

WHAT WE SAY: "THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS A WAGE WORKERS' PARTY WHICH THE FARMER SHOULD JOIN"

Join The Union of Your Craft

Martin, Chas R Box 389 169

The Socialist

THE WORKINGMANS PAPER A CARTOON WEEKLY

Join The Party of Your Class

To Organize the Slaves of Capital To Vote Their Own Emancipation

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THE CHURCH AND SOCIALISM

CAPITALIST DAILY WON'T PRINT IT.

(By W. E. Clark, assistant in National Headquarters.)

Correspondence. September 16, 1903. Editor Omaha Daily Bee, city: Dear Sir: If you cannot use the enclosed, kindly return to my address. Very truly yours, W. E. CLARK.

Copy: The Bee willingly opens its columns to the rational discussion of all social, economic or political questions, but cannot agree to print mere tirades, even when signed by a responsible party. Trusting you will appreciate our position, I am very truly yours, THEO McCULLOUGH. 9-19-03.

September 22, 1903. Theo McCullough, Managing Editor Bee, city:

My Dear Sir: Your note, returning my article on why the church is attacking Socialism, received and noted carefully. I fully expected it to be returned, but was surprised at you saying it was a "mere tirade;" so much so that I went over the article again to eliminate anything that might be construed as a tirade. I failed to find a single line that could be so construed, but detected the real cause for the rejection of the article in the manner you edited the copy. If you will recall it, you will remember that you ceased editing when you came to the paragraph which proved beyond the shadow of a doubt just why the church is attacking Socialism and the trade union. So the reason you did not print the article was based on your material interest, the motive that must necessarily guide all your actions on the Bee; and appreciating your position, I thank you for returning the article, which will be used by papers that stand for the working class as against their exploiters, the capitalists.

Trusting you will some day understand my position, I am, Very truly yours, W. E. CLARK.

The Rejected Letter. September 16, 1903. Editor Omaha Daily Bee:

There have been quite a number of news items in the Bee lately concerning the attitude of the church toward Socialism and the trade unions, especially the typographical union; and having seen nothing from a Socialist, expressing his opinion concerning this question, I submit the following:

Every thoughtful mind necessarily wants to know why these attacks are made against the union, and also against Socialism. When it was given out from the meeting of priests in an Iowa town, that the Catholic church would make an effort to uproot Socialism in the United States, it caused a much deeper interest to be taken in the study of Socialism than anything these priests have done in all their lives. In the mind of every man who is brave enough to think for himself, there arose a spirit of resentment and a determination to look

into this thing that the priests condemned.

There was a time when a preacher could prevent the spread of a doctrine he did not like, or, more properly speaking, one his master, the capitalist class, did not like, by simply commanding the people not to read books on the subject nor to listen to a speaker who taught the thing condemned. With all intelligent people that day has forever passed. It is only the intellectual bankrupts, the undeveloped, the slavish, those of cowardly souls who can be held in subjection by the mere command of another man.

There was a time when the thumbscrew could be used to force men and women to profess faith in unbelievable things. There was a time when men and women were torn limb from limb at the command of a priest. But that day is passed, and because it has gone, the priest resorts to the only power he has left, that of promising eternal damnation to those who disagree with him. To the working man who joins a union, which he holds more sacred than any other institution, because it ensures him a job by which he can make a miserable living for himself and family, to that man the priest holds out no hope of salvation. The union man must become a traitor to his fellowmen of the priest will send him to hell.

Let me, as a Socialist, say that, that such threats only emphasize the fact, so often exposed in recent years, that the church is controlled by the capitalist class. And that leads to the church's dislike of Socialism. Let the two be briefly compared.

The aim of the Socialist Party is the "organization of the working class into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people." This statement itself proves that the Socialist party is under the control of the working class; further, that it is the purpose of the Socialist party to abolish the capitalist or exploiting class from society, leaving only the working class, which in turn will abolish class distinctions from among the people.

