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No. 135

Debs on Socialism's Steady Progress

The returns of the national election, last fall, revealed an unexpected factor, a new force, as it were, in American politics. The large and rapid increase in the Socialist vote was a surprise to the nation. In the short space of two years, the vote leaped from about 130,000 to almost 400,000, and this at a time when "prosperity" was the dominant issue and "let well enough alone" the slogan of the campaign. The significance of this vote lies not so much in its size as in its character, since the Socialist movement is essentially revolutionary, and the Socialist Party, unlike the Greenback, Populist and other parties, to which it has been likened and which sought simply to "reform" the present economic system, is unequivocally committed to the abolition of capitalist production and the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth.

Astute Politicians Like Mark Hanna See It.

There are many who look upon the rapid rise of Socialism as the ebullition of a passing hour, an ephemeral growth not at all calculated to menace the well-established political and economic regime of the time. They have not been critical students of the past, nor are they more than superficial observers of the present transition period in which industrial evolution is transmuting competitive small capital into centralized co-operative capital and recruiting isolated workers into industrial armies, the forerunner of a new economic system and of a higher order of civilization than this earth has ever known. Such astute politicians as Mark Hanna see it. Said he: "The great political struggle of the future will be between the Republican Party and the Socialists." He is right.

The Rev. Lyman J. Abbott, the Brooklyn divine, can see it. Just after the late election he said: "Socialism is inevitable."

J. Pierpont Morgan can see it. According to a late issue of the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, he said: "We are simply organizing industry for the people, and sooner or later they are bound to take possession."

This is the trend, and Socialism, the political expression of it, can no more be restrained than the evolution that brought it into existence.

Karl Marx Saw It Fifty-Five Years Ago.

Where modern industry develops Socialism is bound to generate. This is as true of Indiana as of Massachusetts. Production on a large scale is the life-preserver of the capitalist. This means centralization of capital, and this means the trust. It also means destruction to the small capitalist, and hence the vain cry against the combine—the protest of the past against the future.

Listen to what Karl Marx, the great economic philosopher and prophet, said fifty-five years ago: "The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois (capitalist) class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition of capital is wage labor. Wage labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by the revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat (working class) are equally inevitable."

What we observe today upon every hand are simply signs of economic transformation, and Socialists interpret them to mean that the present competitive system has about fulfilled its mission, and that, like the feudal system from which it sprang, it must soon give way to another, more compatible with the onward march of civilization.

Vast Army of Workmen Forced Into Solidarity.

A little over a century and a quarter ago the colonists were compelled by the pressure of events to declare their political independence. The day is near when the people will be compelled to declare their industrial independence.

The combines and trusts are doing their work in converting competition into co-operation and laying the foundation for the industrial republic.

The vast army of workmen are being forced into political and industrial solidarity, and every clash between them and their exploiters hastens the end of wage-slavery.

The recent strike of the miners brought the class struggle into bolder prominence than it had yet been revealed to the country.

What the commission may or may not do is of little consequence to the miners, for if the wage is increased, the amount will be added to the cost of production, and the living expense will absorb the wage as before; but in the struggle the eyes of hundreds of miners and other workmen were opened to the fact that they have identical interests as a class, just as the coal barons have identical class interests, and with this fresh-born conviction they went to the polls on election day and voted for working class candidates, standing on a working class platform, and it is this that accounts, in large measure, for the rapid increase in the Socialist vote in Pennsylvania and nearly all the other states of the Union.

Andrew Carnegie's "Private Property."

Every combine increases the momentum and hastens the end. Every injunction is a lubricant to the machinery.

Industrial and commercial competition have had their day. The small tools used by individuals have become mammoth machines operated by armies. Production has been socialized; the means of production will have to be. Fifty thousand steel workers will not forever permit Andrew Carnegie to take their product upon the pretext that the tool they use is his "private property," and that the product, therefore, belongs to him.

The coal mines of Pennsylvania are as necessary to modern life as the sunlight and atmosphere. So the railroads and telegraph and telephone. So the oil and sugar refineries, steel mills, tanneries, and all the rest of these agencies as soon as they have destroyed competition and monopolized the field.

Private ownership of the centralized means of production and distribution—an industrial despotism, or collective ownership and an industrial republic! It must be one or the other. Which? History leaves no room for doubt.

What "the people" want they take. The trouble is that they have been too patient and too modest, but they do finally act, and one of these

A Farmers' Party or a Wage-Workers' Party, Which!

That the referendum on the location of national headquarters will be taken is now certain. The last to be heard from is North Yakima in the State of Washington. The Local there has endorsed the call for the submission of Chicago to a vote of the entire party. It is to be hoped that a number of other western locals will endorse this call as printed in The Socialist in another column. A decided rebuke ought to be administered to those who have endeavored to split the Socialist Party into sectional divisions. Nothing could be more contrary to the spirit of Socialism than the recognition of mere geographical lines as dividing the interests of the working class.

The working class as such can have no local interests. It is property interests of some kind that divide men of one locality from those of another locality. Residents in the State of Washington, for instance, may want the tariff retained on coal, while those who live in New England will want it removed. Why? Because Washington has large property interests in coal, but New England has none. How can the workingmen of Nebraska have separate interests from the workingmen of New York? But it may be that the farmers of the Middle West have interests as a class not identical with the interests of the wage-workers of the East. Such a division of interests would furnish a real basis for a geographical division of the Socialists into "the Western men" and "the Eastern men" such as some of our recent accessions from the Peoples' Party are talking so much about. If they continue this sort of talk and really succeed in creating within the Socialist Party an Eastern and a Western faction, it may, in itself, be a sign that there is an actual division of interests between the farmers of the West and the wage-workers of the industrial centers, which is finding an instinctive and spontaneous expression in this way.

