

TO ORGANIZE THE SLAVES OF CAPITAL TO VOTE THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION.

The Socialist

Combined with "THE NEW LIGHT" January 1, 1901.

60 cts. a year
10 weeks 10 cts.

VOL. V.

220 UNION ST., SEATTLE, WASH., SUNDAY, JAN. 6, 1901.

WHOLE NO. 22.

SOCIALISM IN STATE OF WASHINGTON.

DAVID W. PHIPPS.



CHAIRMAN STATE COMMITTEE.

Born Plymouth, Me., 1837. Worked on farm till 14. Accident led him to use crutches for the last 12 years. Learned printer's trade. Discharged from Belfast Democratic paper in hot campaign 1856 because he would not vote Democratic ticket, but voted for Abraham Lincoln. Was compositor, assistant editor, contracting painter, on Zion Herald, Boston, 1859 to '69. Graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1876, and later from Boston University law school. Practiced law in Boston till '86, when came to Seattle. After the Seattle fire in 1889 he went into business, and at present, with a little he saved from the proceeds of the mortgage, is still in business as landlord of a lodging-house.

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form a local. Write to F. J. Spring, 220 Union street, Seattle, and state your case.

We expect to prepare another map soon, which will show the vote cast in the entire state. Our membership enrolled is only some three to five hundred. But there were 2000 votes. We ought to find and organize the other 1500. Where are you? Speak up.

If we can get you all organized and all to subscribe for The Socialist we will double our vote at the next election. Some say we will do much better than double it. Those "Bryan Socialists" may be ready to learn something by this time, and so become real Socialists.

Come on, boys, just take this paper a while and find out what Socialism really is. You think and say you are Socialists, but most of you don't know and couldn't tell what "capital" is. Now, stop calling yourselves Socialists till you can give a definition of Capital. When you once understand what capital is, you will have the making of a Socialist.

Inside of five years we want 50,000 voters in this state who will vote dead against "capital" every time.

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TREASURER STATE COMMITTEE.

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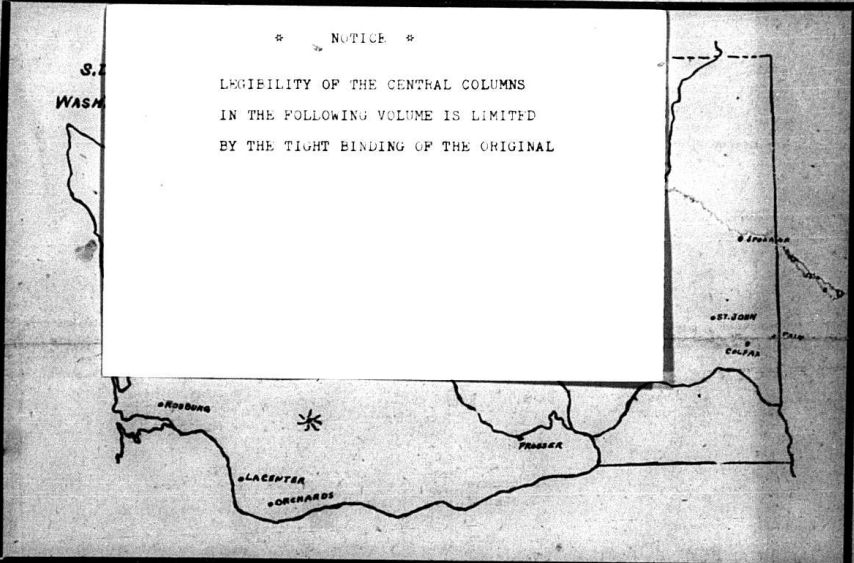
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S. D. P. Locals of Washington.

With Names of Secretaries.

- Aberdeen, Mary Millette.
- Bay View, J. R. Lester.
- Beach, A. R. Payne.
- Buckley, W. N. Voils.
- Clear Lake, J. A. Isaacson.
- Colfax, C. A. Ross.
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- *Elma, C. A. Damitio.
- Everett, F. J. Cole.
- Fairhaven, C. S. Wallace.
- Geneva Belle C. Hatt.
- Granite Falls, August Stehr.
- Puyallup, G. R. Minshull.
- *Hoquiam, G. R. Minshull.
- Lyman, Emil Herman.
- La Center, A. H. Axelsson.
- Northwood Mills, Henry Egley.
- Olympia, Alfred Taylor.
- Orchards, C. H. Leach.
- Pt. Angeles, Herman Culver.
- Prosser, W. H. Brownlow.
- Puyallup, O. P. Davis.
- Palouse, F. M. Martin.
- Renton, Frank Davis.
- Rosburg, L. Hansen.
- Redmond, Emil Seidel.
- Roy, H. C. Mahan.
- Seattle, W. C. P. Randolph.
- Spokane, K. E. Galt.
- St. John, F. E. White.
- Tacoma, J. V. Mudgett.
- Timwaver, E. W. McNeal.
- Whatcom, E. Lux.

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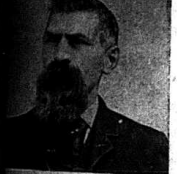


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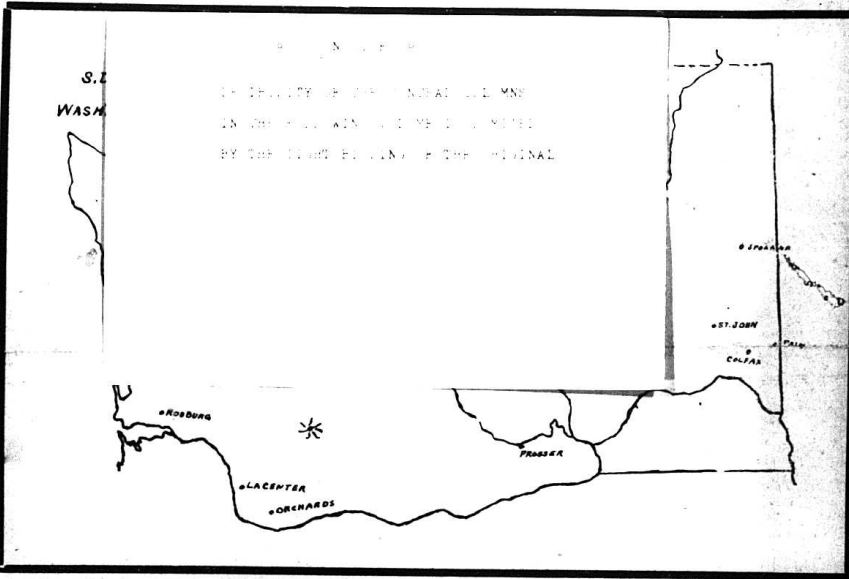
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Correspondence.

