himself. But he thinks Debs has no chance and all votes for Debs will be "thrown away."

That is exactly what the Socialists would like to debate with Cotterill efore the Wage Workers of Seattle: Which Proletarian vote will be thrown away, that for Debs or that for Bryan?

What harm can come to your cause, Mr. Cotterill, by an evening spent in such discussion?

Are you afraid it would make votes for Debs?

Won't your Bryan cause bear open discussion before a Working Class audience?

You can put \$500 cash in the treasury of the striking Longshoremen by spending a single evening of your valuable time on the platform. You love to address the public. You have spent a month in Oklahoma speaking for your Prohibition friends. Why not devote a single evening to addressing the largest audience you ever faced in Seattle?

Be assured the debate will not be "academic," as you seem to fear. It will be intensely practical; which will benefit the wage worker most, a vote for Debs or a vote for Bryan?

It is up to Mr. Cotterill once more.

By the way, the "Union Record" printed the original challenge in an out-of-the-way corner, without a heading, and Cotterill's reply on the first page under an enormous picture of Cotterill, and refused altogether to print the last letter of the Socialist Committee. Yet the "Union Record" pretends to be friendly to Debs!

But it and Cotterill are plainly not anxious to give \$500 to the strik-

## **Cotterill Invited**

nomination for the United States Senate, we understand that you favor for President of the United States William Jennings Bryan. We therefore challenge you to meet Hermon F. Titus on the following question:

"THAT EVERY MEMBER OF OR GANIZED LABOR SHOULD VOTE FOR DEBS RATHER THAN BRY-AN."

We believe that such an attraction
We believe that such an attraction We believe that such an attraction would fill the largest hall in this city; that if a small admission fee was charged a considerable sum of money could be realized to assist the unions in a struggle worthy of the support of every friend of organized labor, and that the money so realized should be turned over to the Central Labor Council to be divided among the unions on strike, in proportion to the number of their members now out of work on account of strike.

We trust that in your acceptance of

We trust that in your acceptance of this proposal you will designate a com-mittee of three to meet a committee of three from the Socialist Party to

arrange the details.
E. B. Ault, Seattle Typographical Union, No. 202.
J. F. Nielsen, I. P. P. and A Union

Arthur B. Callaham, Federal Labor

Union, No. 11587. F. Langmaid, Cooks and Stewards',

o. 851. D. F. Clare, Carpenters, No. 131. Arthur Jensen, F. L. A., No. 1222. R. A. Seidel, I. A. M., Local No.

B. Johnston, Painters, No. 300. B. Kubaski, Tallors, No. 71. Chas. Zetterquist, Building Labor-

No. 3.

No. A. Krugler, U. M. of A., No. for the "real thing," and every time we do we land hard, sooner or later. Antonio Sartoris, U. M. of A., No. 2512.

Melvin Engolf, Local No. 32, U: A.

John Downie, Carpenters, No. 131. John M. Duggan, Machinists, No. 31. D. J. Iten, Local No. 71, Tailors'

Inion. H. A. Korthagen, Painters, No. 300. Committee.

### **Cotterill Refuses** To Help Unions

mailed to me.

I have responded to similar invita-tions in the past that I have neither the time nor inclination to engage in any debate or controversy with Social-

Bryan represents his principles or ship of state—will do immeasurably will help the general trend towards more for a higher, truer American-

day is there any right or reason to expect that the vote for Mr. Debts ing no choice between them and beginn the candidate of a minor party form are indeed fair words, they do not overlook the record of the Democratic plattorms, influences and environments, will be elected President of the United States next Nov. 3.

Will the election of Mr. Bryan, and therefore having no choice between them and between the all that the promises of the democratic plattoners of an indifferent as to which wins, votes for fair—and the Ald-mand the Ald-mand the Ald-mand the Ald-mand the Ald-mand the Ald-mand the Al platforms, influences and environments, will be elected President of the United States next Nov. 3.

Will the election of Mr. Bryan, and the power of his influence and leadership in governmental affairs for the next four years, be more beneficial to "organized labor"—will his election mean greater progress toward the ideal of human happiness by a true "square deal" than will result from the election of Mr. Taft?

That is the only phase of the presidential question which to my mind is worth discussing. I have not time nor energy to spend during campaigns, except towards a definite choice between the conditions actually presented and the results dependent upon that choice.

Understand me clearly. I have not him helpless of accomplishment, and the results dependent upon that choice.

Understand me clearly. I have not him progresses and awakening of public conscience such as have distinguished Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan, Four I years of Bryan in the Roosevelt pulpit—even with adverse influences in the United States Senate obstructing a ship of state—will do immeasurably more for a higher, tree American—

Dear Sir: Your reply to our request that you devote an evening to assist in raising funds for the union men now on strike in this city has been received by this committee.

The purpose of this communication the many mean and the difference between failure and success in a cause that means very, very much to the fellow committee.

The subject itself is one in which practically all union men are inter-

labor should vote for Taft rather than Bryan;" or even
"That the election of Mr. Taft will be more beneficial to organized labor, and at least one union is engaged in a struggle or under the Democratic governors of the South. At a recent session of the event the strike shall fail. This union than the election of Mr. Bryan," I would consider it my duty to support the negative in such a debate, and would gladly do so.

Very truly yours,
GEORGE F. COTTERILL.

Cotterill Invited

To Reconsider

Seattle, August 26, 1908.

Hon. Geo. F. Cotterill, Seattle, Wash.—Dear Sir: Your reply to our request that you devote an evening to assist in raising funds for the union men now on strike in this city has been received by this committee.

The subject itself is one in which

Mational convention of your party), or under the Democratic governors of the South. At a recent session of the event the strike shall fail. This union in the strike shall fail. This union is importance that the cevent the strike shall fail. This union is sugged in a struggle or under the Democratic governors of the South. At a recent session of the South.

CIALIST PARTY TO ASSIST UNIONS ON STRIKE.

### THE SOCIALIST SPECIAL

Shall it stop? It is for you to say.

Now, you could not believe it would will begin to turn on August 30, and

will continue until September 25. propaganda scattered far and wide. But on September 25 it will com-

to a dead stop, unless funds come in to keep the steam up. We dare not extend the contract beyond Septem ber 25, until we have received \$8,000 that which men will gain that the evi-

necessary to abandon the project, to forego its immense propaganda adsheets to shrick with delight.

It cannot fall if 40,000 dues-paying members of the Socialist Party will of thousands of sympathetic workers. THEY MUST HELP and WILL HELP. Their hopes, with ours, are bound up in the success of the political party of the Working Class.

Do you realize your responsibility? We believe you do.

Such a gigantic undertaking cannot be postponed until the last minute. We must have the money at once. Socialists know no East or West North or South.

Let the money come pouring in from all points of the compass, so that the train may reach all possible parts of the country before election.

On September 10 the Red Special the slopes of the Pacific. On that day we must decide, IF IT SHALL greet the Comrades on the shores of the ingly interesting thing in the world. I Whatcom, have already decided this Atlantic.

scription list. See every possible contributor at once, and send the money quick to your State Secretary, or, as the time is short, to J. Mahlon Barnes, 180 Washington Street, Chicago, III. The Red Special has started, NOW

Committee.

Chicago, III., Aug. 20, 1908.

A Yakima paper reports arrest for street speaking of Duggan of Portland, Reed of Spokane, and Walker of Yakima, all said to be members of the Socialist Party. The Judges promptly discharged them.

Comrade Mrs. Gatchell writes that neither Reed nor Walker are members of the Socialist Party, but really represent the old Mills organization, n defunct.