It is still a mooted question whether the farmers' immediate interests are really with the wage-workers. Such farmers as would be relieved by public ownership of the railroads from the pressure of want could not be expected to support a demand of the wage-workers on those railroads for their full product and thereby increase freight rates. It is astonishing how many farmers still hold to this notion that reduction of rates on the transportation of their products would relieve them of the greater part of their burden. And we believe it is a question capable of a good deal of discussion for and against. We also believe that there is a way of showing the farmer that his real interests lie with the wage-worker in spite of any immediate advantage that he may obtain from Public Ownership. But we feel equally sure that the farmer will be harder to teach the lesson that both he and the wage-worker have to learn because his interest is less immediate than the wage-worker's.

days they are going to realize that this earth is theirs, and then they will take possession of it in the name of the human race.

Twentieth Century to Abolish Poverty.

If the triumphant and defiant capitalist insists upon precise and detailed information as to how the people are to come to their own, he may, with profit, consult the late feudal baron of Europe and the recent slave owner of the United States.

Socialism is the scientific and historic fulfillment of the law of social and economic progress. It is indeed inevitable, and the only danger, as Sprague has said, is in obstructing it.

Victor Hugo uttered the noble prophecy that the twentieth century would abolish poverty. Socialism will fulfill that prophecy. Whatever may be said of the past, the present with all its marvelous wealth-producing agencies can plead no excuse for the poverty and misery that scourge the multiplied millions of the earth.

Industrial democracy will wrest the earth from its exploiters and its vast and inexhaustible storehouses will yield abundance for all.

The growth of Socialism is the promise of freedom and brotherhood—the radiant herald of the dawn.

TWO SIDES OF CAPITALISM

THE FACTORY OWNER'S CHILDREN ENJOY THE PROFITS

THESE CHILDREN MAKE THE PROFITS



It is this fact that the farmer question is still an open one, which makes this cropping out of a Western faction a phenomenon of considerable significance. Do these men of Populist antecedents have a keen scent for divergent interests in the fanks of the Socialist Party? Is their outcry against the "East," their declaration that the Socialists of the Atlantic Coast "are more European than American" a manifestation of real antagonism based on the interests of the class they represent? Or, at least, is it not proof that the old Populist conceptions still linger in the heads of these men, who can find it so easy to talk in a language as foreign as Choctaw to the working-class Socialist?

This much is certain, that the farmer is too little instructed in the principles of Socialism to be given the leadership of the Socialist Party at the present stage of progress. Yet, this is precisely what the Omaha Headquarters and the Quorum from the Farmer states, mean, as proved by

these words from the "Appeal." "The known path, very much as the Peoples' Party did. On the other hand, if it decides, as we have no doubt it will, to take the well-established Laws of Economics as its guide, and form a party composed primarily of wage-workers, in full accord with the historic movement known as Socialism, it will go forward to certain stand at the parting of the ways. Either it may attempt to win the great body of organized labor as the central element of the working class, or it may turn toward the great body of the farmers as the strategic political factor. If it does the latter, it will separate itself from the International Party known as the Socialist Party, and will start out for itself on an un-

known path, very much as the Peoples' Party did. On the other hand, if it decides, as we have no doubt it will, to take the well-established Laws of Economics as its guide, and form a party composed primarily of wage-workers, in full accord with the historic movement known as Socialism, it will go forward to certain stand at the parting of the ways. Either it may attempt to win the great body of organized labor as the central element of the working class, or it may turn toward the great body of the farmers as the strategic political factor. If it does the latter, it will separate itself from the International Party known as the Socialist Party, and will start out for itself on an un-

REFERENDUM RECOMMENDED BY "THE WORKER," NEW YORK.

"To the National Committee of the Socialist Party.

"Legal state of in accordance with the constitution, hereby requests that you submit to a referendum vote of the party the following propositions:

"1. That the headquarters of the party be removed to Chicago.

"2. That the Local Quorum unit the next national convention be composed of the members of the National Committee from the states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, and Kentucky.

"3. That all acts of the National Committee at its last annual session in conflict with the above provisions be rejected and declared inoperative."

Five Locals representing three different states must endorse this.

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THE POOR:—"If it Costs \$865.00 to fire that gun off each time, it would be much better to use that amount to buy us a little fire with, this cold weather, Uncle"

What has made your party...

The Greatest Living Socialist on the Social Revolution



Chapter V.—The Softening Down of the Class Antagonism.

KARL KAUTSKY.

By common consent our German comrade, Karl Kautsky, is acknowledged to be the greatest living Socialist. As economist, historian and philosopher, he is equally distinguished. His latest work, "The Social Revolution," is in many respects the most important Socialist work that has appeared since the publication of Engels' "Socialism Utopian and Scientific." Already, in Germany, it is regarded as an overwhelming, though indirect, reply to the Bernstein criticism. Not the least encouraging of the many signs of the progress of the movement is the avidity with which this work has been taken up in England and in this country. The altogether admirable translation by J. B. Askew which has been appearing in London "Justice," has been copied into several of our papers and eagerly read. And now a translation by A. M. and May Wood Simons has been issued by Kerr & Co., of Chicago, in their admirable "Standard" library. Such a prompt recognition of a work of this character would have been impossible a year or two ago, and is a most encouraging sign of progress. Every Socialist in the land should read and re-read this work.—"The Comrade," New York.