J. G. Elliot, of Whitman Co., and Jos. Wymore, of King, ask questions so similar and different that they can be answered together.



E. E. VAIL, Founder of "The New Light."

Born in Ohio, 1853, of early settlers who came from Connecticut. Grandfather a brickmaker, father a homeopath physician. Learned printer's trade at Bowling Green, O., starting on his 14th birthday. Resided here for 24 years. Published a paper here in support of the Greenback party called The Agitator. Has been a union man, member of the Typographical Union, for 21 years. Worked in Toronto, O., on the Evening Bee, and in Adrian, Mich., on the Adrian Press. From '88 to '94 worked in Seattle in the P. I. office, holding the ad "sit" for four years. Helped move the P. I. office the next morning after the great fire in 1889. After a year or two spent in Iowa, Mr. Vail went to Pt. Angeles, Wash., and founded, April 1, 1896, the Daily Pop, the smallest daily in the world. A year later this was changed to the Daily News, which was continued until July, 1899, when it was published as a weekly under the name of The New Light. The Daily News and The New Light were always Socialist. He is proud to say "I never voted the Republican ticket in my life." Comrade Vail's quality is shown by the fact that he persisted in publishing a reform paper for some five years on a proof press and without a cent of profit, and what is even more, his wife has been equally determined to continue the work, even if she had to "take in sewing to keep things going."

Such are the comrades who have come to our headquarters at Seattle, bringing their paper to combine with The Socialist and to help make it a mighty power for Socialism in this state and in the United States.

We cannot refrain from calling attention in this connection to the peculiar way in which The Socialist has been founded and published. So far as we know no other Socialist newspaper has been established without paying a single salary. All the work on this paper is gratuitous, given by those who value Socialism and what it will bring to us all, above mere personal interest.

It may be other papers have been begun in the same way. We do not claim any special merit, but we believe a paper with such devotion behind it is more apt to succeed than one with more dollars.

We are romantic enough to cherish the faith that life is more than food, that courage and the spirit of brotherhood are indestructible.

The Socialists in the state of Washington are remarkably united and devoted to their cause. We believe it a most hopeful augury of permanent success for this paper, which is their representative, that a man and woman, of the stamp of Mr. and Mrs. Vail have decided to throw their force in this direction.

From the National Secretary, Springfield, Mass., Dec. 27. J. D. Curtis, State Secretary:

Dear Comrade—I am pleased to see the progress being made in Washington and to hear of the success of The Socialist, for it is one of the brightest papers in the movement and deserves success.

Wishing you all a happy and prosperous new year and hoping that the movement will continue its steady march toward victory. I remain, Yours fraternally,

WM. BUTSCHER, Nat. Sec.

I feel that it is the duty of all Socialists to join or connect himself with those of like faith, but the fact that there are two parties in the field, with platforms of principles which are identical, is, to say the least, very distasteful, and I cannot get the consent of my mind to join either faction for it looks to me like it was a case of stubbornness on both sides, the S. L. P. being the first to organize and wage war on capitalism. Why do you not insist on Debs and his following joining the S. L. P. and thus change their line of tactics, seeing they were already in the field with the proper platform of principles?

And here is Elliot's: EDITOR SOCIALIST:—I do not belong to either faction of the Social Democratic Party. I am one of many in Whitman County who has been carrying on a guerilla warfare for Socialism ever since the fusion of '96. I am anxious for unity, but I do think that the pioneers of the Social Democratic Party, such as Debs' and Berger, are entitled to some consideration from the rest of us. I say let the two factions regard each other honestly. Let them meet in a spirit of brotherly love. Mutual concessions will soon be made, unity will be accomplished, the rest of us will go forth conquering and to conquer. "Let us have peace."

J. G. ELLIOT. One thinks the S. L. P. should receive recognition for being the first in the field. The other thinks the Debs S. D. P. should get credit for being the first to organize the S. D. P.

Our answer to both is this: It is of more consequence that Socialism succeed than that parties or individuals should receive credit or be given precedence.

If De Leon has no better argument against union of American Socialists than to claim that he was first in the field, and if Debs has nothing to urge except that he must be recognized as the founder of a new party, then let them both pass on. Socialism has no further use for them. We have no leaders who are indispensable. Personal ambitions and personal claims must be dismissed for the sake of the Great Cause.

Brothers all, Elliot and Wymore and others, cease trying to find out who is first and who is greatest, and join the rest of us who are demanding of all Socialists to come together in a common convention and there choose a common executive, so that we shall be sure to vote together hereafter and thus present an undivided front to the capitalist enemy.

Wants Brotherhood First. Ontario, Cal., Dec. 5, 1900. Editor of "THE SOCIALIST," Seattle, Wash.

Dear Sir:—I will not subscribe for your journal at present, my means being very limited. I take the "Appeal to Reason" and I must also take other papers representing other political factions, as I wish to hear all sides from their

own reports, for I have learned that even the Socialist agitators cannot always report their opponents faithfully. I voted Socialism, for Debs ticket and probably shall continue on that line, yet to be a just exponent of Socialism I must read all sides which Socialist literature does not always faithfully represent.