Duggan was recently in Seattle trying to get the Opportunists back into

should accept any outside speaker who is not on the "Approved List" of the State Committee.

### THE WOMAN

really is and what it stands for, one wonders why every man who has its truths presented to him isn't filled with enthusiasm for the movement when it dawns upon one that women are positively apathetic, one is ready In its wake it will leave Socialist to give up in disgust. Of all the movements the world has ever known the Socialist movement is the only one that has stood for all that womanhood should be; and the benefit women will derive from it is so far greater than dent stupidity or indifference (which-ever it is) displayed by the average woman is more than ordinary human flesh can stand.

There is some exc they have always had the reins of gov ernment and naturally don't like to be told that that grand structure which put the question up to the hundreds has been made possible by their efforts and support is nothing after all. It somehow takes the concelt out of for the county or for legislative disone, and no one relishes that, for we tricts in the county, under the Party dearly love to pat ourselves on the back and think we're "It." But with certified by the Chairman and Secre women it's a different thing. Here is tary, giving full name, residence and a chance to work for the day when occupation, and filed with the County women can be "It," too. Something they have never had an opportunity to tember 8. do before, and yet in any gathering where there is any amount of gray microscope to find the women. (I suppose they are listening to the platitudes and trite remarks of the mani- Court in the cases of State officers fold Rev. Dr. Matthews sprinkled over the earth or are staying home, home will be in Los Angeles, Cal., climbing "in that condition of life to which God will accept nominations without fees has called them." However that may be, they are missing the most absorb know that; and when they do manage to break through that insurmountable something, called Prejudice, and come out with fair and open minds on the other side, they are going to begin to Tuesday, September 8, is not far off sooner! (Such is the inconsistency of the female mind!)

meeting the women of the "Woman's Socialist Educational Club" are going to take part in it. Mrs. Lampe has been given charge of arrangements and any one having suggestions to make or information to ask can apply to her. The Socialist women invite all women who will attend the meet ing to fall into line with them in the parade, and show the people of Seattle that there is one party where women have equal rights with men.

The Young People's Socialist Leagu will meet at 11 a. m. Sunday in Room 49, Holyoke. All children of the work ing class welcome

Club of Seattle is planning to organize some branch study clubs in two o three of the different wards in Seattle Hillman City, West Seattle and Bal lard are probably the first wards to have this propaganda, as there seem to be a field already in those places The study will be under the direct su pervision of the Socialist women of Local Seattle.

Aren't you sick of picking up capi talistic papers and seeing little ob scure corners entitled "The Gentler Sex," "In Woman's Realm," "Woman's "Corner," etc.? Aren't you tired of being relegated to a corner or a co tion yet? I am.

The vote rejecting Wagenknecht's not accept the applications of those application for appointment as National Organiber is now published by special vote of the National Executive withdrawn, until the lapse of at least Committee. Work, Hillquit and Sim. Committee. Work, Hillquit and Simons voted for Wagenknecht, Floaten, Stokes and Berger voted against him.

### NOMINATIONS ON SEPT. 8

Socialist organizations in all counties in Washington must make their for joining: "If you don't like the way nominations for county offices and for the party is run come in anyway and start, but the wheels of the Special that would mean so much to him. But legislative offices on September 8, or change the policy." At least one would the gallery to the number of two hungo without nominations. The new Pri- think so, judging by the number of dred at one dollar each, will be sold. mary Law requires all nominating conventions to be held on that day, but policy." It would be much healthier Locals in Washington to send each not necessarily between the same for the movement if these people one delegate to sit on the platform. hours as the other parties make their nominations in the Primaries.

> official Primary Elections, unless the make one. To have advocates of so Special will be waiting to go on to Party had more than 10 per cent of many different policies within on or-Party had more than 10 per cent of many different policies within on orthe total vote at the last general elec- ganization will have as its effect that tion in that county. This was the case only in Whatcom and Stevens Coun-

In all other counties the Socialist Party must nominate in the old way, at its last business meeting passed a by Convention. This Convention consists of any number of S. P. members who meet on September 8, choose a Chairman and Secretary and nominate Fusion and Compromise Tactics. name. These nominations must be Auditor as soon as possible after Sep-

The Auditor will demand fees, but, if paid at all, the fees should be paid unmatter on display you have to get a der protest. The State Committee of the Socialist Party will probably take this question of fees to the Supreme and once this highest tribunal decides in our favor, all the County Auditors or refund those already paid. Three county courts, Spokane, King and question of fees in favor of the Socialist Party, and it is confidently expected the Supreme Court will also.

The important point now is this quarrel with the women already there and every county should have an offibecause they didn't tell them about it clai Socialist Party ticket in the field.

### Anti-Fusion Resolutions

(Adopted by Local Seattle, Aug. 23,

Whereas: Local Seattle, Socialist Party, has been repeatedly disrupted, its work crippled, and the Socialist cause in the city discredited by internal dissensions during the past four years, and, Whereas: Said Local has been

twice deprived of its charter by State referendum, both times for compro mise and fusion tactics, and, Whereas: Certain former memb

who led and upheld the Local in its fusion and compromise tactics are Local, and, Whereas: The Local is now united

harmonious and prosperous, and rap-idly regaining the ground lost by these repeated internal dissensions, Therefore, Be it Resolved by Local

Seattle:
First: That it is of vital importance for the progress of the Socialist cause in this city that further internal dissensions be carefully guarded

Second: That any former memoers of the Socialist Party who have supported compromise and fusion should be excluded from readmission until they have thoroughly proved their sincere repudiation of such tactics, and, Third: That in the interest of harmony and progress and in order to re-buke compromise and fusion, Local Seattle from this time forward will

> E. B. AULT, U. G. MOORE, JNO. W. GEHRKE.

### LOCAL NOTES

Some Comrades when securing ap plicants for membership seem to use the following argument as inducement new members who wish to "change the would join an organization with whose "policy" they are in sympathy, or if Nowhere will Socialists go into the no such organization can be found, the railroad station where the Red the Party will be shattered, each group gathering around its "policy."

In order to prevent as much of this internal strife as possible Local Seattle resolution which for the next six months excludes all former members in order to hold a meeting and demwho by their action have endorsed

Next Sunday, August 30, Dan White, of Massachusetts, an Iron Molder by trade, for several years the national organizer of the Iron Molders' Union and now National Organizer of the Socialist Party, will speak in the big hall in the Labor Temple on "How to Obtain a Living."

The following evening, Monday, he will address an open air meeting on Pike Place.

Comrade White is considered one of the best orators in the country regardless of party. Every Wage Worker should come and hear him, and especially Organized Labor should be well represented.

The Red Special is a certainty. Debs will be here on September 15. It behooves every Socialist to cooperate with every other Socialist to make this meeting a howling success. The big Dreamland Rink should be filled to overflowing.

Reserved seats are now for sale in the Party Headquarters, Labor Temle at \$1.00 each. They may also be ple, at \$1.00 each. They may also be secured in the office of "The Socialist." General Admission will be

Tickets should be secured early in order to be sure of a seat.

Street meetings are now held by Local Seattle at three places three times week, unless speakers assigned are unable to attend. This is all done by local speakers who have been developed out of the membership. Literature is sold at every meeting.

Every Sunday morning a committee distributes Socialist literature in some section of Seattle. Already half the city has been covered.

