

Decoy Weekly Shows Its Hand

(Editorial and Picture from Boyce's Weekly)

SOCIALISM IS NOT IN FAVOR.

Average Union Man Satisfied With Present System.

MANY SOCIALISTS DENOUNCE UNIONS.

Old Labor Organizations a Solid Bulwark Against Endorsing the Socialist Program—Municipal Socialism is a Very Different Proposition to State Socialism.

The average well-paid and measurably contented trade union man is not a state Socialist.

One branch of the Socialist Party is vehemently opposed to trade unions on this very account.

The old-time labor organization which has won victories through its trade unions has been a bulwark against all attempts of the radical element in the movement to pass Socialistic resolutions or promise adhesion to candidates nominated for political positions by Socialists.

Samuel Gompers, at the head of the American Federation of Labor, has, for years, and successfully, worked to prevent radical action by that great labor organization. And although his own trade, cigar-making, has within its ranks many Socialists, yet he has been almost constantly upheld in the stand he has taken.



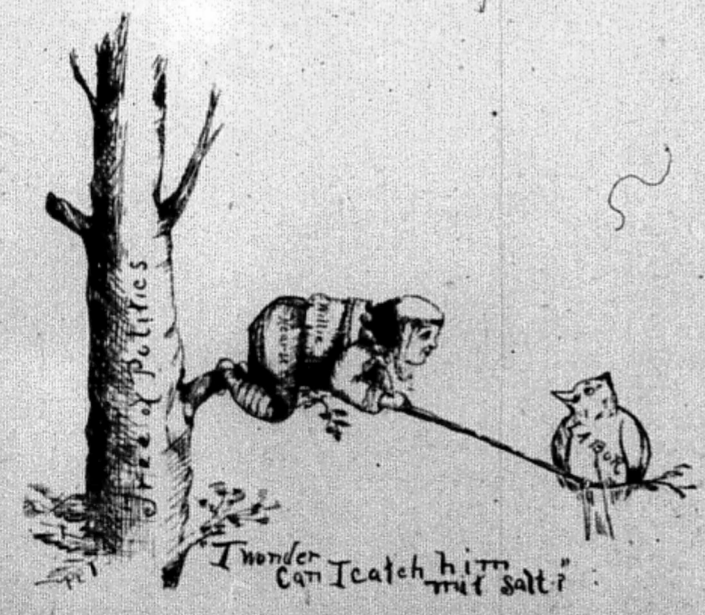
All this is not saying anything either for or against Socialism. It is simply showing that labor organizations are not as Socialistic as many believe. Indeed, the fiery Socialistic element is almost entirely outside the ranks of organized labor.

Yet Socialism has made immense strides the past few years. But this is largely due to the acts and expressions of those who control the great combinations of the country. Divine Right Baer has done more to undermine the present industrial system than a thousand Socialistic agitators.

A few weeks ago the Boston Herald gave up five pages to showing the growth of Socialism in Massachusetts. Still more recently the New York Tribune devoted half a page, with illustrations, showing how the Socialists have increased in numbers in Connecticut.

Many who are classed as state Socialists are merely municipal Socialists, which is a very different thing. The first deals with the production of wealth to the exclusion of the independent manufacturer; the other looks only to the distribution of such things as water, light, street-car traffic, etc.—matters that have little real bearing on the problem of the state becoming the only employer. When industry faces the problem of a complete overturning of present methods of production, the average citizen who now thinks he is a Socialist will hesitate. It is a plunge in the dark—the unknown.

Socialism is strongest where there are most tenement houses and fewest landowners. In the United States, as in France, the suburban population is almost solidly against the doctrines of state Socialism.



Fellow Socialists, the Unions may be won to Socialism in the next year if you all do your duty. Here are Two Million votes, all wage-workers' votes, ready for the harvest. The enemies of the working class see the point. What about you?

To Create a Class Struggle the Supreme Task

(Continued from page One)

those who produce the things upon which the world lives and those who live on the things produced. There has always been a ruling class compelling a working class to support it. Whether the labor of the world be organized in chattel slavery or wage slavery matters not to this discussion. What really matters is this—that up to the present time the institutions and culture of the world have developed through one class exploiting and appropriating the labor of another class. The only civilization the world has ever had or known has been a parasitic civilization. Laws, creeds, governments, morals, and arts are chiefly the expression of those who have lived off of other people, and who have made laws and religions and arts and morals for the purpose of compelling these others to support them while they should fight or preach or make laws or write books. Civilization and its ideals are the product of economic coercion. No language can make the fact vivid and awful enough—the fact that one class of people lives off another class. The chasm between these two classes cannot be bridged or closed except by the elimination of every class through the triumph of the working class. Until then we cannot have social peace or equilibrium; until then we cannot have a society that shall be both stable and fluid.

Ethics cannot coexist with economic inequality, nor can liberty exist. We shall live in lies and tyrannies so long as some people have privileges which other people have not; so long as some people own the things upon which all people depend. As long as one class does the world's work, and another class makes its institutions and ideals, the class making the institutions and ideals will continue to make them in such a way as to keep the working class in subjection to itself. Until the labor and the privileges of the world become common and equal, any civilization that we may have will be but the survival of brute force. We must recognize the fact of a class struggle before we can wipe it out through the socialization of the world.

But now we come to the historic test. If it were ever an open issue and fight to the finish between classes there would long ago have been but one class—the working class, which would also be the privileged and the ruling class. But never by direct struggle has a ruling class conquered and persisted. No problem of the people has ever been really solved. No battle of competition has ever been fought out. No revolution has ever been gone through with to the end.