When mankind can act and speak purely on principle and picture the least possible part of the hatred spirit, in that degree the cause of truth will advance.

With all good fellowship and kind wishes. Yours for common brotherhood.

L. J. BUMSTEAD. Comrade Bumstead thinks we must act "purely on principle" to succeed. He dislikes the partisan spirit he sometimes discovers in Socialist papers. He is, in fact, a Utopian.

Now, Doctor, never lose sight of this, Socialism is right, however it may be stated. I fear you have not learned that yet. You are still seeking to hear all sides. That means you have not reached a positive conclusion. You are not sure, absolutely and unqualifiedly sure, that Socialism is right.

Well, then; go to studying scientifically. Hunt up the facts of present industrial life. Get a few subscribers for THE SOCIALIST and thereby earn a few of those Socialist looks we offer as premiums. Then read candidly and thoroughly.

You will not then care very much if some Socialists are hot in their language and spirit, as thereby they will arouse some otherwise unreachd.

You will not be shocked at Tolstoi's characterization of Socialism as "Organized Selfishness."

If "Hatred" even shall serve to stir the blood of the enslaved workmen, and thereby bring them to vote out the present hog-tough condition, and give brotherhood and usefulness a chance to develop, why, then, you will come to welcome Hatred, and perceive in it "the sword of Gideon and of the Lord."

And don't forget the distinction between Political Socialism and Ultimate Socialism. The present political Socialism is an organized battle which cannot be conducted on ideal lines of brotherhood and "pure principle." You must not be too finical. Rough men beside you in the ranks will fight in rough ways and sometimes with terrible ferocity.

Never mind. Remember the outcome, the ultimate Socialism, that condition of society in which all shall have abundance, and no longer be forced by the conflict for mere bread to be as the beasts who devour one another.

Join the pre-sent Socialism, fierce though it may be in some quarters, for the sake of the Ultimate Socialism which is no less than the "hope of the ages."

Lux's Comments on the Whatcom Election.

Whatcom, Dec. 6, 1900. Dear Comrade:—A new atmosphere surrounds the Socialists of Whatcom now. We have learned a few more lessons in politics.

We carried the 2d, 3d and 4th wards and one half the 1st ward, and lost the 5th, 6th and 7th. The 5th ward holds nearly all the employes of the B. & I. Co., (Bellingham Bay Improvement

Co.). This company owns all the local R. I.'s, the gas and electric light plants and much real estate. I am informed that they openly told their dependents that they wanted Bacon for mayor and suggested that it "will be to your interest to vote for him," and they did. The 6th ward holds the merchants of the city and they also voted Bacon.

The 2d ward is quite aristocratic, but gave me 2 majority (my ward). Nearly all insist that "Labor elected Bacon," and that nearly all of my vote come from the middle and well to do people; I am not quite convinced of that and will study it before passing judgment. One thing is plain, the B. & I. Co. is our local opponent, and having shown its teeth we will pull them not very long hence. * * * * * The Democrats are very weak here and I believe they will be the 3rd party from now on—if we don't fall asleep.

The Fairhaven vote is more solidly socialist to be counted on in the future, but we will try to make ours so too. The S. L. P. here is grinding itself up, their best men being so class-unconscious as to vote for Lux. * * * * *

Yours fraternally, E. Lux.

The Unity Question.

Deep River, Wash., Dec. 25. I think Mr. Burgess writes a solid chunk of horse sense in his letter last week, and I was surprised to see it in print. The arguments in favor of fusion are identical with those of the Democratic brethren in the last campaign, and I am unable to understand why any member of the S. D. P. not a "leader" should desire to fuse with a party whose representative convention could "applaud" the reply made to the overtures of the S. D. P. convention seeking united action in the last campaign as described in The Socialist of recent date. If he believes the "organizing" work belongs to the S. L. P. and should go there, but if he believes that it was a wantonly insulting reception of a courteous proposition from honest men who sincerely desired to co-operate with them for a common purpose, why should he desire the approval to have a seat in his party convention? Be assured that those are the men who will attend the S. D. P. conventions if you fuse. Will they represent the S. D. P.?

Of course, I make no account of the S. D. P. law against fusion. Let us never govern parties unless the "leaders" wish to be governed by them. Respectfully, L. D. T.

This correspondent is confused.

The union we have been talking about is not with the "S. L. P." as now constituted, but with that branch of the S. D. P. which has headquarters at Springfield, Mass. The Chicago S. D. P. and the Springfield S. D. P. worked together in the election for Debs and Harriman. But now the Chicago "leaders," with Debs himself, are refusing to hold a joint convention to effect a complete union.

The De Leon S. L. P., who are so abusive and opposed to trades unions, are not concerned in this attempt at union. They ought to be with us in one common fight against capitalism. Socialists ought to be and must become tolerant of differences of method and aim. That union, too, will come some time. But what we are now trying to bring about is complete and organic union of all those who claim the name S. D. P. In this state of Washington all

local organizations, with possibly one or two exceptions, are united under the Springfield Executive. The proposed question of union does not concern us locally. But we are the more concerned to secure a similar state of concord in the whole nation.

Union will come if we take things coolly and go slow. We shall secure a national convention of those who desire union—and that means about everybody except the Chicago leaders. They, too, may be drawn into the strong current of popular demand.

A referendum vote will soon be taken by the Springfield party on the question, "Shall the board be authorized to arrange for a convention to effect union?"

Those branches which recognize Chicago ought also to demand a like referendum from their board—and then the rank and file of both wings of the S. D. P. will have a chance to express themselves.

From F. G. R. Gordon.