You Reform Socialists, read the letter of Geo. F. Cotterill on page one and see if you can find any difference between your position and his, excephe proposes to vote for Bryan and you

Cotterill declines to debate with the Socialists; that is, declines to meet their debater face to face on the Platform where he can be answered. But he proceeds to debate all by himself the very question he declines to debate with Titus. Read his long letter in this issue and see how he argues for Bryan against Debs. That letter was published in the "Union Record," which paper refuses to publish any Socialist reply. Did Cotterill know he Aug. 18. Thre National Committee was safe from any reply in that paper? is now voting upon Motion No. 29 And did he therefore take the coward- which provides for the appointment ly course of shooting and running of Comrade Alfred Wagenknecht as

against Debs in Cotterill's opinion.

### DEBS AT DREAM-LAND RINK

Tickets are out at 25 cents for the great Debs Rally on Tuesday night, September 15th. Reserved seats in

Invitations have been sent out to all after the meeting to escort Debs to

A parade will probably be arranged

### **European Notes**

July 31st 4,000 strikers went from Paris, France, to a small town nearby onstration on account of two strikers having been killed by the gendarmes a few days before. Besides these, 3,000 other wage workers were to join them but were attacked by a large detach ment of soldiers who treated them most brutally. The strikers finally succeeded in raising barricades from which they fired stones and volleys of revolver shots. After one and one-half hours of persistent fighting the workingmen were forced to retreat leaving several dead and many wounded behind them. Altogether seven were killed and 180 wounded, thirty seri-

ously. Strikes have been declared in differ ent places at various industries and proclamations were issued calling for a general strike, but it seems to have failed through lack of systematic or ganization. The weakness in the French Unions lies in the strong semianarchistic element which shouts "Revolution" and "General Strike" at every occasion but lacks the proper spirit of organization and discipline

A proclamation was published in Jaures' "Humanite" as follows:

with cold deliberation and strategic ability It has driven 10 000 Parisian workingmen before the bayonet into an enclosure where they were given over to the soldiers for butchering This wholesale murder is the most cruel and bestial France has seen since the days of the Versailles bloodshed

"While the Socialists therefore flay the executioners, they encourage soli darity between the comrades of the victims, the striking workmen and the trade unions. The powers of exploita tion and suppression shall never be able to break the solid unity of the

"Clemenceau has again shown his Class Consciousness by arrests and lawsuits against officials of the unions. The Class Conscious workers respond by closing up the ranks in the Socials ist and Labor Movement and thus hasten the day when they will be mas ters of production and have power to abolish all class distinctions. The acts of violence on the part of the Government will but strengthen the workers in their agitation and organization which will lead to this goal."

(Compiled by Arthur Jensen from 'Social-Demokraten," Copenhagen.)

National Committee Motion No.28 which provided that prior to appointment, National Organizers should respective State Committees, was de fated by the following vote: Yes. 22: No. 32; Not Voting, 14. Vote closed a National Organizer and his imme-Bryan must have a pretty weak case diate assignment. Vote will close gainst Debs in Cotterill's opinion. Sept. 8.

# Seattle, Aug. 17, 1908. Mr. Arthur Jensen, Secretary Socialist Party, Labor Temple, City— Dear Sir: As requested by Arthur B. Callaham, I write you in reply to the invitation to debate, extended by a committee of the Socialist Party, which was published in the Union Record of Aug. 15th, and subsequently mailed to me. I have responded to similar invita-

any debate or controversy with Socialism or Socialists, and see no reason to change that reply. I have no heart for academical discussions with men whose zeal and sincerity I admire, whose ideals are so close to my own, but whose methods I believe to be honestly mistaken and impracticable. You desire human happiness as the great ideal, and believe it can best be attained or approached by securing to every toller, as his just reward, that which is the product of his toll. So de L.

of true democracy in government and Christian fraternity in every walk of

To Help Unions

Seattle, August 11, 1908.

Mr. George F. Cotterill, Seattle, Wash.
Dear Sir: At the last meeting of local Seattle Socialist Party, the undersigned committee was chosen to devise ways and means for assisting the unions now on strike in this city.
As a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate, we understand that you favor for President of the United States William Jennings Bryan. We therefore challenge you to meet Hermon F. Titus on the following question:

"THAT EVERY MEMBER OF OR GANIZED LABOR SHOULD VOTE FOR DEBS RATHER THAN BRY."

In the democracy in government and Christian fraternity in every walk of the privilege, of standing aside from the issue and problems of the immediate present, as they come before the people for settlement under the existing political regime, preferring practical non-participation in what questions and inadequate answers, seeking thereby to compel attention and secure what you conceive to be a complete solution for the great social problem. I have no quarrel with excellent who has thoughtfully and conscientiously reached such a conclusion—but I cannot follow him. I cannot conscientiously reached such a conclusion—but I cannot follow him. I cannot conscientiously reached such a conclusion—but I cannot follow him. ment, any progress possible toward human happiness on the "main line." While ever looking ahead and striv-ing towards higher social ideals for the generations to follow, I feel bound to accomplish the most and the best possible for my own day and genera-tion.

I realize that you will promptly and to yourselves—satisfactorily dispose of me and those who think and act as do, by dubbing me with what you

conceive to be an epithet and apply conceive to be an epithet and apply as such—opportunist.

That is exactly what I strive to be—one who will accomplish whatever he can, whenever he can and wherever possible; taking cognizance of existing conditions, seeking lines of least resistance and greatest attainable progress toward higher ideals.

"Heaven is not gained by a single

We must build the ladder by which we rise From the lowly earth to the vaulted ount it slowly, round by

And we mour The age of airships to governmental and social ideals has not yet been reached, nor are there any indications that it is approaching. We are all prone to mistake the "hot-air" ship

Your proposal for debate is base on a desire to be politically beneficial to "organized labor," for you ask me to discuss, from the Bryan standpoint,

"That every member of organized labor should vote for Debs rather than

Bryan."

I do not believe, nor do you, that there is a shadow of possibility of the election of Mr. Debs. Four years ago he received 402,283 votes out of a total of 13,520,521, or about 3 per cent of the popular vote. Even this large vote was received under conditions which reduced the vote of the Democratic party from the 6,358,133 total for Mr. Ryran in 1900 to 5,077,971 for for Mr. Bryan in 1900 to 5,077,971 for Mr. Parker in 1904, or a loss of 1,281, 162. The vote for Mr. Roosevelt in 1904 exceeded that cast for Mr. Mc. Kinley in 1900 by only 415,563. The total vote in 1904 was 412,375 less than in 1900, indicating at least that number of Democratic "stay-athomes." The votes for the Prohibition, Populist and other minor parties increased 107,942 in 1904 over 1900.

Applying these figures together it for Mr. Bryan in 1900 to 5,077,971 for

Applying these figures together, it would appear that 345,282 of the Bryan voters of 1900 voted for Debs in 1904—which represents practically the increase of the Debs vote from 87,814 in 1900 to the high-water mark of 402,283 votes in 1904. (Of course, to change that reply. I have no heart for academical discussions with men whose zeal and sincerity I admire, whose zeal and sincerity I admire, whose ideals are so close to my own, but whose methods I believe to be honestly mistaken and impracticable. You desire human happiness as the great ideal, and believe it can best be attained or approached by securing to every toiler, as his just reward that which is the product of his toil. So do I.

You labor zealously and earnestly for a peaceful revolution to an ideal co-operative common wealth as the means of accomplishing human happiness. My study and observation and thought compels the conclusion that the path of safest and surest progress to human happiness is one of gradual evolution through the application.

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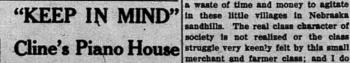
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# COLORADO BREEZES Races Races

ecialty in Theatrical Work, Fancy in the bullpen and only a few clos ing lines of my spasm on Colorado Rainiers Photoappeared, so here it is fresh from the

Here in sun-kissed Colorado,
Fertile fields and flowering meadow,
Where the groundhog sees his shadow
Night and day,
Where the jackass and the linnel
Are a-singing every minute,
Where the builfrog isn't in it,
Here I stay.