How has the ruling class always conquered? By concession and compromise. It has been the policy and successful practice of the world's masters and owners, from the beginning of history, to defeat every revolution by adopting it; to destroy the rise of the peoples by befriending them; to make concessions that would become a bit and bridle in the mouth of revolt, and then ride it to new ruling-class power and glory. It is this that makes history so baffling and sickening to hope. It is by the favors which they receive from their masters that the tired generations of men are beaten back into the historic helplessness of the world's disinherited. The masters of the world have always first resisted the people, whether in the form of a religious movement or political revolution, and then have granted favors which made them masters of the movement or revolution when it became powerful.

It is in this precise way that capitalism will seek to withstand Socialism. Capitalism will seek to defeat Socialism by giving it some of the things for which it seeks. We cannot have the co-operative commonwealth without having the whole of it. Capitalism may give the Socialist movement one-half or even nine-tenths of what it demands and still retain the control of power. For instance, the public ownership of so-called public utilities, without the social ownership of all the tools of production, would simply bring forth a new middle class and delay the industrial development that would issue in Socialism. Capitalists know this very well, know it much better than the working class, and are preparing to save themselves by their knowledge.

Thus we come to the political and spiritual as well as economic necessity of clearly defining the class-struggle and its issues. Unless the workers of the world become conscious of themselves as the producing class, unless they understand that to them as the producers belong the product and the control and the privileges of their industry, they will achieve no kind of economic freedom. No masters have ever handed down freedom to their slaves. Capitalism cannot grant Socialism to the working class. The workers must achieve their own freedom through their own efforts, and out of themselves bring forth their own organization of labor and distribution of privileges; out of their own struggle and labor bring forth their own institutions and ethics. The whole capitalist interest, the whole interest of the church, the whole interest of organized education, the whole interest of our sickly and brutal literature, will lie in the direction of preventing the working class from taking possession of its inheritance. A representative example of this is a recent statement of a very revered bishop in an inconceivably mongrel and ignorant discussion of the issue between "labor and capital," in which discussion some twenty or thirty conspicuous men have been taking part in a daily newspaper. The good bishop says: "I confess the gravest question seems to be to me, 'How can workmen and employees be helped to a better understanding of their mutual interest, and, indeed, even before that, of the fact that their interests are mutual?'"

Now the supreme evil that confronts the people lies in the danger that they shall be deluded into thinking that there is some mutual interest between the capitalist and the laborer. It is not the division of society into the clearly-defined class-struggle, but the lack of such a struggle, that menaces the people. To create such a class-struggle should be the supreme task and summons of moral passion. There cannot be and there ought not to be any reconciliation between capital and labor. The economic and moral liberty of the people depends upon this clear discernment—that the interests of "labor and capital" are inherently antagonistic, and must never be mutualized or identified with each other. To attempt to build civilization or social peace upon such mutuality is to build upon the fundamental lie of history. The labor of the world must become the owner of the world before we shall have any social truth to build on.

Now we shall have troops of "social reformers" of the showman type. We shall have "social reforms" and "reconciliation boards" under the benign guidance of such eminent reformers as Chauncey M. Depew, Lyman Abbott, Adam Forepaugh, Jr., and The Ladies' Home Journal. We shall have municipal ownership movements and public ownership planks in capitalist political parties. But the whole crew of "social reformers" and "reformers" will be in the nature of capitalist retainer services, supported by capitalism through its funkies. If ruling-class capitalism can hide the fact that one class of people is forcibly appropriating the labor of another class, if it can hide from the eyes of the workers the issue between them and the owners of their labor power, if it can keep the people from seeing that civilization as now organized is a colossal parasite living off the blood and toll of the people, if it can keep the people from seeing that the governments and armies and commerce of the world exist by sheer brute economic might and have no basis at all in right, then capitalism can perpetuate itself—perpetuate itself by so confusing the lines and causes of battle that workers shall destroy one another instead of the capitalist system. It may be that capitalism will at first succeed because we have not the wit or strength of character to clearly see that our social reforms are but capitalistic measures for self-preservation.

Compromise has always been the mother of tragedy, and by the favors they have received from their masters have the workers of all ages been made the inhabitants of a slave world. Capitalism knows that it is doomed the moment the workers become as class-conscious as are the capitalists. The bishop knows that there will be no bishop's palace when the people come to their own, and the politician knows that his occupation is gone when the capitalist goes.

Up to date, the human race has developed strength through competition; Socialism comes for the development of the race through co-operation. Capitalism proceeds through the brute struggle of the survival of the fittest; Socialism comes for the fitting of all to survive. Capitalism causes every child to be born with the world as its enemy; from the beginning of consciousness the child must fight a pitched battle—a lifelong and blood-red battle—with civilization for bread; Socialism comes to surround every child, from the moment of its birth, with all the resources and opportunities, the love-making facts and will-making forces, that the co-operative labor and good will of the world can produce.

We shall never know the truth about the universe, nor read the secret of life, as mere individuals competing with each other. The sphinx will give up its secret only to the co-operative man. Not to the individual, but to the world-soul, will the universe become an open book. It is the socialized man that the winds and the waves and the stars will at last obey, and the universe hold fellowship with.

So the urgency and the religion of the hour is to preach the class-struggle as the sole beginning of economic and political freedom and of spiritual integrity. The only way to the social peace that will abide is through fighting the class-war through to the finish. When the workers of the world organize their own products, their own life, their own social order, and blossom in the beauty of their common labor, and sing the song of their common aspiration, then will the peace of good will fill the earth.

Maternally Yours
George H. Brown

From "The Metropolitan," for November, 1902

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY LOCALS SEATTLE AND HOQUIAM.