On the other hand, the church has for its aim the preparation of the human inhabitants of this world, or some of them, for what it calls the future life, or the existence beyond the grave. The church is professedly concerned with the salvation of the human soul, and preparation for eternity; but in fact, it is continually interesting itself in the affairs of this life, and invariably on the side of the ruling class. It makes no difference whether the rulers are good or bad men, so long as they are in undisputed control (and protect the church) the church upholds and prays for the ruling class. For proof of this recall the Spanish-American war, when the Catholic church of Spain prayed God to bless the Spanish army, while the Catholic church of America prayed the same God to bless the American army. From the results,

I suppose the Americans got their message in first. And before the war of '61 the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian churches simultaneously opposed slavery in the North and prayed for it in the South. It is also a notorious fact that the Catholic church supports tyranny in one country and a republic in another; the republican party in one state and the democratic party in another. (Editor of the Bee ceased editing here.)

Thus it is seen by comparing the position of the church with that of the Socialist party that in one respect they are in open and immediate conflict; while the Socialist party has for its aim the abolition of the capitalist class, which is the present ruling class, the church upholds the capitalist class because the class supports the church. But let it be understood that the Socialist party has nothing to say in its platform concerning the church, and that we never would have had anything to say about the church if its priests had not rushed to the aid of the capitalist class, and showed by that act that it was the friend of the capitalist class.

The church having chosen to defend the capitalist class, having picked up the gauntlet that the Socialist party has thrown in the face of the class that robs the worker of his toil, let it look to its own fences. We are making our fight on economic grounds. With us, it is a bread and butter question, and the priest that gets between the working class and its hope for bread, no matter if he does come with the threat of hell, can have no more effect upon Socialism than his predecessors had on science two hundred years ago.

The Socialist party has for its aim the control of governments by the working class, so that the workers of the world can have the full social value of their toil, and we have no fear of any man or institution that gets in our way. It is purely a question of intellectual development, of intellectual honesty. We are making a clean and open fight, and if the priest chooses to stand outwardly on the ground of preparing the soul for eternity while he is secretly aiding the capitalist class to hold the worker into subjection so that he can be the more easily robbed of the product of his toil, let him do so. It simply shows to what depths of degradation the capitalist system can sink a human soul. It reveals the same spirit that applied the "collar or torture" in ages gone. And the only reason that they do not subject labor agitators and Socialists to the "rack" is because they dare not. "The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak." And not being able to burn us at the stake, they show their spirit by refusing us abolition and telling us that their God will feed our souls to hell, where they will write in an eternity of fire. Civilization having deprived them of the power to mutilate our bodies, they threaten to destroy our souls.

But the Socialists are waging a campaign of education. The church cannot stop it by force. The good old days of fear belong to the past. Sincerely yours, W. E. CLARK.

SOCIALISM IN 25 WORDS

What is Socialism? Socialism - A fundamental, economic, scientific, revolutionary ideal to be attained by a revolutionary class preaching a revolutionary propaganda through the means of a revolutionary party.

JAMES T. VAN RENSSLAER, 2304 Leoti Av., Los Angeles, Cal.

What is Socialism? Socialism considered politically is an attempt of the producer to get the product of his labor.

J. WRIGHT, Coupeville, Wash.

What is Socialism? An ideal international co-operative state of society. The infant of a day receiving the same care and consideration as other members of society.

ADA GATCHELL, North Yakima, Wash.

What is Socialism? It is the antithesis of capitalism. It decreases the elimination of competition and the application of co-operation in the affairs of men; inaugurated by the wisdom and enforced by the power of the working class; the only honest class; the only decent class.

ALEX. CONTNER, Freeland, Wash.

What is Socialism? Socialism is a system of society giving labor all it produces. It can only be established through a political revolution accomplished with working class ballots.

G. WESTON WRIGLEY, Organizer Local Victoria, S. P. of B. C.

What is Socialism? 1. Social ownership and democratic operation of capital, the equitable distribution of products among workers, enabling each to live better than the millionaire can under capitalism.

2. Justice in the distribution of labor and its products through the collective ownership and democratic management of all the means of life - antithesis to capitalism.

3. A system of industry, securing to every worker more comforts than money can buy under capitalism, through the collective ownership and democratic operation of capital.

4. An industrial system under which capitalists have no rights, the only right being that of the producer to his product. Capital socially owned and managed.

