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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves
of Capital to Vote Their
Own Emancipation

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Price Five Cents

WAGE SLAVES & RAINBOW CHASERS

Down on Lower First Avenue the other day, a saloon was making alterations. A room long used for miscellaneous stores was being abandoned. The landlord planned to tear it down and build upon the site.

The saloon was opened not long after the Alaska rush, and thousands of sailors, miners, loggers, railroad grading laborers and good Lord knows how many other blanketstiffs had raised their glasses above the time-worn and booze-washed bar. Time was, when a hundred men slept upon its floors.

In the room behind the bar, sailors' dunnage, the duds of miners and lumberjacks have been stored for many years. Who shall say how many wage slaves have left here nearly the sum total of their "goods, chattels and effects," very sure that they would reclaim them in a few days, a few weeks, or a few months?

And some of them never came back. Alas for the frailty of proletarian hopes! Not a youth who raised his glass over the bar in all the days when it was coming gold for its owner, but reckoned with confidence on all the gold that was to be his! Doubtless there are those of its early patrons, somewhere upon the earth, who still believe that in the lexicon of American Manhood there should be no such word as fail; that every man is the architect of his own fortune, that all of us succeed in proportion to our merits; that the world is our oyster; that what man has done, man can do.

What mockeries! What Will o' the Wisp! Verily is the giant Labor the chief of rainbow chasers! True, some wage workers do realize a measure of their dreams of wealth and power. But more of them die of appendicitis. Year by year—yes, day by day, they are finding out the dice of modern industry are loaded; that they have the chance of the snow ball in that far distant, mythical land where the booze is never served off the ice.

Limejuicers, lured from the ships in the harbor by crimps' tales of gold in the streets and on the trails, Yanks, Swedes, Finns, the Dutch and the Dagoes, have cached their canvas telescopes and oilcloth grips in that back room behind the bar. Loggers, coming and going, Alaskans, coming in and going out, working stiffs from Lord knows where to Lord knows whither,—always for a little while.

Not in any case was ever a burden dropped in that back room but for a little while. Yet, in many cases, the days sped by, the months rolled away, and the years dragged along, and still it lay, waiting for the tide of industry to wash its owner back. That telescope, perhaps, was once the property of a sailor who went over the side; this grip enveloped the undiscovered hereditaments of a hook tender who was pinned to death by a log, or perchance, the assets of a miner who was buried in the workings.

Anyway, there was, in that back room, plunder cached away years and years ago,—its owner long since lost in that crazy maze the capitalist system has made of human life.

The junk dealer harvested the first pickings. Telescopes, grips and bun-

dles were broken open, and the room lacked but a few pious-looking old hags to resemble a rummage sale of the First Methodist Church. Only, here lay a letter, written in a foreign hand, breathing, perhaps, the hope of the new country, where opportunities are vainly imagined to be equal; there a bit of ribbon, whispering, not of honors and of orders, but of love.

Another day and the "stew bums" have sifted the last trifle of value, and the debris is swept away. What hopes were buried here!

Day by day they wake. And when the giant Labor takes his eyes from the sky, forswears his rainbow chasing and forgets the fables of the master class, he will be something more than drift upon the shore of human life.

STAY AWAY

There is a strike now in progress at Atlanta, Idaho. All miners and other workmen are advised to stay away from Atlanta till the trouble is settled.

Cause of the Strike.

The facts leading up to the strike are as follows:

The Bagdad Mining Company is three months behind in paying its men. A committee of miners was appointed to confer with the superintendent, Mr. Bewley, to see if some arrangements could be made to secure the wages for the men. He discharged the men who were on the committee, and then the miners struck. A public meeting of the citizens and business men of Atlanta was held and a committee of five business men appointed to confer with Superintendent Bewley, in the hope of adjusting the matter, but Mr. Bewley told them to "go to hell."

The workmen and other citizens of Atlanta do not want to see more idle men congregate here, hence this warning to miners and other workmen to STAY AWAY FROM ATLANTA.

FOR BETTER HOUSING

A movement is on foot to present the president of the United States with a summer palace. It is proposed to buy "Shadow Lawn," a magnificent country place with a million dollar mansion which was built by John A. Call, late president of the New York Life Insurance Company, for this purpose.

Certain gentlemen who derive handsome incomes as landlords of the wretched habitations of the submerged tenth in Philadelphia and New York, will be among the generous donors. A suggestion that Taft start a subscription for a fund for better houses for his friend's tenants would be instantly recognized, of course, as Utopian and mischievous.

When one scans the magazines and papers, one is astonished that so many reasons can be given concerning the great numbers of the Unemployed and the right one never hinted at. It is a wonder that some one doesn't let the truth slip out by mistake.

THE A. Y. P. & THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The action of the state committee of the Socialist Party in sending the state convention to Everett is commended in Seattle. The Socialist of Seattle will be very glad to go to Everett and sample the comradeship of which Comrade Graybill boasts.

The Socialists of Seattle have no civic pride and are glad to see any gathering go elsewhere in this year of the scab fair. If you have any idea of coming to see the show, better take your button off. To the class conscious Seattle wage worker, it stands a great fantastic monument to the brutal avarice of the capitalist class.

In the winter of 1907, in order to have the buildings constructed at less cost without sacrifice of profits, in the midst of a financial panic in which thousands of working men hungrily tramped the streets, a number of our "best citizens" caused notices to be printed in the Eastern papers announcing that work was plenty and help scarce in the world's fair city—in all lines, but especially in the building sites. By this means they were able to inaugurate the open shop at the A. Y. P.

The Central Labor Council of Seattle and the State Federation of Washington are engaged in the task of teaching the exploiting class that scab labor is dearer than union labor to big expositions.

Don't forget that the fight is on between the capitalist class and the working class, and that the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition is on the skirmish line.

You so-called Skilled Laborers in Seattle—what are you howling about? Don't you know that you are being paid more than men of the same skill are being paid in other cities? What are the odds if you ARE working only half of the time? No matter, you are getting all that's coming to you, and if you are not getting big pay you are not skilled, so don't give it away by making a kick.

If you think you are not getting what is coming to you, throw some cold water on yourself to bring you to, then get into line for a good application of Socialist "Brain Fertilizer." One application (if well raked in) guaranteed to start gray matter growing.

DUKE'S HIGH IDEALS

Larry Duke has embarked in the real estate business in Seattle. Larry is the son of the president of the Tobacco trust. The Duke family is not so rich as the Rockefellers, nor as the Pierpont Morgans, but he has amassed a sufficient pile of surplus values to assure lives of more than reasonable luxury for all its members, and still leave something from its income for additional accumulations.

There is hardly anything that Larry could not do with life. He could hunt lions in Africa, he could add to known science by scholarly researches, he could devote his life and a moiety of his income,—since of

course he is opposed to Socialism,—to making the world a better place to live. And yet how could he? The world is a fine enough place for his class now, and the other class get all it has coming to it.

Like the typical member of his class he is, Larry cares for none of these things. He has joined the real estates sharks and is selling Seattle lots. Just to make money is to Larry the greatest of human joys.

Many a bum down on the water front, crumbling under modern industrial conditions, has a higher idea of the significance of human life than Larry has.

SOCIALISTS vs. ANARCHISTS.

Ozette, Wash.

Dear Comrade:
Enclosed find dollar in stamps. Extend my subscription one year. The work "The Socialist" is now doing in exposing the anarchists who have been posing in our ranks as Socialists is very important. It is gratifying to say the least that the Socialists are winning out. That, however, is not surprising, as we must inevitably win in the end.

Fraternally yours,
W. B. HECKMAN.

Notice

Haywood arrives in this state from Oregon on May 20th. Locals desiring dates should apply immediately to State Secretary Krueger, Box 52, Seattle, Wash. Terms are 50 per cent of gross proceeds and not less than \$25.