Resolved, That the State Committee shall submit to a referendum of the Party the following resolution:

Whereas, The State convention of the Socialist Party of Washington refused to admit the proxies of Judge W. E. Richardson and Mr. M. M. Haines, and

Whereas, The cause for this action was founded on the fact that these members of Local Spokane were office-

holders elected to office by a capitalist party, namely the Fusion Party; therefore, be it

Resolved, In order to ascertain the sentiment of the members of the party, that the State committee is hereby directed to instruct Local Spokane to accept the resignation of the above named members or surrender its charter; and further, be it

Resolved, That in case said Local refuses to accept said resignation or surrender its charter, the State Committee is hereby instructed to revoke said charter.

Notice.

The regular bi-monthly meeting of the S. E. U. will be held at the office of The Socialist, 116 Virginia street, Seattle, Wash., on Sunday, March 1, 1903, at 2.30 p. m.

J. D. CURTIS, Sec. S. E. U.

The Spokane Muddle

Since the events connected with the Spokane convention, as reported by its Secretary, E. B. Ault, in "The Socialist" of the 1st inst., things have been moving.

In the first place, Comrade Ault was discharged from his position as printer by Comrade Gilbert because of his having written that report.

In the next place, the following communication, signed by ten prominent members of Local Spokane, has been addressed to the State Committee:

Whereas, Certain members of Local Spokane of the Socialist Party met together and called a convention of the Socialists of Spokane to nominate a ticket and adopt a platform for the city election shortly to be held, without seeking the official sanction of Local Spokane, and

Whereas, Said convention did adopt a platform and nominate a ticket for said city election, and

Whereas, Said platform omits all mention of the immediate and most necessary object of our movement, the conquering of the powers of government by the working class, and in fact, omits purposely all mention of the working class and of the working class character of our movement, thus misrepresenting the nature of the Socialist program, and

Whereas, At the convention aforesaid, a large number of persons were present and took part in the proceedings who were not members of the Socialist Party, many of whom did not wish to become members of the said party, and also that certain persons were nominated for positions on the ticket who were not members of the party and who had at that time no intention of becoming members (one of whom, indeed, refused to accept the nomination tendered) thus violating the constitution of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington and the by-laws of Local Spokane, and

Whereas, Local Spokane, by taking no action in repudiation of aforesaid convention, platform and ticket, tacitly favors the same, therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the undersigned members of Local Spokane, in good standing, do hereby call on the State Committee to revoke the charter of Local Spokane and immediately to reorganize said Local on the lines laid down by our State and National platforms and constitutions.

Signed: J. H. C. SCURLOCK
R. F. HOWARTH
J. CULLEN
JAS. HORRICK
A. E. HARDER
E. B. AULT
AUG. C. SHOKE
WILLIAM KOPPING
W. H. BRUNS
L. WIESE

In the third place, Local Spokane held a meeting on the evening of the 11th inst., and decided "That the convention was called by Local Spokane, that it approves of the platform adopted, the nominations made and the en-

(Continued on Page Three)

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PARTY NEWS.

LOCAL NOTES.

Rabbi Joseph speaks at Carpenters' Hall Sunday evening, Feb. 22nd.

The "basket social" at Ross was a great success.

G. N. Hodgdon, former member of the legislature, will debate with Comrade McDevitt at Fremont at 2:30 p. m. Sunday, March 1st.

Comrade Mrs. Dupes spoke at Ballard last Sunday. If the comrades wish their meetings announced they should keep us posted.

NEWS AND NOTES.

Eugene V. Debs addressed a large audience in Rochester, N. Y., on the 8th. He talked about Socialism, of course.

Horses are now being fed on molasses and sugar because they don't require so much time for feeding. Capitalists will no doubt follow this up by giving their "workingmen" a "free lunch" of the same description.

It is estimated that there are 800,000 working people in Chicago, 40 per cent. of whom belong to trades unions; 85 per cent. of the various crafts have been organized. Only 15 out of 40 cigarmakers in Seattle are employed on account of the tobacco trust.

Through carelessness of their political duty the people may allow non-architectural manipulators of the Hill stripe to gradually crush down labor in this country until it rises in revolt, but when that revolt comes the people will quickly uncrown any king plutocracy may make.—Seattle Union Record.

If the Editor of the Union Record really believes that labor is liable to be crushed down "until it rises in revolt" through carelessness of its political duty why does he always ring the fire-bell whenever a Socialist attempts to show his fellow-working-men how not only to prevent just such a thing, but to remove even the possibility of such "monarchical manipulators" existing? He has a splendid opportunity to teach the impregnable economic facts presented by Karl Marx and prevent the catastrophe he fears. Will he do it, or does he prefer the catastrophe?

The school teachers of San Jose, Cal., have organized California Public School Teachers' Union No. 1.

"But for myself, I shall never submit my public message on the vital questions that now press for solution, to any sect, committee, or party, on earth for revision before I speak it. When I feel the compulsion forced upon me by my inner life and by the economic necessities of our common humanity to herald the social revolution, I shall speak it as I see fit, whether attacked by Socialist committees or capitalist preachers and politicians."—J. Stitt Wilson in "The Alliance of the Rockies."

That is perfectly proper, Comrade Wilson. Every man has a perfect right to preach the truth as he sees it. But if in doing this you depart from the path outlined by the party, would it not be better to do so in your own name? As long as you are a member of the party, your platform, utterances as a Socialist should be in harmony with its policy, should they not? Soldiers in camp may disagree all they desire to, but when they move against the enemy it must be on one common line of action. Gen. Grant said Gen. Hooker was a good general except that he was quite likely to plan and execute his own fight regardless of the plans of the commander-in-chief or the effect it might have on the entire army.