5. A system teaching that private ownership of capital is wrong, collective ownership the only alternative, the revolution to be effected at ballot box by workers.

6. Justice in wealth distribution. Capital held collectively, all sharing the social product of social industry; each giving his best service and having all needs supplied.

7. A declaration that the earth is the free gift of nature to all, all wealth being for use of those producing it. Equality of opportunity.

8. A movement toward brotherhood by abolition of incentive to crime (profit), through common ownership of capital. Equal opportunities, no special privileges. Economic justice, industrial freedom.

9. A system under which, through collective ownership of capital and production for use, not for profit, abolition of involuntary poverty is secured to all workers.

10. An industrial system proposing the abolition of opulence and poverty, through collective ownership and management of capital; guaranteeing all work, each his product. Industrial sense.

11. A movement to make the workers wage equal to product, through collective ownership and management of capital; accomplished by the workers' votes. Universal, economic justice.

HENRY E. WRIGHT, 210 1/2 J St., Sacramento, Cal.

What is Socialism? Socialism is a scientific analysis of society affording a basis for all just government, by establishing the principle: ALL REWARDS FROM LABOR, NONE FROM PROPERTY.

WM. L. GARVER, Chillicothe, Mo.

What is Socialism? Socialism in its widest sense means a co-operative commonwealth including all mankind. Socialism in a narrower sense means national co-operation for the good of mankind.

EDWARD LUCAS, Riverside, Cal.

What is Socialism? Human justice, ruling the world.

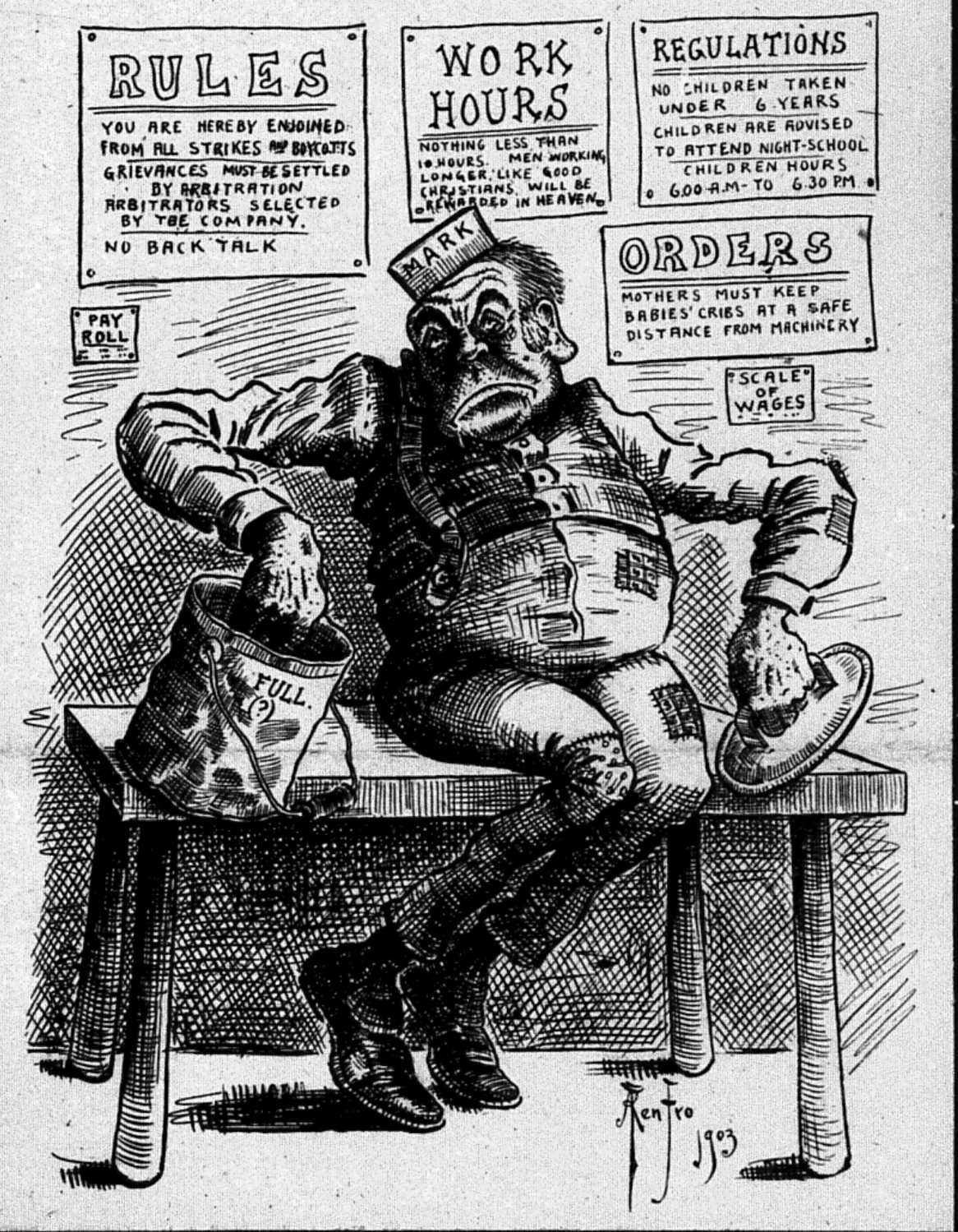
J. H. C. SCURLOCK, Dupont, Idaho.