Here where stalwart youth and maiden Blest with sires with booty laden, Free from want as nymps in Alden, Laugh at care; But where dearth of all that gladdens Many a child heart droops and sad dens, Many a mother's brain half maddens HARRY CARLSON and D. CLARK Open All Night. Good Things to Eat. Try Us. Phone A 5652. JUST SOUTH OF UNIVERSITY ON

Land of plenty, rich and poor men, Castles grand and hut and wolf den, Famed for columbine and bullpen— Treasures rare! Colorado Mountains hoary

Know her grandeur, preach her story Mingled fame and shame and glory

fice, but what's the use-life is too short and new occasions and new fields of work have brought new duties and new experiences. Have not heard how the fight came out. Held forth on Fifteenth and Douglas streets, Omaha, for week. Hundreds packed around soap box; great enthusiasm Found many new faces-but missed many old ones with whom I labored seven vears ago. Some of the old-timers have united

with the S. L. P., some have "dropped PURE CREAM, MILK, EGGS AND out," "discouraged," while still others have hied away on their honeymoon with their new bride—"no political action"-chartering a private car from the Industrial Workers of the World

I shall not attempt a criticism of the Socialist movement in Nebraska. I have been seven years from the State and have not followed the controversy only in a general way. Mingling with the Comrades I, of course, could not but deplore the situation I had in mind the robust organization with the splendid enthusiasm of seven years ago, when we held nightly the big meetings in Washington Square, Sixteenth and Davenport and Fifteenth and Douglas. When we held the nightly "kitchen conventions" in workingmen's hovels, making converts and taking in new members every night; when we marched 100 strong soap box in hand, to the street meetings; broke into jail twenty at a D. J. WOOD, Prop.
Meals, Short Orders, Lunches. Strictly Home Cooking. Open Day and "pinch," thronged the street cars in a body; wife, sister and sweetheart by our sides, wearing Socialist red rib-bons and sang Socialist songs; or packed Washington Hall, capturing and running for our very own both QUEEN CITY CAFETERIA Democratic and Republican mass

meetings. In spite of great crowds that thronged around the soap box during my week's stay in Omaha I never felt so dejected in my Socialist life. The applause and the "defense" and the hand-shaking came not from the old veterans, but from the new recruits and sympathizers. Here was both

progress and stagnation! Though, primarily, differences opinion touching matters of vital importance may have disrupted the old militant organization, yet I am convinced after a week's stay in Omaha, and after attending one business meet ing, that personal feeling and har rowed prejudices have had a deal to do with the present apathy of the movement

I find factions within factions, and judge. I found Comrades who years ago were considered "sickly sentimentalists," and even expelled as "trim mers, traitors and fakirs," are now the most "uncompromising" and "rev olutionary" and have already tried their hand at expelling others who were found to be "sickly sentimental-

coultionary" and have already tried their hand at expelling others who were found to be "sickly sentimentalists, traitors and trimmers," etc.

Can you wonder that I did a deal of head scratching and careful thinking to find a true interpretation of the strange phenomena?

The sentiment for Socialism is strong in Omaha, but the organized at effort has little heart.

I had expected to be in New York before this, but the National Secretary ditched me for about fifteen dates in Nebraska. I find it almost a waste of time and money to agitate in these little villages in Nebraska as and hills. The real class character of society is not realized or the class struggle very keenly feit by this small merchant and farmer class; and I do not look for a vigorous militant Socialist movement in Nebraska for some years. The farmer has been allost with high prices and "good crops" for several years. He has his one years. The farmer has been allost with high prices and "good crops" for several years. He has his one years. The farmer has been allost with high prices and "good crops" for several years. He has his one years. The farmer has been allost with high prices and "good crops" for several years. He has his one years. The farmer has been allost with high prices and "good crops" for several years. He has his one years and corn, oats, barley and wheat. The merchant and village trader are looking for trade and rejoicing in the prosperity of the farmers and hoping they will show due appreciation of the general "good times" by ceasing to patronize the catalogue houses.

While the rain continues to fail and the crops to fatten for the harvest the Socialist agitator, crying revolution in the land of fat hogs and redeemed mortgages, will be looked upon as a wild-eyed demagogue, a disturber of the farmers and hydrogen and the first committee has not given.

I am inclined to believe that there is a personal prejudice existing against Comrade Wagenknecht are looking for trade and redeemed mortgages, will be looked upon as a wild-eyed de

Through some allp the first page of the peace and the quiet of a con-jof Omaha, I have known since I was a

in the ultimate end will be "ushered gressive paper at Central City, Neb., in" by an unwilling and back-pulling was for many years an inspiration to people, because it is "the only way my young manhood. His name has out" of a hell they can't endure. The long been a cheering household word farmer and merchant are not com-pelled to find a way out—not yet. The farm must go through the same pro-think on snap judgment, I know him cess of development as the railroad and the factory before we have the "proletarian farmers" by the thousnds bending under the yoke and cry ing for "a way out of bondage." At Grand Island, Neb., I found

nany Socialists—unorganized; many sympathizers; sold many books, and had the satisfaction of seeing some erstwhile Bryanites turn their faces opefully towards the Socialist Party and liberty. To my great delight I avoid it are not wise. Such a man is found many old-time Socialists, once my good friend and Comrade, Mr. decidedly Utopian, now profound students of Marxian economics. Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Ferri, Loria, Lewis Morgan are among the many au-thors in the long list closely studied by these once sentimental Grand Island Socialists. It is refreshing to propaganda meeting in the chief's of- visit with so militant and Marxian a group of young men as I found in Grand Island. But they are not all agreed as to the Nebraska organization. I believe the majority of them in Grand Island adhere to the old or ganization, known as the J. P. Roe division. They feel that Comrade Roe is in the right and that unfair means have been used to disrupt a real revolutionary movement, while on the other hand the organization recognized by the National Committee has some followers in Grand Island notably the pioneer German Socialist William Stolley, revolutionist and scholar, perhaps the oldest and most enthusiastic Socialist in Nebraska. He is a well to do farmer, spending much time and money in the great cause He stands for the "proletarian move ment," is a bitter enemy of the church in all its forms, a pronounced agnostic, but believes personal feelings have led some of our Omaha Comrades to fanaticism until they are impeding the movement in Nebraska. He was es pecially opposed to the attempt of Omaha Comrades some years ago to

> per cent Wage Earners.
> However these Grand Island Com rades may differ as to tactics or as to who's who in Nebraska," I am content to believe them all to be very sincere in their devotion to the principles of Socialism, and I am inclined to feel the same of our Omaha Comrades I do not know Mr. Porter personally but he has many stanch friends throughout the State. Mr. George No, I have not got religion, Wells, editor of the "Socialist Herald" vision is broader than of old.

limit the Nebraska organization to 80

tented people.

Socialism is born of necessity—and his ilfe and work as editor of a prochild. He was my first instructor and to be the very soul of honor. He would never be guilty of a small or ignoble thing. If he is led to differ from Comrade Roe it is from conviction solely. He is an enthusiast, a firm believer in propaganda, in the "doing of things." By his very constitution he cannot endure friction controversy, division. He firmly be lieves it is not needed, that it can be avoided and that those who try not to George Wells. He does not mix in affairs of party; he is very old and in firm, but ever eager to de something for the cause of human freedom. Al who truly know him for the great soul and genius that he is will appreciate what I have written. We have few such bright minds and clean lives in or out of our party today.

