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The Socialist

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TO ORGANIZE THE SLAVES OF CAPITAL TO VOTE THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION

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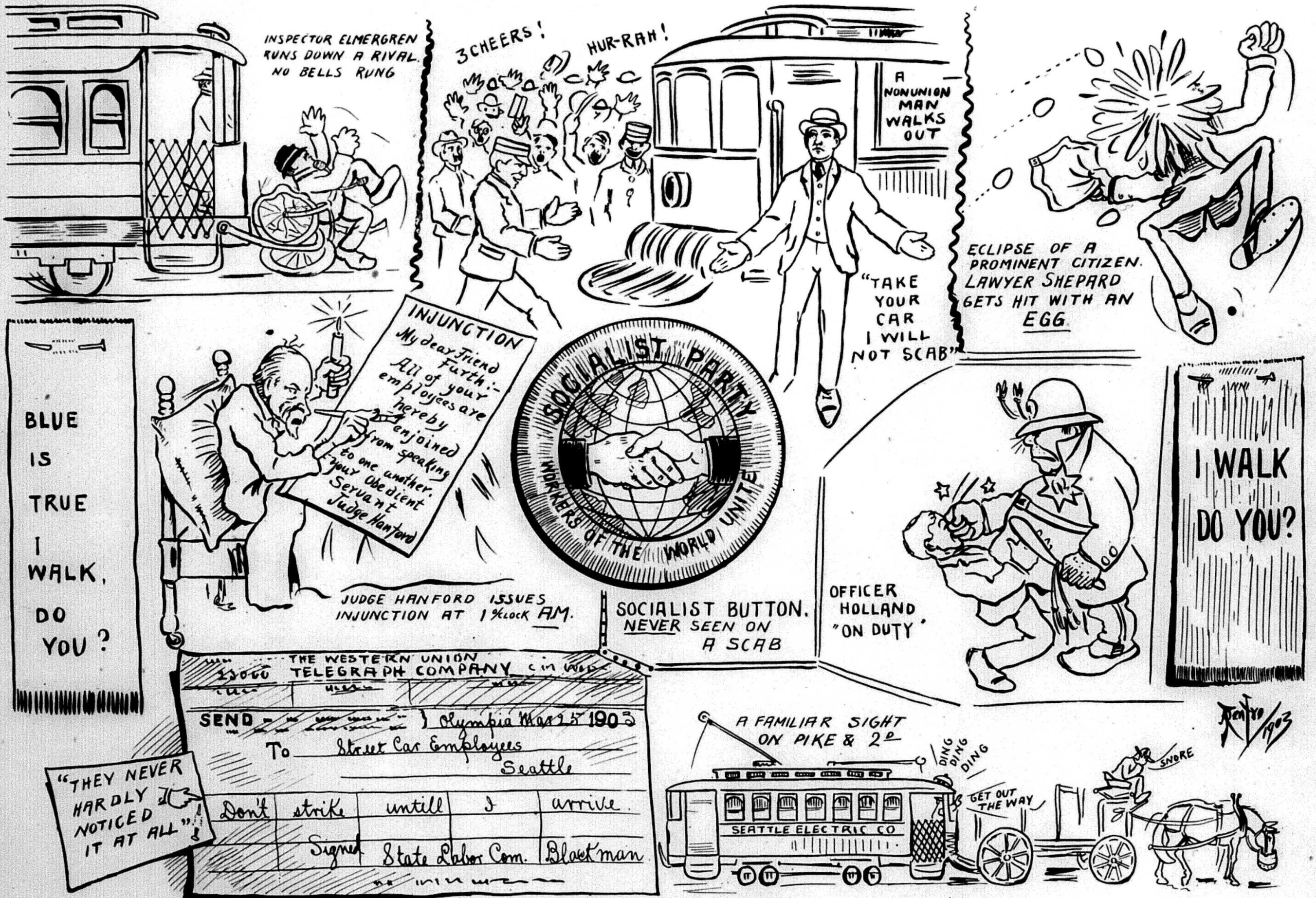
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No. 138

MOST COMPLETE TIE UP EVER SEEN

STREET CAR STRIKE TOLD IN PICTURES

See Next Page—Look Out for Another Special Tomorrow



SCABS WEAR STARS AND DRAW GUNS.

The Mayor Responsible for This, Who Appointed Them Special Officers.

Both Carson and Schiffer are said to have displayed shining stars under their coats at the same time they flashed their guns out this morning. We expected this, but not quite so soon. No government, except a workingman's government, will protect the workingman.

"The Socialist" is a Daily, if the strikers need it. Look out for next issue with portraits of the men who are conducting this strike. Also a special cartoon drawn by one of the strikers.

Joseph G. Sheldon, delegate to the Western Central Labor Union, and one of the most active supporters of the strike, saved a scab from violence yesterday in a very conspicuous manner.

The crowd of sympathizers way out on Pike street was likely to pull the inexperienced motorman off the car, when Sheldon jumped on the platform, warned the crowd off and actually took the car up the street, out of danger. That is a sample of the Union methods of peaceful strife.

ROLL OF INFAMY.

A List of Scabs—Traitors to Our Cause.

The following list is posted in Union Headquarters and is published for the

benefit of all Union men. Notice. All members are requested to memorize these names for future reference:

- CAMPBELL.
- CUMMINGS.
- SCANLAN.
- MURPHY.
- SOHLER.
- HARDIN.
- TEETS.
- ROLAND BROS.
- OSBORNE.
- SANGREN.
- HICKS.
- JOHNSON.
- MILHOLLAND.
- ALLEN.
- HERDMAN.
- DAWSON.
- SCHIFFLER.

SOCIALIST PARTY

TRADES UNIONS RESOLUTIONS.

The National Committee of the Socialist Party in annual session assembled, hereby reaffirms the attitude of the party toward the trade union movement as expressed in the resolution on the subject adopted by the Indianapolis convention of 1901.

We consider the trade union movement and the Socialist movement as inseparable parts of the general labor movement, produced by the same economic forces and tending towards the same goal, and we deem it the duty of each of the two movements to extend its hearty co-operation and support to the other in its special sphere of activity.

But we are also mindful of the fact that each of the two movements has

its own special mission to perform in the struggle for the emancipation of labor, that it devolves on the Trade Unions to conduct the economic struggles of the working class, that it devolves on the Socialist party to fight the political battles of the working class, and that the interests of labor as a whole will be best conserved by allowing each of the movements to manage the affairs within its own sphere.