What is Socialism? An industrial government and collectivist society established by the working class after overcoming the capitalist class on the political field.

M. H. SPANGLER.

"Stand Pat, Workingmen, Stand Pat. Be content with your Dinner Pail. Let well enough alone." - Mark Hanna in Ohio campaign.

A WORKINGMAN'S PIPE DREAM IN OHIO, OR HOW HANNA WOULD LOOK AFTER THIRTY DAYS OF HIS OWN MEDICINE



SOCIALISM IN EIGHT STEPS

By G. Edward Lind, Chicago. Chicago, October 13, 1903.

Dear Comrade, Editor: Enclosed herewith please find a MS. (which the "Record-Herald" of this city "refused" to publish) entitled "Socialism," which I submit to you for publication in that excellent scientific Socialist paper (The Socialist) which I read with interest and profit.

G. EDWARD LIND.

The following propositions are respectfully submitted for the earnest consideration of those whose chief mission in life is "to combat and refute the fallacies of Socialism." Socialists invite criticism and enjoy intelligent discussion of social economic and political problems. The philosophy of Socialism may be stated briefly as follows:

- 1. Society is evolutionary. 2. The economic organization of society determines the character of social institutions. 3. Each economic-system projects to the position of "social rulership" the possessors of the economic essentials of that system. 4. Improvements in the methods of the production of wealth gradually transform the economic-organization of society and thus create a new (economic) class who become the dominant ruling-class after a struggle with the previous ruling-class. This is the method of social progress. 5. Our present economic system (Capitalism) has projected the owners of "productive capital" to the position of social rulership and consequently the capitalist class is using that "rulership" to advance their own interests and perpetuate capitalism. 6. Owing to the operation of the "law of surplus value" and the "iron law of wages" productive capital is being concentrated into the hands of a constantly diminishing capitalist class and as a result the ever increasing wage-working class has been divorced from the means of life (productive capital) and now the wage-workers of the world have nothing to lose but their chains (of wage-slavery) and a world to gain; hence we have at present an "irrepressible class struggle" for the position of "social rulership" between the exploiting capitalist class and the exploited wage-working class. 7. Owing to the fact that the function of the capitalist class, viz.: the private appropriation of "unearned increment" in the form of rent, interest and profit, is no longer necessary, and owing to the fact that the wage-working class (that is, everybody that works with hands or brain for wages or salary) of the world constitute the vast majority (about 80 per cent.) and perform the work of the world and is the "only essential" class in society today, it follows that in the very nature of things the wage-working class of the world must (by reason of economic necessity) become the dominant class in our society, by securing control of the "political power." 8. The economic system that will be the result of "working-class political supremacy" will have as its distinctive features the collective ownership and democratic administration of the instruments of wealth production and distribution.

means of production and distribution. E. E. MARTIN, Socialist.

What is Socialism? Class conscious working class control of the powers of government, using the same to abolish the wages system and to establish the co-operative commonwealth. M. H. SPANGLER, Fort Casey, Wash.