TWO POINTS OF VIEW

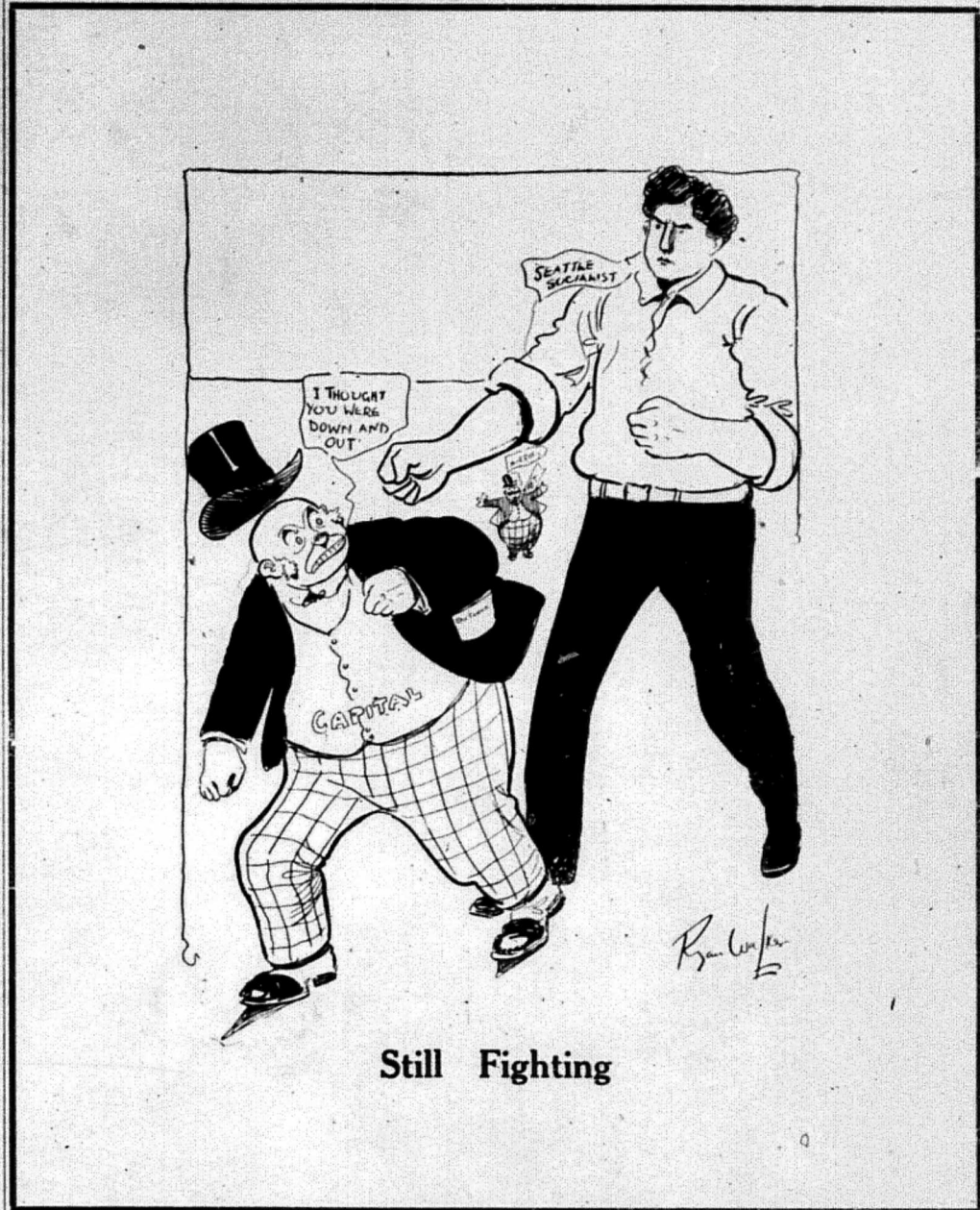
A conference of Northwestern lumber manufacturers have decided to reduce the output forty per cent.

From the standpoint of the daily press, this is a wise movement. The standpoint of the daily press is always the standpoint of the Capitalist class.

This determination of the lumber kings does not mean that there is to be any permanent reduction in the amount of finished lumber, for manufacturers will make all the lumber that consumers will buy. It merely means that the big manufacturers are to take a better hold upon the traffic, to get better prices, to reduce wages, to buy more automobiles, more silken gowns, more champagne, more Jap servants.

To the wage worker, it means that there is to be forty per cent less demand at present for labor in the mills and camps; that with flour going up, it is to be forty per cent harder to maintain the standard of living. This is the way in which the "identity of interests" of the wage class and the capitalist class works out in practice.

Under the industrial system to



which the trend of evolution now points the working class, the discovery that the output exceeds social needs by forty per cent would be good news for the workers—now the master class rejoices alone at the expense of the working class.

ARREST OF REVOLUTIONISTS.
Moscow.—The Russian police have imprisoned a man by the name of R. T. Stevens, who is supposed to be an American citizen. He had when arrested an American passport which travelers from this country must show when journeying through the Czar's domain. The authorities claim this man is an escaped revolutionist and that his name is S. Mozes. According to their statements he escaped from Siberia where he had been exiled.

They try to explain away the papers issued by the U. S. government among which was the passport, by claiming that the revolutionists of Russia procured them for him.

ACTION OF CZAR'S COURTS.
Kiev.—The martial court in this city condemned three persons to death, 21 to hard labor for a long time, and ten to prison for various terms. All these persons were active Socialists—hence undesirable to the authorities. Among the condemned was W. Szemett, a delegate to the Douma.

(Translated by Jos. S. Biscay—from "Dziennik, Ludowy.")

"I PROTEST"

Seattle, April 28, 1909.
To the Editor of "The Socialist":
I protest against the business manager's editorial in the box on the first page in the issue of April 24, under the caption "Socialism vs. Business." It is misleading. It will be misunderstood, and the misunderstanding will be chargeable to the business manager who wrote it. I am able to understand it because, and only because, I am acquainted with the internal affairs of the Socialist and the Trustee Printing Company.

Certainly, the publication of "The Socialist" never was good business. In France there is no belief that blackberries are not fit food. An American who recently went through Southern France afoot, with a proletarian "out-of-a-job" pocket book, relates that berries grew in profusion along the road side. They looked like blackberries and he tasted them. They were blackberries and he ate them.

Native proletarians with "out-of-a-job" pocket books passed along the same road and laughed at him. They took long chances in looting vineyards for a little fruit, but they would not eat the blackberries.

I know, it does sound like a lie, but I read it in the Literary Digest. "I cannot say what the truth may be. But I tell you the tale as 'twas told to me."

True or not, it serves the purpose of illustration very well. Suppose this same ignorance of the value of the blackberry exists in "Paree." It would be very poor business to force the blackberry on the market there,—poor business sense to introduce the blackberry to the Parisian palate, however one might desire to have the Parisians eat them. The owners of the South France vineyards show sound business sense by shipping grapes and the product of grapes to the market on the Seine. Blackberries are cheap and common anyhow,—they cannot be produced by machinery and there is no way to control the market. What's the use?

Ordinarily, newspapers are published for the same reason Schiltz makes beer—for the money there is in it. The most prosperous of American "Socialist" papers was started as an advanced, and rather populist paper at a time when populism was in the flower. In a measure, it filled a long

felt want. It has been furnishing goods for the market ever since. The publisher has followed the same course as other sane publishers—it has "peddled out the dope" there was a market for. Populism waned, but middleclass Socialism flourishes, and there is real and ready money now in middle-class reform Socialist papers. It would really pay for "The Socialist" to point to the post office as Socialism, and let up a little on this idea that Socialism is a wage earners' movement.

"The Socialist" was started, and is maintained by those who want the proletarian principles known, and their meaning fully realized. Those who support "The Socialist" are not interested in the newspaper business any how—they are interested in the Social Revolution, and "The Socialist" is just as business-like, in this sense, as shipping black berries to the French capital.