The Socialist Party will continue to give its aid and assistance to the economic struggles of organized labor regardless of the affiliation of the trade unions engaged in the struggle, and will take no sides in any dissensions or strifes within the trade union movement. The party will also continue to solicit the sympathy and support of all trade organizations of labor without allowing itself to be made the

ally of any one division of the trade union movement as against another.

We also declare that we deem it unwise to invite trade unions as such to be represented in the political conventions of our party.

No Fusion.

Whereas, The history of the labor movement of the world has conclusively demonstrated that a Socialist Party is the only political organization able to adequately and consistently conduct the political struggles of the working class, and

Whereas, All "radical and reform" parties, including the so-called "Union Labor Parties," have, after a brief existence, uniformly succumbed to the influence of the old political parties and have proven disastrous to the ultimate end of the labor movement, and

Whereas, Any alliance, direct or in-

direct, with such parties is dangerous to the political integrity and the very existence of the Socialist Party and the Socialist movement, and

Whereas, At the present stage of development of the Socialist movement of this country there is neither necessity nor excuse for such alliance, therefore be it

Resolved, That no state or local organization, or member of the party shall, under any circumstances, fuse, combine or compromise, with any political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations in order to further the interests of candidates of such parties or organizations.

Organize! Organize! Organize! you slaves of capital in the shape of the Boston Street Railway Syndicate. Stand together, or you will fall separately.

The Roadmaster's Objections

By Father Hagerty



I was sitting in the conductor's arm chair in the caboose of a mixed train coming from British Columbia to Montana when the conversation chanced to turn upon the burning question of the day, Socialism. The brakeman, who, with the fireman, does the hardest part of the train work, came in just as the word "Socialism" was mentioned and blurted out at me:

"What 'ell do you take us for? Here I'm slaving away for twelve and often sixteen hours at the time, with a wife and five kids to take care of, and I tell you I don't get much champagne and porterhouse steaks on my measy sixty dollars a month. Do you think that I'm going to divide my hard-earned sixty with a lot of hoboes who won't work?"



THE ROADMASTER.

The rotund roadmaster listened to him with evident agreement and, before I had time to reply to the poor brakeman, interposed with a tirade of abuse against the section-hands and extra gangs who were making it more and more impossible for the division superintendents and roadmasters to show a decent record at headquarters out of their labor.

"When I've a bad stretch of track and I get orders to put it in shape, these d—n lazy 'snipes' won't do a d—n bit more than they do any other time. They don't take any interest in the road; they don't put their heart into their work; and just as soon as they get enough ahead for 'booze' they goes off and leaves me in the hole. Where in hell would they be if it weren't for Jim Hill? Who gives them their jobs? Who opens up all this new country and gives the workmen of this country plenty of work? Ain't it Jim Hill? Who's got more right to own this road, Jim Hill or a lot of 'snipes'?"

"Your questions, my dear sir," I replied, "cover a great deal more ground than you imagine, just as a professor in the final college examinations can put a simple-looking question which will take up ten hours' hard writing to answer, as, for example, 'Explain the origin, history and various developments of the science of chemistry.'"

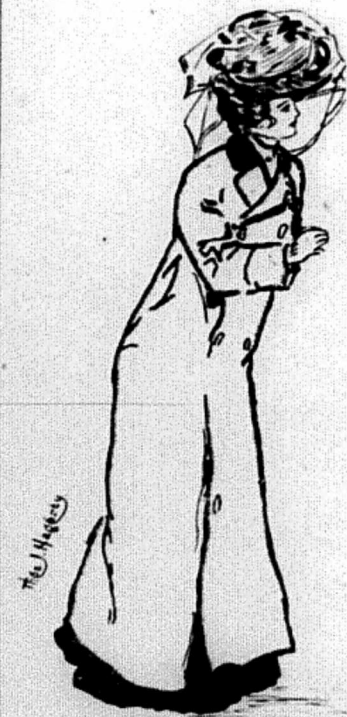
"In the first place, if we are to measure the laziness of which you speak by the amount of wages which the 'snipes' receive as compared to the amount which you get, they are the most active, diligent, and strenuous employees on the entire system. You never handle a crow-bar or shovel and the greater part of your work, which is purely clerical, is done by your under-paid clerk. You do not exude much perspiration in signing your reports and trip passes and occasionally pocketing the monthly rake-off from section bosses. What right, in the essence of things, have you to make a

record out of other men's work? There are scores of 'snipes' on every road who are just as competent to fill the position of roadmaster as you are. Many of them are men of splendid education, who, finding brains a drug upon the capitalist markets, have been driven by the lash of hunger to accept any sort of work which offers bread and meat enough to keep them alive. You ask me in what county in the nether regions they would be if it were not for Jim Hill's giving them a chance to work. I answer you that Jim Hill's stocks and bonds would not last as long as a snow-ball in Georgia if they did not derive their value from the stolen labor of the section hands, brakemen, switchmen, etc. Jim Hill does not open anything newer than Mumm's Extra Dry in his private car, or, perhaps, now and then a Jack-pot. You speak of the 'snipes' spending their money in 'booze.' Did it ever strike you that the conditions of their work, the sordid surroundings of the ordinary section house, the loneliness of the life they lead, the absence of the ordinary means of pleasure, and the contempt in which their position is held by the world at large have a good deal to do with driving them to drink? If you were a physician, you would understand that exhausting toil, exposure to all sorts of weather, and the lack of sanitary conveniences, coupled with the horrible monotony of the occupation, constitute strong predisposing influences to drink.

"The section hands really do the hardest part of the work on railroads and they get the smallest wages. Why should they love their work? Why should they put their heart into it and make still greater exertions for the interests of the company? They are bound to be robbed of all the fruit of their toil over and above mere existence anyway. A man is a fool, under the present industrial system of exploitation, to do any more work for the robber corporations than he can not help.

"The whole system of industry today is one of dividing up. Here is this brakeman who raises such a howl about dividing up his 'measy sixty per month with a lot of hoboes who won't work.' But you don't hear him raising any howl about dividing up his monthly labor with a lot of richly dressed hoboes on Fifth Avenue, New York, who draw their income from stocks in this road, or in other words, from the toll of the laborers on this road.

"Ten to one, he would have an attack of acute megakephalitis—that's a medical term for the swelled head—if one of these same Fifth Avenue hoboes who is living off the sweat of his brow, should condescend to notice him swinging gracefully onto the last step of the caboose as his freight pull by her private car. And if she should go so far as actually to speak to him as she stands buttoning her gloves—which he has helped to pay for out of his exploited labor—on the platform, he would forget to bring home the corned beef for the kids' supper.



ONE OF THE HOBOES.