The Socialists of Oakland, Cal., held their city convention on the 1st. A full city ticket was nominated. The Seattle platform was adopted verbatim.

Duquesne, Pa., and Butte, Mont., have also adopted "Congratulatory Comrades." The "Seattle platform" is becoming popular.

The Gurney Co. of Toronto bind all their apprentices not to join any trade union. No doubt this is because "trades unions are reactionary and of bourgeois origin."

State Secretary Hale of Oregon has resigned.

Our Japanese comrades are pushing their work vigorously. The editor of the "Labor World" has held successful meetings in Kobe and Osaka, these being the first Socialist meetings ever held. Continued agitation is going on for universal suffrage and labor union organization is making headway.

Recent information shows the Socialist vote in Alabama to have been 2,312, as against 928 in 1900.

The first colored branch has been started in Chicago. Also a Polish branch.

Bloomington, Ill. Socialists have nominated a full city ticket.

Brooklyn, N. Y. Socialists challenged Silas Dutcher of the Economic League to debate on Socialism. The "brave" Silas, afraid to meet the truth, declined. The only time he has the nerve to fight is when there is no one around. He's a great big bluffer.

The Ohio Secretary of State has decided that the official Socialist emblem cannot appear on the official ballot. Local Toledo favors the adoption of the "Arm and Torch."

At Racine, Wis., the local garment workers (out of work on account of a lock-out), attended the Socialist meeting in a body.

State Organizer Gaylord of Wisconsin has broken down from the strain of his work. He goes South to recuperate.

Massachusetts court has decided that municipal coal yards are "unconstitutional." These "capitalist" judges will be the same one of these days.

Twenty-seven new branches organ-

ized in Massachusetts in four months.

"My knowledge of labor conditions has not been gained from interviewing the mine and mill superintendents while taking tea at their homes, as many investigators do, but by actual contact with the slaves themselves, by working and living with them, sharing their burden of oppression and hearing from their own lips agonizing tales of torture.

One of the saddest cases in my experience was that of a little girl in one of the Southern mills. I met her in the early morning on her way to work. I asked her how old she was.

"Ten years old," she answered.

"And how much do you get for working?"

"Oh, I don't know how much I'll get this week, but I hope to get a dollar and a half. Mamma is sick and I want to get her some medicine."

"The evening of the next day I saw the child carried from the mill with one hand gone—severed by the mill machinery. The shock killed the mother, and the child was left alone to battle with the world. There was no recompense for injury, of course."—Mother Jones in "Herald."

Prof. Ely has been making some scientific examinations into the earnings of workers, and presents some conclusions, drawn from the federal census: The wage earners of the United States number fifteen million men, women, boys and girls of ten years or over. Their average individual earnings are \$400 a year, but on an average two persons are dependent upon each wage earner for support, which means that three people must live on that average monthly wage of \$33.33.

Investigation has shown that about a quarter of a working-man's wages goes for rent and about half in food and fuel.

Thus the average workingman, with his family of two, will have each month after paying for the roof over his head and the food needed to sustain life about \$8.30 a month for clothing, medicine, recreation and a bank account against a rainy day or the time when he shall become superannuated. Prof. Ely very naturally says in the face of these figures that, "the terms of our economic problem cannot be solved by thrift alone." And indeed the poorest encouragement to "thrift is the knowledge that by the utmost pinching economy for years the savings of a family will be inadequate to meet the needs of six months of idleness or two months of costly sickness."—"The Toller," Terre Haute.

"If railroad men had the sense of the South American jackasses, who defend themselves by putting their heads in a circle and kicking outwards at the same time, their condition would be different. As it is now, the members of the class orders stand with their heads outside the circle and kick at one another. Oh, if the railroad men of the United States only had the sense of the jackass.

"During a visit to an insane asylum in California a short time ago, I found two men in charge of 150 insane persons, many of whom were dangerous maniacs. Naturally I asked why two men could control 150, remarking that all the insane would rush upon the keepers they would be irresistible. 'That's all right,' said one of the men, 'there is no danger for insane people never organize.'

"The general managers say that they do not object to the class orders for they neutralize one another. Any class of men which makes a contract with a company to work for a stipulated pay for a certain length of time is signing away its right to defend their brothers if they have a just grievance and are doing it for a mess of pottage."—Pres. Estes of the United Brotherhood Railway Employees.

Daniel A. White has been selected as State Secretary of Massachusetts to fill Comrade Malloy's place.

Frank P. O'Hare is lecturing in New York state.

That there is no sentiment about twentieth century commerce is being daily abundantly substantiated. That even the Standard Oil Company, with its enormous dividends is ready and willing to make them even greater, is verified. The Union Tank Line Co.'s shops at Whiting, Ind., employ a large number of men. Many of them in the past have been union men, though the shop does not recognize them. The wages run from 18c to 25c per hour. A month ago a number of men were laid off, and, strange to relate, nearly all of them were 25c men. They were told that work was scarce, but the next day a large number of new men, foreigners, 10-cent men, were put to work. A comrade, Henry Stralow, was one of the laid-off men. He says any man who talks unionism or Socialism, particularly if he be a 25c man, is sure to be laid off. Cheap labor is all they want.—"Chicago Socialist."

Thos. A. Bragg, a union machinist, has been nominated for Socialist mayor of Toledo, Ohio.

The Indianapolis News has made a great discovery, indeed, in speaking of the Socialists in the miners' convention. The News says: "They do not measure up to the public conception of Socialists. They are temperate men and women, who preach the doctrine of peace and the use of the ballot instead of the use of weapons." Thanks for small favors.—"Cleveland Citizen."