But England will be quoted against me. Do we not find in England an increasing tending down of the class antagonism? And has not Marx indeed said, England is the classic land of the capitalist mode of production, which shows us our own future? Is not, therefore, the present condition of England the one to which we are coming?

It is always England which the enthusiasts for social peace point out to us, and, curious to say, it is the very same people who make us, the "orthodox" Marxists, the loudest reproaches for clinging blindly to Marx's formulas, that think of demolishing us in the most decisive manner by the above formula of Marx.

As a matter of fact, however, the circumstances since the "Capital" was written have altered enormously. England has ceased to be the classic land of capitalism. Its development approaches ever nearer and nearer its culmination; it is being overtaken by other nations, especially Germany and America, and now the relation between them begins to change. England ceases to give us a picture of our future, while our conditions begin to show England's future as regards the capitalist mode of production. This it is which an examination of the actual circumstances shows to those "orthodox" Marxists, who do not blindly repeat Marx, but apply his method in order to understand the present.

England was the classic land of capitalism, that in which individual capitalist first attained supremacy. It came to supremacy, overpowering econom-

strange ironies of history that the Gladstone stage of social development is held up for our admiration in Germany as our future and as England's achievement never to be lost, at the very time when the Gladstone heritage crumbles into dust, and Chamberlain is the hero of the English people.

I will openly confess that I, too, formerly had laid great hopes on England. Though I did not expect that the Gladstone era would ever pass to Germany, I did, however, hope that in England in consequence of its peculiar conditions the evolution from capitalism to Socialism would proceed not by means of a social revolution, but peacefully by a series of progressive concessions to the proletariat on the part of the ruling classes. The experience of the last few years has destroyed my hopes for England, too. The English home policy now commences to shape itself on the lines of their German rivals. May this, also have a corresponding effect on the English proletariat.

We now see how far the assumption of a gradual softening down of the class antagonism, of an approach between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, is justified. It turns out to have been not wholly without foundation in fact, but its mistake lay in that it generalized facts which were limited to a narrow area. It substituted a small section of the intellectuals for the entire bourgeoisie, and represented a particular social tendency of England, and that already belonging to the past, as the general and ever-growing tendency of the entire capitalist mode of production.

Chapter VI.—Democracy.

But does not Democracy offer the basis of a gradual, imperceptible transformation of capitalism into Socialism, without any such violent break with the existing order of things, as would be caused by the capture of political power by the proletariat?

There are a number of politicians who assert that only the despotic rule of a class makes a revolution necessary, whilst Democracy makes it superfluous. They further assert that in all civilized countries of to-day there is enough Democracy to render a peaceable evolution, free from revolution, possible. It is everywhere possible to establish co-operative stores, which, as they grow, lead to setting up productive co-operatives of their own, and so slowly drive out capitalist production from one sphere to another. It is everywhere possible to organize trade unions, which circumscribe more and more the power of the capitalist in his business, set up in the workshop in the place of an absolutism, constitutionalism, and so prepare the slow transition to a republican factory. Almost everywhere can Social Democracy force its way into the municipal councils, use the influence of these bodies as regards public works in favor of the workers, extend the range of municipal duties, and by continually enlarging the sphere of communal production narrow the field of private production. Finally, Social Democracy forces its way into Parliament, wins there more and more influence, carries through one social reform after another, puts a check on the power of capitalism by means of factory laws, and at the same time extends continually the sphere of State production by working for the nationalization of the big monopolies. Thus, through the mere exercise of the democratic rights within the existing order of things, the capitalist society gradually, and without any disturbance, grows into the Socialist Commonwealth, and the revolutionary capture of political power by the proletariat becomes unnecessary—nay, all endeavors in that direction are harmful, because it can accomplish nothing except a disturbance of this slow but sure progress.

Thus argue the opponents of social revolution. It is a charming idyll which is thus presented to us, and even in this case one cannot say that it is entirely imaginary. The facts on which it is based actually exist. But the truth they point to us is only a half-truth. A small amount of dialectical thinking would have revealed the whole truth to them.

This idyll, namely, is only valid if we take for granted that only one of the opposing forces, the proletariat, grows, and gains in strength, while the other side, the bourgeoisie, remains stuck in the mud. In that case the proletariat must gradually grow over the head of the bourgeoisie without any revolution and expropriate it without attracting any notice.

But the question appears quite different when the other side is also considered, and it is seen that the bourgeoisie also gains in strength and is spurred by every advance of the proletariat to develop new strength, to think out and apply new methods of opposition and of oppression. What from a one-sided consideration appears as a peaceful growth into Socialism turns then out to be but the organization of greater and greater masses of troops, the fitting out and the application of ever more and more powerful weapons of war, the continual enlargement of the battle ground, consequently not the gradual abolition of the class war by the absorption of capitalism, but its reproduction on an even

larger scale, and the intensification of the results of every victory and every defeat.

The most harmless are the co-operative societies, among which only the distributive societies are of any account. They are ranked very high by all the opponents of revolutionary developments on account of their peaceful nature. Undoubtedly they offer the workers a number of important advantages, but it is ridiculous to expect from them even a partial expropriation of capitalism. So far as they at all expropriate any class today, it is the class of small shopkeepers and many sections of hand workers, which have hitherto maintained their position, e. g., the bakers. It is in thorough keeping with this fact that nowhere do the big capitalists fight the co-operative stores, through whom they are said to be being driven out of existence. No, it is the petty bourgeoisie which is so rabid against them, and amongst it those very sections which depend on the workers, and which, therefore, are the easiest influenced in favor of a proletarian policy. If the co-operative stores offer to some sections of the workers material advantages and render them stronger, they at the same time repel from the movement sections of the community which are very near to them. The means which are intended for the peaceful absorption of capitalism, and for abolition of the class war, becomes itself a new objective in the class war, a means by which class hatred is inflamed. And the power of the capitalist remains at the same time undisturbed. The co-operative movement has up till now successfully fought the small tradesmen; the fight with the capitalist warehouse is still to be fought out. That will not be so easy.

