Join The Union of Your Craft

Socialist

Join The Party of Your Class

THE WORKINGMANS PAPER

A CARTOON WEEKLY

To Organize the Slaves of Capital To Vote Their Own Emancipation

Published by the Socialist Educational Union | 116 Virginia Street, SEATTLE, WASH., June 26, 1904 | 50 Cents a Year | Look up Your Label-Number | This is No. 203

Shall "The Socialist" Live or Die?

To Comrades, Subscribers and Friends: You will be surprised to find this number of "The Socialist" so greatly changed in size and appearance. You will look in vain for the usual Cartoons and you see only two pages in place of four.

The reason is simply this: "The Socialist" costs more than the subscribers pay for it. Our financial statement for the last two months shows that there is a deficit averaging more than One Hundred Dollars a month.

For several months previously the income and expense have been about even. We do not know why this sudden drop. It may be the hard times beginning, or it may be accident. At any rate, we have not cash enough to stand it, and that is the reason for the change you see. We must cut our garment according to our cloth.

It may be asked why "The Socialist" cannot pay its way as well as other Socialist papers? We reply, it does. We do not know of a single Socialist paper printed in English, except the "Appeal," which is not running behind. "The Chicago Socialist," though owned and backed by the Party in Cook County, situated in the largest industrial center in America, established years before this paper, is at this moment trying to raise money to pay off its deficit of a Thousand Dollars. "Wilshire's Magazine," a privately-owned enterprise, has, we are assured, cost its founder nearly all his private fortune.

"The Socialist" is not privately owned, nor is it party-owned. It is owned by a group of about thirty-five members of the Socialist Party, nearly all of them wage workers, and every one of them absolutely in favor of the proletarian policy this paper has always pursued. There is no stock and no profits. These men are incorporated as "The Socialist Educational Union," and the paper is under the control of a Board of Trustees elected every six months. They can suspend the editor at will.

"The Socialist" will be four years old in August. It was started in the midst of the presidential campaign of 1900, soon after the organization of the Social Democratic Party in the State of Washington. It has never really paid expenses. It has survived only because of the constant sacrifices of the members of the S. E. Union. Several members have put up One Hundred Dollars apiece in times of emergency, and several not members have done the same, while smaller sums have been contributed by all members. Besides these money sacrifices, many comrades both in Seattle and elsewhere have assisted steadily. For instance, from five to twelve thousand papers per week have been folded gratis by many comrades during these four years. That alone means a saving of at least Five Hundred Dollars. The Editor has never received compensation of any kind and we have had nothing to pay for rent, heat or light.

Our expenses have been kept down to the lowest possible notch consistent with the high standard of the paper. Our paper has been purchased by the ton so as to get low rates. The lowest bidders for our printing have always had the contract. Almost nothing has been paid for salaries, the three comrades who have worked in the office at times the last year getting only five dollars a week and a bed. Our high item of expense has been our Cartoons. We may say that in this feature "The Socialist" has been unrivalled in the Socialist press of America. We have had on our staff about all the successful cartoonists among the Socialists, and many of these have contributed their work without pay. But our engraving comes high and we know of no way to reduce its cost.

Now, comrades and friends, in spite of all our economies and sacrifices, we cannot pay our way and maintain the standard of the paper. Our arrears on current expenses amount to, to date, not counting what the Editor has furnished, to about Six Hundred Dollars. It does not seem a great deal. But when you have not Six Hundred Cents to pay with, it is as great as so many thousands. Heretofore, we have sometimes got over difficult places by calling on the Editor to make up deficits. But his well is pumped dry, plumb dry. Other comrades in the Union have been called upon to the full extent of their ability. We are nearly all proletarians and it is a wonder we have kept on so long.

We have made a frank, full statement of the condition of "The Socialist." We are going to leave the future of this paper in your hands. For the next seven weeks—that is, until "The Socialist" is four years old, on August 7th—we will continue on the present basis, furnishing as good a paper as the income will allow and publishing a report every week, that you all may see how we stand.

If during these seven weeks the believers in "The Socialist" rally to its support, we shall go on as before. But, if not, then we shall conclude the mission of the paper is ended as at present conducted.

"The Socialist" now goes to about Five Thousand regular subscribers, and occasionally with special orders to Eight, Ten and Twelve Thousand.

Comrades and friends, it seems ridiculously easy for you five thousand to put the paper on Easy street. If each one will send one subscription of 50 cents we shall have Twenty-Five Hundred Dollars, enough to pay our deficit and establish the paper on a permanent basis. How much do you really believe in this paper? Is it enough to go out and get one subscriber? If that subscriber is a workingman, the paper will make a Socialist of him in six months. Can you do better for the greatest cause on earth, this campaign year of 1904?