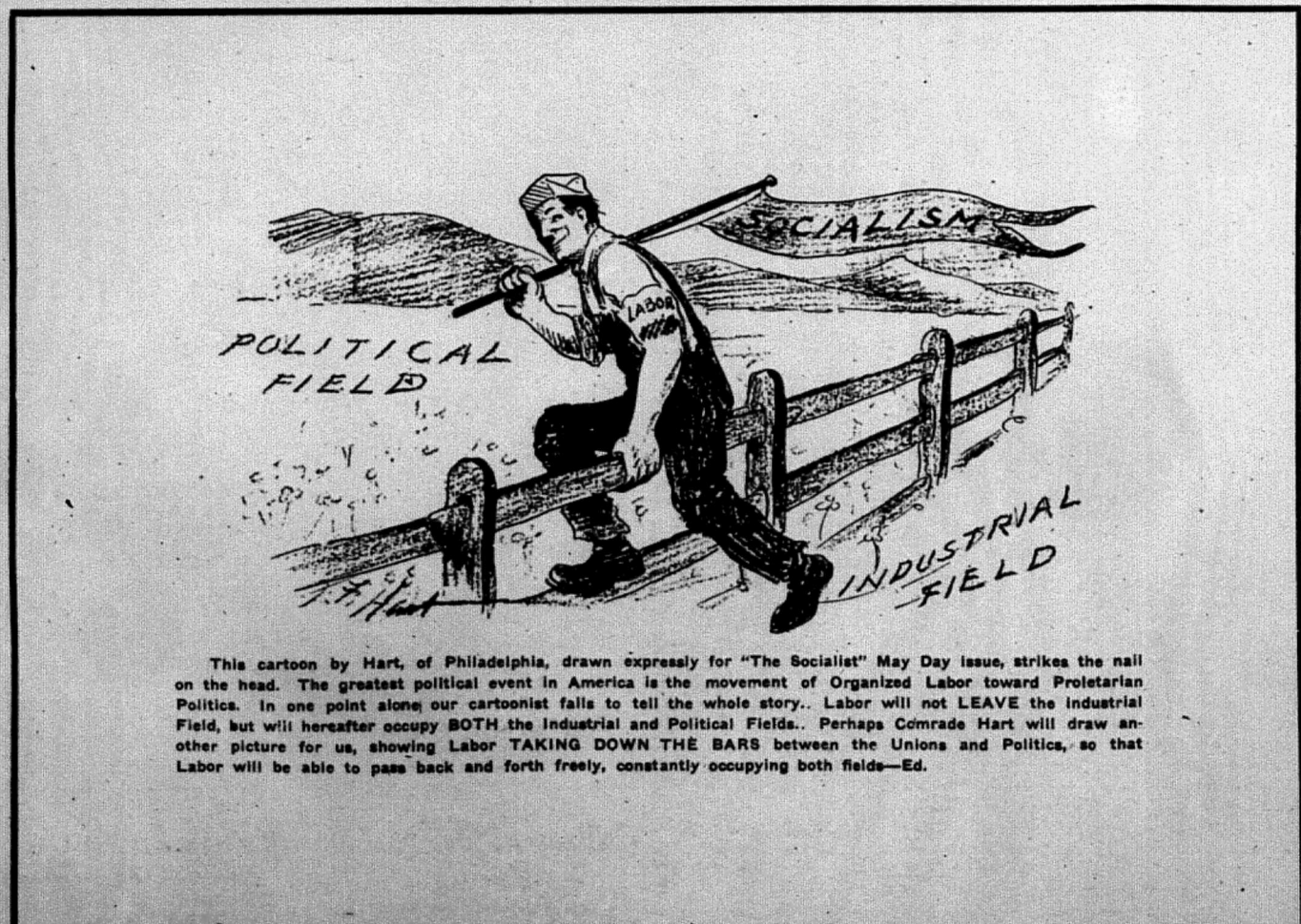
On the other hand, however, the long headed and class conscious Socialist wants to get the worth of every dollar he sends to "The Socialist" as an investment in the Social Revolution. And the point I wish to make is, that every dollar put into "The Socialist," under Ault's management, is well invested.

During the time that Ault has been business manager, the Trustee Printing Company has steadily gained ground. The plant has been enlarged, and notwithstanding that, the sum total of the indebtedness reduced. The plant lacks but little of the facilities necessary to do sufficient job printing to support the paper. Its patronage from the unions is constantly increasing. Even its conservative friends can foresee the time in the not distant future when "The Socialist" will never again be in danger of even temporary suspension, with or without the enmity of Lawyer Brown.

The business management of "The Socialist" never forgets that every dollar that has built and is building "The Socialist" comes from the thin purses of the exploited.

Notwithstanding that proletarian principles are not today marketable goods,—although the demand is growing, thank you,—the manager of "The Socialist" is a good business manager. His fit of self depression in the issue of April 24, is without justification in fact.

ARTHUR B. CALLAHAN.



This cartoon by Hart, of Philadelphia, drawn expressly for "The Socialist" May Day issue, strikes the nail on the head. The greatest political event in America is the movement of Organized Labor toward Proletarian Politics. In one point alone our cartoonist fails to tell the whole story. Labor will not LEAVE the Industrial Field, but will hereafter occupy BOTH the Industrial and Political Fields. Perhaps Comrade Hart will draw another picture for us, showing Labor TAKING DOWN THE BARS between the Unions and Politics, so that Labor will be able to pass back and forth freely, constantly occupying both fields—Ed.

WHAT SOCIALISM IS OFFICIAL STATEMENT

STATEMENT OF 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 labor, and with it 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 more complex and expensive, and requires effort of many workers, its influence reaches ever wider circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

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-employed 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 work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—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 curse 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 necessities 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, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climax of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of working men in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, 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 capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen 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 manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

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 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 man.

THE REAL 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 advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

General Demands

"1.—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, 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 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, 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 assembly.

Industrial Demands

"7.—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

"(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productivity of machinery.

"(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

"(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

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

"(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all un-inspected factories.

"(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

Political Demands

"8.—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.

"9.—A graduated income tax.

"10.—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

"11.—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

"12.—The abolition of the Senate.

"13.—The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

"14.—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

"15.—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

"16.—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

"17.—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

"18.—The free administration of justice.

"Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance."

THE REAL STUFF

By Thos. W. Russell

Karl Marx recognized the necessity of the Trade Union when he said: "The general tendency of Capitalist production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages or to push the value of labor more or less to its minimum limit. Such being the tendency of things in this system, it is saying that the working class ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of Capital, and abandon their attempts at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement. If they did, they would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation. * * * By cowardly giving way in their every day conflict with capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement."

Marx here clearly sets forth every Socialist's duty to fight with those who are resisting. Refusal to do so would brand us as cowards, and in his eyes disqualify us as members of any larger movement, such as the International Socialist Party, to which he can only have reference.

Marx also sets forth the limitations of the Trade Unions, and indicated the true course it should pursue as follows:

"At the same time, and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wage system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these every-day struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. * * *"

Why, then, do the Socialists, those who are not members of the trade union, refuse to join the trade union, so that they may not only retard the downward movement, but change the direction entirely, which is the most essential point to be considered? The International Socialist Party, being a revolutionary movement of the working class to overthrow the master class, is at present engaged in educating the wage workers, to free themselves from the slavery of the Capitalist Class, does it not, therefore, become every member's duty to help to educate the ignorant members of our class at every opportunity, and also to fight against the encroachments of the Capitalist class by being members of the trade union. If some of our members are too cowardly to fight against encroachments, I am afraid they would be a poor bunch to stack our hopes upon on a revolution. The Socialist Party requires Workers, not Idlers; Educators, not Ignoramuses; Fighters, not Cowards. Having workers who will educate and are not afraid to fight, we will abolish wage slavery.

DOMINADOR GOMEZ

An Interview with the Filipino Labor Leader -- By Edmond Peluso

Manila, March 2, 1909.—If Dr. Dominador Gomez, leader of the Federation of Labor of this city, is not given freedom, it is certain that a general strike will occur.

Gomez was convicted and sentenced to six months in jail, on the charge of threatening a strike against any shipping firm assisting in any way a local concern against which a strike and boycott was declared some time ago. It is said that Governor Smith intervened by insisting on the calling off of the strike and by lending the government launches to the firm affected. The gap between Labor and Capital has reached such a state in the Philippines that the interview our collaborator, Edmond Peluso, had last September with Gomez savors quite of actuality.

It is noon. The sun rays overhanging strike hard on my carromata's wooden roof, while my somnolent cochoero drives me lazily to Gomez's house. The alert little Australian pony with a quick pace crosses the city to almost its limits. My cochoero at last awakens, the horse stops and I am told that we have arrived at Don Dominador's house. After inquiries, however, Mrs. Gomez, a one time Spanish beauty, but now a little too bulky, tells us that her husband is at the Clinic. We rush to the hospital, only a few blocks away, and at the door I am received by a Filipino dwarf, the Doctor's watchful door-keeper, who, after a short parley, shows me the way into Gomez's office. With a foreeps in his right hand and some cotton in the left, he is attending one of his patients, and on my entering he greets me very cordially. It surprises me to see that he was a full-fledged Filipino, for I had been told that his election as a member of the Philippine Assembly had been invalidated on account of his being a Spaniard! That was an argument put up by the American Government.