"You fellows make me tired. You are, at best, nothing more than wage-slaves, who are too confoundedly ignorant to know that you are being robbed. If you got mashed to a jelly in making a coupling, Jim Hill wouldn't lose one minute's sleep and wouldn't feel half as sorry as if one of his carriage horses went lame. The Employer's Liability Law would exempt him from the expenses of your funeral, but it wouldn't supply him with a new horse free. Your widow wouldn't have a big bank account where with to

take care of the kids. Do you know the reason? It's because you and men like you have been voting the world and the fulness thereof into the exclusive ownership of Jim Hill and his class; and voting hunger and all the wretched narrowness and uncertainty of poverty for your wife and little ones.

"Here are some pamphlets for you wage-slaves to read, and here's a copy of The Socialist to which I advise you to subscribe. When you shall have finished them, you will know more than Jim Hill and you will cease crawling on your bellies in the dust and cinders of this road before a lot of gilded hoboes with whom you have been dividing up the hard-won product of your labor and to whom you have been voting silks and diamonds every election day while your wives and kids go in calicoes and brass jewelry."

THOS J. HAGERTY.

THE HEADQUARTERS REFERENDUM.

Two referendums, those called for by the locals, fully explained in an other column, are now to be submitted to the party vote. The forms have been sent to the state secretaries, and will be sent by them to the various local secretaries. The vote should be taken as soon as possible, and as many as possible of the party members should be got to vote, so as to have as full an expression of the whole party will as possible.

We believe that all three propositions of referendum No. 1 should receive an unqualified Yes, and all four propositions of referendum No. 2 should be given an equally unqualified vote of No. Voting No on the first proposition of No. 2 will give an opportunity to disapprove the summary manner of the removal of the old local quorum, while voting No on the second proposition will refuse to reinstate the old quorum. Voting Yes on the three propositions of No. 1 will establish the headquarters at Chicago and name a new local quorum grouped in five states adjacent to Chicago.

We believe Omaha and the present quorum should be rejected for at least four reasons.

First.—Because the five states, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, Iowa and Missouri are distinctly agricultural states, casting a very light Socialist vote, and we are not ready to turn the Socialist party over to the control of men who represent, in the main, a farming constituency. Every one will say, and rightly, that the Socialist party has become a Farmer's party, a new edition of the Peoples' party.

Second.—Because it is openly argued that "the class-conscious farmers the rural proletariat of this country, are the sincerest and truest guardians of the interests of the working class." Ernest Untermann, certainly one of the most active and influential members of the new quorum, is the author of this language, in an argument favoring the new Omaha headquarters, as the proper center of the Socialist movement in America. A. M. Simons and W. T. Mills are equally ardent supporters of this new move in favor of the "Rural Proletariat." Simons has declared in favor of Omaha in the last number of the International Socialist Review. It was to be expected, in view of his position as the author of "The American Farmer," which is an argument for the farmer to join the Socialist party. It will certainly be a Revolution in the Socialist party if it turns away from the wage-workers and commits itself, its headquarters and its executive management to the agricultural "Middle West."

Third.—Because the man who was most influential in securing the establishment of the headquarters at Omaha, and who is now its warmest defender, is a man who ignores the Class Struggle as the central element in our political program. The selection of Omaha will be regarded as the triumph of Walter Thomas Mills in the councils of the party. He stands for an equal appeal to all classes. That is a more revolutionary position to take than to address the chief appeal to the farmers. The fact that the Omaha comrades themselves are class-conscious and clear, has no bearing. They have practically nothing to do with the local quorum. It is the general drift of this "New Departure" that is to be discovered.

Fourth.—Because it puts a very influential member of the national executive in the office of the "Appeal to Reason." Considering that this paper has until within a few weeks, utterly ignored the class struggle and stood for state socialism, it will appear to "a man up a tree" as if the Socialist party had put itself in a very equivocal position when it allows itself, even in appearance, to draw its inspiration from the "Appeal" sanctum.

Taken all together, the whole four reasons, (1) the farmer states for headquarters, (2) the argument for the "Rural Proletariat" as our "truest guardians," (3) and (4) the influence of Mills and Wayland, both hitherto uncertain as to the working class

basis of our party, both with strong Populist antecedents, together with the farmer mania of Untermann, Simons and other supporters of the Omaha headquarters; and it will be seen that a vote for Omaha is a vote for a veritable change in policy in the Socialist party.

A vote for Chicago means a vote for Working-class Socialism. A vote for Omaha means a vote for no-class Socialism, or for a farmer-class leadership.

THE SEATTLE ELECTRIC CO. AND ITS EMPLOYEES.

(Reprinted from "The Socialist" of June 1, 1902.)

Justice Cann has a little court room in the Pioneer block at Seattle. Last Monday afternoon it was the scene of a trial big with significance, though no capitalist daily paper said a word about it.

One street railway conductor was charged by another with assault. The room where the trial was in progress was crowded with street railway men, and intense feeling was manifested in their faces.

The evidence was quite one-sided. The accused, Milholland, had only one witness besides himself, and that one was the man, Schiffer, who was his companion in the assault. Not a single witness out of the crowd that witnessed the affair appeared in behalf of the accused, while several witnesses beside the complainant, Kilduff, agreed in their testimony that Milholland had struck Kilduff with his left hand and at the same instant had lifted his right hand in his coat pocket in the most threatening and significant manner, as if he held a gun there. He had also employed the most foul language that one witness could not be prevailed upon to repeat it until ladies were dismissed from the room.

Notwithstanding this overwhelming evidence, the judge dismissed the case with "Five dollars fine and costs—the same as for common drunk."

The most noticeable thing about the trial was the conduct of the state's attorney, Griffith. He actually appeared as counsel for the defendant. He interrupted and abused his own witnesses for the prosecution, he refused to allow the recall of a witness for the prosecution, who declared he had gotten an important item, he allowed Milholland and Schiffer to introduce all sorts of irrelevant testimony he did not cross examine them at all, and finally, instead of entering a plea for the prosecution, he declared to the court, "I don't think there is anything in the case."

Behind the Scenes—An Exciting Story. Contrary to the opinion of Lawyer Griffith, there was something in the case—for us, if not for him.

Here is a story of the relations of Capital and Labor, a story of the methods employed by Capital to keep its slaves in subjection, a story of the temptations held out to the slaves to turn against their fellow-slaves, a story of the danger incurred by the slaves when they dare to resist their masters.

During the last two months the employees of the Seattle Electric Company have formed a union in affiliation with the national organization. Every endeavor has been made by the company to thwart this action. Heretofore the men have had only an easy going local union, a sort of fraternal society, instead of a fighting union.