We have said nothing as to the specific work accomplished by "The Socialist" during the four years of its existence. There are those in the best position to judge who have said that this paper has had no small part in saving the Socialist Party from becoming a middle class organization. If this be true, it is worth while for "The Socialist" to have lived, even if it is to die now. If the comrades decide to keep it in the field, if they think it still has a mission, they can rest assured that the experience of these years will be employed to maintain and still further unify the Socialist Party as the Party of the Working Class.

There is one other point: It has been suggested that the reason so many Socialist papers fail is because they attempt on a small circulation to compete in price with the "Appeal," with its large circulation. No 50-cent paper can pay expenses till it has at least Twenty Thousand Subscribers. It is claimed, therefore, that the regular Socialist papers should all charge One Dollar a year. St. Louis "Labor" and one or two others have already made the change. Will all our friends please send us their judgment on this matter of change in price from Fifty Cents to One Dollar a year?

PREAMBLE FOR "THE INTERNATIONAL."

By Karl Marx. 1864.

"Considering—That the emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself, and therefore involves a class struggle, which on the side of the workers is not for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of all class rule;

"That the economic subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of life and instruments of labor lies at the root of social misery, mental degradation, political dependence and servitude, in every form;

"That the economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a means;

"That all efforts aiming at this great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, involving all countries in which the modern state of society exists, and depending for its solution on the practical and theoretical co-operation of the most advanced countries;

"That the present re-awakening of the working classes in the most industrial countries of Europe, while it raises new hopes, gives solemn warning against a relapse into old errors and calls for a close connection of the new separate movements;

"For these reasons the International Workmen's Association has been founded. The association declares that recognize that Truth, Morality, Justice, must be the basis of their conduct towards each other and towards all men, regardless of color, creed or nationality. They shall regard it the duty of a man to demand the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every one who does his duty. No rights without duties; no duties without rights."

SEND IN YOUR COIN CARDS.

Over 200 State Campaign Coin Cards are still out, Comrades. Effective work cannot be had without funds, and it is hoped that the month may not close with delayed coin cards out. Take a little time to interview a few of your friends and get it loaded. Get a money order for the amount and send it in, as they are usually in the open mail.

OUR OLD PLATFORM

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of revolutionary international Socialism and reiterates its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with its aims, for the purpose of enabling the working class to take political possession of the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of wealth into collective ownership by the entire people.

In primitive times the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the producers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the worker in subjection upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing unemployment of the school and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing from the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the wage working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, of the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of mind, moral, political and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system, the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial sway, and secure markets for their goods, prematurely at home.

But the deeper economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will unite the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties that do not work for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalist class organized and centralized into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied class.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions leading to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition depends upon the development in the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, recommend in the utmost importance for the Socialist Party of America that the Socialist Party do work in the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. Public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts or combinations. The net income of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalists to be and shall be used for the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, for the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker of the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of work people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age, the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public lands to be used for that purpose, in order that the workers be secured a fair product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation, the right to recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures, steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the fallacy that public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure government control of public utilities is a step in the direction of greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

THE NEW SOCIALIST PLATFORM

We, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people; as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual is made a reality and not a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To the idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by the existing system, which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to vote or voice his opinion in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence that mighty voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the universities, the pulpit and the press, the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Up to political institutions have also been used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. Property was made the independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery, which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. In order to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national, but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling classes of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Socialist movement therefore is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations, and in so standing it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing controls everything, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, as its portion.

But there are those two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the capitalist system of production and distribution of what is produced by labor, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or produced by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes, and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization the Socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist Party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that war shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for such immediate reforms as the interest of the working class may demand, for the protection and increases of wages; for the security of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, and of franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to public employments and betterings of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children and their freedom from the workshop; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, equal popular government, the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. In no case will we vote for any candidate for executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political power of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing we will be seeking these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. 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 into their rightful inheritance.

To this end, we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow workers, both for the service of the workers in their immediate interests and for their ultimate emancipation. To this we and we appeal to all the working classes, and to all who will lead their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast their lot and faith with the Socialist Party. Our appeal is for the trust and sufferance of our fellow workers in our common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blessoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

THE GERMAN PLATFORM

The economic development of industrial society tends inevitably to the ruin of small industries which are based upon the principle of private ownership of the means of production. It separates him from this method of production and converts him into a destitute member of the proletariat, whilst a comparatively small number of capitalists and great land-owners obtain a monopoly of the means of production.

Hand in hand with this growing monopoly goes the crushing out of existence of ever increasing numbers of the middle strata, the cities of colossal growth, the development of the tool into the machine, and the enormous increase in the productiveness of human labor. But all the advantages of this transformation are monopolized by the capitalists and great land-owners. To the proletariat it means the gradual sinking of a class, the small tradesmen of the towns and the peasants, the extension of the hours of labor, increasing uncertainty of existence, increasing misery, oppression, servitude, and degradation and exploitation (Ausbeutung).