Completely absurd, too, is the assumption that the dividends of the co-operative stores, even if they are not paid out, but accumulated, could grow quicker than the accumulation of capital, so that they are able to overtake it and thus gradually limit more and more the field of capitalism.

The co-operative stores can only acquire importance for emancipation of the workers where the working-class is carrying on a determined class war; they are the means to lend the militant proletariat new strength and power. But in that they are completely dependent on the state of legislation and on the attitude taken up by the State. So long as the proletariat has not gained political power, the importance of the co-operative store for the proletarian class war is invariably limited within very narrow bounds.

Far more important than the co-operative stores for the proletariat are the trade unions. They are so only, however, as militant organizations, not as organizations for social peace. Even where they enter into agreements with the employers—single or organized—they can only do so and insist on the agreements being carried through by virtue of their ability to fight.

Important, however, and indispensable as the trade union is for the proletariat, it must reckon nevertheless sooner or later with its counterpart, the association of employers, which, when it assumes the form of a closer corporation, of a pool or a trust, may only too easily prove irresistible for the trade union.

However, it is not only the employers' associations which threaten the trade unions, but also the State. We in Germany know that too well. That, however, even in democratic England the trade unions are not yet entirely out of danger, is shown by the recent judicial decisions which threaten to fully paralyze them.

To this, too, testimony is born by the already quoted article of Mr. and Mrs. Webb in the "Sozial Praxis," which throws a singular light on the future of the trade unions. It points out how unequally the trade unions in England have developed. "Generally speaking, the strong are growing stronger, while those who were already grievously weak, are now weaker than ever." The trade unions which have grown are those of the miners, cotton spinners, the building trades, the iron trade. Those which have grown smaller are those of agricultural laborers, of seamen, of clothing and unskilled trades. The whole trade union world is, however, threatened by the growing opposition of the propertied classes. The English law is admirably adapted to the suppression of inconvenient organizations, and the danger that it will be now used against the trade unions "is increased, and the cause for anxiety has grown, with the dislike to trade unionism and strikes which judges and juries share with the remainder of the middle and upper classes." The existing laws are in a position "to hand over the worker, bound hand and foot, to the masters," so that the authors reckon with the

(Continued on Page three)

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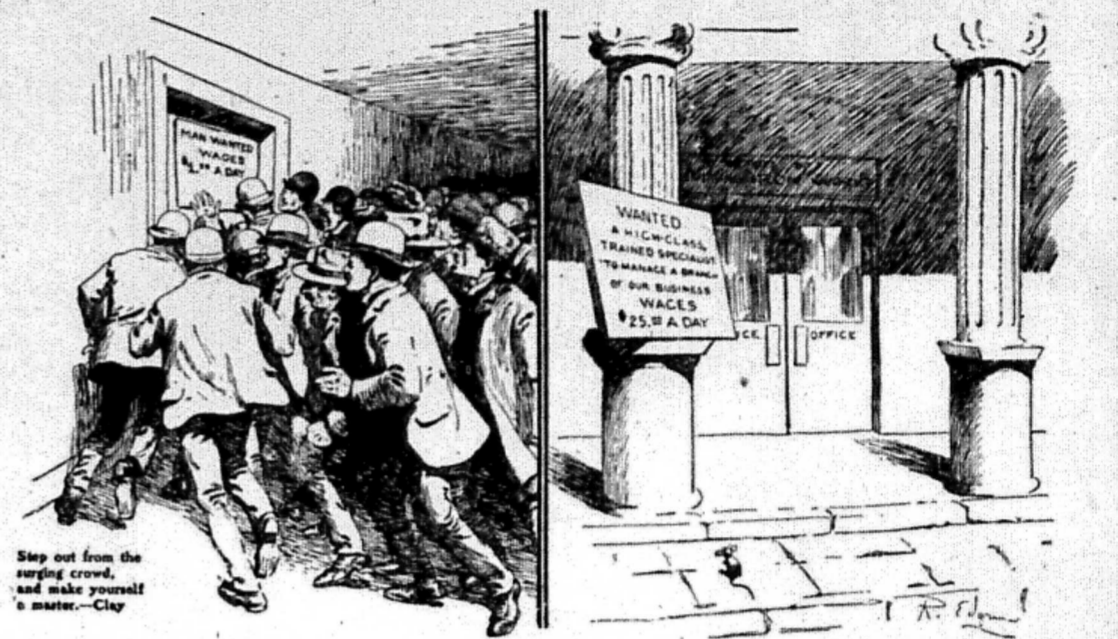
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HOW TO SUCCEED

SUCCESS

FEBRUARY, 1903

The Editor's Chat With His Readers



Step out from the surging crowd, and make yourself a master.—Clay

Why are there always hundreds of men crowding one another for positions at low wages, while higher salaries are often offered in vain for first-class services?

This is taken from the capitalist monthly, "Success." It tells how to succeed in this capitalist world and it worships the successful man.

Now let us study that picture a bit. In the first place, you will notice what a crowd of men there is after that dollar and a half job. How does that jibe with what they are telling you about so much prosperity? If "Labor is so fully employed," as they are always assuring you, why do so many men want that cheap job in the picture? The fact is, the artist told the truth and the capitalist dares not lie, as usual.