Manchester, N. H. Dear Comrade Editor:—The 13 branches of the S. D. P. of New Hampshire have voted to pay no more dues to any N. E. B. As a result we have one Socialist party in this state. We are a united solid movement. Let all other states do likewise. We shall not need any N. E. B.'s anyhow. They are at best only a lot of red tape. The N. E. B. produces friction, war, hate, disruption and rank partisanship. You have nothing but national ex-boards and miserable partisanship to lose, you have a state to win. No matter how honest a N. E. B. may be, they are a farce, and cost the Socialist movement from \$6,000 to \$8,000 a year, nearly all of which is a downright waste. Yours fraternally, F. G. R. GORDON.

A great deal is to be said on the other side, Comrade Gordon. A national organization is just as essential as a state organization. We do not want 45 different Socialist parties in the United States. It may possibly be true that the best way to get rid of the opposition of the Chicago Board is to leave them high and dry as you have done in New Hampshire.

But to jump to the conclusion that all national executives must be abolished, is quite another story.

Socialists need a compact organization in America. Scattered and isolated combinations will not do. That sort of thing is precisely what capitalist parties desire to see. We must not fall into such a mistake in national policy merely for the sake of checkmating the N. E. B. at Chicago.

We are not ready for a guerilla warfare, with forty-five different "commandos." That is the resort of the defeated. We are just beginning our war, and we must "Organize, organize, organize," and drill and drill and drill.

Let us—the rank and file of Social Democrats in the United States—have a chance to vote for a national convention to effect a permanent national executive. Then we shall fight like an army, not like guerrillas.

Albany, Ore., Dec. 29, 1900.

EDITOR THE SOCIALIST:—It grieves me much, and sometimes disgusts me, to see the way some of our Socialists are acting, regarding the proposed "Union" movement. It looks as though they had been talking lessons from Mark Hanna, or Cleveland. Unless they will drop their non-sense and come together, as brothers, I believe we should totally ignore the so-called "Union" and call a national convention, to formulate a new party, which shall be simply a SOCIALIST party, with no bosses to be tied to us. But I am hoping for the best.

Wishing you success I beg to remain fraternally yours,

A. D. HALE, Editor The People's Press.

Single Tax and Poetry.

North Bend, Wash. Editor SOCIALIST: Dear Sir and Brother (if you will permit a single line to be so rude as to call you brother)—Some one has been kind enough to send me your paper. The only way I can see the unknown friend is by sending one dollar for a year's subscription. I am very glad you are going to run a general newspaper. You will have a warm welcome, want poetry eggs. Pekin eggs, brown Leghorn eggs, a pair of runt pigeons and a pair of gyan hares. Several people in the city of the woods sent me eggs and paid \$2 per dozen them. After the old hen had killed her fool self sitting on it it was discovered they were so they would not spoil in traveling. Now, this would happen at home. If it did, could take the eggs to the bank and break his d—n head on them.

When you get started at ads of this kind, and I will tell farmers through your paper, I don't know how it will be necessary for them to get up at 4 o'clock winter mornings to hold a candle for their pullets five and six months old to find their nest in a lay in. Single tax and poetry my hobby. Yours to win the prize years. D. W. BESSIE, but

The Earth Is Flat.

We were speaking of the head and city of getting some people to do anything or to read anything where the word Socialism occurred, when my friend reminded it is not so strange when consider how little people do for themselves. "Why I know a man who believes the earth is flat," because "The Bible says 'Why,' he said, 'I know earth is flat. Does it not say in the Bible of the four corners of the earth? How can you see the corners if the earth is round? Why, if anybody can prove that the earth is round I'll tip my bible and quit preaching.' Don't forget that we have national work to do with who interpret Socialism also this man interprets the 'Education! Educate! Educate!' HERMOND.

Heathen Chinee at Home.

Is it not astonishing that the Chinamen are so foolish as to refuse to arm their soldiers modern rifles and repeating non; but armed only with spears and knives, idiotically attempt to stand up against long range and Maxim and Gatling guns?

But go further. Don't forget that they are not only stupidly for their contempt, their pig-headedness, compare them with the American workman. In his case with the capitalist does he the modern weapons? Do arm himself with the machine production and distribution of war against trusts and corporations.

No. He refuses by the ballot to adopt the farm, the factory, the railroad and the steamship weapons of protection. He has all these in the hands of the talistic forces while he before with his bare hands.

It seems as though the C. leaders ought to know better to do as they do after all the fact lessons given them by white races.

It seems as though the C. leaders ought to know better to do as they do after all the fact lessons given them by white races. D. W. PHIPPS.

Middleton has said in a letter "If the labor unions refuse to do my music I will then up." But the labor will flourish when Middleton's ilk are relegated to the

It is reported that Fred H. Phipps who endeavored to disrupt Building Trades Council because a number of unions of that would not endorse Middleton's Labor Day fraud, is to be sent to the penitentiary for labor shirk. It is so delighted this selection is not quite de-

THE SOCIALIST CENTURY NOW BEGINS!

Karl Marx Its Prophet The Wonderful Prediction and Scientific Analysis of the Present Age Written 53 Years Ago This Month.

We propose to present on this page some extracts from the works of Karl Marx. This week the most significant passages are selected from the now famous "Manifesto" of Marx and Engels, issued in January, 1848. Karl Marx was 30 years old and a refugee living in Brussels. Exiled from Germany, he fled to France, expelled from Belgium, and finally settled in London in 1849, and lived there till his death in 1883. After the finest education the universities of Germany could afford, he spent his life for forty years in a profound study of the industrial progress of the human family. This life-study culminated in a work of the fullest kind entitled "Capital," published in 1867. This is a critical analysis of modern industrial life, as strictly scientific as Darwin's work on the origin of species or as Lyell's on Geology. It is the basis of modern Socialism, pointing out beyond dispute as a mere matter of fact the essential injustice and robbery inherent in the production of capital.

When a man comprehends this he is a Socialist forever. He can no more deny the principles of Socialism than a man who has studied astronomy can deny that the planets revolve around the sun. The so-called principles of Socialism are FACTS, not theories.