Ever greater grows the mass of the proletariat, ever vaster the army of the unemployed, ever more sharply defined the contrast, oppressors and oppressed, ever fiercer that war of classes, which divides modern society into two hostile camps and is the common characteristic of every industrial country. The gulf between the propertied classes and the proletariat is fixed by the crisis arising from capitalist production, which become daily more and more extensive and omnipotent, which makes universal uncertainty the normal condition of society, and which proves that the growth of the forces of production have outgrown the existing social order, that the private ownership of the means of production has become incompatible with the full development of production.

Private ownership of the means of production, formerly the means of securing his product to the producer, has now become the means of expropriating the peasant proprietors, the artisans and the small tradesmen, and placing the non-producers, the capitalists and large landowners, in possession of the products of labor. Nothing but the conversion of capitalist private ownership of the means of production, of the earth and its fruits, mines and quarries, raw material, tools, machines, means of exchange—into social ownership, and the substitution of socialist production, carried on by and for society in the place of the present production of commodities for exchange, can effect such a revolution that, instead of the large industries and the steadily growing burdens of capitalist production being, as hitherto, a source of misery and oppression to the classes who they have despoiled, they may become a source of the highest well-being and of the most perfect and comprehensive harmony.

This social revolution involves the emancipation not merely of the proletariat, but of the whole human race, which is suffering under existing conditions. But this emancipation can be achieved only by the working class alone, because all other classes, in spite of their mutual conflicts of interests, are based upon the principle of private production to the community without being able to carry out the principle.

It must be the aim of socialism to give consciousness to the sense of solidarity of the working classes and to indicate the inevitable goal.

The interests of the working classes are identical in all lands governed by capitalist methods of production. The extension of the world's commerce and production and the dreadful competition of the labor of the workman in any one country daily more dependent upon that of the workmen in other countries.

Therefore the emancipation of labor calls in each of the civilized civilized lands have a share. Recognizing this, the Social Democratic Party feels itself in accord with all those who aim at the same ingress and who are conscious of the destinies of their class.

The German Social democrats are therefore fighting for the same rights and rights, but for the abolition of class privileges, and for the rule of classes themselves, and for universal equality in rights and duties, without distinction of sex and race. Holding these views, they are not merely fighting against the exploitation of existing wage-working classes in the existing social order, but against every kind of exploitation and oppression, whether directed against class, party, sex or race. Starting from these principles, the German social democrats demand to begin with:

I. Universal, equal and direct suffrage by ballot in all elections for all subjects of the empire over twenty years of age, without distinction of sex. Proportional representation, and, until this system has been introduced, fresh division of electoral districts by law after each census. Two years' duration of the legislature. Holding of elections on a legal day of rest. Payment of the representatives elected. Removal of all restrictions upon political rights, except in the case of persons under age.

II. Direct legislation by the people by means of the right of initiative and of referendum. Self-government in all affairs of the empire, state, province and commune. Right of magistrates to be elected by the people. Decision by the popular representatives of all international disputes by arbitration.

III. Equal rights for all. All laws which restrict or suppress free expression of opinion and the right of meeting or association.

IV. Equal political rights for every man and every woman, whether in a private or a public capacity. Woman is thus placed on a footing with the man.

V. Declaration that religion is a private matter. Abolition of all expenditure from public funds upon ecclesiastical and religious objects. Ecclesiastical and religious bodies are to be regarded as private associations, which are free to order their affairs independently.

VI. Secularization of education. Compulsory attendance at public national schools. Free education, free supply of educational apparatus and of food, clothing to children in schools and to such pupils, whose capacity for education, obtained in institutions as are judged to be fitted for higher education.

VII. Free administration of the law and free legal assistance. Administration of the law by judges elected by the people. Appeal in criminal cases. Compensation to persons accused, imprisoned or condemned unjustly. Abolition of capital punishment.

IX. Free medical assistance and free supply of remedies. Free burial for the dead.

X. Graduated income and property tax to meet all public expenses which are to be met by taxation. Self-assessment. Succession duties, graduated according to the extent of the inheritance and the degree of relationship. Abolition of all indirect taxation, customs, duties and other economic measures, which sacrifice the interests of the community, to the interests of a privileged minority.

XI. Legislation for the protection of the life, of the working classes. Six hours' work for a day's wages. Prohibition of the employment of children under 14 years of age. Prohibition of night work except in those branches of industry which, on account of the nature of the work, are not suitable for the limitation of hours of labor. Prohibition of the employment of women in industries injurious to the health of women. Protection of the life and liberty of workmen in their occupation. Complete liberty of association.

XII. Complete liberty of association. Complete liberty of association. Complete liberty of association

FREDERICK & NELSON, Inc.

Second Avenue, Madison and Spring Streets

In Ranges of Merit

THE MAJESTIC

Will Stand the Test of Time

"IT NEVER FAILS"

GREAT MAJESTIC RANGE

GREAT MAJESTIC RANGE

MAX RAGLEY DRUG COMPANY

(Successor to Barrington.)