But the most active man in favor of this real labor union was Harry Kilduff, an old A. R. U. man, who has been blacklisted on the big railways ever since the great strike of '94. G. W. Dickinson, now manager of the electric company, was formerly assistant general manager of the Northern Pacific Railway company.

The company known here as "The Seattle Electric Company," but really an eastern syndicate controlling city railroads in nearly forty cities in the United States, is perfectly aware that an allowance of wages from 25 to 30 cents an hour for 500 men would mean a difference of over \$100,000 a year, or enough to pay 10 per cent dividends on more than a million dollars of stock. This is the reason the company is determined to prevent the organization of a real union which will fight for better wages. The men get, say \$2.25 per day of ten hours. They earn that \$2.25 in five hours at the most. The other five hours they are working without pay like chattel slaves, piling up dividends for idle capitalists who are their parasitic masters.

This is the reason Furth & Dickinson and Kempster fight the unions, because they would enable the slaves to command a slightly larger portion of their product. The more wages the less dividends.

But to the story. Kilduff was discharged for his activity in organizing the new union. But he kept right on organizing just the same. Then it was that Schiffer, a motorman in the company's employ, approached Kilduff, told him he ought to have learned his lesson in old A. R. U. days; advised him to get "next" to himself, to go and see Manager Dickinson, and assured him he would be reinstated all right.

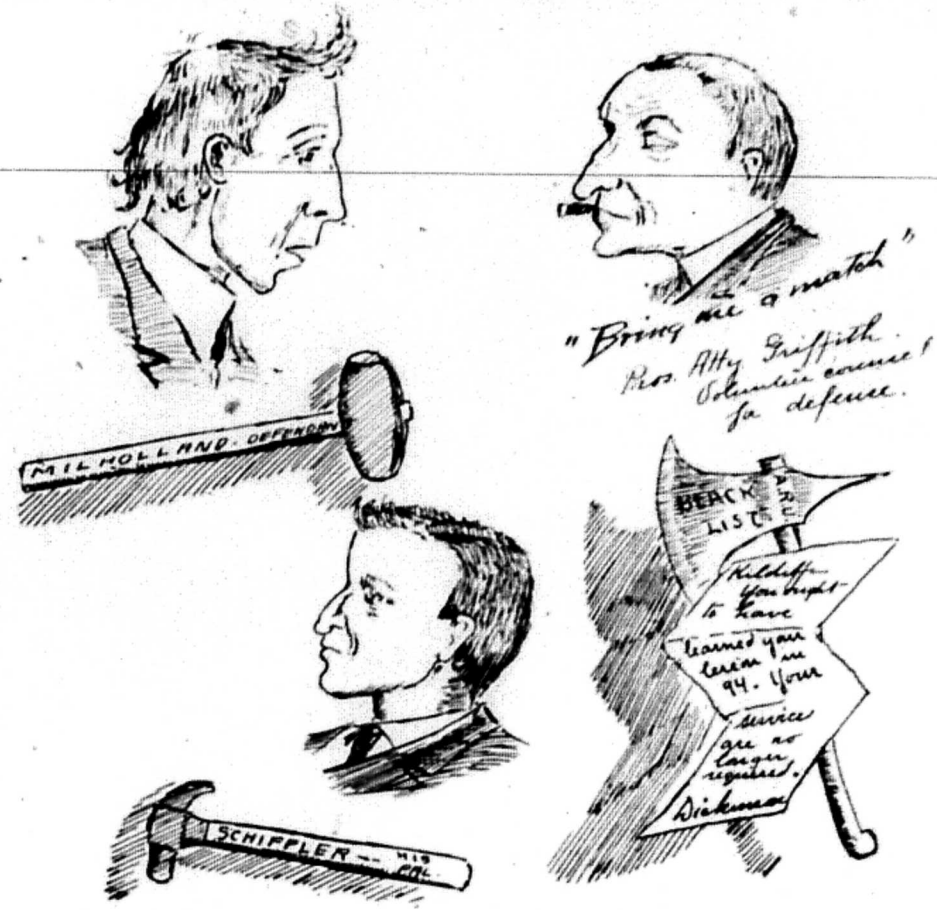
Kilduff saw Dickinson. Dickinson told him he must "cut out his agitation." Kilduff said all right, but he would remain a union man. Dickinson replied: "We'll take care of the union."

Kilduff went back to work. Schiffer and Milholland then thought they had captured their man. They unfolded their plans. Kilduff was reminded that the union could not last three months anyhow; that every leader might just as well hold his job and get a better, etc., etc. So they proposed to him that a slate be fixed up for the election of officers in the union, composed of such men as would see to it that the union would not succeed. They also proposed that they defeat the attempt to affiliate with the national order and make it a local union instead.

The three men, Schiffer, Milholland and Kilduff, for two days before the meeting of the union, were laid off by the company on full pay, for the express purpose of preparing for that meeting and election.

At the meeting itself, all these plans were defeated by Kilduff in an

KNOCKERS THEN & SCABS NOW



impassioned speech denouncing "snakes in the grass" advocating affiliation with the national union, and supporting loyal union men for officers.

Then Kilduff was "fired" for good. A second interview with Furth, ensued, in which Kilduff was told he was "a dangerous man"—of course, because he dared to upset the well laid plans of Furth and Dickinson to defeat the union.

After the next meeting of the union Schiffer and Milholland sought Kilduff as he came down stairs and brought on the altercation which was the occasion of the trial before Justice Cann.

All the evidence went to show that if Kilduff had struck back when he was assaulted by Milholland, especially if he had attempted to draw a gun, he would have been shot down in cold blood by these foiled and desperate men.

But these men, as well as Furth and Dickinson and Dempster, are what they are and do what they do, because of the awful pressure of the capitalist system which Republicans and Democrats alike uphold. Only the Socialist Party aims to reach the cause of all such antagonisms, namely, the private ownership of all these great instruments of wealth production and the private appropriation of the products of labor.

Note a few points brought out in this affair:

First—The danger the workingman incurs who dares to lead a real fight against capital. He is blacklisted and his family may starve. Capital and capitalists are pitiless. Dividends must be had, if men and women and children perish.

Second—The methods by which capital controls labor unions. The "labor leader" is placed under tremendous temptation. Capital is willing to pay him, in preference or in money, anything he likes to ask. The prizes are now so great which capital in the trusts can afford to offer; skill in manipulating men is so perfected and economic power over the destitute is so complete, that a real labor union which will not make terms with capital, becomes almost an impossibility. The only place where the battle can be carried on without compromise and where victory is assured, is on the political field and at the ballot box.