This is what Marx pointed out in all his writings. In the "Manifesto" he outlined with astonishing clearness the fuller statements afterward developed in his masterpiece, "Capital."

all classes of the population.

... In countries where modern civilization has become fully developed, a new class of petty bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie, and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society. The individual members of this class, however, are being constantly hurled down into the proletariat by the action of competition and as modern industry develops, they even see the moment approaching when they will completely disappear as an independent section of modern society to be replaced in manufactures, agriculture and commerce, by overlookers, bailiffs and shopmen.

RECURRENCE FROM INTELLECTUAL CLASS.

In times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

"REFORMERS."

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

FACTS THE BASIS OF SOCIALISM.

The theoretical conclusions of the Socialists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes. The abolition of existing property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of Socialism.

All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change, consequent upon the change in historical conditions.

The French revolution, for ex-

ample, abolished feudal property in favor of bourgeois property. The distinguishing feature of Socialism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

SOCIALISM ABOLITION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY!

In this sense the theory of the Socialists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

We Socialists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the rights of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labor, which property

labor for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage labor. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social status in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

Capital is therefore not a personal, it is a social power.

When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character.

which the laborer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it.

In bourgeois society living labor is but a means to increase accumulated labor. In Socialist society accumulated labor is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the laborer.

In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in Socialist society, the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeoisie: abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

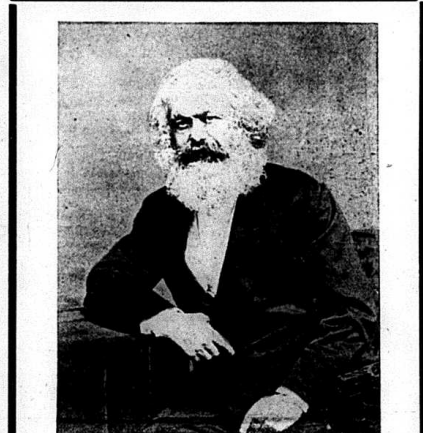
In place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

BY LAWS FOR LOCALS.

The by-laws of Local Seattle were printed last week for the assistance of other locals. These were prepared with great care by a committee consisting of Comrades Bauman, Holtkamp and Seibert, assisted by State Organizer Spring.

Their central feature is the reference of all authority to the whole local in its weekly meeting.

A second conspicuous feature is the centering of responsibility in one man, the organizer. No executive committee of three or five, where everybody's business is nobody's business, but the local designates one man as an executive, and he is held responsible that things are done. If he prove inefficient, he can be recalled and another chosen.



KARL MARX, Scientific Prophet.

*Marx was one of those profound thinkers and tireless workers who write for thinkers and patient investigators rather than for the multitude. To him men of strong intellectual grasp ** have come as philosophers during the last 2500 years have gone to Plato; nor have they gone away unsatisfied. We are only beginning faintly to realize the influence that Marx is even thus early wielding upon civilization.—Arena, Dec., 1900.*

is alleged to be the ground work of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of the petty artisan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form? There is no need to abolish that; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily.

Or do you mean modern bourgeois private property?

CAPITAL NOT PRIVATE PROPERTY.

But does wage labor create any property for the laborer? Not a bit. It creates capital, i. e., that kind of property which exploits wage-labor, and which cannot increase except upon condition of begetting a new supply of wage-

labor for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage labor. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

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When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character.

THE FIRST STEP OF SOCIALISM.

The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class; to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie; to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i. e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

PRIVATE PROPERTY ALREADY ABOLISHED.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. PRECISELY SO: THAT IS JUST WHAT WE INTEND.

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ABOLITION OF ALL CLASSES.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and a such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions,

Subscription Postal Cards, good for one year or for six months, will be ready January 7. They will be sent to those who have already paid for them and this will serve as notice to those who have previously inquired, that they can now be had.

Buy a few cards and it will be very easy to get subscriptions with them.

S. E. U. Treasurer's Report.	
Receipts.	
Previously reported	\$558 73
Subscriptions	9 75
	\$568 48
Expenses.	
Dec. 25—Dec. Telephone service, 1-2	1 25
Dec. 27—G. Carroll, commission on subs	40
Dec. 29—Printing 2000 copies No. 20	22 00
Dec. 29—Car fare & paste	15
	\$567 76
Balance on hand	\$7 72
	\$568 48
SPECIAL FUND FOR PLANT.	
Receipts.	
Previously reported	\$ 82 50
Dec. 29—Howard Sweeney	5 00
Dec. 29—Mrs. S.W. White	1 00
Dec. 29—A. A. Johnson	1 10
Dec. 29—J. D. Curtis loan	10 00
Dec. 29—Lynden (in addition to previous \$30.50)	14 50
	\$114 10
Expenses.	
Previously reported	\$ 15 65
Dec. 29—B. W. Brinall, printers' supplies	85 00
	\$100 65
Balance on hand	13 45
	\$114 10

WANTED!
Twenty Socialists
 To work in co-operative movement, \$75 to \$125 per month for each one interested. Will put you in a financial position to help the cause. No agency, factory, editor, or office with scheme. References given and required. For particulars write, Theo. Klason, Omaha, Neb.

Bourgeois and Proletarians.

By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labor. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor-power in order to live.

Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other; Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

... In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i. e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed; a class of laborers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital. These laborers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

RECURRENCE FROM MIDDLE CLASS.

The lower strata of the middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from

A Prize For Every Subscription.

We make it possible for this date for any Socialist, however poor, to secure for himself what is indisputably for a Socialist, a good Socialist library. For one subscriber, for two subscribers, for three subscribers, and so on, you can secure the best books published on the subject of Socialism. What we need, all of us, especially those who have lately joined the S. D. P., is education. We must learn, so as not to be led astray ourselves, and so as to be able to teach others.

We make it our business to read all the Socialist books published. Some are not worth much. Others are good for a lifetime. We only carry those that will stand the test of the most critical. Those we offer here as prizes, you can depend upon.