The San Francisco Star, the well-known labor and single tax paper, has begun a bitter fight against Mayor Schmitz. The Star says: "Eugene L. Schmitz is, perhaps, the biggest man morally, and the meanest man morally, that ever occupied the mayor's chair in San Francisco."

Before organizing, callio printers in Norwich, Conn., worked 13 hours daily. Since organizing they secured 10-hour day, get better wages, and gave employment to 20 more men and 10 boys. Now asking for nine-hour day.

At a joint meeting of the miners'

union, carpenters' union and the federal union of Telluride, Colo., a resolution was passed to organize a stock company to publish a daily paper in that city to advocate the principles of the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union, and politically support the Socialist party.

St. Louis Socialists have placed a city ticket in nomination and adopted a "Working-Class" platform.

The United Brewery Workmen in their recent convention at Cincinnati again have shown their favorable attitude toward the Socialist Party. They recognize the assistance rendered them by the Socialist press and the National officers.

Comrades Carey and McGrady addressed a large and enthusiastic audience in Memorial Hall, Toledo, Jan. 31. Walter Vrooman's "co-operative trust" has succumbed to the inevitable. It cost him \$40,000 to learn his lesson. Some of us have learned our "co-operative" lesson also, but luckily, it didn't cost so much.

"Don't become excited at the threats of anti-trust legislation which our Republican friends are making," said Henry M. Teller, the Colorado senator, tonight. He had just arrived from his native state and was on his way to Washington.

"They don't mean anything by it; it is just a bluff to fool the people. Nothing that will injure their good friends will come of it." Then the senator laughed as if he had told a very funny joke.

"It's all calculated to keep the people in a good mood. The people will laugh to think how the trusts are being worried, and the trusts will be laughing to think how the people are being fooled."—Exchange.

In Washington, D. C., in Colorado, and in other states abortion is being practiced on the "non-partisan" labor bills, and it doesn't happen to be a penitentiary offense either.

"I might be induced to believe in government ownership if the government were placed in the hands of the people, where it belongs."—E. F. Atwood in "Dakota Ruralist."

Mother Jones and Father McGrady will assist in the Chicago city campaign.

"The first Socialist Local in Florida was organized at Orlando, November 18, 1901. Since that time locals have been organized at Longwood, Tampa, West Palm Beach, Lakeland, Jacksonville, Plant City, Goodall, St. Augustine, St. Petersburg, also colored branch at Orlando. W. R. Healey of Longwood has been elected National Committeeman. John C. Chase will tour the state, speaking for Socialism. The legislative ticket at the November election polled 800 per cent. more votes than in 1900."—"California Socialist."

Comrade John Spargo, editor of the "Comrade," New York, one of the members of the Board of Examiners of Walter Thomas Mills' School of Social Economy, has resigned all connection with the school, giving lack of agreement with the teaching of Mills as his chief reason.

The National Headquarters have been established at Rooms 10-11, Arlington Block, Omaha, pending a referendum.

We have thought somewhat of changing the name of this paper. There are so many "The Socialists" now. We were the only one in this country when we started. Now there is the "Chicago Socialist," "California Socialist," "Iowa Socialist," "Western Socialist," "Los Angeles Socialist," "Missouri Socialist," etc., etc. And we can't escape being called "Seattle Socialist."

Suppose you send in suggestions for a new name. It must be short and expressive. Remember this is a Cartoon Paper and the name ought to be appropriate to that. We will give a prize worth having to the one who sends in the name adopted, provided he sends in at least one subscription with it.

We give most liberal terms to agents. They can do a world of good for the great cause and make an easy living. Write.

Comrade Harriman is out with a 4-column article in "The Worker" defending his position that the Socialist Party should give way to a Union Labor Party. It seems to us a maze of words and small distinctions all revolving around his one proposition that the economic interests of the wage-workers are bound to bring them to the Socialist program. But this has all been threshed out and has been decided by the National Committee unanimously. Harriman ignores all that has been said in reply and certainly misstates the tendency in San Francisco and in Los Angeles, where the fusion organ, "Advance," has ceased publication and where Local Los Angeles voted to urge National Committee-man Richardson to vote against Union Labor fusion.

Our cartoons make "The Socialist" the most expensive to publish of all Socialist weeklies. Yet it is only 50 cents a year. Ten subscription cards at 25 cents each during this month only.

THE SPOKANE MUDDLE

(Continued from Page Two)

fire proceedings of said convention, and that the report by Secretary Ault was incorrect and misrepresents said proceedings." Several of those signing the above resolutions, however, affirm that Secretary Ault's report was correct.

Immediately following the above action of the Local, Gilbert moved that those traitorous members who had petitioned the State Board to revoke the charter, be requested to resign. But this aroused so much opposition that the motion was withdrawn.

Local Spokane consists of about 40 dues-paying members and about 15 of these are up in arms.

The issue was bound to come. The matter is now in the hands of the State Committee.

The Denver Mix-up

Denver, Colo., Feb. 13, 1903.

Your criticism in the "Socialist" of Feb. 1st on the resolution of the Colorado S. E. C. about speakers' cards does the S. E. C. an injustice, as you do not know all the facts in the case. The S. E. C. are only carrying out the will of the party. The issuing of speakers' cards is made mandatory by the constitution of the party and was passed by referendum by all the members in the State.

A careful reading of my article in the Colorado "Chronicle" of Feb. 11th, a marked copy of which I send you, will let you know the real situation in Colorado. I will now try to give you some more of the particulars in the movement here, and as I shall be personal, to make it plainer to you, you publish it over my signature or not as you please.

There are in the city of Denver three factions: one headed by R. A. Southworth, thinks that so they call themselves Socialists and vote the party ticket it is all that is needed to make themselves so.