Now I said I would not write a crit icism of the Nebraska movement, and here I have been running on-for an hour—talking perhaps in a foolish and superficial way of this very thing.

And here is our veteran Comrade J. P. Roe, of whom I want to speak and his work. I do not know all the things he has said or done in the last seven years, but I knew him as a most loval worker-he and his entire family when I was in Omaha seven years ago-and I believe I owe it to the cause to "tell what I know." as I have done of my father's old friend, Mr

So in my next, after a week's more work in Nebraska, I will give my own opinion of "what's what and who's who" in Nebraska.

But take my word for nothing. speak as one who, seeing at a distance, find my heart pained to see good Socialists and true on either side of the conflict, misrepresented and injured in the eyes of the Socialists of the world.

Perhaps when I am through with these articles I will be called a "traitor and a trimmer," but no matter—it will only be from those who do not know me. I want to be right and true, and I hope never again to wound the heart of any loyal Socialist be cause he does not understand surplus value, and I have wounded a plenty,

George No. I have not got religion, but my

### NATIONAL BULLETIN

WAGENKNECHT MOTION.

Herewith is submitted Nationa Committee Referendum No. 16, Mo-tion No. 29, by A. H. Axelson, Na-tional Committee Member of Oregon.

Motion No. 29. "I move than Comrade Alfred Wagenknecht be and is hereby appointed organizer for the Socialist Party. Territory to be assigned to him immediately by the Executive Committee and Secretary of said Party."

Axelson's Comment.

"This motion hardly needs any comment. Comrade Wagenknecht is comment. Comrade wagenkneck is recognized as a tireless, energetic and successful organizer by every one who knows anything at all about him, and now is the time to employ I find factions within factions, and divisions within the so-called Porter faction; and, as evidence of individual progress and proof of the sincerity lizers. Had the majority of the faction when we too often too hastily Executive Committee known the ability of Wagenknecht, work would A. H. Axelson's with regard to the have been assigned to him already."

Comment by Fred L. Schwartz, Na. as a National Organizer.

Comment by Fred L. Schwartz, Na-tional Committee Member

"The minutes of the National Executive Committee of July 10, show Comrade Wagenknacht made applica-tion to it for the position of National

I believe the National Committee the National Executive Committee and therefore hope this motion is adopted."

Comment by John M. Work, Nationa Committee Member of Iowa. "I favor the motion. Nearly five years ago I made a motion to put Carl Thompson on the list of argan-izers. It was defeated. Time has vindicated the wisdom of the motion, I stated then that I was in favor of a views on Party policy

Comment by Emil M. Herman, Na-tional Committee Member of Washington. "I wish to seco

as a National Organizer.

"Comrade Wagenknecht is one of the best known members of the Socialist Party in the State of Washington, He has served in every official capacity from Local Literature Agent up to National Committeeman. Is clear headed, aggressive, and has good executive ability. He may not be an orator, but we already have plenty of lecturers in the field. He is an organizer, and organizers we haven't very many.

"No better comrade could be selected for unorganized territory. Com-

"No better comrade could be selected for unorganized territory. Comrades of the National Committee, vote for this motion and you will add a tireless, faithful, exergetic and able worker to the list of National Organizers."

Vote will close Sept. 3, 1908.

RESOLUTION OF PROTEST.

New Haven, Conn., Aug. 9, 1908. To the National Secretary Socialist

Party: We, the State Committee of the

We, the State Committee of the State of Connecticut at the meeting held on the above date, do hereby enter a protest against the manner in which the referendum on National Constitution B, was submitted to the membership of the Socialist Party to be balloted upon. A large number of hallots received by this Committee were voted upon in such a manner that showed those who voted same did not understand that which they were voting for, having voted favorably for both old and new clauses, there being no mark to distinguish between old and new. We therefore demand a new referendum be taken upon the National Constitution (referendum B only) as soon as possible and that questions to be voted upon be marked so that those voting may know difference between old and new articles.

ticles.
STATE COMMITTEE,
Socialist Party of Connecticut,
S. E. BEARDSLEY,
State Secretar

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# policy of inclusion, not exclusion. For the same reason, I voted against discharging Schwartz and Porter. For the same reason, I made an Executive Committee motion to grant Wagenknecht's request. For the same reason, I will vote for this motion. A comrade who is otherwise fit should be apointed regardless of his views on Party policy." SOUND VIEW HOTEL

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Dry Gessing and Freezing: Suit, 21.50; Coat, 75c;
Panta, 75c; Vest. 50c; Overcoat, \$1.50; Suits Steam Cleaned, 31.00; Paper Suit, 51.00; Coat, 31.50; Panta, 31.00; Vest, 75c; Overcoat, \$2.00.

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### QUEEN ANNE DYE WORKS SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM FOR 1908

Adopted at the National Convention, Chicago, 1908, as Reported by the Sub-Committee on Style -- Reprint of the Report

human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes the more complex and expensive, and requires effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such mission of the Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employing workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful

class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class. As adopted by the National Convention, this should read after the words, "present order": "or from the dominant class of society.")

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curries of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessaries of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, socks and combinations the capitalists are paramited to any production of the decention of the workers has been made the opportunity for a renewed onslaught on organized labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last "The stream to destroy the West."

The strungle the nation and justices and social evils of the country have within the last to any production of trusts, socks and combination of trusts, socks and combination of trusts, socks and combination of trusts, an

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are

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mount of government regilation, or of commerce and labor, and the estratives being the courts of justice. They own the action politically and intellectually instantiate educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrial evelopment. "While our courts, legislatures and control of the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrial evelopment." "While our courts, legislatures and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the expitalist system. But in abolisating the expitalist system. But in abolisating the expitalist system, the working men will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society: The small farmer, who is today exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small marminal facturer and trader, who is engaged is a desperate and losing struggie is control of the national government and has the whole powers and the social independence lattice and indirectly and activally responsible alternation, who is the sale and all parties of the capitalist class, while it is a classification of all classifications. The Republican party has been in power. The private ownership of the land, and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government at its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government and many and the social control of the mational government and has means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government in the capitalist class, while it is a classification of all classification, and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government in the wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation, in the

PRINCIPLES

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human fabor, and with it human life and liberty.

Is rapidly developing within present to intelligent understanding of the his torical development of civilization and of the economic and political needs of our time. They are bound to perish as the numerous middle class reform movements of the past have perished.

PROGRAM

PROGRAM

"As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we

national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist Party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist Party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of lize the international brotherhood of

## FOR 1908

and machinery, of all the necessities of life.

"The present desperate condition of the workers has been made the opportunity for a renewed onsiaught on organized labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.

gle.
"The attempt to destroy the West-ern Federation of Miners, although defeated by the solidarity of organized

"As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and piedge ourselves and our

#### General Demands

"1.—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cutover and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canalis, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour work day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to States and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures "1.—The immediate government re and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

"2.—The collective ownership of railroads telegraphs telephones

"2.—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.

"3.—The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

"4.—The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

"5.—The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

"6.—The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

#### **Industrial Demands**

"7.—The improvement of the indus

"(d) By forbidding the employment children under sixteen years of

"(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all unin-spected factories. "(f) By abolishing official charity

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trial condition of the workers.

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DR. TITUS has resumed the practice of medicine. Rooms 213-214 Hues-sy Block, corner Third Avenue and

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ERNEST UNTERMANN	Socialism and Science
EDMOND PHLUSO	French and Italian Translator
ARTHUR JENSEN	Scandinavian Translator

### SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

In another column will be found some resolutions passed last Sunday by Local Seattle excluding from membership for a term of months certain former members whose support of Fusion and Compromise led to the withdrawal of Local Seattle's charter by the State organization.