The next thing to notice is, that it is only a high priced man who is wanted at the place on the right. And why is he high-priced? Because he must have high and special qualifications. He must be technically educated. What for? So as to turn out more work by improved processes. Don't you know why the capitalists found and endowed great institutions of learning? They want men to invent new devices for manufacturing more goods with fewer laborers. They can afford to pay such a chemist, for example, who may discover a new way of hardening steel and thus dispense with the labor of one man out of every two men previously employed in that process.

Now see what will happen! The crowd of unemployed men seeking the dollar fifty job will be enlarged rather than diminished. For that is what is happening all the while in every branch of industry. New machines are constantly invented to make common labor more productive, and so throw out of employment a constantly increasing number of men.

What bitter irony it all is to urge all the readers of "Success" to become a "Boss," to secure the \$25 job and so escape the \$1.50 job. The makers of such pictures must imagine the workers are all fools and quite unable to do any thinking. Yet there are really a good many people left in the world who still think the top places are just as numerous as ever, who still are ignorant of the enormous changes which have taken place in the methods of production, who still live in the past.

The most of the people who read "Success" will fall to see the irony and cruelty and telltale revelations in such a picture as this. But the Socialists see it. One of them saw it and sent the picture to "The Socialist" for publication. We Socialists are seeing and showing all the while. That is what makes us such dangerous folks. We are always uncovering shams and making people see things as they really are. It won't be very long before we have so many seeing true that they will join together and vote out the old, vote in the new.

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Short Address by a member of Woman's Economic League.

Comrades and friends, the Committee asks you to come and make this affair a financial and Social Success.

Curtain rises promptly at 8 o'clock. Admission 25 cents. Tickets can be had of any comrade.

PARTY NEWS.

LOCAL NOTES

Comrade Leites will speak at Carpenters' Hall Sunday, the 8th, on "The Sanitary Revolution." Comrade Leites is a forceful speaker and has a most suggestive theme. We have not heard him for a long time.

Are you going to that entertainment at Germania Hall Saturday evening, the 7th of March? Sure thing.

A chorus of men is practicing for the Hagerty meeting on the 22d in the Grand Opera House. We ought to have enough to fill the platform and make the big theatre ring to the strains of "The International Party." Every man who can sing is invited to be present at rehearsal Sunday afternoon at 1:30 at Headquarters, 509 Third Avenue.

NEWS AND NOTES.

A prominent member of one of the large churches in a Wisconsin city recently visited came to me secretly and commended me for what he called a noble work. But he complained because I went in with the Socialists who are not Christians, many of them free thinkers, atheists and drinkers and saloonkeepers. I have met that criticism before at the hands of my religious friends. And my reply is this: I tried to work with the "good" people; I preached to them and urged them to help me to better social conditions, but they not only would not help me but they wouldn't even listen to my preaching. So I just worked on and lo! the "bad" so-called people came to my help, and I find myself, without intending it, in the same position Jesus was, viz. "Among the publicans and sinners." And isn't it a strange comment upon the modern church to find that the greatest movement for the betterment of human conditions of the world's history is springing up outside the church? All I have to say to the church is this: If you expect the world to love, honor or respect you, you must show yourself worthy of such by really taking some part in the struggle for the better conditions on this earth here and now.

—Carl D. Thompson in S. D. Herald.

A British court has prohibited a union from paying strike benefit funds.

The Woodworkers' Union of Berlin, Ont., has been sued for damages caused by their striking and persuading "strike breakers" from going to work.

In Lansford, Pa., where the Republicans and Democrats combined against the Socialists, the ticket of the latter is composed almost wholly of miners who were blacklisted. If there was any sense of shame among the old parties they would withdraw from the field, but the bosses are nearly all petty mine officials—Cleveland Citizen.

John Gillespie, a Chicago trade unionist, was blacklisted by the bosses. He started in to get even by selling Socialist literature and is making more than wages and at the same time laying up treasures for the cooperative commonwealth.

"Whin yez minton th' shakin' iv th' plum tree, I've 'n mind th' fact that th' wholw scheme iv modern society seems to be 'center th' combined forces iv th' human family round that tree, I th' capacity iv shakers. 'T is shake th' tree here, an' shake th' tree there; ag' 'move up yez fella, hev shook th' tree a plinty fr' want. It me at th' plums." 'T is all wan hears fr'm mornin' 'til mornin' comes. An' mark me words! They's but wan tree 'n th' world that 'nny man wants to shake: an' that's th' tree an' which th' wurkin' min iv th' world hangs th' precious products iv th' labor.

Whin an'ny man speaks iv th' consumin' desire he hev 't shake th' tree, whilst he mav. b' willin' 't lit som' iv th' laborin' min who furnish th' fruit gather up a few iv th' plums; sth'ill, he's thinkin' iv hisself first, an' sayin' 'n his soul: "F yez can git next 't th' tree, b' makin' th' people b'ave yez mane 't elv' thim a part iv th' shakin'. wh' yez will b' a doin' a great dale fr' society—an' more b' a domned

the newspaper companies, and you will see how near the truth the editor will dare to go."—Rev. W. H. Hincks, Trinity Methodist Church, Toronto.

"Study the list of preachers in the churches, and you will see how near the truth the preachers will dare to go."—G. Weston Wrigley, Secretary Ontario Socialist League.

Boyce's Weekly, an alleged labor paper published at Chicago, asks our help to build up a big circulation among members of the American Labor Union. We have replied to the request, that so long as E. E. Clark, of the National Economic League, Carroll D. Wright and other capitalist apologists are employed as editors we will not help in any way to circulate the paper, believing it to be dangerous to the union labor movement.—A. L. U. Journal.