What is Socialism? Equality of opportunity. Self-emancipation of working people from capitalism, through class-conscious political action; thereby securing collective ownership and management of all



CLYMER STEELE, 9 years old. HIS DEFINITION. "Socialism is that every man should have a chance to work and get all he produces; and that every child should get an education."

What is Socialism? That state of society which substitutes for capitalistic government over men; the administration of things by the people collectively is Socialism. F. A. WEBSTER, St. Paul, Minn.

What is Socialism? When the world through the expression of humanity as a whole awakens and takes its place in the firmament of heaven as a conscious reality. CHARLY PETERSEN, 415 So. Main St., Butte, Mont.

What is Socialism? Reducing society to a producing and distributing power. Turning society upside down. Organization of working men into a political party to capture the national government. THEO. FOULBOEUF, Hale, Mo.

What is Socialism? To live with and for each other is Socialism. To live off and against others is anarchism, which is legalized at present. TH. JOHNSON, Fairhaven, Wash.

What is Socialism? Socialism is equal rights to all, special privileges to none; is justice, is right. Evolutionary in character, ordained of God (or nature) and by God - its coming. ORVILLE A. WIGGINS, Lawrence, Wash.

What is Socialism? Liberty, with morals, religious precept. Equality, legislation founded on just hominum, upsetting jus Romanum. Fraternity, commonwealth established. Humanity, classes eliminated. Poverty abolished. Prosperity for all! A. ESTIENNE, Jersey City, N. Y.

What is Socialism? Socialism is the only hope for honest industries. A despair to unearned wealth. An idle visionary dream to honest ignorance and the mentally lazy indifferentists. J. S. ODEGAARD, (Shovel Operator), Matlock, Wash.







# SLAVE MARKET REPORTS

Conducted by D. Burgess.

From a slave camp comes a voice saying: "I cannot aid you financially just now, but I shall soon be in a position to send in a monthly fee." Thus we see that the slaves recognize their friends.

Another voice from a slave camp says: "I send you two more names for your grand paper, for which I enclose one dollar and one fifty for myself. One dollar is for the party. I am sorry I can do no more for your excellent paper." I. STEVENS.

One of the slaves writes: "We want no party papers that are owned entirely by the party. We want the papers where we can cut loose from them at a moment's notice, if need be. This could not be if the paper is party property unless the party split as did the S. L. P."

Again this slave says: "I do not think we should have too many party papers just at this time. Those in existence should be made strong financially before others are started."

Our pulpites tell us about the beauty and the power of love, but they all insist on the perpetuation of the present system which makes possible such inharmonious, such conflicts as was witnessed upon the streets of Seattle this morning. Two rival tailoring companies were represented in the persons of a man and a boy. Each was displaying a nerve torturing sign of the company represented. An amused crowd was gathered and two policemen were on duty. And we are living in the twentieth century.

According to a letter in "Reynold's Newspaper," from a navy engaged in railway construction in South Africa, every batch of navies sent out have gone on strike for food. As soon as the men get any money they leave their work on account of the bad conditions prevailing. "Justice," London.

This is under the British flag. The same or similar conditions prevail here. From this one may learn that all flags are capitalists' flags; in all countries "patriotism," "love of the flag," "devotion to duty," etc., are catch words used to attract the attention of the slave while his masters rob him.

There seems to be a gnawing sentiment among the property holders in favor of disfranchisement of the workers. Carmack, of Tennessee has given notice that at the session of Congress he will introduce into the Senate a bill opening the way for the disfranchisement of the negro. Most of the comment excited by this announcement has been favorable to such action. The blustering "Times" of this city, says editorially that property interests must control. Thus you may see that the ruling class legislates to perpetuate its own rule and existence. What will you do, slave? Will you still support militarism, disfranchisement and all the other schemes by which you are rendered still more helpless?

**What is Socialism?**  
Socialism is that sublime thought and effort to establish the highest attainable moral standard. By collective labor and ownership in all departments of human industry.  
MARTIN C. KRECK,  
538 N. 6th St., Camden, N. J.

**What is Socialism?**  
For the elevation of man and the upbuilding of all institutions that may be benefited alike in proportion to the amount of labor performed.  
F. P. SMITH,  
Helena, Mont.