We Fill Prescriptions Reasonably

Free Delivery to all parts of the City

Telephone Main 982

1405 SECOND AVENUE

Removed to 1411 First Avenue

A. E. GREENUS & CO.

Wall Paper, Paints, Brushes, Glass, Signs, and all kinds of Painting, Papering and Writing. Tel. Main 989.

The Fair Store

AT BELLINGHAM

(WHATCOM)

Is a reliable place to trade

The largest line of Dry Goods and Ladies ready-to-wear Garments, Millinery and Dress Goods, Men's and Boys' Clothing in Northwestern Washington.

OUR GROCERY DEPARTMENT.

Our grocery department stands between the people and all combined efforts to destroy legitimate competition, the iron hand no longer dictates prices. The Fair Store sets the pace.

Fresh, sweet Whatcom County butter, lb	30c
Strictly fresh ranch eggs, dozen	30c
Carnation Cream, 3 cans for	25c
Regular 25c coffee, lb	20c
Regular 50c baking powder	35c
Pure strawberry jam, absolutely the best, put up on the Scobey farm	35c
Sugar Cured Ham	15c
Sugar Cured Bacon	15c
Dry Salt Pork	12½c

The cost of living is reduced when you trade at The Fair Store.
Prompt delivery service. Down weights and full measure. Courteous treatment and square dealing are our guiding principles.
Every employee is well paid and every day is pay day.

Emergency Sale

All Our New Spring Suits Former Value Up to $25.00, at $12.85

THE HUB

615 FIRST AVENUE

GEO. H. WOODHOUSE & CO.

1409 Second Avenue

Builders' Hardware, Mechanics' Tools

Plumbing, Tin Work

GARLAND STOVES AND RANGES

Agents for Garland Stoves and Ranges

Heath & Mulligan's Paints

Eldredge Sewing Machines

Novelty Hot Air Furnaces

EVERY MAN PROTECTS HIS LOVED ONES AS BEST HE MAY.

THOMAS C. WISWELL, 223 Bailey Building

CAN FURNISH THE BEST POSSIBLE PROTECTION FOR THEM.

No Matter What Form of Insurance You May Have

TALK WITH HIM

Have you yet contributed that *Half Day's Pay* which has been asked by the National Committee from each Socialist or sympathizer some time during the month? If not, please send it in.

One-third of the amount thus obtained goes to the Local, if any; one-third to the State, and one-third to the National Campaign Fund.

If no one has seen you with a list, send in your contribution to this office and it will be duly accredited and distributed. Speak to your friends about it also.

Scroll the Campaign Fund.

E. E. MARTIN.

COMRADE BOOMER'S STATEMENT.

Prosser, Wash., June 12, 1904.

Editor The Socialist:

I do not feel very much like going into an extended argument, either as to my particular fitness or nonfitness for the office of national committeeman. To me it seems too much like an odd-party bid for office. The comrades of the state ought to know exactly where I stand. I am for a working-class party, first, last and all the time. Having been a wageworker all my life, and my father before me, I look to no other class to free the wageworkers. I hold the position, so often stated by "The Socialist," "Those from outside the working class, but in sympathy with them, are welcome to the ranks of the Socialist Party, but they should come to us with the full knowledge that they must sink their immediate and illicit capitalist class interests and work for the advancement of working class interests alone." Further, as a safeguard of this position, I believe that where other things are equal a wageworker should always be chosen as candidate and official of the Socialist Party.

As far as the office of the national committeeman is concerned, there should be some way devised whereby the members whom the committeeman is supposed to represent may instruct him how to vote on any question that may arise. Fraternally,

GEO. E. BOOMER.

I wish to add that I believe the confidence of the working class of the United States can never be gained if they see us going outside the ranks of the bona fide wageworkers for such officers as our national secretary, or in choosing candidates for high public offices. If the Socialist Party has not within its ranks members of the army of the proletariat with intelligence sufficient to fit them as the standard bearers of their own class, then the Socialist Party should refrain from making nominations until the workers are capable of conducting their own affairs. A political party always reflects the immediate material interests of those who control that party. G. E. B.

COMRADE M'DEVITT'S STATEMENT.

To the Socialist Party of Washington:

In accordance with the suggestion of the editor of "The Socialist" that the two candidates for the office of national committeeman state their position on national affairs, I take this opportunity of expressing my views.

1. First of all, the national committeeman is essentially a representative and not an executive officer, and he is therefore necessarily bound to represent his constituents. In order to do so, he must act in accordance with their convictions and wishes in so far as he is able to ascertain what these convictions are. He represents the collective or majority sentiment of the members in his state; he does not represent himself or anybody less than the party itself; his guiding rule of conduct is to be sought in the sentiments of his constituents, the rank and file of the party. (In the Socialist Party the rank and file include everybody, all, at least in Socialist theory; but conditions always have given and always will give to some individuals greater prominence and stronger influence than to other individuals; and, sentimentalize as much as we please over the no-leader idea, we must in our saner moments recognize that certain circumstances, such as the power of eloquence or rhetoric, the control of the party purse or the party press, the power of personality or diplomacy or a predominating self-interest more pregnant than the self-interest of the individual many, must give to some of our comrades in the cause all the attributes if not the name and style of "leaders.")