List No. 1.
For one yearly, 2 semi-yearly, or 5 10-weeks' subscriptions we will give you any 4 of the following books:
Bolshevism, Plutocracy or Nationalism, which?

Brown, The Real Religion of To-day.
DeLeon, Reform or Revolution.
Harman, Class War in Idaho.
Herron, Why I am a Socialist.
Kautsky, The Class Struggle.
The Capitalist Class.
The Proletariat.
Co-operative Commonwealth.
Noyes, Evolution of the Class Struggle.
May Wood Simons, Woman and the Social Problem.

A. M. Simons, The Man Under the Machine.
A. M. Simons, Socialism and Farmers.
Stone, The Attitude of Socialists towards the Trades Unions.
Vahl, The Mission of the Working Class.

List No. 2.

For one yearly, two semi-yearly, or 5 10-weeks' subscriptions we will give you any two of the following books:
Blatchford, Merris England.
Deville, Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism.
Deville, Socialism and the State.
Engels, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.
Lafargue, The Right to be Lazy.
Liebknecht, Socialism, what it is and what it seeks to accomplish.
Liebknecht, No Compromise, No Political Trading.

List No. 3.

For two yearly, four 6-months, or 10 10-weeks' subscriptions we will give you any one of the following:
Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.
Marx, The Civil War in France.
Rogers, Six Centuries of Work and Wages.

Simons, and others, Socialist Campaign Book for 1900.

List No. 4.
For 3 yearly, 6 six-months, or fifteen ten-weeks' subscriptions, we will give a copy of Vahl's Principles of Scientific Socialism, the best all-around manual of Socialism obtainable in England.

These last two books will be made the basis of "Lessons in Socialism," to be begun in The Socialist, No. 25, Feb. 3.

List No. 5.

For 4 yearly subscriptions, or any number amounting to \$20.00, we will give a copy of THE PEOPLE'S MARK. (The price of this book is 75 cents), or any 2 of the books in List No. 3.

List No. 6.

For 8 yearly, or 6 subscriptions to \$4, we will give a beautiful cloth bound copy of The People's Mark (price \$1.50) and 4 other of our list No. 3.

For 8 yearly, or for any combination which makes Four Dollars, you can also get any of the books offered for the lower numbers. For example, you could select thirty-two books from List No. 1; or 16 from List No. 1 and 8 from List No. 2; or 8 from List No. 1, 4 from List No. 2, and 1 from List No. 4, etc. etc. The same way of combining can be made for four yearly or \$2 worth. Our aim, besides getting subscribers for The Socialist, is to put our best literature into the hands of all Social Democrats in this state.

the carpenters were expelled, but the truth is that we withdrew our delegates, a notice of which was read in the same meeting of the Western Central previous to our "expulsion." That so many of the unions did pay the assessment is probably accounted for by the fact that they innocently did so before any investigation was had. It has been stated that there is dissension in the carpenters' union. This statement is absolutely untrue. In a body of 800 men it would be strange if there were not differences of opinion, but there were few who did not condemn the program affair. It may be admitted, however, that some advised the payment of the per capita tax, not because they thought it just, but for policy sake.

In conclusion we will say that it is with deep regret that we are compelled in self-defense to drag this matter before the public, but from the tactics of those who attack us nothing is left for us to do. (Signed) W. C. H. HANDOLPH, A. E. WHITE, H. W. UTTER, Committee, Carpenters' Union.

Consent of S. D. P.

Adopted by Referendum of Both Parties in Spring of 1900.

The Social Democratic Party of the United States and the Socialist Labor Party of the United States hereby cease their separate existence and consolidate and merge into one party.

I.—NAME.
This Party shall be known as the Social Democratic Party.

II.—ORGANIZATION.
The affairs of the Party are conducted by the National Council, the National Executive Committee, the State Committees, the Locals, the National Conventions and by general vote.

III.—NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.
1. The National Council is composed of members elected from the various States, each State electing one member, such election to take place in the month of January each year.

2. The National Council shall preside from the membership of the party residing in three States within the vicinity of the Party's headquarters, not less than fifteen members, seven of whom receiving the highest number of votes cast by the Party membership, shall constitute the Executive Committee of said Council, to be known as the National Executive Committee.

3. The National Council shall meet at least once a year.

4. Members of the N. E. C. may be recalled by the general vote of the Party and members of the National Council may be recalled by the respective States electing them.

It shall be the duty of the National Executive Committee:

(a) To receive and submit to a general vote, without change or comment, proposals from any local, if endorsed by at least five others located in at least three different States.

(b) To canvass all general votes and publish the results within a week, in tabulated form, indicating Locals and vote cast in each.

(c) To be represented at the National Convention by one of its members, who shall have no vote, but merely an advisory voice in the proceedings, and shall bear no other credentials.

(d) To carry out the resolutions of the National Convention and those adopted by general vote.

(e) To supervise the agitation throughout the country.

(f) To establish proper relations and communication with the Socialist parties of other countries.

(g) To make all necessary preparations for the National Convention, and make a full report to such convention on all Party matters.

(h) To issue to the Locals semi-annually and to the State Committees upon application, and in a sufficient number of copies, a report of the Party's finances, lists of Locals and names and addresses of its corresponding secretaries.

(i) The National Executive Committee may make its own order of business.

(j) The National Executive Committee may compensate its officers according to the labor performed by them, from the treasury of the Party.

(k) The National Executive Committee shall issue application cards to State Committees, in the absence of such, to the Locals, bearing a plain exposition of the principles of the Social Democratic Party.

and also of the duties required from the applicant for membership.

6. All vacancies on the N. E. C., however occurring, shall be filled from the remaining nominees made by the National Council, who have received the next highest vote cast by the Party membership.

7. The expenses of the members of the N. E. C. shall be borne by the Party. The expenses of the members of the National Council shall be borne by their respective States.