"Socialism" means simply that "the dividing" must cease, and that labor shall have that which it produces—or at least this is what I have learned in my personal contact with the leading English, French, German, Italian and American Socialists.—Wm. S. Maudby, Typo Journal.

Writes Comrade Frederic Milton Dennis, of Highland Falls, N. Y.: "I suggest that all Socialists, when asked by newboys to buy a paper, should ask them if they have Socialist papers. You should have seen the consternation on their faces when I asked the question tonight."

Oakland, Cal., Socialists have nominated a complete city ticket. Their platform is the Seattle platform. It continues to grow in popularity.

Comrade Debs is to lecture in Oakland, Cal., March 26th.

Comrade Hagerty will lecture in Pullman, Wash., March 16th; Vancouver, B. C., March 18th; Victoria the 19th or 20th; Ballard, 21st; Seattle, March 22d.

The Miners' Magazine is authority for the statement that Ella Wheeler Wilcox has her books printed in a non-union shop in Indiana. Material interest vs. sentimentalism.

"But you Socialists do not declare for the municipal ownership of the water supply." We Socialists are not wasting the energies of a campaign on a single local issue. Read the preamble of our local platform and you discover that the Socialist Party of Oakland has affirmed its "adherence to the principles and program of international revolutionary Socialism," which at all times and everywhere stands not only for the public ownership of so-called "public utilities," but for the public ownership of all the means of production and distribution, the democratic control, the cooperative working thereof, and to the workers the full product of their labor."—California Socialist.

The opening of a Dog-meat Eating House" in Forst, Germany, is announced by Berlin Vorwaerts with the remark: "We keep drawing nearer the condition of a place under siege, the only difference is that the attacking enemy, who shuts off our food supply, is in our own land." This unpatriotic statement ought to wring from Emperor Wilhelm another speech or two, and mean jail for the Vorwaerts editor.—Cleveland Citizen.

Fred Long, the well-known Philadelphia printer, has been elected secretary of Pennsylvania Socialist Party.

In Floridsdorf, a suburb of Vienna, the Socialists scored a big victory by completely routing the Anti-Semites out of office.

The Socialists have gained several seats in the municipal council at Bologna. This is really a great victory. They have also won two seats at the municipal elections at Como.

In Durlach, Baden (Germany), all the old parties combined against the Socialists in a local election. Result: the Socialists polled double the vote of the combine and captured 24 out of 28 seats.

New York Socialists challenged S. B. Dasher, president of the National Economic League, to debate, but Mr. D. declined and now some of the Socialists are after other officers of this league that is going to wipe out "Socialistic heresies."

A law is contemplated in Holland prohibiting railroad strikes. To prevent its passage 90,000 employees have gone on strike.

Mr. Gompers says: "Keep out of politics," or does he mean keep out of all politics except MY politics? However that may be, if Sammy will adjust his spectacles and peruse the following portion of the constitution of the International Association of Machinists he may find something of interest to him:

"Clause 7. To stimulate the political education of its members to understand their political rights and use the ballot intelligently in their respective political parties, to the end that the Government may be a government for and by the people, and not be used as a tool to further the ends of combination of capital for its own personal aggrandizement.

"Clause 8. We recommend to our members to at once set about securing the nomination and election of pronounced trade unionists in municipal, state and national legislatures, to the end that it will not be necessary to humiliate our citizenship in the future with fruitless petitions."—Railway Employees' Journal.

Pennsylvania State Committee has refused to recognize Omaha as National Headquarters until a referendum has been taken.

At least 2,500 people in Faneuil Hall, Boston, listened to a debate between Carey and F. J. Stimson, Democratic candidate for governor of Massachusetts at the last election. He was Carey's off his feet and has learned how not to tackle a Socialist buzz-saw.

Much excitement was aroused in Newcastle, Pa., over the attempt of the local Catholic priests to prevent Catholics from hearing the debate in which Father McGrady took part. Such interference helps Socialism. Just keep right on. You are in a hard fix, you defenders of Capitalism.

Correspondence

HERE'S CHOOSING FOR YOU.

Some Morgan Breezes From Omaha.

Here are some names four your wicked old Gladiator suggested by ye scribe. If they smack of bombs, smell of red blood or sizzle with sulphur fumes remember they come from a "non-class conscious," "inexperienced" bunch of Middle Class Agricultural Ragged, Rumped Working Class Socialists, who stand ready to pollute the fountain springs of the national organization at their earliest opportunity:

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2. No Compromise.
3. Illustrated Class Struggle.
4. The Revolutionist.
5. The Revolutionary Socialist.
6. Illustrated Revolutionist.
7. American Revolutionist.
8. Cartoon Revolutionist.
9. Working Class Revolutionist.
10. American Marxist.
11. Illustrated Marxist.
12. Cartoon Marxist or Marxian.
13. Working Class Socialism.
14. The Wage Worker.
15. Illustrated Wage Worker or Wage Slave.
16. Wage Slave and Capitalist.
17. Robber and the Robbed.
18. American Wage Slave.
19. The Impending Crisis.
20. Crisis of Capitalism.
21. Doom of Capitalism.
22. Weighed in the Balance.
23. The Crisis.
24. The World Crisis.
25. American Crisis.
26. International Revolutionist.
27. Socialist Schemer.
28. Sword of Justice.
29. The Full Product.
30. Socialist Critic.
31. Cartoon Working Class.
32. Socialist Agitator.
33. Illustrated Socialist Agitator.
34. Capitalist Earthquake.
35. The Earthquake.
36. Coming Conflict.
37. Working Class Cyclone.
38. American Cyclone.
39. Industrial Cyclone.
40. Capitalist Cyclone.
41. The Emancipator.
42. Working Class Emancipator.
43. Wage Slave Emancipator.
44. American Emancipator.
45. Workers of the World.
46. United Workers.
47. The Disinherited.
48. World's Disinherited.
49. The Trodden Tollers.
50. The World's Wealth-makers.
51. Working Class Ultimatum.
52. Triumph of the Working Class.
53. Reign of the Working Class.