Whenever a representative finds himself unable to vote conscientiously for the views of the members as the members dictate, he should resign, and allow the members to choose a representative who will stand for what views wherever their views are ascertained or ascertainable.

Hence all the actions of a national committeeman should be subject to referendum. The right to the referendum cannot be withdrawn from the members; and the right to referendum means, as I have always contended, the right to demand a referendum and the right not to demand a referendum; that is, the right not to have a referendum until they do demand it. The comrades should understand this first principle of the referendum, namely, that a referendum should always come from those who are going to vote on that referendum. If you have the right to appeal, nobody else should have the right to appeal for you. If you do not wish to use your right of appeal; and if you do wish to use this right, no one else need appeal for you. A referendum by the members, therefore, should be demanded by the members, as members; a referendum by locals should be demanded by the locals; a referendum by delegates should be demanded by the delegates; a referendum by committeemen should be demanded by committeemen. If you represent me, for instance, I have the right to a referendum on your representative acts; if I am satisfied, I do not care to have a referendum, and if I do not demand a referendum I should not be forced to have one, and my failure to demand a referendum in a certain time will be held as my consent to your approval of your representative acts.

My position, therefore, may be restated in a few words: The national committeeman is a representative officer. His actions are subject to a referendum of the members of the state he represents whenever the requisite number of the members shall demand the referendum. Any acts of a body chosen by the national committee or any acts by a portion of the national committee are subject to referendum by the whole committee, and these decisions of the committee are subject to referendum by the national membership.

2. To come now to particulars, it may be in place to say that I stand for the increase of the constitutional powers of the rank and file, and a decrease of the power of the executives and representatives. I favor everything that will regulate and control the power of delegates, and that will strengthen the controlling power of the rank and file. Hence I am opposed to consecutive terms of office, except in the case of those offices which are in the nature of clerical or technical work without the power of personal vote and personal domination.

There should always be rotation in the offices of executives, representatives and political candidates. I am in favor of new men from year to year in the position of national executive committees, state committees, national committeemen and the like; but at the same time I am in favor of the retention in office of such employees of the party as national secretary, state secretaries, and similar officers, when the holders of these offices have shown faithful and efficient and single-minded devotion to duty.

3. I favor the most complete state autonomy possible, so far as such autonomy does not affect the purity of our revolutionary principles—the principles (a) of the class struggle; (b) no fusion, no compromise, no political trading; (c) absolute working-class or proletarian control of the working-class or proletarian party; (d) the recognition of the fact that the Socialist Party must stand primarily for the whole revolution in due season and only secondarily for something now or for a little here and there—the immediate demand is simply an incident, the ultimate demand is the essential, the formative and determining soul of our movement.

I recognize, however, two inevitable facts. The first is that whenever any demand for new standpoints or new "points of view" comes solidly from the rank and file in an irresistible way, as a broadening or expansion of our policy or tactics, then and not till then is the time surely ripe for the party to modify its platform and its program; but such modification should not come in advance of a clear demand for it by the rank and file, and in view of an almost universally recognized need of the times. The second is that while I have never been anything else but a proletarian wageworker, and while personally I should have no fault to find with the principle that our party should always be controlled and officered by wageworkers alone, still I realize as true that this ideal may have to yield in places and at times to local environment, as all ideals must adapt themselves to actual conditions, and the party in certain localities may not be able to confine itself strictly to the principle of wage-workers' control, but must allow itself to be governed, in part, at least, by nonwage-earning workers, so long as they are exploited workers. But here as elsewhere the class conflict must be the compass and the rudder—our party the party of the exploited working class, and all other parties with absolutely no mission to emancipate the workers from wage slavery.