"The Social-Democratic Herald," of Milwaukee, Berger's English paper, date of August 15, prints a letter from E. Backus, of Seattle, complaining that there are "700 dues-paying members" in Washington "who want to get into the party" but who are "fenced out" by "the De Leonites." All these latter statements, as well as nearly all others made in the Backus letter. are quite false. But there is one fact of the situation in the State of Wash ington which is not denied, namely, some people can't get into the Socialist Party who want to get in.

There are not 700 of them. There are probably not 70 of them, while the Party in the whole State has paid dues for August, 1908, on 1,951 mem-

But there is a howl raised by some Socialists whenever anyone is rejected from membership in the Socialist Party. As Work of Iowa puts it: "I believe in inclusion, not in exclusion." That is, take in everybody who applies. You have no right to reject anyone who signs the applicationpledge. It is seriously argued that the only qualification for membership is signature of that application blank. The Local has no choice; it must accept the applicant.

This opens the whole question of organization which "The Socialist" has promised to discuss more thoroughly in the future than in the past.

What is the purpose of organization among Socialists? Is it not to secure united action? Many individuals must act as one, else there is no organization worthy the name.

To accomplish this united action three things are essential. First, common interests among the individual members. Second, consciousness of these common interests. Third, loyalty to the common interests.

This paper has insisted in season and out of season that the first requisite in the Socialist Party was its Proletarian composition, so as to ensure common interests among its members. That is indispensable. But further these Proletarians may be ignorant of their antagonistic relation to various segments of the capitalist class, may be unconscious of their own common interests, like the Unionists who now support Bryan. There fore the Socialists seek always to instruct their fellow-workers as to their real class unity. This instruction also is indispensable to Proletarian politi-

But the third prerequisite to effective organization, though frequently overlooked, is no less indispensable. The personnel of the organization must be investigated. Disloyal individuals, who by their nature cannot and will not surrender their personal preferences for the sake of the organization, are able to destroy all unity of action.

Every Socialist Local which has attempted to do things furnishes evidence of our contention. A half dozen "kickers" do infinite harm, destroying the "esprit de corps," that spirit of harmony and cooperation essential

Not only, then, should a Socialist organization examine its applicants to see (1) whether they are Wage Workers and (2) whether they are Wage Workers who are educated to their own class interests, but (3) whether they are organizable individuals.

It is absurd to argue that an organization may not exclude from its membership persons who are certain to injure rather than help the organization. For what is the object of organization? United action. Shall you then admit those who will prevent united action? If this were allowed, the Pinkertons could send their emissaries into our Locals and keep us in constant turmoil without any let or hindrance.

Let us be done with Utopianism all around. Let us be practical Socialists. This idealistic notion that "all men are born free and equal" and must be treated exactly alike, is not Socialistic nor scientific but bourgeois in origin and dreamily false to fact

To any new movement like ours flock radicals and erratics of all sorts. Megalomaniacs, excessive individualists, vain freaks, egoistic monstrosities, moral degenerates, people with "wheels," must the Socialist Party accept them all indiscriminately because 18th century idealism repeated the old myth that we were all created in the image of God?

We insist the organization of Proletarians, known as the Socialist Party, must be composed of rational, normal, organizable individuals, men women whose egoism is adjustable, who can work with other men and women without too much friction

Consequently a Socialist Party Local should select its material and

It has been objected to the present Seattle organization that it has a "Membership Committee" which examines all applicants and reports its conclusions to the Local before the vote on admission is taken. Let us note now what the Milwaukee Socialist Party does in such cases. It is the Milwaukee paper which prints the criticism on the Seattle practice of exclusion. Let us see if Milwaukee practices the "policy of inclusion" so affected by

The Constitution and By Laws of "The Social-Democratic Party of Milwaukee County" provide certain steps for an applicant to membership. Here they are: (1) Sign your application. (2) Get two (not one, as in Seattle) members in good standing to endorse your application. (3) Pay three months' dues in advance. (4) Your application to the Branch (a ward organization approved by the County Central Committee and chartered by the State Committee) is referred to a Committee of Three. (5) The Branch endorses or rejects your application. (6) Your application is referred to the County Central Committee, composed of delegates from all Branches in County. (7) Your application is submitted to each Branch in County\* "at least two weeks before County Central Committee shall take final action on same." (8) The County Central Committee accepts or rejects you. "In no case shall an applicant disapproved by the County Central Committee be enrolled as a member of the Branch." (9) The Secretary of the Branch notifies you of the action of the County Central Committee, and returns your three months' dues, if rejected.

Do you imagine anyone passes that scrutiny and gets into Local Mil-akee who is "undesirable"? The editor of "The Socialist" would not expect to be admitted into Local Milwaukee, nor should any other Socialist expect to be admitted who did not agree with the policies of that organiza-tion, or was unwilling to work peaceably after he was admitted. Why? Because he would disturb the harmony of that Local, would present and

HERMAN AT EVERETT."

Everett, Wash., Aug. 19, 1908. Edito

Dear Comrade: Local Evereet has just finished with a two days engagement with comrade Herman, of which it can be truly said that these meetings, like all our meetings on the street recently, were a great success in

recently, were a great success in every way.

There is one feature of Comrade Herman's lecturing upon which I shall have to comment a little however, and that feature is his wonderful voice. Of course no one can dispute the fact that Comrade Herman's economics are of the highest—that can be said of all the lectures we have had in Everett recently from

We can not tell then, just how many people heard the two lectures, but can assert that a great many heard the lectures who was not numbered in the audience, for the night being fine and all the town being quiet, the streets from every direc-tion from the corner where the speaking was going on, was dotted with little groups of men quiet, motionless, listening—while the thundering voice of Comrade Herman penetrated the quiet streets and wafted by the stillness of the night the great message of the Proletariat, the call of the So

An other feature of these meetings that interested me greatly was that the local Democratic and Republican politicians who did not have the courage to accept the usual challenge to debate with the speaker, stood at about a block or two away in dif-ferent places—of course they did not hear anything the speaker said, wasn't paying any atention you know their heads slightly elevated, hands lasped behind them, watching the moke from their cigars as it issued in ringlets into the air-but they not listening, oh, no, they had things to think about—but some or other they "kind 'er hankered around" till the speaking was about

Enough however, Comrade Her n's meetings were a success. Yours for the REVOLUTION, W. W. SMITH.

#### NATIONAL BULLETIN.

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 22, 1908.
The votes on National Referendum "A"—The National Platform, and "B"—The National Constitution, were counted Aug. 18. Both were adopted according to sections, and in their entirety.

The Platform was adopted by a vote ranging from 8677 the highest affirmative vote cast for any division to 538 the highest negative vote cast against any division.

The Constitution was adopted by a vote ranging from 8450 the highest affirmative vote cast for any section, to 2014 the highest negative vote cast against any section. The com plete report of the vote will appear in tabular form according to states in the August issue of the Official Monthly Bulletin.

The National Platform printed in large clear type, size 9½ by 12½ inches will be ready for shipment in any quantities within a week. The Platforms contain the pictures of Debs and Hanford the Presidential Candidates and are of a size convencandidates and are of a size convenient for distribution when folded or may be used as a placard and posted up. Remit with order. Price, \$1.50 per thousand, post prepaid.

A particular interest is expressed the Italian Comrades of the East late age. the success of "La Prola de ialist," published at 145 Blue Island avenue, Chicago.