A glance at Don Dominador, however, convinced me that he belonged to the species of the "undesirable." Though small of stature, he is a little giant of intellect. He is forehead broad, his firm and well shaped lower jaw indicates stubbornness and his black eyes reflect indomitable energy and are kind. He moves around gracefully, almost daintily.

On my invitation to come with me so that we may more leisurely talk things over, he objects, for he says, "you would be classified among the undesirable in these islands, and they would place detectives after you, who would render your life miserable." I then remembered the story I had been told about him, when one day Governor-General Smith sent for Gomez. When Don Dominador arrived at the Palacio, the old Spanish governor's building, Mr. Smith was in an apoplectic rage, and walking forth and back in the parlor. On seeing Gomez he stopped, and pointing his finger at him, he said: "Doctor, if you don't reform, I will send you to jail." Whereupon, Gomez knowing that by reforming the Governor meant to cease the noble fight for the emancipation of the Proletariat, replied: "You may send me to jail, but I will not reform." These words describe the man. He fears not, he is a creature of generous impulses who has given his life to the service of the working people, his down-trodden Filipino brothers. He has organized them, and he is awakening in them their Class Consciousness.

The people love him, for he is not only a great organizer, a spiritual leader, but also the man who cares for their sick. His eloquence is unsurpassable in the Philippines. Whenever Dr. Gomez speaks, he is sure to have all the youth of Manila with forensic aspirations in the galleries of the Asamblea. Like all Latin, he is prolific and full of imagery, and lets the flow of his eloquence bring forth the best of his emotional qualities. Since the abolition of the Feudalism of the Spanish rule, and American occupation he has been spreading the seed of Class Consciousness in his paper "LOS OBREROS" (The Workers).

The paper is a modest one, but the ambition of those who edit it is great, and while Dr. Gomez speaks of the bright future which is waiting for it, I draw out of my pocket a copy of "The Socialist" and I present it to him, saying: "In another spot of this world, way up on the Pacific, another man has devoted his life for the coming Truth and Justice. That man is a Doctor like you, he is older than you, and his health is not as good as when he started to fight, he has suffered a great deal for the cause. So far you have only been threatened, let us hope that they do not carry out their menace, let us hope that your

Manila jail is not a dungeon like the one we have in Seattle, and in leaving you, may I express the wish that both "Los Obreros" and "The Socialist" may live long enough to see the birth of the New Era.

EDMOND PELUSO.

WOMAN

By Bessy Fiset

Owing to important business which took up all the time of the State Committee at its meeting on April 18th, the Woman's State Committee was unable to present the report which had been drawn up to date.

In order that the Comrades may have some idea of the work that has been done since we really got down to business, I will give a condensed outline of what has been accomplished.

To begin with, the Comrades all over the state have come forward with hearty co-operation. Without this we would have been up against it, and no matter how we might have worked, we would have made no headway.

Since Comrade Mrs. Titus first started out she has given 14 lectures in halls where the audiences have ranged from 40 to 600 souls.

She has held 32 meetings "for women only" (sounds like a dime museum, doesn't it? Mentally a (bridged) Matthews will be after her for stealing his methods.) At these meetings the attendance ran from three to twenty-five.

Seven Study Clubs have been organized, with a total membership of about sixty. This membership has been considerably increased, however. The committee has received about \$125.00, all told, and has expended about \$120.00, so it is needless to say that if we are to go on with this branch of the Party work we must get some more money.

A special appeal was sent to all the Locals asking them to put forth an effort on May 1st, to extend the sale of the stamps, in order to help us financially, and to distribute as many of the manifestos as possible, that there may be a more general understanding of, and interest in, our position on the Woman Question.

Stamps have also been sent to every member at large: one for himself and one for some one else, providing he can get that some one else to think his soul's salvation depends on divorcing himself from \$0.25.

If every Local and every M. A. L. could send in \$0.50 more, it would mean that we could do as much between now and the convention as we have already done,—yes and more, too. So, here's for a long pull, and a strong pull, and a pull all together, in order that a lot of energy that is now being expended on the conversion of bushel baskets into spring hats may be switched off onto another wire that will connect with the big cable that encircles the world.

After all—every thing is Point of View.

Mrs. Kinsie, wife of the \$10,000.00 Superintendent of Treadwell, says that out of fifteen hundred men employed in the mine, there have been but FOUR deaths during the entire year. Pretty good record that.

Cheeny, attorney for the W. F. M., says that they average over a DEATH A DAY at Treadwell. Simply a difference in point of view, that's all.

However, the wife of the Governor, who lives in Juneau, naively remarks: "Well, one must admit that the conditions at the mine have been MUCH BETTER SINCE THE STRIKE."

There is not even a pretense at adequate timbering in the immense Treadwell Mine, and active steps are, or have been, taken by the Federation to have an Inspection Law.

As soon as the matter was started, Kinsie and some other brave souls from Juneau hurried forth for Washington to stop such an atrocious bill from passing. Have such a thing as that passed just to protect a few hundred scurvy Slavonians, and put the Rothschilds to the expense of timbering that immense mine? Not if Kinsie knows it. Slavonians are too cheap, and besides, what is he getting \$10,000.00 per for? Certainly not to look after the aforesaid Slavonians.

N. B.—There are said to be FIVE HUNDRED SOCIALISTS (some of them in embryo) in Treadwell—and more coming.

GETS A MAY DAY BUNDLE. La Center, Wash.

Dear Comrade: I send herein \$1.50. One dollar to continue my subscription to "The Socialist," and fifty cents for your May Day edition for distribution.

Yours as ever, GEO. BARR.

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Regal \$15 Clothes
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CLIMBING!

Once more "The Socialist" can announce to its anxious friends and to its still more anxious enemies that it will appear regularly and on time each week and continue to be the fighting champion of Proletarian Socialism.

Just as soon as possible we will publish a complete list of the names of those who made this announcement possible by the timely contribution of sufficient funds to pull us out of the hole.

In the meantime we want to warn you that most of this money will have to be paid back and that we will have to rely pretty much on support from our friends to do this. Do not let up in your efforts to make this paper a tower of strength for Proletarianism.

Speaking of Proletarianism, we want to announce the publication, in complete form, of "Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism," by H. F. Titus, in the issue of May 15. We have adopted this method of getting out the book because it is cheap and so will insure a larger circulation.

Orders received for this issue before press day will be filled at the regular bundle rates. After that the price will be five cents each or three cents in quantities.

This pamphlet was originally intended for publication at ten cents. Most of you have read it and realize its value as an addition to the propaganda. At the price it should receive a tremendous circulation. Let us make the first edition ten thousand copies.

Keep in mind the fact that we are still running behind and whenever you have a dollar you want put to the best possible use for Socialism, send it our way.

"Still fighting."

SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS

The following is the address to organized labor drafted by the committee and adopted by the Socialist National Convention:

"The movement of organized labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and wage-earners under the capitalist system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages, hours, and other conditions of labor is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working people and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

IT DOES NOT DICTATE.

"The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization and methods of action.

"In the history of the recent Moyer-Haywood protest, participated in by unions of all sorts and by the Socialist Party, it finds reason to hope for closer solidarity on the economic field and for more effective co-operation between organized labor and the Socialist Party, the two wings of the movement for working-class emancipation.

"The Socialist party stands with organized labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression or to wrest from the capitalists any improvement in the conditions of labor. It declares that it is the duty of every wage-worker to be an active and loyal member of the organized labor movement, striving to win its battles and to strengthen and perfect it for the greater struggles to come.

CONFRONTED BY GREAT CRISIS.

"Organized labor is today confronted by a great crisis. The capitalists, intoxicated with wealth and power, and alarmed by the increasing political and economic activity of the working class, have as a class under taken a crusade for the destruction of the labor organizations.