Workingmen who have learned in such contests as this with the street railway trust, how implacable is the fight, how utterly antagonistic are the interests of capital and labor, these men are everywhere turning to the Socialist Party as representing that class war which must be waged until labor wins.

Third—Workingmen cannot expect justice from capitalist courts of justice. Here was a Republican judge co-operating with a Democratic prosecuting attorney to protect the accomplices of capital.

Fourth—Capitalist newspapers cannot be relied upon to take the side of labor. Here was a bitter contest, involving the rights of 500 of the best men in Seattle; a contest for common justice and the principle of labor organization, and not a paper peeps.

Two evening papers carry the headline: "The only paper in the city which dares to print the news." We challenge either of them to print the facts given in this article. The Socialist is proving itself what it claims to be. "The Workingman's Paper" and it proposes to take up the fight for the workingman against capital, whenever the other papers do not dare. This is why Madden and the powers behind Madden are seeking to destroy The Socialist.

GUN PLAY BY SCABS.

Inspector Carson run his car into a team unloading on Second avenue near University this morning. Eyewitness state there was no excuse whatever. The horses were simply run down without warning and severely injured. The crowd expressed its indignation pretty vigorously. Then the Inspector flashed his gun out. Judge Hanford had better issue an injunction against the hoodlums who run the cars. They are the ones who are adopting "threats and intimidation." Scab Schiffer also drew a gun at the barn this morning when the boys were peacefully arguing with some fellow workmen.

Read Schiffer's history in another column.

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Correspondence

"DO NOT CHANGE THE NAME."
 Sioux City Iowa, Mar. 18, 1903.
 The Socialist, Seattle.
 Dear Comrade:—Rename the paper? Why this destroying the name of THE paper that has from its birth stood firmly upon the platform of scientific class-conscious Socialism? So do not change the name. It will always be The Socialist to us, a grand name of a TRUE paper, that advocates as pure a principle as ever found place in the hearts of men. Yours for the cause,
 E. J. HANSEN

N. B.—Please note that we contend that farmers will act as indicated, not because they are farmers, but because they are property holders or hope to be. All property holders seek to protect their immediate material interests. Is our theory? Is this theory true or false?
 Respectfully,
 D. BURGESS

"A FEW CRITICISMS."
 Pullman, Wash., March 1, 1903.
 Editor Socialist:
 I have a few criticisms to offer, which are as follows:
 There is an element in the Socialist Party who are very much opposed to fusion, but who are in a measure responsible for the Californian and other entangling alliances. They have promulgated the idea that the Socialist Party was simply a weapon whereby labor organizations can get their demands of shorter hours and better pay. Or, in other words, a tall for the labor-union dog.
 If this were true then the logical condition would be that the Socialist Party should be merged into the Union Labor Party, for why should the tall continue to wag the dog?
 This same element are trying in every way to get entire labor organizations to endorse the Socialist Party when the majority of such bodies have very little conception of what socialism is, but have a vague idea that socialism is going to help them some way, who, at any time, are willing to turn the whole Socialist organization over to the Labor Party.
 In my opinion labor unions are no more socialist than are bankers' unions.
 Socialism is not taught in either, and until very recently socialism, or political action, date not be mentioned in a labor union body.
 The only reason that socialism is now tolerated in a labor union body is that many, or some, of the members are Socialists and have become Socialists outside and independent of the unions. There are also many who do not belong to any union, or who even do not work for wages, who are good Socialists.
 This same element in the Socialist Party insist that the control of the party be left in the hands of the wage-earners to the exclusion of farmers. Some even go so far as to oppose the admission of farmers to membership. They oppose the headquarters being located at Omaha, for fear of the farmer influence.
 This is all wrong. Farmers can be and are, just as good Socialists, and their interests are just as much for socialism as any other class.
 For my part, I think Omaha a good place for headquarters.
 Perhaps the quorum acted a little hasty in locating the headquarters at Omaha, but they are justified in a measure for so doing, because I consider an emergency existed.
 The conditions were such that summary measures were adopted by the delegates in removing the old local quorum and the secretary, and I consider it perfectly justifiable to remove the headquarters away from the influence of St. Louis at once, without waiting for a referendum.
 Chicago was the headquarters of one wing of the old Social Democracy and there is still an influence there that will breed anything but harmony. I believe a referendum should be taken, but I believe the quorum should be sustained.
 George Boomer, who dubs himself "Our Uncle Sam," thinks that if a farmer got into the legislature he might vote against a bill providing for shorter hours for farmhands.
 I would like to ask him how this would in any way affect the cause of socialism?
 If I understand properly, socialism is not a question of longer or shorter hours, high or low wages, but of the complete abolition of the wage system, so that each shall receive the full benefit of his toil and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.
 Comrade Burgess made us an excellent speech last fall, but there is one proposition on which he and I can not agree. He stated that each line of industry would, under socialism, get the full benefit of its particular product. For instance, if productive machinery were invented so that the work of one man would equal the work of fifty men in the old way of making shoes, and the work of one man would equal ten men at plowing, it would follow, under Comrade Burgess' plan, that the shoemaker would get five times the remuneration for the same time that the farmer got for plowing.
 This would not be equitable. I believe in absolute equality in the division of labor products amongst all the laborers provided all have labored equally faithful.
 Industry is already socialized to such an extent that one worker can not say to another, "I have produced more than you."
 It is impossible to tell how much each individual has produced. Read "Bellamy's Equality."
 Dr. Titus made a speech here last fall in which he stated that each worker family now produced about \$2,000 worth per annum and that under socialism this would probably be trebled.
 I believe this would be ample for anyone. So that there would be no need of one receiving more than another, except shorter hours for exhaustive labor.
 Dr. Titus also said that Jim Hill, being an expert, would probably be chosen superintendent of the transportation department and a non-socialist asked the doctor if he thought Jim Hill would be satisfied with the same remuneration that an ordinary fireman or section man got? Dr. Titus replied that Jim Hill would probably be paid more than the ordinary person got.
 Now, this upsets my whole theory of socialism. It would cause society to be divided into classes and castes, the same as at present.