They urgently petition the National and the Party in general for influence in supporting that which has been denied the benefits of second class postage rates for so long a time. Comrade G. Bertelli, its editor, now touring in the East, has evidently aroused the Ital-Senator from 38th Dist. C. Folsom. County Engineer, T. M. Cuth Senator from 38th Dist. C. Folsom. ians to action—the English comrades should be on the alert to assist

#### SNOHOMISH COUNTY, WASH.

Editor The Socialist.

Dear Comrade:

Will you kindly publish the followAssuing list of names of comrades who vana.

M. M. McCauly, of Arlington; A. Roeder, of Granite Falls.

represent unadjustable ideas, injurious to that united action necessary to

And that is right and proper. The Milwaukee Social-Democratic Party is a success because it admits to its membership only those who will work with its membership. It has opportunist principles with which "The Socialist" is at war. But its principles of organization are the only sensible and practical principles on which any organization can succeed.

Some enthusiasts have been heard to claim there are Socialist "Rules of Order" for Parliamentary procedure. They would probably claim, with equal nonsense, there are Socialist Rules of Organization, made in Heaver for the use of the Saints alone. But we belong to the earth and expect to organize sinful men. Therefore we adopt the rules of common sense and

"The Socialist" commends the Milwaukee form of organization and b lieves the Socialist success in that city which is so much lauded depends chiefly on that very organization which excludes all who will not agree to work in harmony with its policies, and thereby ensures cooperation and

How can two, or more, live together except they be agreed? A hundred agreed are worth ten hundred disagreed. The power of an organization nds not on numbers alone but on union

We believe in inclusion of all organizable individuals who are agreed whether on Revolutionary Policies or on Reformist Policies, and in the ex-

If the Revolutionary Socialists were as practical in their organization tactics as the Reformers are, they would show equal results. It is because on education and some degree of common action, that we have the spiendid organization we now have. But we should have accom more if we had been less Utopian and hence more exclusive in our methods of admitting members to the Party.

To sum up: We advocate the policy of exclusion to two elements st, those who advocate Reform Socialism, and, second, those whose indi vidualism is so excessive and abnormal that they are incapable of social

# The Socialist Finance Che Socialist Finance Co., 1621 Westlake Blvd., Seattle, Wn. Rutered as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Record as second-class matter April

TRANSLATED FROM THE DANISH IN "SOCIAL - DEMOKRATEN" BY ARTHUR JENSEN

### 1. The Origin of the Modern Nation

The Social Democracy is an international party. It can solve its prob ms only through vigorous and constant co-operation between the brother parties in all other countries. It understands and acknowledges openly this Its international character and takes the consequences. And the Social Democracy is at the same time filled with sympathy for every national movement tending to guard the free self-government of the individual nations, and it has often enough shown this sympathy by struggling energetically against the tactics of suppressing foreign nationalities. The protest of the German Social Democracy against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine cost two of the leaders of the party a couple of years of imprisonment. Nowhere in the world have the Poles in the East German provinces and the Danes in Schleswig as faithful allies as in the German Social Democracy. The powerful growth of the international Social Democracy is the surest, or, rather, the only guarantee for the existence of the small nations.

We are thus confronted with an apparent contradiction. This difficulty can be overcome only through a careful analysis of what is understood by a "Nation;" what it stands for; how it has evolved and what emotions and ideas have been produced by it.

Therefore, what is meant by a "Nation"?

The answer is difficult. An exact and exhaustive definition cannot be given. Those traits which upon superficial observation seem most prominent prove by closer investigation to be separately insufficient to give the explanation. The natural, purely physiological relationship through common descent and common inherited mental and physical peculiarities give no explanation-for every modern nation has become intermingled by constant immigration with numberless foreign elements, which have in a short time become completely assimilated. The Dane, whose parents have both immigrated from Germany, and therefore is without a drop of Danish blood can be as much a Dane as he who can trace his pedigree back to the middle ages without meeting any but Danish ancestors. Nor does the fact that various peoples use the same language necessifate a homogeneous nation any more than differences in language prohibit it. The Italian speaking French speaking and German speaking Swiss certainly form one nation as do the Walloons and Flemish in Belgium, in spite of the difference in language, while, on the other hand, the English and the Irish, the English and the Americans are sharply divided into separate nations, each with their pronounced characteristics, in spite of their common tongue. The simple fact of living together within given geographical boundaries or the political unity within the same state are no more sufficient explanations than the foregoing. All these traits are generally factors in bringing a group of people together in a national whole, with a distinct color of national feeling. But this whole materializes only under certain given historical conditions.

Therefore, in order to understand what the modern nation is, it first becomes necessary to understand the historical process through which it has been born. Even as late as in the European middle ages but few and scattered symptoms of the modern nationality idea were found.

The population, being split into small village communities, each leading its own economically independent existence with but little intercourse with one another, a feeling of shyness and suspicion towards strangers naturally prevailed. It would be unreasonable to think that the peasants of two dif ferent provinces, or even of two different parts of the same province, should have been united by the feeling of national solidarity as known to us. These peasants undoubtedly felt as much strangers towards one another as if they had lived in two different countries, with two different languages.

The only uniting bond was the State, the activity of which was limited to the collecting of taxes and the requirements of military service. The entire system of juridical, social and educational institutions, which nowadays is a part of the State and incessantly exerts its influence on the life of all its citizens, was then wholly lacking. Only in time of warfare did people from different places come into closer contact with one another, but the local separation was to a great extent preserved even here. The warriors from each community fought by themselves, separated from those of the other communities. And even if warfare to some extent might tend to de velop a certain feeling of common interest between the inhabitants of the different communities, it might, on the other hand, tend to increase the mutual ill-will and strife. When the people of one province had to go away to help defend the shores of another province, it often set bad blood between them. It is quite certain that there fracases were one of the many causes of the local rebellions and turbulent uprisings so frequent in the middle ages

The only two parts of the population whose social interests reached beyond a narrowly limited circle were the clergy and the nobility.' But neither one of these was capable of possessing any actual national conscious ness. The clergy was cosmopolitan. The priests of two different countries were as closely united as those of two adjoining provinces of the same country. This was naturally so because of their common Latin language, their common spiritual interests and their common problems in general. And the nobility was, by virtue of its social position, far more the servants of the ruler than the representatives of the nation. The noblemen considered themselves the King's men, and they regarded it their duty to follow the master, whom they more or less voluntarily had chosen to serve, without considering whether or not it would be to the benefit of the country and its people. Remnants of these feudal ideas, so sharply conflicting with the modern national ideas, are found in the nobility even at a comparatively

Under these conditions it is quite unscientific to elevate certain me-

were suggested for nomination at the nominating convention of the S. P. of Snohomish County, Sept. 8th

These suggestions are the act of Senator from 38th Dist., C Folsom

Representatives from 48th Dist. G. A. Sweet, of Edmunds; John Gray-

bill, of Everett.

Representatives from 49th Dist

Sheriff, G. V. Hamilton, of Granite County Treasurer A. O. Zook, of Assessor, Thomas Jensen, of Sil-Everett.

At the Mass convention of the S At the Mass convention of the S. P. of Snohomish County, assembled at Everett, a permanent organization of the S. P. of the County was affected. Everett was elected as County headquarters. A County Central Committe was elected consisting of three members at headquarters (Fig.

three members at headquarters (Ev ertt), A. O. Zook, chairman; treasurer. One member from eac Local in County and one M. A. L. Fraternally W. W. SMITH.

Auditor, W. H. Cook, of Edmunds Clerk W. G. Grim, of Arlington.

County Commissioner, First District.

County Engineer, T. M. Cuthbert-

Prosecuting Attorney, A. B. Davey.

son, of Everett.

Judge Superior Court, H. P. Whart-

oner, Third Dist.