4. With respect to my views of what our party platform should be in this state at the present time permit me to refer to the Seattle or Washington platform which we have stood upon in several campaigns, and which has seen service in many other cities and states. This platform, concocted and written by myself three years ago, still expresses my conclusions as to the best working platform for cities and states in the earlier stage of their Socialist development—in that stage where education and discipline is everything and political success practically nothing, if not, indeed, a danger. I am naturally glad to see that Washington still retains the working or program part of that platform as its standard in the present most significant campaign. And if the comrades will permit a digression here, I will say that there is one easy and obvious and inevitable answer to the shallow and inane criticism made by President Will and other equally veteran and equally scientific Socialists, such as the infallible Comrade Berger (who says that the Socialists of the Far West are "half baked," and to whom we might retort by styling him a zweiback Socialist, which term, interpreted in Yankee language, might be made to read "swayback," if you wish.) These critics say that our program, which is simply and fundamentally "the interests of the working class and the strengthening of the working class in their class struggle," rests upon the intelligence and the will of the individual Socialist in office. Why not at all! The Socialist in office is simply the mouthpiece or spokesman of the party that elected him, and it is for the collective will of that party to tell this elected representative what legislation, at any particular time is or is not for the interest of the working class. President Will and other seemingly superficial students of Socialist politics appear to believe in allowing the individual representative or set of representatives to put its own interpretation on our program; whereas the correct Socialist position must always be that the party interprets and decides, and the representative simply executes the collective will of the party or else gives way to some better representative. The whole issue is this: Is the Socialist party capable of knowing what is for the interest of the party for which it stands? If it is, then a program declaring simply and broadly for the interests of the working class is certainly a good program. If the Socialist party is incapable of saying what is for the interest of the working class, especially in the matter of strengthening the working class in its class conflict with the capitalist class, then where shall we look for such knowledge? And surely a program that allows the party to decide at the very time that the legislation is up for passage is better than a program in future, or a program by way of prophecy. Shall we look to the individual critic or the individual editor, or shall we not rely upon the two cardinal points for the eyes of the Socialist party, first, the class struggle, and, second, that body which stands as the representative and the executive of the organized political intelligence of the working class; in other words, our enemy is the capitalist class, our liberator is the rank and file of the Socialist Party. We must move side by side with our fellows in the ranks, and face to face against the capitalist class system.

The Socialist Party should not be—in fact, it cannot be, even though some of us may try to make it appear to be—more advanced or more intelligent or more liberal or more opportunist than the rank and file, the collective membership. My conviction is that individual members who wish to change the course of action of our party must, first, create by education a demand among the members for such a change, and then these teachers and guides must recognize that demand and act in accord with it; in other words, every demand for any significant change in the tactics or program of the Socialist Party must come from the "core" or heart of the party, as moved by economic environment of the mass, rather than from the head of the party, this head being composed of prominent members who may be simply reflecting unconsciously or consciously their own personal material interests. The collective membership is the mass to which the "leaders" should gravitate; the prominent individuals should be satellites of the Socialist sun or central body; they must not expect to be the sun and to swing the party around their radiant heads as their shining satellites.

5. In conclusion let me say that I do not submit these remarks with any view to assisting me to an election as national committeeman. In fact, I recognize that the tenor of these statements at this time may be more likely to defeat than to elect the writer. But that is immaterial to me, as personally I do not desire the office, and in proof of my frankness, I may say that I did wish to be elected last year when Comrade Boomer and I were the candidates, as I naturally coveted the endorsement that such an election might indicate. My sole reason for accepting the office this year grows out of the fact that so decided a majority of the convention chose the convention's candidate that the chairman expressly stated that he considered it unnecessary to put the alternative proposition, and yet if Comrade Seibert had not declined to take the nomination, my name would probably never have gone before the convention. Certainly I was surprised when my name was placed in nomination, and I was amazed to see the result of the rising vote. I then expected that our party would always be represented in the ranks of the members why I was selected, and I was told that the sentiment seemed to be against electing a member for a third term to the same office. Hence I reluctantly permit my name to stand, although I may venture the remark that the comrades of this state have been well represented by Comrade Boomer, and I am convinced that if he is re-elected he will again serve the interests of our party faithfully and efficiently.

Yours for the cause that is always right, and for the one class that, so long as there are classes, must always be the right cause.

WILLIAM M'DEVITT.

Comrade McDevitt has introduced so many points that we feel at liberty to comment on three of them.

First. It is not clear to us why re-election is a bad thing for such an officer as National Committeeman, and a good thing for such as National Secretary. It is more easy to remove a National Committeeman if he goes wrong than a National Secretary, while the Secretary has far more power and far more opportunity to establish a dictatorial influence and set up a machine. It seems to us a good rule to select the man best fitted for the place, whether it is his first or second or third election. If he has shown a disposition to assume power, that shows his unfitness for re-election.

Second. Is it indeed true, when a Socialist official is elected, that his Local is better qualified to direct his legislative action than he is, to decide what is to the interest of the working class—than the whole National Party?

On the contrary, we believe that the collective wisdom of the entire party is nowhere more needed than in deciding what is best to be done by a Socialist official under a capitalist government. Some excellent comrades have already disappointed those who elected them in more instances than one. Indeed, so many disappointments have occurred that some Socialists are beginning to be afraid they might elect their candidates.

The very latest instance is in British Columbia, where the elected comrades had guidance very similar to that advocated by Comrade McDevitt. They are said to have consulted the Executive Committee of the Party in the Province. Yet their chief legislative energies were centered on a bill to secure "Settlers' Rights" for the benefit of a small class, certainly not wage workers, and in order to show up the corrupt practices of the capitalist government.

We quote this instance, not to condemn these comrades, but to illustrate how essential it is that local and inexperienced comrades thrust into office under the most perplexing circumstances and obliged to decide, when confronted with a multitude of measures, what is and what is not best for the working class, should have the benefit of the Entire Party membership. Our National Platform and our National Program both indicate certain general lines of action believed to be in the interest of our class.