8. The National Secretary shall be elected by the referendum vote from among the candidates nominated by the N. E. C. No member of the N. E. C. shall hold office of National Secretary.

(h) The National Secretary may be recalled by the N. E. C. subject to a referendum or at the initiation of the Party membership.

IV.—THE STATE COMMITTEE.

1. Whenever there are five locals in any one State, they shall form a State organization to be known as the State Committee, which shall be governed in accordance with the laws of that State.

2. The State Committee shall send regular semi-annual reports to the National Executive Committee and submit monthly a financial report showing receipts and expenditures.

3. The State organizations shall have power to make regulations governing their mode of organization in accordance with the laws of their respective States, provided such regulations do not conflict with the Party's national constitution and platform.

4. The State Committee shall receive and pass upon all applications for charters from locals and submit same to the National Executive Committee. Only the National Executive Committee to have the right to issue charters.

V.—LOCALS.

1. The Local shall be the unit of organization.

2. Local provided they conform to the Platform and principles of the Social Democratic Party and belong to no other political party.

3. They shall report their organization as a Local, giving a list of members, and send the dues for the current month to the State Committee, or in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

4. Every Local shall send every six months a report of its numerical and financial condition, also its progress and prospects, and shall report the names and addresses of members in good standing and otherwise to the State Committee, or in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee shall send out every six months printed blank calling for information desired.

5. Locals shall adopt by-laws to govern their actions; but such by-laws shall not be in conflict with the National Constitution.

6. Every Local shall elect from its members such officers as it deems proper.

7. Should a protest be entered against the admission to a Local of any applicant for membership, a two-thirds vote by referendum of the members of the Local shall be necessary to admit him or her.

8. Locals shall have jurisdiction over their own members.

9. Any person violating the laws and principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of the members in good standing of the Local of which he is a member; provided that any charges against such member shall be preferred in writing, and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial. The person so accused, if dissatisfied with the decision of the local branch, may appeal to the National Executive Committee. The action of the National Executive Committee shall be final, unless appeal is made by the accused to a referendum vote.

10. Each Local shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month.

11. In any Local which is divided into two or more branches, all business of the Local and State Committees shall be carried on by a Central Committee, unless otherwise provided in its by-laws.

12. Not more than one charter shall be granted to any city or town.

13. Members who have withheld payment of their dues for more than three months shall be suspended from all rights until they have fulfilled their obligations.

14. On application to their Local, sick or unemployed members will be excused from payment of dues.

15. Upon the election of new officers Locals shall immediately notify the National and State Committees, giving the names and addresses of said officers.

16. Under no circumstances shall any Local or State organization cooperate with a capitalist political party and with no other political party without the consent

of the National Executive Committee.

VI.—CONVENTIONS.

1. A National Convention of the Party shall be held every three years; but a general vote shall be taken as to whether a special convention, a general vote shall decide as to the place, but the date of the convention shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

2. The Local shall be the basis of nomination.

A Local shall be entitled to one delegate for every one hundred members or fraction thereof. Two or more Locals combine to send a delegate.

Each Local shall be entitled to one delegate.

Delegates must be members of the Party or of one of the Locals electing them. Each delegate shall have only one vote.

3. The expenses of delegates attending the National Convention shall be borne by the Locals sending them, expenses of the National Convention to be paid by the Party.

4. The National Convention shall be held on the national platform, despite the fact that it may be difficult to attain the same, and the mode of election of the National Executive Committee and the National Secretary shall be by general vote.

5. All acts of the Convention shall be submitted to the Locals for general approval.

VII.—DUES.

1. The Locals shall levy upon each member a monthly tax of ten cents to be paid monthly to the State Committee or in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

2. The dues shall be received in stamps to be furnished by the State Committee to the State Committees at the rate of ten cents each, in the absence of such, to the Locals at the rate of ten cents each.

3. In addition to the monthly tax each member shall be required to pay a quarterly stamp of the value of ten cents in the months of January, April, July and October; the money derived from source to be applied by the National Executive Committee to the payment of member's subscription to a party paper.

4. Every State Committee or Local receive a first quota of stamps on cost measured by the size of members such quota to remain a standing liability. All stamps received subsequently must be paid for in cash, and the balance of the National Executive Committee shall be the responsibility of State Committees shall not send out any stamps other than in compliance with this rule.

VIII.—PARTY PRESS.

1. Members may select one or two of the following papers which they may consider of the quarterly dues provided for in Article VII, Sec. 3, "The People," "The Social Democratic Herald," "The Advance," "The Workers Co-Operative," "The Socialist," "The People's Ownership." The National Council may from time to time alter the above.

IX.—MISCELLANEOUS REGULATIONS.

1. This Constitution may be amended by the National Convention or by a general vote. Within five weeks after the date of a call for a general vote relating to changing the constitution, amendments may be proposed by any Local in proposition so laid before the Party, such amendments shall then also be entitled to be voted on together by the National Executive Committee within two weeks after the first call was issued.

2. The National Executive Committee shall forthwith transmit to the Locals tabulated statement of the vote cast in each Local.

3. All officers, boards or committees of the Party shall be subject to removal by their constituents at pleasure.

4. A member in good standing of the Local shall have the right to attend and speak at any meeting of another Local, shall not be allowed to vote.

5. No person shall be nominated as candidate for any public office unless he has been a member of the Party for at least six months, and has identified himself with the Party by active participation in its work.

6. No candidate of this Party for any office shall be permitted to accept nomination or endorsement from any political party.

7. All powers not expressly delegated to this constitution are reserved to the Party.

8. The National Council shall have the power to fix the per capita dues to be paid by members residing in the American colonies.

"The P. A. F. Co. deserves every encouragement," said a socialist legislator. "For it has given credit to hundreds of our citizens."

But I observe that those citizens are drifting higher and higher, but the stockholders—the P. A. F. live in palaces and look quite comfortable.

Middleton Splits The Central Union.