They teach religion called "New Thought," Single Tax, Democratic doctrine, Opportunism, Populism, the Golden Rule, etc., as Socialism.

The second faction, headed by R. A. Maynard, are well posted in Socialism.

They are generally made up of the intellectual class such as lawyers, preachers, money lenders, and politicians.

The third faction is led by B. E. Morris of Denver and Fechyew, Fox, and Stark of Teller county.

These four are working men, holding cards from labor unions.

These four, together with R. A. Maynard, Crompton and Miss Brooks, form the S. E. C. of which Maynard and Miss Brooks are preachers.

The third faction represent the workingmen, some of them are well founded in Socialism and all are class-conscious workingmen.

About two years ago R. A. Southworth brought the crusaders into the state. The first to come was J. Stitt Wilson. Chas. H. Vail came through at the same time and was treated badly by Southworth. He organized the party in a little anteroom, however, and at the close of the Wilson meetings several hundred came into it. These were of the petty middle-class voting in the Democratic party. They thought that Socialism was a sort of Golden Rule Jesus Mixing policy and as soon as the few of the Morris faction got hold of them, they left. About the time we got them weeded out and got the movement tolerably clear, Wilson came again and the thing had to be done over again.

Then a lot more crusaders came like buzzards to a carcass. The fall campaign came on and these men organized locals composed largely of the old Populists of the state; middle-class people, with as many different ideas of what Socialism is as there are individuals among them.

During the campaign old party political trickery was used by the Maynard and Southworth factions in carrying on the campaign. The county campaign committee were composed exclusively of the middle-class, lawyers, preachers and money lenders, headed by D. C. Coates, ex-lieutenant governor, a well-known slick politician.

The city ticket was gotten up by these men on a week-day night when the workingmen could not attend, many of the leading workingmen not knowing when or where it was to be held, and only finding out when the ticket came out in the capitalist papers.

After the election the time limit of all speakers' cards had run out. The four members of the S. E. C. who are workingmen—Morris, Fechyew, Fox, and Stark—issued a speakers' card to Mrs. Harlett, making her state organizer, to go over the state to clear up the movement. The Socialist crusaders, Southworth, and all others, were refused cards. The issuing or non-issuing of cards was according to the laws of the state constitution. This has made trouble, and Southworth and the crusaders are posing as martyrs, and are making endeavors to throw the big four out of the S. E. C. The faction under Maynard and D. C. Coates, although some of them are well posted Socialists, go with the Southworth element to throw out the four of the state committee, who are workingmen holding trade union cards.

This shows that the Socialist position holds good, that the intellectuals, no matter how well posted on Socialism, are not to be trusted. They are self-conscious, not class-conscious. They are in it for a graft.

There is a ridiculous scheme now on foot, fathered by Maynard, to send a crusader out to collect money over the state, they being Joe-dandies at that, outdoing the Methodists. It is a sight to see the tears run down their faces while they plead for money. Then Maynard will take the money and go over the state teaching classes. They will stay possibly a week in a place. Think of these old Populists and middle-headers learning Socialism in a week, which it has taken us years to learn. Think of the expense—but it

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comes out of the pockets of these middle-class middle-headers and if they are willing, I don't know why we should care, but it is a pity, isn't it, that things should be made so hard?

When we have pointed out the harm done us by Wilson, some of the members of the Local say that he is scientific, because the Seattle "Socialist" quotes him, and yet they will admit that he might speak three hundred and sixty-five times in a year and no one learn anything in Socialism. The trouble with us is that he and his brethren drain the state of money and teach nothing—bring a lot of middle-class into the movement and leave us in such an exhausted state that we can raise no funds to educate with.

This is a brief history of the Socialist movement in Colorado. You see we are having troubles of our own, and are in continual fear that through ignorance, political trickery, grafting, etc., the movement will get away from the working-class and become an auxiliary of the Democratic Party.

FRATERNALLY YOURS,
BRITTA MORRIS,
3833 King St., Denver.

We are glad to receive the above statement. It is the first clear presentation of the facts that we have seen. Such conflicts are sure to arise in many localities, while the movement is getting itself defined and into working order. "Socialism" has been so general a term, meaning anything from Christianity to anarchy. It is not surprising that the discontented of all sorts have tumbled into the Socialist Party. But we are convinced the backbone of the party is made up of the wage-workers. They have to assert their right to control and in the process, the subordinate elements, like the perishing small business man and the intellectual proletarians, will suffer considerable humiliation in being subordinated. But subordinated they must be. We only urge the comrades everywhere to preserve in themselves, as far as possible, the truly scientific spirit, banishing personalities as such.

"The Socialist" has quoted Stitt Wilson when he has said good things, just as it has criticized his general point of view (See "The Socialist," April 27, 1902.) He talks in terms of idealistic thought, that is, he speaks on the religious plane. But he also recognizes the class character of our party. Still there is no doubt the general effect of his speaking is to introduce into the party a lot of raw "converts" from all classes. We have hoped he and the rest of the "crusaders" would adopt the scientific conception and statement of Socialism, appealing more directly to the working-class, like Herron, for instance. But the "intellectuals" of religious antecedents find it difficult to give up hope of winning the "church members" to Socialism.

Whether a man is a "grafter" or not, only experience will tell. It is certain that many speakers, especially those of clerical antecedents, expect and receive prizes for their lectures, which awaken suspicion of their motives in the minds of most of the wage-workers.—Ed.

SEATTLE WILL ORGANIZE.
Seattle, Feb. 1st, 1903.