**What is Socialism?**  
A political movement to destroy the present competitive system and produce for use instead of profit, giving to each the full product of his labor.  
WM. CARPENTER,  
Tulare, Cal.

**What is Socialism?**  
Socialism is that coming form of government which guarantees to each individual his just proportion of the benefits produced by all.  
J. H. C. SCURLOCK.

**What is Socialism?**  
National industrial and educational co-operation for the good of all with equal chances for all. Industrial co-operation the means, individual development and race-perfection the end.  
CARL J. ELLINGTON,  
Annapolis, Minn.

**What is Socialism?**  
An economic movement, involving the relation of labor to land and capital which will entirely revolutionize the existing system of distribution and wage slavery.  
MRS. F. E. CHILDS,  
Seattle.

**What is Socialism?**  
Socialism means ideal citizenship. How many of us are ready to fit? Perhaps 25 out of every hundred.  
JAMES J. JENSEN.

There have been losses and bankruptcies on the great markets. Our wise parasites who sell their talents to the master class, tell us that this is a sign of prosperity. There have also been reductions of wages, and other reductions are due, and we are told that this is a sign of increasing prosperity, too. Well, some of us begin to suspect as much, if only the interests of the masters are to be considered.

We are warned by the capitalist press to keep out of politics. Why so much concern about us? The capitalists never manifest any concern for us except when there is danger that we may do something to better our own condition. "Keep out of politics" is shouted at us. Well, we have acted upon such advice for a long time and our condition has grown relatively worse all the time. Suppose we try controlling the powers of government in our own interest for a time and study results.

The preacher who recently warned his flock against the peril of the three D's, dirt, debt and Socialism must have been akin to the Irishman who, being caught with blankets with "U. S." branded on them said they were his because U. stands for Dennis and S. for McCarty.

One of our local papers displays this sentence: "The Moran Brothers have a free school for apprentices." Evidently Moran Brothers are looking out for their interests. The school, if they secure patronage for it, will prepare boys and men to take the place of strikers. This school is a good scheme for the exploiters.

Republican signs of prosperity are increasing in number and intensity. We refer to strikes.

One of our Seattle papers remarks that in view of the recent sentence of a few German editors for the crime of lese majeste, the freedom of the press is not inviolate in Der Faderland. Let this editor turn his optics upon Colorado.

Some of the parasites insist that we must treat the occupant of the White House with extraordinary dignity. But why so treat him, workmen? What has he done for you? The parasites may have cause to crawl at the President's feet, to bow and scrape, to show their servility, but the working man remembers that the strenuous Teddy has a union card in his pocket, and yet he declares in favor of the open shop just like "Teddy, Roosevelt & I."

In nothing is the sham charity and the real hypocrisy of capitalists more vividly shown than in their treatment of abandoned women. They, the capitalists, periodically beat their tom-toms and shed crocodile tears over the outcasts but they refuse to remove the causes which produce prostitution. Many of these Lilly-Whites would be out of a job if there were no prostitutes.

**What is Socialism?**  
Justice operant; guaranteeing to every human being the full product of their labor. Placing every temptation toward honesty, as against the opposite method, now prevailing.  
E. E. MARTIN,  
Socialist.

**What is Socialism?**  
A school to educate the wage slave to understand his class interests and how to get the wealth he creates. A class-conscious struggle for political power.  
J. W. RAWLINGS,  
Vancouver, B. C.

**What is Socialism?**  
The collective ownership of those means of production, distribution and exchange now privately used for appropriating the product of the producer.  
STEVE LOEFFLER,  
224 E. Park Street,  
Butte, Mont.

**What is Socialism?**  
Socialism means that all of the things used by the people, in common, collectively, must be owned by all of the people, in common, collectively.  
J. F. BURKHART,  
Riverside, Cal.

**"UNRESERVED ENDORSEMENT."**  
Whereas, The Seattle "Socialist" has, since the time it was started and up to the present time, always been a fearless and uncompromising advocate of the principles of revolutionary socialism, be it  
Resolved by Local Lyman, That we give it our unreserved endorsement and that we consider it ill advised to start a party owned paper by Local Seattle.