Carpenters' Public Statement.

We print the statement by the Carpenters' Union of Seattle concerning the program scheme of Labor Day. The Times and the Star published it in full, the P-I, with better capitalist instinct, after consultation with Middleton, failed to publish the statement, even after promising faithfully to do so.

Middleton has split the Central union of Seattle irreparably by this scheme which feeced the merchants and the labor unions at the same time.

Seattle, Dec. 22.

The Socialist: As the leaders of the Western Central Labor Union have diffidently circulated erroneous reports and caused a high sounding resolution to be printed in the daily papers, shown odium on the carpenters' union and have the public and attempting to bring them into disrepute before the men of the city, and owing to the fact that the so-called labor paper wishes to allow us a word in its columns in our own defense, therefore the carpenters in regular meeting appointed the undersigned committee to make a full and accurate statement for publication in all the daily papers in Seattle, of the differences existing between the carpenters' union and the W. C. L. U.

Soon after Labor Day in September last several weekly papers published in Seattle called public attention to the enormous charges for space in the Labor Day program, and insisted on a shabby work by some of the officers of the W. C. L. U., who are also officers of the Union Record and the Union Printing Co. The unions took no notice of these comments until they appeared in the Socialist a detailed account of the whole transaction, whereupon an investigating committee of three was appointed by the carpenters' union to bring in the facts. This committee visited a number of those who patronized the Labor Day program and with very few exceptions the advertisers said they believed that they were doing business with the unions and thus were willing to pay the enormous price of \$10 an inch more or less for space in the program. There was scarcely a man among them who considered the matter, in a business light, as worth a cent to him. It would have mattered little to him what price was charged for advertising space, as he looked upon it as a donation to organized labor or the Labor Temple fund. The carpenters believe that the members of the Union Printing Co., who are also officials in the W. C. L. U., deliberately took advantage of the fact that the unions through their committees, had been soliciting donations from the business men and others and they figured that the printing and circulating of this program

would appear to the merchants as but a continuation of the efforts of the unions to raise money, and they could count on the generosity and liberality of the public to pay a fancy price, believing it would aid in building the Labor Temple. On no other hypothesis can we account for their willingness to pay the enormous price of \$10 an inch. On former occasions when the printing of the Labor Day program was known to be private enterprise the best price that could be obtained by efficient solicitors and the best business methods was about \$1.25 an inch. Then it was purely a business proposition with the advertisers, and the price heretofore paid shows clearly the commercial value of the proposition. Now, the difference between \$1.25 an inch and \$10 more or less an inch is purely a donation to the unions, only 10 per cent of which ever reached them. Several merchants were asked how they came to believe that they were giving their money to the benefit of the Temple fund or to the unions, and they replied that the solicitors told them so. Others showed a copy of the advertising contract that they made with W. H. Middleton, chairman of the Labor Day committee. They also told the committee from the carpenters that they had received postal cards and notices of the approaching visit from the solicitors for the program, and all these communications bore the name of W. H. Middleton, either as secretary of the W. C. L. U. or chairman of the Labor Day committee. It is the character of the printed matter that we call especial attention to. The signature of W. H. Middleton as secretary of the W. C. L. U. or chairman of Labor Day committee, had no business on the printed contract with the merchants. Suppose that the manager of the Union Printing Co. had been John Doe, would the official signature of the Western Central secretary have to be on the contract? It is entirely owing to the fact that the manager of the Union Printing Co., and the secretary of the W. C. L. U. and chairman of the Labor Day committee was the same man, and they saw how valuable that official signature would be on the contract. Now, as that signature had no right on those contracts, its presence there can only be accounted for on the ground that it gave the advertisers the impression that they were doing business with the unions, and thus increase the profits of the transaction. There was no word spoken or written to any patron of the program that would lead them to believe that they were doing business with a private printing company, who were appropriating to themselves 90 per cent of the proceeds. If the merchants of this city had been approached by a printer, who informed them that he was printing the program and intended to put all but 10 per cent of it in his own

possession and that he charged \$10 an inch for space, they would have laughed at the lower numbers. For an expense, and this is the way we account for that ugly fact. Formerly a committee went to the business men and solicited money and goods to be used as prizes, and to pay expenses, and the generosity of the public always wiped out the expenses and a little more. But this year Mr. Middleton said to the W. C. L. U., "We cannot go before the merchants this year and get donations, as they have already very generously contributed to the Labor Temple fund, so we will have to tax the unions so much per capita to pay expenses." This was said before Labor Day, and as it looked all right on its face the boys agreed to an assessment then, and the Union Printing Co. offered to print the program and allow the unions 10 per cent of the net proceeds, and as this looked innocent enough, too, they also agreed to it. Now, put this and that together. They were told by their secretary that they could not go before the merchants this year and so they did not, but the Union Printing Co., all of whom are leaders in the Western Central could and did go before the merchants to the tune of \$10 an inch, and thus, by taking thought beforehand, brought about their own opportunity. This is what the carpenters condemn. We claim that there is no deficit. Enough money has been collected to pay all expenses and have some left to apply on the Labor Temple fund. We claim that it was through this use of official position for personal gain that the money was diverted from its true purpose, and landed in private pockets. We believe it is our duty to protest with all our power against such transactions as this. It is practically conceded by all that the solicitors played on the idea of the Temple fund and the benefits to be derived by the unions, to get advertising, and so it goes undisputed that some letters in the W. C. L. U. thus received money that was obviously intended for the unions. Does not honor demand that it be used to pay the expenses of Labor Day, and thus do away with an unnecessary deficit. The carpenters' union claims that only through honesty and integrity can organized labor hope to be respected, that to indorse this shady transaction would be for organized labor to forfeit the respect and confidence of the honest community. If, with the public in the reason that the carpenters' union comes in for its share, we are able to stand it. Other unions refused to pay their delegates from the W. C. L. U. And, too, the leaders in the Central body give it out to the public that