We, the undersigned, guarantee the amounts against our respective names for the purpose of placing an organizer in the city of Seattle to organize the city by wards and precincts:

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Comrades, the campaign of 1904 is now commenced and if we want to keep the same per cent of increase of votes, it is only necessary for us to go to work and make Socialists. To do that successfully, we must get an organization in every precinct of the city. With an organization of that kind we can keep speakers in the field all the time and be able to distribute literature to every working man in the city. And we know that if he knows what Socialism is, he will vote for it, without a doubt.

Now in order to start this work it will be necessary for us who are working for better conditions for ourselves, our wives and babies, to put our hands in our pockets so that the work may not be delayed. Don't wait for some one else to do the work, but send your name and address, stating the amount that you will pay to put an organizer to work at once.

SEATTLE WILL ORGANIZE.
Seattle, Feb. 1st, 1903.

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THOUGHTS BY YOUR UNCLE

Now that the excitement of the Committee meeting has died away, I can once more collect my thoughts and describe for the benefit of the readers of "The Socialist" the condition of the Socialist movement in various parts of the country.

My first meeting after starting on my trip was at Butte, Sunday, Jan. 25, in the Auditorium, where I spoke a year ago. I found a big difference in the movement—a much larger, local, and a preponderance of clean-cut, socialist members. The meeting was well attended, much enthusiasm manifested, and a large lot of literature disposed of. The state committee is arranging tours for Father Hagerty and other well-known speakers, and I shall probably put in a month or so for them this summer to help in organization among the miners. The movement is assuming healthy proportions in this state, and the proof thereof is the howling and wailing of what's left of the Democratic Party.

Having barely time to reach St. Louis before the committee would convene, I stopped over in but one more place—St. Paul, where I took a street car to a meeting. Could find no one except some printers on the "Forskaren," a Swedish paper, with faint Socialist tendencies, and they couldn't speak or understand English enough to either know what I wanted or tell me if they had known. Finally, after a couple of hours' search in the cold, I gave it up and went back to St. Paul, catching a train in the morning and going straight through to St. Louis. I have since discovered that while I was hunting for the Minneapolis comrades they were hunting for me and trying to get a hall, but as they couldn't get the latter their finding me was immaterial.

I note a vast difference in the attitude of the general public as compared with a year ago. There seems to be a more general knowledge on the subject, and they seem to want to talk about it. I have not yet heard a single person denounce it. Whatever the objection that they are afraid it won't work.

The nervous and mental strain incident upon attending the committee meeting in its three daily sessions practically wore out every committee man, and at last they became so irritable as a consequence that a couple days more of the session would have brought about everything but peace. The subtle manner in which material interests override ideal was beautifully illustrated. But one vote had hardly been taken when it was discovered that the members were practically divided by the geographical line between the east and the west. There were one or two exceptions, but a close inspection of the votes by roll-call will bear out what I say. The western sentiment, rather idealistic in its make-up, was headed by Mills, while those who base all their actions upon the material interests of the working-class, lined up behind Hillquit and Carey. There seemed to be an impression among the eastern comrades that the western movement is dominated by the agrarian element, while Mills, et al., seemed to think that Hillquit, Carey, et al., were trying to rule or ruin. I think both elements were extravagant in their apprehensions, though the eastern comrades seemed to be justified in their apprehensions when they saw the other comrades evidently not willing to leave the choice of headquarters to a national referendum. If there are those in the party who fear its domination by individuals to serve their own interests, they should not so much fear Hillquit, or Carey, or Barnes, as they should a Mills, who has behind him the influence of dozens of dozens of his pupils, holding his diplomas, and his scholarships to the exclusion of real working-class propaganda. I heard Mills speak in St. Louis, and his chief point was that the emancipation of the working class would not be achieved by the workers of the east, who had been pressed down to hopeless subjection, but would be accomplished by the pioneers of the west, who not having become slaves, would revolt against becoming slaves.

It was one of the best middle-class appeals I have heard for many a day. God fend the day when the little merchant and farmer dominate our movement. His working-class program will vanish in a night.

But this isn't telling about my trip. On Friday, Feb. 6, had a slimly attended meeting at Terre Haute. I find that our comrades as a rule, fail to advertise their meetings sufficiently. The local here is fairly well grounded on working-class principles and is building up a strong movement. I did not get a meeting at Indianapolis, owing to half a dozen other speakers already being booked for various days that week, so I went straight on to Cincinnati.

On Sunday afternoon, Feb. 8, I spoke to the Cincinnati Local, and the hall, the size of the audience, the enthusiasm, reminded me of our crowded Sunday night meeting in Seattle more than anything I have yet met. Everyone was eager to ask questions, and fell over each other to subscribe to "The Socialist" and buy literature. Comrade Seeds, of the Covington, Ky., local, was present, and it was his efforts that was the principle cause of receiving so many subscribers. Cincinnati is going to put up a hot fight in the coming municipal campaign, and Comrade Swina, a rising young dentist, and a splendid fellow, is their candidate for mayor.

Cincinnati has now a chance to see the difference between working-class Socialism and middle-class "Socialism." The Clarion Club is giving a series of Sunday lectures (admission 25 cents), and have engaged a long list of speakers, a few Socialists like Debs, single taxers like Crosby, who spoke last Sunday, and a whole raft of men and women orators who depend entirely upon sentiment and spread-eagles to win applause. The Clarion Club seem more concerned in getting hold of speakers whose reputation will sell the most tickets, rather than to really teach the principles of the working-class movement. The Clarion Club is a middle-class outfit and it is not surprising that they shy from too close approach to the class struggle. But, in spite of the magic in the name of Crosby, the audience that listened to me was fully as large and was by far more representative of the working-class.