"In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska and elsewhere law and constitution have been trampled under foot, military despotism set up, and judicial murder attempted with this aim in view. Where such violent methods have not seemed advisable, other means have been used to the same end.

"The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workmen; it is backed by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

COURTS ALWAYS HOSTILE.

"The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in perverting the law to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, payment of union benefits, or even any attempt to organize unorganized workmen in certain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary decrees dissolving unions under a pretense of their being labor trusts.

"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of trying up or sequestrating their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in case of employees killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workmen to belong to unions.

"While affirming the right of employers to bar organized workmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor question is the rule that capitalists have a sacred right to profits and that the working class has no rights in opposition to business interests.

DANBURY MATTERS CASE.

"In the Danbury matters' case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with its infamous 'Dred Scott' decision of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the Anti-Trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss; and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasuries, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

"By this decision the Supreme Court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice, not of social justice. If this and other hostile decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its efforts toward a peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the capitalists and their courts in this assault upon the labor movement would be a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

BALLOT IS A WEAPON.

"At this critical moment the Socialist Party calls upon all organized workmen to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands, and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme Court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the military can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workmen on election day.

"Workmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support of the party of your class. Vote as you strike, against the capitalists. Down with military and judicial usurpation! Forward, in one solid phalanx, under the banners of Organized Labor, and of the Socialist Party, to defeat capitalist aggressions, to win immediate relief for yourselves and your wives and children, and to hasten the day of complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation and misery."

SOCIALISM IN TWELVE POINTS

1. The Socialist Party is primarily the party of the Proletariat.
2. We recognize the Class Struggle between the Proletarian Class and the Capitalist Class as the supreme fact of modern civilization.
3. We recognize this struggle as a struggle for the possession of the world's wealth and for all the benefits of human progress.
4. We recognize the historic mission of the Proletariat to be its own economic emancipation through its political victory over the Capitalist Class.

The growing solidarity of the Proletariat industrially in Labor Unions and politically in the Socialist Party is a sign of this ultimate victory.

5. We recognize the increasing incapacity of the Capitalist Class to control Society.

The industrial crisis which this country is now experiencing, and of which a financial panic is the least significant feature, has in this state as well as all others reduced the dependent Proletariat to such desperate straits that it is inconceivable that they should tolerate their condition did they rightly comprehend the underlying causes. The exploiting of the Proletariat of a part of their labor product results in their inability to absorb the wealth they have created. This is known as the failure of markets and a so-called period of over-production is followed by a reaction of which the present industrial stagnation is an example. The improved methods of production which should logically result in shorter work-hours and better living wages for the workers actually results in a smaller number being employed. Thus there is a permanent unemployed problem which is intensified by the recurring periods of industrial reaction. As these crises result in acute misery to the Proletariat and are wholly the result of the capitalist mismanagement of industry, the enforced idleness of the workers must be relieved by immediate employment of jobless men on works of public utility.

This failure of the Capitalist Class in their conduct of the affairs of society, is a sign of approaching social dissolution.

6. We assert the victory of the Proletarian Class over the Capitalist Class will not only emancipate the victorious class but abolish all other classes as well.

Society will then be organized as one class, all enjoying together the splendid fruits of human invention.

7. We propose that the Proletariat shall conquer political power and use that power to take possession of all such wealth as is now used by the Capitalist Class to force the Proletariat to surrender the wealth it creates.

The ownership of the instruments of wealth production, such as factories, mines, railroads, machinery and land gives the Capitalist Class its power to amass all wealth in its own hands. The Socialist Party proposes to transfer that ownership from the Capitalist Class to the Proletarian Class and to use political power to that end.

This is the Proletarian Revolution.

8. We know that such a Revolution cannot be accomplished in any one state. We must win full political power in the entire nation. Executives, legislatures, courts and armies must all be captured by the Proletariat in order to effect its appropriation of all property used as capital.

9. But we propose to force from the Capitalist Class while it is still in power, such concessions as we can.

Whenever Socialist Party Candidates are elected to office, the Party guarantees they shall advocate every measure which will alleviate the poverty of the Proletariat and improve its conditions.

10. As such measures calculated to improve Proletarian conditions under Capitalist rule and to assist the Proletariat in achieving its complete triumph, we advocate and demand:

- (a) Immediate public employment of the unemployed at the State's expense at full union wages on such works as irrigation, reforestation and road building.
- (b) Preservation from capitalist destruction, of natural resources such as mines and forests, in order that abundance may be preserved for social use after the Revolution.
- (c) Abolition of Court Injunctions in Labor disputes.
- (d) Abolition of all Oriental immigration which is subsidized or stimulated by the Capitalist Class and all contract labor immigration.
- (e) An eight hour day and a five and a half day week for all classes of labor and further reduction when that concession has been secured.
- (f) Abolition of employment of children of school age.
- (g) Reduction of residence qualifications necessary for the franchise in a state to two months.
- (h) Absolute freedom of press and speech.
- (i) Equal suffrage for men and women.
- (j) Initiative and referendum in order to protect against continued Capitalist corruption of representative government.

11. We recognize that the class of small farmers is also a working and producing class, exploited, as well as the Proletariat, of all its product except a bare living.

We point out to the small farmer that his exploitation is due directly to the great capitalist combinations known as the Trusts.

We also point out to the small farmer that the Trusts derive their greatest income from exploitation of the Proletariat and will, therefore, continue to exist in full power so long as the Proletariat remains a subject and exploited class.

In a word, the small farmer can only secure his own emancipation by joining the Socialist Party and thus assisting in hastening the Proletarian Revolution.

12. The small capitalist is doomed. The Trusts by the laws of competition are destroying and proletarianizing the old-fashioned "Business Man." The wise among this class will recognize the facts, accept the inevitable and join forces with the Proletarian army in its march towards the World's Emancipation.

"Proletarians of all lands, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

For the benefit of the many Socialist disciplinarians who are supporters of "The Socialist" we have organized the following association. Join now.

- Article 1—Name.
Section 1. The name of this organization shall be "The Socialist Boosters."
- Article 2—Object.
Section 1. The objects of this club shall be to give "The Socialist" such a good paying basis where it has never been because of lack of funds. (2) To induce all subscribers to ultimately join the Socialist party.
Sec. 2. Ways to Boost: By getting subs for the paper, orders for literature, printing and typewriting, or donations. All the above named are to be sent to the office of the Trustee Printing Company, publishers of the Socialist, Box 1908, Seattle, Washington.
- Article 3—Membership.
Section 1. All people in sympathy with the Socialist movement and anxious to learn more about Scientific Revolutionary Socialism are eligible to membership in this club, provided they agree to live up to the rules of this organization and sign one of the pledges.
Sec. 2. People desiring to join this organization should notify the Chief Officer (Circulation Manager) of such desire.
Sec. 3. No person may be admitted to membership in this club without first sending in a year's subscription to "The Socialist" or the equivalent. All donations sent in must be real money, nothing but money being accepted as a donation.
Sec. 4. Membership shall be divided into two classes, viz.: The Active Class and the Associate Class. Active members will be required to turn over to the Circulation Manager a sub each
- week for at least three months, or an order for printing, literature or typewriting. Associate members shall send in subs or orders whenever possible.
- Article 4—Officers.
Section 1. The officers of this organization shall consist of Oliver (the typewriter); F. Mathias, Literature Agent; Mailing List; E. B. Ault, Manager of the Trustee Printing Company; and the Circulation Manager.
Sec. 2. All officers shall work together and divide work as they may see fit.
- Article 5—Meetings.
Section 1. Meetings shall be held at least once each week. All members must send in communications by Saturday, if possible.
Questions.
All questions shall be answered by the Circulation Manager.
- PLEDGES.
Active Members' Pledge.
We, the undersigned, do hereby promise to send in to the Circulation Manager a subscription, donation or order for printing, literature or typewriting or the equivalent of one three months' subscription to "The Socialist," each week.
Associate Members' Pledge.
We, the undersigned, do hereby pledge ourselves to send to the Circulation Manager, whenever possible, a subscription to "The Socialist," donation, or order for printing, literature or typewriting.
All those who desire to join this club must send in their initiation fees and names at once. LUDU AULT, Circulation Manager.

HOW THEY DO THINGS IN GERMANY.

By Arthur Jensen.