LECTURE FEES.
 Editor Socialist, Seattle, Wash.
 The current issue of The Socialist is apt to give an exaggerated impression as to my lecture fees. It is true that in some instances the fee is high, necessarily so, since it costs considerable money to journey to the Coast and back again. But these instances are exceptions, and against them must be considered those points where no fee whatever, not even sufficient to cover hotel expense, is collected. For instance, when I last spoke in Seattle you will remember that I received not one cent and that I paid my railroad fare to and from Seattle and all my personal expense. Neither did I receive any fee at Spokane, where I delivered two addresses and paid my own railroad fare to and from the city. At Olympia I received \$25.00 through the kindness of the Rev. Mrs. H. S. Geneva Lake, and this, suspecting that it came from her private pocket, I accepted under protest. At Elberton I received \$10.00 and this is all that was paid me in the entire case. It need scarcely be observed that I had to borrow money to carry me along, and that when the trip was completed I had not only given my addresses free of charge, but was out a considerable amount of money for expenses.
 Many other instances might be cited but I am simply making explanation of a specific case, and not attempting any defense.
 For a full year I gave my entire time and traveled constantly from coast to coast for the Social Democratic party at a nominal salary of \$1,200 per year. I never received, nor claimed, a dollar for such service and the records will show that I paid most of my railroad fare and personal expenses. Prior to this I did the same for the American Railway Union, likewise leaving my salary under my belt while organizing, which has never been paid, nor ever claimed.
 Prior to 1895 I never accepted a dollar from any source for any speech, lecture or address, although I had delivered hundreds on all kinds of occasions and in almost every part of the country.
 It is not pleasant to tell what one has done for a cause. It savors of self-laudation, the peculiar quality of small minds. I have no desire to avoid criticism, nor to placate an enemy. I have been impelled to say this much in the interest of simple truth.
 EUGENE V. DEBS
 Terre Haute, Ind., March 19, 1903.

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 I spent the 7th and 8th in Bremerton, but without result, as the comrades there are of the opinion that if a local was to be formed there every man that joined who worked in the navy yard would be discharged.
 They claim to have evidence of their statement that anyone whose words or acts do not agree with those of the powers that be will be let out of their jobs. They say every other man is a spy and that full information concerning the membership of the local would be at the command of the local. Of course, I did not urge them to join. I considered they were the best judges of what their obligations were.
 Last year Charleston and Bremerton cast a total Socialist vote of 29 for judge of the Supreme Court.
 I put in the 9th and 10th at Brownsville, where Comrade Gass received me kindly, but the weather was very bad, so the organization was not completed, but I expect they will have a local there in a few weeks.
 I organized a local of five members at Poulsbo the evening of the 12th and expect to see a membership of at least twenty there soon, as there are many Socialists in the vicinity.
 There is a loyal and enthusiastic lot of comrades at Breidablik and they cheerfully organized and are rolling up their sleeves to make Port Gamble a Socialist precinct. The local has a charter membership of fifteen.
 Kitsap County politics have been about as rotten as can be found in this land of working-class ignorance. It has been the usual game for the sawmill companies at Port Gamble and Port Blakeley to nominate the candidates and elect them. If a candidate was successful it was a sign that he had the support of these companies and it didn't matter which ticket he was elected on. Just before election large numbers of men are hired and routed through the state by Wm. H. Wise, the national secretary of the Crusaders, thus ignoring the state committee and yet using the locals of the party to further his ends.
 Yours for the cause,
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 Comrade Cameron is at work in Skagit and Whatcom counties, but from all the Secretary can learn his financial support is not what it should be. Many times a Socialist speaker

ANOTHER WORD FROM DENVER.
 Editor Socialist.
 Enclosed find \$2.50 in postal money order for which send my address ten subscription cards of your paper, as advertised in The Socialist of Feb. 22. If we could put your paper in the hands of every Socialist of the state we would soon have a clearer movement. There is a demand for a paper with more Socialist articles in it.
 The "Appeal" has had a large circulation in this city and state; the result is a Utopian movement. Their plea is that it serves to jar people away from the old parties, but it only jars them and fills their heads full of dreams which is impossible to dislodge. It is pretty expensive to get jarred, too. How much better it would be to learn right and save both time and expense. I heartily approve of your work in clearing the "Appeal," but it will bear watching yet.
 The condition of the Socialist Party in Denver is bad. It is the headquarters for sending all sorts of wrong ideas through the state. It is the means of routing expensive and ignorant speakers. The so-called Socialist press is against those that favor pure scientific Socialism. We have had a hard fight to get free discussion at our meetings. We have only had it about two months. Speakers come here who can not stand discussion. They are allowed by the chairman to speak so long that there is no time left for anything else. Although the chairman has been instructed to cut him off at a certain time and free discussion has even been put in the constitution of the local, but even that has not at all times saved it.
 Still Wilson will again be in the state in May. He will speak on "Life." He will not permit discussion; he wants peace and harmony—so do we, but we can not tolerate the confusion he makes by insuring religion and opportunity into the few Socialist utopians he makes. There is a plea made by local Socialist speakers for each side to concede something. But the concessions they want would mean

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Under socialism I don't think we would have any use for such men as Jim Hill in his present role.
 It is true, we would need a superintendent of transportation, but there are, perhaps, thousands who could fill the place better than Jim Hill could.
 We will have Father Hagerty here. It will cost us about \$50. This seems a little steep, especially since five speeches we had last fall did not cost us that much, one of them being ex-Mayor Chase, from Massachusetts.
 I believe some of the Socialists have a wrong idea about W. T. Mills being against the wage-laborers' interests. I took his lessons and in them he urged all Socialists to belong to their respective trades unions.
 Yours truly,
 J. F. BAYMILLER.

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 Here are two theories: First, that farmers, as a class, will not join the Socialist movement so long as they own anything; second, that farmers will ignore immediate material interests and join the Socialist movement.
 I suppose all Socialists wish they could endorse the second theory, but to many of us the facts seem to be against this theory, but in common with hundreds of others and, as I hope, thousands, I am ready to study the facts.