Some of the Kentucky comrades were present and nothing would do but that I must go over to Kentucky that night, so that they would be sure of me for the meetings already arranged. Nearly every Socialist in Newport and Covington are subscribers to "The Socialist," and it is unnecessary to say that their Socialism is all right. I spoke before the Newport local Monday night and I received new hope and new courage from the way they insisted that our program be clearly revolutionary and working-class.

Tuesday night I spoke to the Covington local in their own hall, which is a commodious building, two floors, and the best public hall I have yet seen that is owned by the comrades anywhere. Don't think Kentucky is slow, because she is south of the Mason and Dixon line. She isn't. Instead, she is way ahead in her solid Socialism of many a northern state. A large and appreciative audience listened attentively, the only objections amounting to anything coming from a minister who complained that in all his congregation he didn't have a Socialist. I told him that it was probably because the Socialists throughout the world do more for humanity by doing something else, but somehow the explanation didn't seem to satisfy him.

The Kentucky state committee urged me to stay a month or two and help organize the state. I finally agreed to stay two weeks, and in the morning I start for Maysville, Catlettsburg, Ky.; Huntington, W. Va., and Ashland, Frankfort, Lexington, Louisville and other places, where it is hoped some good will be accomplished.

Last night (Wednesday, the 11th), I spoke in West Covington, a separate town, to a small audience, composed

principally of boys, and in spite of that succeeded in organizing, with the help of some of the Covington comrades, a local with nine charter members, and more a-coming. Tonight I speak again in Newport, and though the other audience was large, the comrades promise a still larger one. Several of the comrades are accomplished musicians, and there is good foundation for a Socialist band and orchestra. In Covington they already have a drum corps.

If the movement elsewhere in the east is as clear and as completely dominated by the working-class element as it is in Cincinnati and this part of Kentucky, then all I can say is the Mills' "pioneers of the west" will have to get on an almighty energetic wobble or they will be entirely out-classed. It should be a matter of pride to my Washington comrades to know that that the condition of the movement here is claimed by the comrades to be due to "The Socialist" more than to any other one thing.

There is a big strike on among the rolling mill workers at Ashland, where I speak Sunday, and it ought not to be difficult to give the Socialist cause a decided impetus. Catlettsburg, where I am going to try to speak Saturday, is considered one of the toughest towns on the Ohio river, and a Socialist meeting has never yet been held there. Huntington, W. Va., is a railroad town, and many of the boys are awaiting a chance to form a local. My experience so far has been that the only thing the Socialist Party now lacks is a sufficient number of organizers to crystallize the vast Socialist sentiment that already exists.

When one gets east of the Mississippi the blighting effects of capitalism can be seen on every hand. The big cities abound with 3 and 5-cent restaurants, and big stores occupying a whole block sell nothing higher than 10 cents. The restaurant business is being trustified, one company controlling dozens of restaurants in as many cities, and putting up meals for 10 and 15 cents that in Montana and Idaho one can't begin to get for less than 50 or 75 cents. I am going to get one of their bill of fares to send to Wallace, Idaho, to let the miners see what they haven't gained by getting 50 cents a day more than the workers in the east.

I nearly forgot to say that the growth of Socialist sentiment is being evidenced in various ways, one of the most prominent of which is the effort to establish local Socialist papers. The comrades in the Coeur d'Alene district are trying to raise \$2,500 for that purpose, and the Kentucky boys expect to launch a weekly soon. They are not for general propaganda purposes, but more to give life to, and information of, the local and state movement. With two or three hundred such papers throughout the United States the movement will have a strength that will push it forward by leaps and bounds. Here's luck to these working-class enterprises.

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IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE State of Washington for the County of King. In Probate. In the matter of the estate of Mary J. Thompson, deceased. Order to show cause why distribution should not be made. No. 3436.

John Thompson, the administrator of the estate of Mary J. Thompson, deceased, having filed in this Court his final account and a petition setting forth that said estate is now in a condition to be closed and is

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ready for distribution of the residue thereof, among the persons entitled by law thereto, and it appearing to the Court that said petition sets forth facts sufficient to authorize a distribution of the residue of said estate:

It is therefore ordered by the Court that all persons interested in the estate of said Mary J. Thompson, deceased, be and they are to appear before the said Superior Court of King County, State of Washington, at the court room of the Probate Department of said Court in the city of Seattle, on the 13th day of March, 1903, at the hour of 9:30 o'clock A. M. of said day, then and there to show cause, if any they have, why said account should not be approved and an order of distribution should not be made of the residue of said estate among the heirs and persons in said petition mentioned, according to law.

It is further ordered that a copy of this order be posted in three of the most public places in King County and published once a week for four successive weeks before the said 13th day of March, 1903. In the Socialist, a newspaper printed and published in said King County and of general circulation therein.

Done in open court this 11th day of February, 1903.

BOYD J. TALLMAN, Judge. State of Washington, County of King, vs. C. A. Koepfli, County Clerk of King County and ex-officio Clerk of the Superior Court of the State of Washington for the County of King, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a full, true and correct copy of an original order to show cause, made by said Court on the 11th day of February, 1903, in the matter of the estate of Mary J. Thompson, deceased.

Witness my hand and the seal of said Court this 11th day of February, 1903.

C. A. KOEPFLI, Clerk. By D. R. Sickle, Deputy Clerk.

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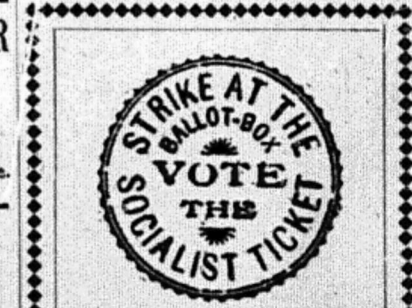
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