"Vorwaerts," the central organ of the German Social Democracy, celebrated its 25th anniversary, March 31st. On the occasion a festival number was published with 44 pages, containing numerous illustrations.

Sunday, March 31st, 1884, the first number was issued under the title "Berliner Volksblatt." That was while the "exception laws" were in force in Germany. The first location was in a small and unsightly store and the editorial staff had its offices in a dark back room.

Among the first editors were Hasenclaver, Blos and Roediger, the last one of whom was later extradited from Germany because of his political activity. Auer and Liebknecht were among its first contributors.

The paper began with the modest circulation of 2,000. In the beginning of 1885 it had increased to 4,000, and in 1888 it reached 11,000. After the election of 1890 the list of subscribers numbered 25,000.

In 1890 the anti-Socialist exception laws were repealed and the German Socialist movement forged ahead as never before. The persecution had strengthened and solidified it.

In 1891 the paper became the official organ of the Party and at the same time it changed its name to the truer ring "Vorwaerts."

In June, 1902, it had 86,000 subscribers; in 1906, 100,000, and now it is very near the 150,000 mark.

In the course of the 25 years the editors have had fines imposed on them amounting to \$3,400 and served out sentences of imprisonment, amounting to ten years and seven months.

The paper is printed on a gigantic rotary press which was the largest in Germany when purchased in 1906. Its capacity is 10,000 to 12,000 copies of 64 pages each per hour and as the paper under ordinary conditions consists of 16 pages, it prints 40,000 to 44,000 per hour.

At present the following machinery is being used in the shop: 1 rotary press for 64 pages, 2 for 48 pages and 1 for 32 pages; 1 rotary press for illustrating work, 11 revolving presses, 24 stereotype machines, a mass of bookbinding machinery, 8 linotype machines, and 54 electric motors, aggregating 362 horse power. The working force consists of 88 compositors, 16 linotype operators, 24 pressmen, 55 helpers, 14 stereotypers, 15 bookbinders, 29 bindery girls, and 27 other employees. This is all exclusive of editors, reporters, etc.

A very large book publishing enterprise is carried on in connection with the publication of "Vorwaerts." "Vorwaerts" is an eloquent testimony to the enormous progress made by the German Socialist movement during the last 25 years.

RETIREMENT OF AUGUST BEBEL.

By Arthur Jensen.

August Bebel, perhaps the best known Socialist alive, has withdrawn from active work in the Socialist movement. He was forced to take this step because of ill health.

Bebel was born about seventy years ago. His father was a sergeant in the Prussian army. It was the intention that the boy should be a wood turner and he learned the trade in Leipzig. But when he was 21 years old, his interest in Socialism was awakened and it increased until he a short time after devoted his entire energy to the movement.

Though Bebel has received no special education, he has acquired a wide knowledge on political and social questions, which combined with his almost unequalled eloquence, has made him the strongest figure in the German "Reichstag."

In 1867 Bebel entered this body where he found his most irreconcilable enemy in Bismarck who once expressed that it would give him great joy and satisfaction to let Bebel hang if an opportunity should ever offer itself. More than once did the prison doors close on August Bebel because of his loyalty to the Cause of the Proletariat.

He is the author of "The German Peasant War," "Woman under Socialism," and "Social Democracy," works that all have had a very large circulation.

In appearance, Bebel reminds one of John Burns, but he is more muscular and because of his vivacity he reminds one more of a Frenchman than either an Englishman or a German.

The giant is now laying down his sword, and should he never re-enter the battle ground of the struggle between Capital and Labor, his rest will be well earned. He has fought the battles of the Proletariat wisely and valiantly. His name will always be remembered with those of Marx, Engels and Liebknecht.

UNIVERSITIES FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

It is a well known fact that a certain percentage of the "submerged tenth" commonly known as mission bums thoroughly appreciate a system of prescribed "DIETETICS" and "COMPARATIVE RELIGION" but it seems ridiculous when these rough necks are rounded up by the police authorities to be relegated to the rockpile for a practical course in "GEOLOGY."

The proposed founding of FARM COLONIES where tramps are to be taught the value of "VEGETABLE

"PATHOLOGY" has attracted the attention and serious consideration of a small group of social crusaders who have solicited the support of Socialists in taking up their cry, consequently my interest has been aroused to the extent of offering the following suggestion to these worthy gentlemen:

That Collegiate institutions for the correction of the unemployed be established on the strength of a world idea that mental labor is harder than physical labor.

And if a sentence to a few years of hard labor with the ARTS and SCIENCES falls as a proper punishment for paupers and panhandlers, why then give them something that will be a benefit to them rather than to the state and this will stop the twittering of charity grafters who beat around the bush in their effort to solve the UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM.

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Single Trip, 35c. Round Trip, 50c. Phone, Main 3093.

COMPARE THE TWO

Platforms of Two Cities In the State of Washington -- They Show Two Tendencies In the Socialist Party In the United States -- Any One Can Find Out What Socialism Is by Studying the Two Side by Side

Notice first, that the Tacoma platform endorses the "Program" of the Socialist Party of the United States, while the Seattle platform endorses the "Principles" of the same.

This is no accident. The National platform adopted at Chicago in May, 1908, is divided into three parts. (Look it up for yourself in another part of this paper). The first part is called "Principles" and the third part is called "Program." Seattle endorses the Principles. Tacoma endorses the Program. These Principles outline with great distinctness the Class Struggle between Capitalists and Proletarians, on which the Socialist Movement of the world is based. Without these "Principles," which make Revolution inevitable, there can be no Socialist Party.

But the "Program" consists of so-called "Immediate Demands" exclusively. They are such measures as may afford certain relief to the Working Class under Capitalist conditions, before the Proletarian Revolution is accomplished. Many of the demands of this Program may also be advocated by Capitalist Political Parties, like, for instance, "The Initiative and Referendum" or "Public Ownership of Public Utilities." The Program by itself is not revolutionary, not specifically Socialist, may be capitalist, in fact.

Now the noteworthy and significant omission of the Principles from the Tacoma platform marks it at the outset as non-revolutionary. For the Program alone is not revolutionary.

Notice, second. That the Tacoma platform puts one single item of this Program to the very front and omits all the rest. In fact, the entire Platform of the Socialist Party of the City of Tacoma consists of the Demand for Direct Legislation, a mere method of conducting popular elections. Nor a word concerning other "Demands" in the Socialist Party "Program" which might be called semi-revolutionary, such as "Public Employment of the Unemployed at the City's expense at full union wages."

This platform contains not a word concerning Socialist Principles, endorses only the Program of the Socialist Party, then really advocates only one proposal of the Program and this one is one which is acceptable to most Democrats and many Republicans, having no special importance to the Socialist Party as such.

Notice, third. That the Tacoma platform omits all special reference to the Wage Working Class. Its appeal is to "the people" and to "the citizens." From reading this document, the voter would not get the remotest idea that the Socialist Party was the Party of the Working Class even, much less the Wage Working Class, the Proletarian Class.

There seems to have been a studied care to omit every word from this platform which would suggest the division of Society into two great warring Classes, the Exploiters and the Exploited, the Capitalist Class and the Wage Class.

There is, in fact, not a word in the platform, after the introductory and perfunctory reference to the Socialist Movement in general, which might not have appeared in the platform of the Democrats or the Republicans.

Notice, fourth. That the Seattle Platform is the opposite of all these characteristics of the Tacoma document.

First. Seattle endorses "Principles," Tacoma endorses "Program." Second. Seattle puts to the very front the Revolutionary Demand that the Capitalist Taxpayers employ the Unemployed at Union wages. Tacoma chooses a Demand which the capitalist taxpayers themselves have no special objection to, that of Direct Legislation. Read the Seattle platform's radical proposal to raise taxes and compel the capitalists to take care of the unemployed army during the hard times.

Third. The Seattle Platform rings with the Class Struggle from start to finish. The Tacoma Platform has not a single word about Classes in Society.

Every argument in the Seattle document is an indictment of Capital for its failure to manage Society and a revolutionary call on the Wage Class to assert itself and take control of all Social functions.