## B. C. Secretary Explains

Fusion Dodger Not Authorized by Local.

NOT LIKELY TO REPEAT IT. Explanation of the Vancouver Fusion Dodger.

Editor Socialist:  
Dear Comrade: In your issue of October 11, there appears two articles dealing with the Socialist Party vote in British Columbia. With regard to the front page article, allow me to say that it is a serious reflection on the good judgment of the editor to make such deprecating remarks concerning the party in Vancouver without first ascertaining the facts of the case.

With regard to the article on page 3, it will clarify the situation considerably to state that the writer of that article is, and has been for years, an out and out S. L. P. man, born in political beliefs and personal characteristics. If he is not at present a member of that party, it is simply because he is too cowardly and shiftless to assume the duties of membership. He was working for the S. L. P. during the campaign, and his letter so far from representing the opinions of an independent socialist, represents nothing more nor less than the S. L. P. view of matters. By posing as an unattached socialist he has evidently been able to bamboozle the editor of the Socialist a little.

Now, in order to disprove some statements made by enemies of the "Socialist" about its being considered, will you kindly reproduce OUR ballot form (vote red) as you did the other one?

### THE PARTY DODGER



Mark Your Ballot Thus

BAXTER	<input type="radio"/>
BOWSER	<input type="radio"/>
BRYDENE-JACK	<input type="radio"/>
GARDEN	<input type="radio"/>
GRIFFITHS	<input type="radio"/>
MACGOWAN	<input type="radio"/>
MARTIN	<input type="radio"/>
McLAREN	<input type="radio"/>
MONCK	<input type="radio"/>
MORTIMER	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
PERRY	<input type="radio"/>
STEBBINGS	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
TATLOW	<input type="radio"/>
TURNBULL	<input type="radio"/>
WILLIAMS	<input type="radio"/>
WILSON	<input type="radio"/>

Industrial Freedom

Wage-Slavery Abolition

### The Socialist Candidates

J. T. MORTIMER  
A. R. STEBBINGS

Now, to come to the facts of the case. As to Com. Pettipiece handing out the bills in question, they may or may not be true. If it is, Com. Pettipiece can explain for himself. I entirely disapprove of such an action if it is so, and it is entirely contrary to a resolution passed unanimously by the Local during the campaign. However, the rest of the statements contained in the letter are direct lies and false insinuations. The dodgers were gotten out by Thos. Matthews of this city in order to promote his own political ideas. The campaign committee of the I. L. P. circulated them all day. Two other comrades and myself distributed a bunch of them in the S. L. P. headquarters for a reason quite obvious to anyone but the heavy witted De Leonites. They took the bait too in good shape. We make no excuses about this dodger, nor any other. None of our speakers during the campaign ever advised anyone to support any other than our own candidates. They discussed socialist principles and pointed out all along that nothing else besides our program was of the slightest value to the working class. We had absolutely no committee working in any capacity whatsoever in conjunction with the I. L. P. None of our members supported the I. L. P. candidates. As for Mr. Stebbing's forecast of the election, that was his opinion, as well as the opinion of a great many outsiders, but he was not applauded for this by the S. P. members. I expected that Mortimer and some of the I. L. P. men would get in, but it was of no consequence to me who was elected beside our own candidates, so long as the S. L. P. did not gain any more votes than they got.

### THE FUSION DODGER WORKING MEN!

VOTE FOR THE INTEREST OF YOUR OWN CLASS.

MARK YOUR BALLOT THUS

VOTE FOR THE REAL LABOR CANDIDATES:	<input type="radio"/>
BAXTER	<input type="radio"/>
BOWSER	<input type="radio"/>
BRYDENE-JACK	<input type="radio"/>
GARDEN	<input type="radio"/>
GRIFFITHS	<input type="radio"/>
MACGOWAN	<input type="radio"/>
MARTIN	<input type="radio"/>
McLAREN	<input type="radio"/>
MONCK	<input type="radio"/>
MORTIMER	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
PERRY	<input type="radio"/>
STEBBINGS	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
TATLOW	<input type="radio"/>
TURNBULL	<input type="radio"/>
WILLIAMS	<input type="radio"/>
WILSON	<input type="radio"/>

# AS TO THE MIDDLE CLASS

By E. E. AULT, Lewiston, Idaho.