LET US HAVE FACTS AND STUDY THEM.
 Tacoma, Wash., Mar. 21, 1903.
 Editor Socialist.
 There is, I think, a manifest and growing tendency to discuss party matters in a spirit of fairness and without impugning the motives of opponents. The last issue of The Socialist, as well as many preceding issues, was a fine illustration of the foregoing observation.
 Socialists are beginning to appreciate the fact that free, open, fair discussion is essential to progress. This is encouraging, it is inspiring. When a statement is made, or a theory advanced, we do not ask: "Who is authority for this?" But we ask: "What are the facts?" With us no amount of authority can dispense with a knowledge of the facts. Imperious, dogmatic statements by our prominent party members do not go any longer.
 If such people expect to retain the respect of the rank and file of our party they must give us facts in support of any position taken by them.
 When the "Appeal to Reason" asserts "Omaha is the center of the revolutionary section of the United States" and this fact is so well known that no argument need be adduced to prove this to a Western man, and when the International Socialist-Review lends its aid to this view, but furnishes no facts in support of its contention, we refuse to be influenced by such assertions.
 I admit that the farmer of the plains is becoming alarmed at the specter of the improved farm machine, which now stalks before him. I have found him quite willing to listen to an exposition of Socialist philosophy, but I have failed to find farmers in large number who are willing to relinquish land tenure.
 These farmers approve of collective ownership of factories, mills, shops and mines, for this would give them cheap commodities, as they think, and the city wage-worker could then buy farm products liberally and at "fair prices."
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 The farmers of the Western plains say they are revolutionary, but their ideas of revolution do not agree

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MARCH 27th, 28th, and 30th

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 Gowns, Skirts, Drawers, Skirt Chemise, regular \$1.39 quality, each **\$1.00**

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Solid color, Marie Silk Ribbon, 4 inches wide, regular 25c quality, while they last, the yard **10c**

The Hoisery Department

Joins this sale with its share of good values, women's Fast Black Cotton Hose, double heel and toe, spliced foot, regular 15c grade, the pair **9c**

Children's Double Knee Ribbed Hose, all sizes, worth 15c and 20c a pair, the pair **10c**
 Women's Fancy Hose, lace effects, with white figures, regular 30c quality, the pair **19c**

TEA

We received Tuesday, direct from the tea fields, a lot of English Breakfast Tea, and our lot was the only one passed by the Custom Officers, on account of purity. You will find this Tea equal to any you have paid 50c for, introduction price, the pound **25c**
 Pure Mocha and Java Blend Coffee, that you pay 35c for, the pound **25c**
 3 pound White Castile Soap, the bar **25c**
 White Borax Naptha Soap, the bar **4c**

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 Fleece Lined Shirts and Drawers, regular 50c quality, the garment **38c**
 Fast Black Cotton Socks, regular 12 1/2c quality, the pair, **8c**
 Misses and Children's Dresses of Every Description, Cheaper Than You can Make Them During this Sale.

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NEBRASKA BREEZES

There's a kid out there in Frisco That used to write "Advance," Who has got to belly-achin' 'Cause they swiped him in the pants. When in "upstart" dense obtusion Wierdly wailed his fond delusion As he howled for votes by "fusion" 'Cause they had so good a chance.

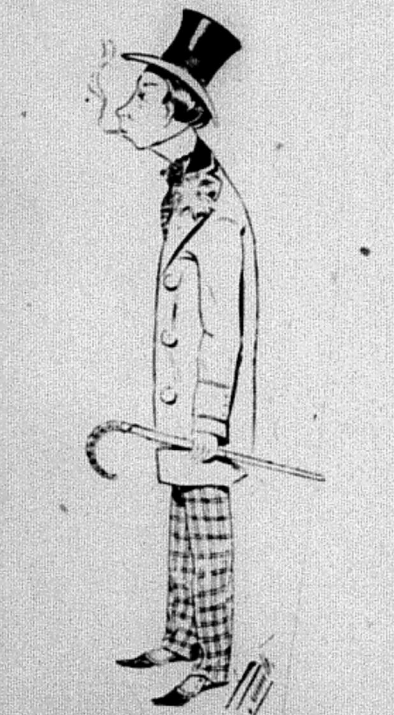
The "six kicks" of the ex-editor of "Advance" have the ring of the bulls-eye that's been "hit" and the ire of a Presbyterian whose creed has been attacked.

If I am in fault, not understanding the situation and have unjustly criticized Comrade Harriman, I beg pardon. I said but little of Comrade Harriman and nothing personal. If the California comrades can not tolerate candid criticism, their backing is not complete, and, by the way, say, the ex-Advance man expresses his soul fear that the middle class agrarian element will dominate the S. P., and deplores the location of national headquarters at Omaha; now "whence come those thinks" from the Advance man? Has he forgotten the California state convention? Was there a very conspicuous agrarian element in that convention? Did they dominate the party? Did the Advance man "shriek" out his soul-fears of middle class domination when shrieking was in order? Did he? I do not know, but if not, whence this change of heart? "Whence come these shrieks?" Echo answers: "Whither whence?"

No, I can not pose as an "intellectual" "as far as school-teaching allows one to be," as hints the Advance man. Tho' I have spent some years teaching school I am a ragged homeless revolutionary proletaire, as far as slaving in the shops, rolling mills on the section (tamping ties and shovelling in the ditch) permits one to be. My conclusion is that the working class—the work-soiled ones, not the respectable, cologne-scented ones—must dominate the Socialist party and will dominate it or make trouble for their finer-haired brethren with the gilded slave collars.

Omaha comrades are preparing for a warm city campaign. The invincibles of the second precinct of the sixth ward are giving the C. C. C. cards and spades on how to organize. They keep their kitchen conventions at white heat, have captured nearly everything worth while in sight and will soon run out of territory. Get a move on, 519, N. 16—or the second precinct, sixth ward, will move on you unaware and batter down the walls of the capital. Shall we move the headquarters out to the sixth ward? Call for referendum.

AN OBJECTOR TO SOCIALISM



A good thing—but it won't work. —The Comrade, New York.

Are the Socialists doing business? Drop into rooms 9 and 10, Arlington Block, Omaha, and watch National Secretary Mally and Comrade W. E. Clark for a few hours. If you're not on rushing S. P. business and can get in a word on any other subject between the hours of 6 a. m. and 10 p. m. you are a dandy—but no capitalist. "What in the devil do them fellows up there in the Arlington Block find to do so much?" exclaims the information seekers. "Attending to S. P. business," we reply: "Well, how in the devil can a little one-horse party have more business than the Republican and Democratic parties combined?" But time is opportunity, and we do not stop to explain other than ejaculating: "To those who sit in darkness and in the night of the capitalist mind, these things are hard—ye can not grasp them—ye must be born again!"

Comrade George E. Boomer, national committeeman for the State of Washington, gave three addresses at state headquarters. It was an inspiration to listen to this logical, typical workingman explain the revolutionary working-class movement of the world and expose the fallacy of sentimental twaddle and middle-class instinct. His lectures were by far the clearest, strongest and most productive of good results of any yet given in Omaha. This is the judgment of the writer. The Omaha comrades, as a rule, are very clear, thorough students of Marx, and having no patience with twaddle, middle-class domination or the so-called respectable elite working class daffodils, who handle Marxian Socialism with a pair of tongs—Boomer, with his "hew to the line," "over and at all times," "working-class party," "for working-class interests," was a feast to their souls. Somehow Boomer's thrusts, in epigram, wit, logic and satire, seem to stick to the ribs of a workingman, though they go down like poison pills or codliver oil to the gullet of the "respectable" "Christian Socialist" or "social reformer," who "bitterly opposes CLASS LEGISLATION" and longs to help the working class without injuring the business of the capitalist class. Yes, that Boomer, he's a slim jim, but he strikes out from the shoulder. When he raps you, you'll think that he has smacked you with a boulder. If it hurts you, grin and bear it, you'll forget it when you're colder.