Finally, notice. That even the "Down-with-High-Rents" Literature circulated in Seattle during the Fall campaign for members of the State legislature, was an equal contrast to this Tacoma city platform. "Down-with-High-Rents" was an "Immediate Demand" in Seattle, just as "Initiative and Referendum" was an "Immediate Demand" in Tacoma. But in Seattle "Down-with-High-Rents" was put in a subordinate place, used only as a catch-word at the most, while arguments for the "Abolition of the Wage System" were made most conspicuous. "Down-with-High-Rents" occupied only a few lines in Seattle; overthrow of the Capitalist Class and the Proletarian Revolution occupied pages. In Tacoma, not a hint at any Revolution, not a syllable about "Abolition of Wage System," but pages, the whole platform, in fact, devoted to its one "Immediate Demand" for Direct Legislation.

In these two platforms, you can see as in two actual photographs, the difference between Reform Socialism and Revolutionary Socialism.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN DENMARK

Marvelous Results -- Address to Trades Unions -- Women Vote for First Time -- Capitalists Were Consolidated Into One Party

By Arthur Jensen

New city and village councils were elected all over Denmark in March. The Socialists made a better showing than ever before. In Copenhagen, the capital and a city of over half a million inhabitants, four tickets were in the field, namely, the Socialist, the Anti-Socialist, the Radical and the Mission (Independent-Clerical). The Socialists cast 44,849 votes and elected twenty members to the city council. The Anti-Socialists cast 36,606 votes and elected sixteen members. The Radicals cast 11,631 votes and elected five, while the Independent-Clerical party received 2,243 votes and elected one member.

Aarhus, Denmark's second largest city, was captured by the Socialists, as were several of the smaller cities, towns and villages. In many towns and country districts the Socialists made their first inroads.

The growth of the Socialist movement in Denmark has so frightened the various Capitalist Parties that they have practically consolidated into one Party, the Anti-Socialist Party. This Party is composed of the Rightists with all its offshoots, the Moderate Leftists, the Reformists and several smaller groups which formerly were parts of the great "Leftist" group.

The Radical Party was the only Party standing alone and even that Party showed, in some localities, inclinations toward combining with the Anti-Socialist group.

The election returns indicate the disintegration of the Radical Party, while the political arm of Labor, the Social Democratic Party, showed a great increase in strength.

In these elections the Danish women for the first time in history exercised their new right of suffrage. Women were elected to many city councils. Seven gained seats in Copenhagen, two of them being Socialists.

The great strength of the Danish Socialist movement may be accounted for by the solid support of the Trades Unions. The day preceding the election in Copenhagen an appeal was published on the front page of "Social-Demokraten," the central organ of the Socialist Party, signed by the Presidents or Executive Boards of 157 Trades Unions. They were thus showing that they are recognizing the Social Democratic Party as the organized political expression of Labor's interests, while the Social Democratic Party has for many years recognized in the Trades Unions the organized industrial expression of these interests.

The appeal, translated into English, reads as follows:

"CLASS FELLOWS, COMRADES! The election tomorrow is of supreme importance to all women and men of the Working Class.

"The city administration has planned great rebuilding undertakings in the old city. But if these are to be realized, thus giving work to thousands of idle hands, the Social Democracy must be victorious. An Anti-Socialist majority will stop these plans immediately.

"A law may be expected, giving the municipality the right to vote extraordinary amounts to the unemployment funds. But if such a law is to be any more than a dead letter, the Social Democracy must win. An Anti-Socialist majority will not apply it. For the Capitalists can use the unemployed condition to cower the workers and cripple the Trades Unions for a long time to come.

"The Capitalists are threatening with a general lockout which would cause the destruction of the livelihood of our city. They very much desire to be, in a position to close down the city work, just as they attempted in 1899. But the Social Democracy secured the abolition of the Lockout clause. An Anti-Socialist majority will encourage the lockout desires of the Capitalists. A Socialist majority will help holding them in check.

"The City of Copenhagen is the second largest employer of Labor in the country. It is of the greatest importance whether it is controlled by representatives of the Capitalists or those of the Wage Workers.

"The election tomorrow is for four years. Whatever is neglected tomorrow can not be remedied until 1913, and hardly then. For an Anti-Socialist regime will kill all the seeds, planted by the Social Democracy, for the development of liberal and democratic reform. It will take a long time, if these reforms are to be rebuilt anew.

"The school system, sick benefits, old age pensions, establishment of public parks, etc., these are measures of interest to the Working Class primarily. The Capitalists have the means by which to secure good conditions for themselves and their families.

"Therefore, we workers must do

all in our power to secure influence on the city administration.

"Unemployment has stricken over 8,000 of our Comrades from the voting lists. The new, unjust provision for two years' residence in the city has stricken off other thousands. The Anti-Socialists in the government and the parliament are responsible for these restrictions in the elective franchise. Let us therefore vote for the Anti-Socialists down.

Let us revenge our comrades who are thus robbed of their right to vote, by doubled energy. Then, in spite of everything, we can give the Social Democracy a majority in the new city council.

"Therefore, all women and men of the Working Class, come tomorrow and vote the 'A' ticket! (The four tickets were designated A, B, C, and D, the Socialist ticket being given the first place.)"

THE SEATTLE SITUATION

Since the State Referendum of the Socialist Party of Washington decided to leave Local Seattle to manage its own affairs, the "trouble" has subsided. The Local is active, holding 10 to 15 street meetings a week, selling Socialist literature by hundreds of volumes and gaining new members. The Mills "Independents" and the Day "Insurgents" have coalesced and are working together, Opportunist and impossibilists, both joining hands like the twin Utopians they are. They held a picnic and had a Fair Woman's Race last Sunday, so the "P-I" reports.

This means that the various brands of Socialists are flocking by themselves, as they ought. Peace reigns on the Danube. Now let's see which makes the Capitalist tremble. Watch the "P-I," the Republican organ. It will boost its friends and slur its enemies.

The contest over the State office has reached a climax. Sunday, April 18, the State Committee met at Headquarters. By a vote of 7 to 6, two members, Jonas and Gatchell, absent, Secretary Krueger was removed from office and Wayne, of Bellingham, chosen Secretary pro tem. by same vote. Motion was at once made to rescind, vote to be conducted by mail. That vote was lost by 7 to 6, Jonas and Hendricks seen not voting.

Meantime, Wayne has not shown up and Krueger remains in charge waiting to deliver up his office.

The entire year, since the present Executive Committee took control of affairs, has been spent in a contest of interpretation as to the prerogatives and duties of the State Secretary. Krueger claimed he had a right to a voice in the Executive Committee's deliberations, as being constitutionally an "agent" of the entire State Committee, an executive officer and not a mere clerk. In this contention, he was upheld by vote of the State Committee.

But the contest has gone on just the same, principally because the three members, Smith, Barth and Hale, who constituted the majority of the Executive Committee paid so much attention to the "Independents" and "Insurgents" in Seattle, while Krueger contended this matter should be ignored and left for Local Seattle to settle. The State referendum finally sustained Krueger's view of the matter. But the friction and

personalities engendered have finally brought about Krueger's removal.

We believe it is a mistake. Secretary Krueger was correct in both his disagreements with the three members who made the majority in the committee of five. He grew nervous and sick and irritable with the constant fighting. Because of this he has lost the place. He did his duty and was justified by the Referendum. But he was rough and arbitrary in his manner. For that he has been punished. No one denies he has been most efficient in the conduct of affairs, and perfectly honest. Coarse attacks have been made on him without a particle of foundation.

It is a misfortune to the party and a personal injustice to Krueger to punish a faithful officer for doing his duty at all hazards, even though we don't like his individual style of doing it.

We believe the party in Washington should overrule the action of seven out of fifteen members of its state committee and restore Secretary Krueger to the office he has so well filled the past two years.

BEN HANFORD WILL LIVE.

Dear Comrade Titus: Enclosed find 25c in 1c stamps, for which place my name on "The Socialist" sub. list for a while. I've been laid up for nearly two months past, but am gaining strength now, and as full of hope as a foolish virgin without any oil in her lamp. But I have one thing strong in my favor—the good it is. I have heard tell, who die young. Of course, I must not overplay such a chance, but I really think that should entitle me to a green old age.

With best wishes,

Yours truly,
BEN HANFORD.
Brooklyn, N. Y., April 15, 1909.

RYAN WALKER'S GREETINGS.