Third. Since Comrade McDevitt refers to the "endorsement" which he coveted last year, and since he does not now disclaim the acts which he then wished endorsed, it is fair to assume that he will regard his election now as somewhat of an endorsement of his action as member of the State Quorum in 1903 when he refused to vote to revoke the charter of Local Spokane and afterward sought to explain away the explicit mandates of the Referendum and to allow Local Spokane to reorganize along the old lines.

J. B. OSBORN COMING.

WASHINGTON DATES.

Bellingham, July 1, 2; Lynden (county convention), July 3; Ferndale, July 4; North Bellingham School House, near Poor Farm, July 5. Other north and west dates must be spoken for at once, as we must conserve expenses in traveling by making a connected route. The itinerary will be announced next week, when it is hoped the entire list will be given. Most of the dates have been spoken for, as only July dates are available.

Posters have not yet come to hand, but will be forwarded at the earliest moment on their arrival. Cdb. Osborn goes from the extreme north to south and west, through Skagit, Snohomish, King, Pierce, Thurston, Chehalis, Pacific, Lewis, Cowlitz, Wahkiakum, Clark, and winding up with six dates in Skamania.

Hurry up those June dates, Comrade Secretaries. Don't let the matter drag. Have them reach the State Office by July 1st. See New Constitution.

STONE'S PIKE STREET PHARMACY

GET YOUR DRUG WANTS OF US

..WE SAVE YOU MONEY..

Goods Delivered to All Parts of City. Tel., Sunset Main 933; Ind. 933.

419 PIKE STREET

THE PRESS CAFE.

Is the place to get a good meal for 15 cents. Commutation tickets, $3.15 for $3.00. 221 Union Street.

CHEAP CLOTH IN LOTS and acres. Terms, $5 down and 25 cents per week, at HILLMAN CITY OR GARDEN STATION.

HILLMAN, Owner

1-6 Times Bldg.

The cheapest laundry is not always the lowest priced.

The cause: soda, quick lime and acid methods are "cheap" methods.

We use pure soap and water only

We make our own soap

Using pure, clean tallow. No offal or slaughter house refuse. We supply soft sallied Union help.

Your clothes sent to us, last longer, wear better, look dressier that if done by clothes destroyers and scab help. We serve you promptly, courteously and at a reasonable price.

The Majestic Laundry

is not in the Trust. Our only TRUST is in CLEAN, 100 PER COMPANY work. Give us a trial.

Phones Red 1221; Ind 1687.

We also own a Flexible Sewer. No More Broken Collars or Cuffs.

GREAT NORTHERN

Leave A. M.	Depot, Foot Columbia St.	Arrive
8:30	Flyer Spokane, St. Paul Chicago and East	8pm
7:30 p m	Everett, Spokane, Eastland, Kootenai pts	9:30 a m
7:10 p m	Everett, Spokane, Stevens Ellion and Anacortes	11:30 a m
8:10 a m	Everett, Wenatchee, Westminster, Bellingham, Sedro Woolley, Seattle	4:45 p m

For Rates, Folders, etc., see S. G. YERKES, G. W. P. A., 612 First Avenue

DR. SAMUEL J. STEWART, 99-1-2 Stair Bldg. Pioneer Square. Residence "Rainier."

S. Rosenthal

EXPERT LADIES AND GENTS' TAILOR

Cleaning, Dyeing and Repairing Neatly Done. Ladies' and Gents' Garments Altered to Fit, a Specialty. All Work Guaranteed.

1081 McAllister St., near Cor. Webster, San Francisco, Cal.

Telephone Fell 2292.

Eastman & Mitchell

Printers

415 Market St., SAN FRANCISCO

Phone Main 5015.

The Chicago Socialist

25c per year

Bright, Snappy and Fearless. Owned by the Socialist Party of Illinois.

A SAMPLE FOR THE ASKING

Address, CHICAGO, ILL.

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF KING County, State of Washington.
James McGregor, Plaintiff, vs. Ella McGregor, Defendant. Summons for Publication. No.
The State of Washington to said Ella McGregor, defendant:
You are hereby summoned to appear within sixty days after the date of the first publication of this summons, to-wit; within sixty days from the 8th day of May, 1904, and defend the above entitled action in the above entitled court, and answer the complaint of the plaintiff, and serve a copy of your answer upon the attorneys for plaintiff at their office below stated; and in case of your failure so to do, judgment will be rendered against you according to the demands of the complaint, which has been filed with the clerk of this Court.
This action is brought by the plaintiff for the purpose of obtaining a divorce from the defendant upon the ground that the defendant has abandoned and deserted the plaintiff for more than one year before the commencement of this action without any cause or reason therefor.
RICHARD WINSOR and EDGAR S. HADLEY, Attorneys for Plaintiff.
Office and P. O. Address, Room 78, Sullivan Building, Seattle, King County, Washington.
First publication, May 8, 1904.