O. H. Hanson, of Silvana County Commissioner,

of Everett.

The National Executive Committee met in session at National Head-quarters, Aug. 15 and 16. Finding \$6,000 cash in hand and \$2,000 pledged for the Socialist Special Train for the Presidential Candidate's Train for the Presidential Candidates speaking tour, the Committee ordered the contract signed for the first part of the tour, that is; from Chicago to the Pacific Coast and return. The contract for the balance of the trip as originally contemplated,

et posters 21x28 inche printed in three colors will be ready for shipment Monday. They are to be distributed to locals free in quantities based upon the membership. The local to pay cost of transportation only. The locals on the Red Special route will be first served.

will be signed as soon as funds will

"The Call," the new New York So cialist Daily paper and "The Social st" both one year for \$3.50, regular have wanted "The Call" can now sub scribe through this office and help

diaeval characters to the position of champions for a national cause. This can be done only by attributing to them feelings and motives which are alive in our time, but which must have been quite unknown and incompre hensible to them. Kr. Erslev has this to say of the ideals in the mediaeval ballads: "Patriotism is not known to the ballads; the word fatherland is not even found, nor is the national feeling, at least not in those belonging

The social conditions for the formation of the nation in the modern sense were not created until towards the close of the middle ages, from the time of the crusades to the period of the great discoveries, and it was the dawning of Capitalism-trading on a large scale-which gave the first impetus.

The age of money, which little by little gained foothold, brought the small, hitherto segregated groups into closer touch with one another. By exchanging goods with the people of the immediate neighborhood a com-munity of interests was felt, which was further extended and branched out more than ever before. The language was beginning to be understood as a uniting bond. When the Danish peasant drove to town to sell grain and butter and buy salt and herring, he perhaps encountered both Danish and German merchants. It was more difficult to deal with the German because of the difference in language, and an instinctive aversion would develop That was the germ of a national consciousness which thus began to awaken

Trading on a large scale was a far greater factor in the development of a national life in another and more indirect manner. The trading class, which as time went on increased in social influence, was in constant communication with foreign countries; its interests reached beyond the boundaries of its own country. -In order to carry on business it had to become familiar with the languages, customs and economic conditions of foreign peoples. The international conscience thus became strongly developed, while it at the same time retained a strong national color.

For on the home market, as well as on the market in foreign countries the trader would always encounter foreign merchants as competitors, seek ing to attract the trade to themselves and to exclude everyone else. The Danish merchant quite naturally viewed with bitterness the German merchant who made life such a hard struggle. And this feeling of opposing interests towards foreign traders quite naturally created a feeling of common interests among traders of the same country. By virtue of its economic position the trading class thus became the first to be possessed of a clearly conscious national feeling.

And this had a very far-reaching effect on the succeeding era. The feeling of common interests nationally among the merchants expressed itself in the political life; it forms the foundation of the modern State. In order to protect their common interests against the foreigner it was neces sary to have a strong state power, which could use legal authority and a heavy hand in taking care of the welfare of its citizens. The Danish merchant in the harbors of the Baltic Sea was without legal protection as long as no one had respect for the State to which he belonged, but when it be came known that a vigorous power was guarding the rights of the Danes, and if necessary was ready to protect them with arms, he felt secure and could carry on his tusiness with far greater prospects of success. And it is easily seen how the merchants in a country like Denmark with living sympathy saw the strong monarchical power spring forth from the ruins of mediaeval society, and with enthusiasm and often with considerable per sonal sacrifices were willing to assist in its growth. It was absolutely necessary for the existence of these merchants that the hanseatic cities be forced back from the dominating position which they had gained for themselves in the entire Scandinavian market, and the rule of these cities could be broken only by a strong governmental power with a militant army and a well equipped fleet and extensive economic means to back it up. The merchants saw in every victory over the Lubeckians, in every political conference which increased the respect of the foreigner, and in every internal reform strengthening the position of the monarch and breaking down the barriers which hitherto had separated the various parts of the country from one another, and had nourished the tendencies of separation, a national progress. Their own economic interests and the national interests of their country became identical, and as the development of the trading class—the young Capitalist Class—was in harmony with the entire development of the age, it was enabled to carry with it the other social strata of the population and implant its ideas in ever wider circles of the people. A broad popular movement of pronounced national character thus appeared for the first time, while simultaneously the national boundaries were strengthened through the modern State.

One of the main factors in furthering this developmen: was the new technique of war which at the same time was gaining ground. In time, as the bow and arrow gave way to powder and bullets, the nobility became socially superfluous. The small, heavily armed cavalry was relieved by the infantry, partly recruited from the ranks of the peasants. The part hitherto played by the nobility as the defenders of the country had become obsolete and the authority and independence which it had heretofore enjoyed were shattered. The members of the nobility were transformed from semiindependent chieftains, who always were dangerous to the integrity of the State, into officials of the State. The States thus formed by the transition from the mediaeval age to the modern era, as a matter of course, were greatly different from the modern national States of which they were forerunners. Their politics were determined by the dynastic aim of the monarch and the capitalistic aim of the merchants; a real national aim was but seldom manifested. Each individual prince sought to expand his territory regardless of whether or not people with foreign language, foreign civilization and foreign institutions thereby were drawn in under a power with which they had nothing in common, either by nature or in culture. When the Swedish Kings in the seventeenth century conquered a large part of the German Baltic coast the cuter apparent motive was a pure ambition for power, but back of it stood the economic interests of the Swedish upper classes, striving to secure a great market where they could sell iron and buy grain, in the same manner as the Capitalists in our time st the colonial politics on the other continents.

Little by little, as time went on, the individual States acquired a more national character. And it is especially the common language which from this time forth becomes a constantly growing factor in molding this char acter. The centralizing power of the State makes a common language more and more desirable in order to have the governmental machinery run more As long as the activity of the State has been mostly limited to the collection of taxes, while it otherwise had left each little community to govern itself, so long had differences in language caused little difficulty. Quite otherwise when common administration of justice and common public institutions on constantly new fields spread out over the whole territory of the State. An element of people which does not understand or speak the language of the country is now considered a detriment. Hesitation is shown where the question is to annex parts of a country with a foreign-speaking population, and where it is done for military or economic reasons attempts are made through the schools and in other ways to suppress the old language and compel the people to accept the language of the ruling nation One language becomes the ideal, and only where this is practically beyond possibility, as in Belgium, Switzerland or Austria, is the problem allowed

The national consciousness makes a gigantic step forward when the literature in the language of the country is created, reaching out to the broad layer of the population. Just consider how much Luther's translations of the Bible and his "Postil" have contributed towards the development of the German, how much Hvitfeld's "Chronicles of Denmark" and Holber's "Comedies" towards the Danish national consciousness A common language is thus created for the entire country, regardless of the local dialects, and from the basis of a common language grows up a common culture and common social forms.

All the members of the nation have access to the same literature; they meet in it, absorb its ideas and enjoy its style, while the foreigner with difficulty, and then only partially, can appreciate it.

This, in brief, outlines the development which has brought the modern nation into existence. It is a purely historic phenomenon, belonging to the Capitalistic Age, a product of civilization and not a product of nature The language, the century-old traditions, the mental training, the political and judicial institutions, all these things held in common are the factors which normally act together in uniting its members and separating them from other nations. One or another of these conditions may be wanting without therefore breaking the national bonds; the remaining factors may hold them together. The German-speaking Swiss has a far stronger feeling of solidarity towards his French-speaking countrymen than towards those who speak his language in Berlin or Vienna

We have seen how the modern nationality has come into existence. In the following article we will see what influences are brought to bear on it