MORGAN.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION?

Aberdeen, Wash., Jan. 16, 1903.

Editor "Socialist."

I wish to ask you through the columns of your paper this: If we get compulsory arbitration in this state will that help to increase the Socialist vote in the near future?

If I might by showing workingmen once more that no government but a Socialist government will ever do the working class any good. Compulsory arbitration would be compulsory capitalist arbitration. And any kind of arbitration amounts to the same thing. The capitalists always get their own men on the Arbitration Board. See what a farce the Pennsylvania compulsory arbitration commission is. Only one man in the whole lot who even pretends to represent labor. Arbitration is a sop, a bone to keep you busy, while wage robbery goes right on the same as ever.—Ed.

5th Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Price, 50 cents. It is probably the best single book on Socialism since Engels' "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." We shall give at least a few more installments, until all our readers can get Kerr's volume—which is translated by Comrades A. M. and May W. Simons.

COMPULSORY!

There seems to me to be a painful inability in our city branches to deal with the problem of churching the toiling masses. The Christian church, however, has the power and authority to secure legislation, and we should have such laws upon our state books as would compel the laboring men and their women to attend God's services on Sunday. Without a compulsory attendance law our churches will continue to dwindle in membership, and therefore I ask, if it not be high time our Christian soldiers acted.—Rev. Eugene B. Willard, of Boston.

I suppose this kind of loving discipline would require the working people to pay for the privilege of being forced to go to church—the cost would check off as they do for some of the unions. Great scheme! No doubt God will bless it as He seems always to do so long as His worshippers have political power.—Burgess.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

(Continued from page Two)

possibility of a time coming when "collective bargaining, together with its necessary accompaniment—the collective withholding of labor and the occasional stoppage of the industry—will be made impossible, or at least costly and difficult, by the judicial interpretation of the law."

We must not forget that the trade unions have up till now proved themselves, at the most, only a nuisance to the employers, and of any real limitation of exploitation by the trade unions there can be no question. One can easily imagine how the State would proceed to work, even in that Eldorado of trade unionism, England, if the trade unions really succeeded in putting a perceptible restraint on the will of capital.

(To be continued.)

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THOUGHTS BY YOUR UNCLE

Of all the experiences! After five years in Washington and Idaho, crossing the Rocky mountains safely four times by various routes, each time in the winter, to finally get snow-bound by a blizzard in the southern state of Kentucky.

Saturday morning, Feb. 14, I left Newport, Ky., for Ashland, Ky., and vicinity, the state committee believing that the organization of several locals might be effected. On the way I stopped at Mayville, one of these shoeing river towns, and hunted unsuccessfully for the one lone Socialist whose name I had. Mayville is more typically Southern than the average Ohio river town. Sleepy, and with a feeling in the air that the citizens recognized its somnolence and decay and had given up hope. There are one or two small industries, including one or two cotton mills. I passed one mill on my way to the depot just before 1 o'clock, and the average representative crowd of wage slaves were huddled in front of the gate in the rain waiting for the whistle to blow. The crowd was illustrative of eastern conditions and the evolution of capitalistic production. There were about a dozen in the huddle—two men, four women, and six or seven children, boys and girls, ranging from 5 to 15 or 16 years of age. There were three or four that did not look a day over 5 or 6, but wave labor-stunts and dwarfs our children so that it is becoming impossible to any longer tell their age by either looks or action. I got one of the boys apart from the rest and interviewed him.

"How much do you get for working in the mill?"

"Dollar 'n half."

"A week?"

"Yes."

"How much do the little bits of kids get?"

"Dollar 'n half."

"What! Well, how much do the women and men get?"

"Dollar 'n half to \$4. That is, some of the men get \$4. That's the highest."

And from the looks on their faces and in their eyes it was evident that they had no hopes of ever getting any more. It gives one a shock to look in the faces of human beings and see there the expression one finds in a dog whose spirit has been broken by a brutal master.

Wage slavery in the democratic South is far more degrading and dispiriting than even the wage slavery in the Republican North.

The hopeless, abject attitude of these poor slaves haunted me all the way to Ashland, and I can imagine the feelings that urged the old-time abolitionist to denounce chattel slavery.

I found a queer condition at Ashland. There has been a good, strong local of the party there, but a strike in the iron mills has forced many to leave town to look for work. I spoke Sunday in the opera house, after the Odd Fellows' hall had been secured, advertised, and then the doors locked against us. It was a miserable day, rain came down in torrents, and it was a wonder anybody came out. The meeting, however, was a fairly good one, and much enthusiasm was manifested. Comrade Jones from Huntington, W. Va., organizer A. F. of L. for West Virginia, Ohio and Kentucky, and president Huntington Central Labor Union, acted as chairman, and stated that had it not been for the inclement weather enough of the boys from Huntington would have come down to have packed the hall with our help from Ashland.