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF KING County, State of Washington.
Clara Colburn, Plaintiff, vs. Charles Colburn, Defendant. Summons for Publication. No. 43,128.
State of Washington to the said Charles Colburn, Defendant:
You are hereby summoned to appear within sixty days after the date of the first publication of this summons, to-wit: within sixty days from the 19th day of June, 1904, and defend the above entitled action in the above entitled Court and answer the complaint of the Plaintiff, and serve a copy of your answer upon the Attorneys Plaintiff at their office below stated, and in case of your failure so to do, judgment will be rendered against you according to the demands of the complaint which has been filed with the clerk of said Court.
That this action is brought for the purpose of obtaining a decree of divorce from the defendant upon the grounds of cruel and inhuman treatment, drunkenness and failure to provide for the support of the Plaintiff.
RICHARD WINSOR, EDGAR S. HADLEY.
Office and P. O. Address, Room 78, Sullivan Building, Seattle, King County, Washington.

WASHINGTON STATE CAMPAIGN FUND

COIN CARDS.

179 Local, Puyallup, 90c; 405, J. W. Hendershot, North Star, $1.00; 1, J. D. Curtis, Seattle, 75c; 335, Wm. Baer, Ferndale, $1.50; 323, Matt Petsche, Black Diamond, $2.50; 307, L. Chevalley, La Center, 75c; 4, James Lund, Stones, $1.00, Redmond, $2.50.

DONATIONS.

Chas. Pye, Salmon Creek, 25c; Peter Anderson, Sultan, $1.00; Axel Anderson, Sultan, 50c; A. O. Hagen, Sultan, $1.00; Henry Erickson, Sultan, $1.00; John Hadin, Sultan, $1.00; Frank Lemander, Sultan, $1.00; Heber White, Jr., Walla Walla, $1.00; C. A. Walker, Walla Walla, $1.00.

Phone Red 710

THOMAS HEGDAHL

McDONALD COMPANY, Inc.

Dealers in

FURNITURE, CARPETS, CROCKERY, STOVES, HARDWARE, SASH AND DOORS, ETC., ETC.

2nd Ave. & Bostin, Ballard, Wash.

Our building has been sold and must come down. Lease expires May 1st.

Shoe Stock

MUST BE SOLD

Watch out for big cut in prices.

RAYMOND & HOYT

918 SECOND AVENUE

For Good Values in

FOOTWEAR

GO TO

Wallin & Nordstrom

218 Pike Street

...Union Bakery and Restaurant...

For Good Things to Eat

1418 2nd Ave. Tel. MAIN 666

BROWN DENTAL CO.

713 FIRST AVENUE

We are the largest dental concern on the Pacific Coast

NO PAIN. Low prices for good work are possible to us. We do so much of it.

Silver Fillings	50c
Gold Fillings pure	$1.00
Gold Crowns, 22 K	$3.00
Full Set Teeth	$5.00
Bridge Work	$3.00

NO PAIN. We tell exactly what your work will cost before we begin. We completes give satisfaction, comfort and natural expression.

Crown and bridge work of the best at lowest prices is our specialty. NO "PAIN" claims alone is our specialty, but that your work will be of the best. Lady attendant always present.

Ten-year guarantee on all work.

BROWN PAINLESS DENTISTS

Parlors, Rooms 701-2-3-4 Rooms 8 to 5 South of MacDougall & Southerland's Hours—8:30 a. m. to 6 p. m. Sundays, 10 to 1.

LABOR UNION CO-OPERATIVE CO.

324 Union Street

Both Phones Main 872.

SEATTLE, WASH.

Working under Rochdale System.

Learn what this system means.

We are selling First-Class line of Groceries cheap and save money.

When Hungry Go to

Maison Barberis

RESTAURANT OR LUNCH COUNTER

Open Day and Night. Private Dining Parlors

602 2nd Ave., Cor. James

The Miner's Hotel

Cor. Pike and Western Avenue

SEATTLE, WN.

Is the workingman's home. Rooms $1.00 per week and up. 25c per night.

For clean and airy rooms and best of accommodations call at the

HOTEL TROY

2015½ First Avenue

GEO. B. HELGESEN

Wholesale and Retail

...GROCER...

Alaska Outfitter, Importer of Norway and Swedish Specialties.

1936 First Ave., Cor. Virginia St.

Phone Red 261. SEATTLE, WASH.

Calhoun, Denny & Ewing, Inc

INSURANCE. BONDS. REAL ESTATE. LOANS.

102½ Yesler Way, Seattle, Wash.

M. A. GOLDMAN

Jeweler & Optician

901 Second Avenue.

SOCIALIST STICKERS

Compel people to think. No Socialist should be without a supply of them. Send your name and address for samples.

Address Frank Ohnemus, 194 Park Place, Long Island City, N. Y.

These advertisers deserve your patronage, comrades.