Dear Friend Titus: Here's a little cartoon. I am literally swamped with work, but managed to send you this sketch with my best wishes. I hope that you have everything O. K. now. "The Socialist" has made a brave fight, and will win. Kindest regards,

Ever yours fraternally,
RYAN WALKER.
New York, Apr. 20, 1909.

Seattle Municipal Platform

City Election, Spring of 1908

"Workmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain!"

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

In presenting our candidates to the working class and those in sympathy with it, we base our appeal upon the following declarations as our platform of principles.

1. The Great Present Problem.

The greatest problem before the American people is the Problem of the Unemployed.

This is true at all times and especially true during Hard Times.

Wage Workers have been more numerous than jobs ever since the Reign of Capital began in America, some fifty years ago.

The "Industrial Revolution" by which "Labor Saving Machinery" does the World's Work, introduced the "Industrial Reserve Army," an army of propertyless Workers, including all grades, from the so-called "Honest Workingman" to the miscalled "Hobo."

This Problem of the Unemployed constitutes also the real Problem of the Employed. For so long as the Unemployed remain to take the places of the Employed, just so long will wages be held at the Subsistence level. This "Law of Wages," which allows the Employed, on the average only a bare living, which overrides all questions of rent, taxation or living expenses, is directly dependent on the continued existence of the Unemployed. Only by the Socialist Abolition of the Unemployed Army created by Capital, will the Employed army Emancipate themselves and Wage Workers secure the full product of their toil.

2. Problem Aggravated by Panic.

A Business Panic like that now in progress aggravates this ever-present Problem of the Unemployed. It lets loose thousands of hungry and homeless men and women in every city. "Crimes against Property," especially all sorts of Petit Larceny, multiply because these people will not consent to starve.

"Coxy Armies" spring up, being half-organized attempts to solve this imperious Problem of Bread.

In Seattle today there are at least Ten Thousand of these Unemployed Proletarians. This whole Puget Sound country swarms with them. They are putting up rude shacks and tents everywhere, seeking to "grub" an existence in the woods and along the shores. They throng the Police Station at night as "Sleepers," overwhelm the Police Court as "Vags," and supply endless material for the infamous "Chain Gang."

3. Capitalist Class Responsible.

Something rational must be done for these unemployed masses or they will do something irrational for themselves.

The Socialist Party was founded to cure this chronic disease of Capital. It alone can permanently solve the Problem of the Unemployed. It alone can furnish even a temporary solu-

tion in a rational and peaceable manner.

This is the Socialist contention, namely, that the Capitalist Class, which owns the Machinery of Production and is in possession of all governmental agencies and therefore has control of all the jobs, is responsible for the present breakdown.

In one word, the Working Class are the victims of the incapacity of the Capitalist Class. Capital has failed, at least temporarily, and Labor suffers the awful consequences.

So long as Capital remains at the head of affairs, Capital must accept all the ensuing responsibilities.

Multitudes of laborers are always hunting jobs in the best of times, but they do manage to exist and Capital therefore keeps them contented. But now, when Capital has gone bankrupt, when Capital closes its mills and leaves the workers to starve, now as never in prosperous times, the Socialist proposals must be heard and heeded.

4. The Great Solution.

The permanent solution of the Problem of the Unemployed offered by the Socialist Party, is to transfer the Machinery of Production from the inefficient hands of Capital to the efficient hands of Labor. The Working Class must finally supplant the Capitalist Class because of the utter failure of the latter to "make good" as Manager of Society.

No Society can permanently endure in which wealth is produced abundantly for all but apportioned by a few, while the masses barely subsist. The masses will rebel and conquer.

Such a permanent solution is not possible in an isolated Municipality. It can be achieved on no less than a national scale.

5. The Local Solution.

Therefore the Socialist Party demands and promises this temporary and local solution, namely: The resources and credit of the City of Seattle, all of which have been produced by Labor but retained by Capital, shall in the present crisis and want, be used to provide work and bread for the Unemployed; such provision to be continued till the Capitalist Class resumes its abandoned functions, reopens its silent factories and thus provides subsistence for its employes in the normal Capitalist way.

In one word, Capital must settle its Workmen's Liens first of all. These workmen can foreclose their liens through the Socialist Party. These starving slaves can capture the City Government for themselves and provide for themselves by means of their own Party.

The Socialist Party definitely pledges itself, if its candidates are elected to exercise all municipal authority to institute public improvements sufficient to provide a living for the City's normal quota of the Unemployed and to use all the public powers to raise the money to pay their wages.

6. Summary.

(A) Through the Socialist Party the Working Class always demands that the control of Modern Social Production be taken from the palsying grasp of Capital and transferred to the strong arms of Labor.

(B) Through the Socialist Party also, the Working Class in Seattle

Tacoma Municipal Platform

Election April 6, 1909

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

We the Socialist Party of the City of Tacoma in convention assembled, reaffirm our allegiance to the principles of fundamental democracy, upon which our party organization rests, and our adherence to the program of international Socialism as advocated by the Socialist Parties of the United States and of the world at large.

Realizing that so long as the ownership of the social tools of production and distribution remain in private hands that the problems of enforced idleness and poverty, together with the long train of social ills they engender, will continue to confront us, we declare for the collective ownership of all public utilities in order that society may escape the inevitable oppression of private monopoly and, as a whole, enjoy the fruits of its own labor.

We are confronted with grave problems of municipal government in our own city, and to the citizens who are in honest doubt as to the best method of solving them we particularly address our appeal.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

We unreservedly commit ourselves to the principles of direct legislation, and we pledge our nominees on pain of compulsory resignation should they be elected, to bend every effort to secure for the people of this city the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, together with the

charge of this year's ball—Adolph A. Guersch, W. D. Duffield, John Gidea and J. S. Williams—is a sufficient guarantee that the record is to be maintained, and it would be an exceedingly difficult undertaking for any organization to improve on it.

"Recall." With these weapons the people could pass judgment upon every proposed franchise, decide every important question of public morals and maintain an effective control over the acts of their public servants. We not only advocate and pledge ourselves to this program, but as an evidence of our sincerity and consistency we direct your attention to the government of our own party as an example of the application of this democratic principle.

We offer to the people of Tacoma a government of, for and by the whole people through direct legislation and the "Recall," and we submit that this and this alone offers a final solution of the problem of city government. We have neither criticism nor commendation for any proposed change in our form of city government except to declare that a failure to adopt the Initiative and Referendum provision will only magnify and aggravate present evils, but with their adoption our present system will prove to be quite as effective an instrument for social service as the commission plan. Our pledge to work for this important measure is unqualified and we call upon every voter who cherishes civic ideals to support us in our fight for popular sovereignty.

EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

We demand the enforcement of the eight-hour day and are unalterably opposed to contract labor.

ENCOURAGEMENT FROM FLORIDA.

St. Petersburg, Fla.

Dear Comrade: My subscription will expire with number 408. Under the same cover I am sending you \$1.00 for renewal. Of course, I mean renewal of "The Socialist."

Hoping that you will get matters straightened out soon, I am,
Yours, etc.,
S. W. BAKER.

THE ONLY COURSE.

Sedgwick, Alta.

Dear Comrade: Enclosed find \$2.00. Renew my subscription to "The Socialist." I am pleased to see that you are keeping close to the working class lines, as that is the only course that will win. Yours for the Revolution,
O. LUND.

ABOUT THE MAY DAY SPECIAL.

Cripple Creek, Colo.

Dear Comrade: You will find enclosed \$1.00. Send me 50c worth of the May Day Special and add the other 50c where it will do the most good. I may be able to get a sub or two to help you along and will put out the 1st of May paper and see what I can do for you. Yours fraternally,
J. TROXEL.

A CALL TO "DIG UP."

Charleston, Wash.

Dear Comrade: I am enclosing 25c to pay another three months on our sub. This is all I can possibly pay just now. I wish I could send you \$5.00, but it is simply impossible. Hoping those who can spare the cash will "dig up," I am,
Yours for the Revolution,
MRS. G. W. ARMSTRONG.

Local 195, Journeymen Barbers Union of America, will give a grand benefit ball on May 18.

The barbers have a record in affairs of this nature. Behind the coming fete there is a long list of balls, and every one of them a delightful social occasion, and a gratifying financial success. The personnel of the committee in