The capitalist system shows its cloven hoof everywhere, and Ashland, Ky., was no exception. It seems the iron mills here signed the Amalgamated scale and sometime since deliberately broke it. The men went on strike for the advance promised by the scale, which, even though they won, would mean but 17 per cent. of the wealth they produce. Nearly all the employees live in company houses, and it is customary here as elsewhere, to deduct the rent from the

pay of the employees before paying them. The regular monthly pay day came around the other week after the strike had been on for some days. Organizer Bowen of the local lives on a short street in one of a row of 19 houses owned by the company. It so happened that Comrade Bowen and the other 18 families had their rent all paid up to date, but nevertheless, and despite the fact that each worker had \$50 or \$60 coming to them, when they drew their pay envelopes, not one of those 19 families got a cent. How was that, you say? Oh, it is simple. The company put a receipt in each envelope for enough months' rent in advance to equal the money the poor devils foolishly thought they had coming. And the capitalist class are so horrified at confiscation by anyone except themselves. Some families were left without a cent to buy food and other necessities. But the company got its rent, which, I presume, is all that is necessary to consider.

The Ohio state secretary had written asking the Ashland boys to help organize Ironton, Ohio, just across the river and so I went over there Monday, during the beginning of the blizzard, to see about it. Found one street car conductor who had the reputation of being a Socialist, but he seemed to draw the line at having anything to do with a public Socialist meeting, and he passed me on to a blacksmith employed in one of the big machine shops, whom he recommended as a warm number. I found him, but his summer period of enthusiasm must have been a long time ago. He was as cold as the weather became the next day. He threw up both hands as soon as I introduced myself.

"No," he said, "I've got through with it. The d--n fools don't know enough to vote for themselves. I've quit. I don't vote or agitate any more. I'm through."

I couldn't even get him to promise me to come to a meeting if one were held. And I would have held a meeting that night, whether or no, if the weather did not promise to be something awful.

The next morning I woke up to find a blizzard had been in Kentucky, the river was almost out of its banks, steam and electric cars had given up the ghost, and the high wind even stopped river traffic. Finally, however, about 1 o'clock an attempt was made to get a street car through from Ashland to Catlettsburg and Huntington, and as the boys in the latter place had promised to get up a big meeting for that night, Comrade Bowen and I got aboard and started. It is supposed to take an hour to make the trip, but we got stalled several times, the power gave out every once in a while, and when we did get to Huntington it was half-past five, thermometer below zero, a strong, biting wind blowing, and the few people on the street had no other ambition in life than to get home as soon as they could and stay there. And then we found the boys, on account of the weather, had given up the meeting.

I found Socialists scattered along everywhere, almost, in Kentucky, and there are going to be some good locals at Huntington, Central City and Guyandotte, W. Va. The movement is growing faster than most of us have any idea of.

All trains snowbound until Thursday, save one or two uncertain accommodation outfits, but I finally got back to Newport Thursday afternoon.

The boys in Kentucky and Cincinnati have made up their minds to start a local Socialist paper, and I put in Friday and Sunday helping them to plan details on lines of the Educational Union of Seattle. There is a vast field here for a local paper, the large English-speaking German element making a large subscription list assured. A good deal of stock has already been subscribed, and as the boys here are solid and clear on the working-class progress, and for which they acknowledge The Seattle Socialist is responsible, they ought to get out a paper that will be a credit to the movement.

I gave an impromptu illustrated lecture in Covington last night, and speak in Cincinnati Wednesday and Friday, Dayton (Ky.), Thursday and leave for Chicago Saturday.

Before closing I wish to add a few words of praise for the Kentucky boys. It does one good to meet such a determined, clear-cut bunch. To them money is of no use unless it is spent in Socialist propaganda. The Covington local alone spent over \$800 last year for propaganda, and this year it will exceed \$1,000. It is spent the right way, too. No wishy-washy stuff goes with them. They want the real thing, and as a result they are gaining members as well as the confidence of the working class. They have leased a building on Main street and have one of the best public halls in the city, with commodious ante and committee rooms. The renting of the big hall to other parties more than pays the lease. They practically get their big hall for nothing. I throw this out as a pointer for bigger cities who ought to do even better—Seattle, for example.

The Cincinnati boys are doing well, too. They now have 17 ward branches, and new members are coming fast and voluntarily. The capitalist dailies are beginning to scent the danger, and are already, this far from election, grinding out the most ridiculous and illogical editorials showing how Socialism never has worked and never will. Ohio and Kentucky have a larger percentage than usual of individual members who are exceptionally intelligent, clear, uncompromising and energetic. They wanted to see "that boogie," and I wanted to see them, and I believe there is mutual satisfaction on both sides. But darn this Kentucky weather.

UNCLE SAM.

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HERRON-ISMS.

Socialism has not come to tinker with the world, but to revolutionize the world; not to mend the old world, but to end the old world.

There is only one thing for the slave, and that is to set him free.

There is only one answer to the disinherited, and that is justice.

There is only one preparation for liberty and responsibility, and that is the experience of liberty and responsibility.

We have no right to that which nature or providence meant us to have except we have it together. We ought not to desire it, except as we desire it for the common good of a world of brothers.

If the working-man should realize his power, what do you think would happen?

No master can hand down freedom to the people. By their own faith must life and labor purify themselves from the marks of slavery.

There can be no liberty without economic liberty. If a few men own the earth, they own the people who live on the earth. There is no freedom in choosing owners. It is not simply a question of wages. It is a question of men's owning themselves or of someone else owning them.

There can be no liberty until the people own the things they live upon.

The capitalistic theory rests on degradation. Socialism comes proclaiming brotherhood. You can't escape the law of brotherhood any more than you can escape the law of gravitation.

There is no freedom for any until there is freedom for all.

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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. 3428.

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 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 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, ss. L. C. A. Koepfli, County Clerk of King County, 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.

L. C. A. KOEPFLI, Clerk.
By D. R. Sicksels, Deputy Clerk.

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