Spoke on "Socialist Philosophy and What it Teaches" at Plattsouth, Neb., the 12th. Held business meeting at close of talk. Invited all the working men not Socialists, who cared to do so, to remain for business meeting. Explained our method of organization, cards and due stamp system. The seven working men who remained for business meeting not Socialists all joined that night.

Moral: Not speech-makers, but organizers! Windy are the wind jammers for they create a commotion in the elements, but blessed are the organizers, they are even now at work on the foundations of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and their work creates a consternation in the capitalist camp. ORGANIZE!

Here we be wattering around in the mud at Brock—every other fellow here a Socialist and no organization. Afraid of the 10c due system. Another instance of waiting for Socialism to appear on a platter. Will the slaves have vigor enough to work their jaws when eating-time comes? Spoke in the street last night. Only one hall in town and six churches. Tried to rent this measly hall for Sunday night, but the little hunchback merchant who owns it said: "Sir, it is the Lord's day, NO, SIR, you can't have my hall." So me and the Lord, or the Lord and I (to please the intellectuals) talked and laughed the matter over last night and after comparing the modern pharisees who keep "the Lord's day" sacred to hypocrisy alone—with the ancient pharisees who persecuted him for breaking the Sabbath corner Sunday p. m., which, with a soap box for a pulpit, we will proceed to,

dedicate to the Lord and Socialism. Oh, ye pharisees, how I love you. As Boomer says: "My heart bleeds for you." One hall, one school house and six churches in this poverty-stricken, church ridden, capitalist-cursed village, and me and the Lord—or the Lord and I—have got to stand in the mud and rain, and preach salvation to the working class, the world's disinherited. "Blessed are the poor, for they shall inherit the earth," when turned out of halls and churches, and today we get the mud.

Oh, ye churches of Brock, how often would I have thrown you together in one big coliseum dedicated to Socialism—where Socialist agitators could preach a salvation that sticks to the poor man's ribs, and ye would not.

EDWARD MORGAN, State Secretary and Organizer for Nebraska.

N. B.—Comrades, we need money to help organize the state. Write us at headquarters.

"I hope that President Roosevelt will get a hustle on himself, and prevent this matter of men having more than one wife being popular. As it now is, most men are content if they have one wife, and some cannot afford that. But there are some who could afford several wives, and probably would permit, no matter if some other men should go wifeless. For the life I can't see the distinction. If a man can have all the coal, land, and other property he can grab, why not as many wives as he pleases? True, many of us would find it very inconvenient to be deprived of our wives, but other men are now at liberty to deprive us of our land and the means of support for our wives and children. If might and cunning are right, why should I grumble if some Apostle, or Elder, or Deacon deprives me of my wife and children? They can now, if they wish, strip their fellow man of everything else he has or needs, and turn him and his wife and babies out on the highway to perish."—Walter Price in Dakota "Ruralist."



CONCESSION TO SOCIALIST GROWTH.

But This Is Not Socialism. This Is State Capitalism. Some Call It "State Socialism." Anyhow This "Government Ownership" Is Not Socialism.

(Leading Editorial from Collier's Weekly, Jan. 31, 1903.)
 The chairman of the House Committee on Judiciary, Mr. Jenkins of Wisconsin, has introduced a resolution calling upon that committee to report to the House its opinion as to the power of Congress to seize the coal mines and coal railways. The resolution is not likely to have immediate results of far-reaching importance. This is not the Congress for radical action. The less it does the better its leaders will be satisfied. But the resolution is most extraordinary when one considers that Mr. Jenkins occupies a high position in the section of Congress that is supposed to be most deeply concerned for the rights of property and against the progress of Socialism. The chairman of the Judiciary Committee is a good deal more radical than most of his associates. But he is a staunch Republican and head of one of the most important of Congressional Committees. The interesting feature of his action is that it should be taken by a Republican and in a Republican Congress without arousing a hurricane of indignation from all parts of the country. A few years ago Mr. Jenkins would have been denounced as an anarchist or worse: he would have been gibbeted with Debs and the late Governor Altgeld. To-day his resolution is discussed with respectful toleration when it is noted at all. The fact is another symptom of the growth of the idea of government ownership of natural monopolies. In less than ten years it has ceased to be treated as the obsession of dangerous enemies of government. It is discussed with every evidence of amiability by notorious patriots. In a mild form it is mildly advocated by the professors of colleges. It finds its way into bills in Congress without causing the roof to cave in. It even colors the public utterances of cabinet officers and federal judges. In short, it has become respectable. We mention this merely as a political phenomenon worthy of the attention of all our readers who care to indulge in the luxury of political philosophy. It may come to nothing in the end. We have seen many instances in our own generation of the rise of a political doctrine from obscurity, and its relapse into oblivion within a few years. Possibly, we may even say probably, this is what will happen to government ownership. Private ownership is more faithfully defended here than in any other country in the world. This will always be true while the abundance of the land makes it possible for individual industry and intelligence to crown itself with riches. But in the meantime it is interesting to observe that such a resolution as that introduced by Mr. Jenkins should not arouse the fathers of the party from their graves, and that government ownership should become a subject for rational discussion between persons who admit each other's patriotism and good faith.

That lot of land which was donated by Comrade Besse to "The Socialist" was won in the drawing by E. A. Johnson, a carpenter, on ticket number 30. But he too good a Socialist to keep it. So he has given it back to "The Socialist."

Shall we offer it as a premium? Shall we sell it? Shall we keep it for a speculative price? Or shall we raffle it off again?

NOTICE.
 The following persons have applied for membership in the Socialist Educational Union, said applications to be acted upon at the next regular meeting on May 1, 1903, viz.: J. C. Robbins, Ballard; E. E. Martin, Olympia, and Willard Hyde, Fairhaven.

J. D. CURTIS, Secretary S. E. U.
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8:00 p m	Everett, Spokane, Roseland, Kootenai pts.		9:00 a m
8:10 p m	Everett, Whatcom, Hamilton and Anacortes		11:30 a m
7:50 a m	Everett, Whatcom, New Westminister, Rockport and Anacortes		5:10 p m

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