I speak as a class conscious, working-class Socialist. Yes, a wage-working class Socialist; a proletarian Socialist. It seems to me that our contention has not been clearly enough stated. Nor the reason for our fear of middle-class domination of the party. Neither is the preventative we advance for such domination put clearly enough before the membership of the party.

Let me state the case. There is a tendency amongst the members of the American Socialist party—of the International Socialist party—to appeal for support to the dying middle class, and even to the capitalist class; to appeal "to all classes," as the quickest and most effective way to reach the goal of the co-operative commonwealth. The argument being that once a person understands the beauties of Socialism, provided they are of ordinary moral worth, they will support it irrespective of their class interests. This scientific Socialist brands as fallacious doctrine and capable of becoming destructive of our purposes. Hence there has arisen a conflict within the party between the supporters of these two ideas.

Now, the base of our argument is this: that whether it benefits anyone else or not, Socialism is the only thing that will benefit the working class. Also, that it is the historic mission of the working class to conquer all other classes and by the establishment of Socialism abolish all class rule. Reasoning from this first premise the latter follows naturally. These things granted, the thing to do to accomplish the end desired is to acquaint the workers with their historic mission in order that they may act. We have no time to bother with the middle class nor the capitalist class if we pay proper attention to the working class.

Rises the sentimentalist and says, "You would keep all honest individuals in sympathy with the workers out of the party, or at most merely tolerate him." We answer, "No, that is not our intention." But if it were, what difference? The workers are strong enough and numerous enough. However, we merely ask that the middle class and the capitalist class understand the historic mission of the working class and not hinder that class in its work.

We say, show the workers their class interests. They say, appeal to all classes.

We say, expend your efforts where they will accomplish the greatest results.

They say, one middle class man is worth ten wage workers. We say, the working class must emancipate the world.

They say, get the middle class and the workers will follow like sheep.

Marx says: "The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history." Have we the time to spend on their education when so many of the working class are waiting? The optimist would appeal rather to this class than to the working class.

It is that tendency which we are fighting, and it is that tendency which we must conquer or the Socialist party will die. When the store keeper loses his store, when the manufacturer loses his factory, when the farmer loses his farm and when the leader loses his followers, it is possible to make of them good Socialists. Until they have lost their all we can most profitably spend our time in educating those who are already propertyless.

E. E. AULT.

would act in the same way in any movement and I only hope that they will remain in the cesspool of slime in which they are at present, and not contaminate us. I have always objected to attacking the personal character of our enemies in the capitalist parties as it is of no value to educate non-socialists, but among socialists, when we find men using a cloak of socialism in order to defeat socialism, then it is essential to expose their characters. If these men are really in favor of socialism as they claim to be, let them get out and oppose it as much as possible and they will drive people to it. We have actually gained many sympathizers here, on account of having them hurl abuse at us; and if they would only throw off their cloak and openly oppose socialism we would be able to elect a socialist government here by acclamation before the expiration of the present term.

It may be well to add for the benefit of our readers who are not acquainted with our election laws, that a deposit of \$200 is required from each candidate nominated. This money is held by the retaining officer, and unless the candidate receives half as many votes as the lowest successful candidate, the deposit is lost. This prevented us from nominating a full ticket, and not a desire to compromise with any other party. As it was we lost Stebbing's deposit.

I hope that you will print this letter in full and reproduce the enclosed ballot form. The situation in B. C. is of as much importance in the world movement as is the Omaha situation or the Mills affair, and it should be a refreshing change for your readers. This is the most advanced socialist state in America, and as we have been unfairly criticized, we should have a chance to speak for ourselves.

Yours for revolutionary socialism,  
ALEC LANG,  
Vancouver, B. C., Oct. 14, 1903.

**Comment.**  
This letter from the secretary of the British Columbia Socialist Party gives a pretty full explanation of the Matthews Dodger which we again reproduce, together with the official dodger of the party, sent us by Comrade Lang. It seems that Matthews, a former member of the party, had these fusion dodgers printed at the office of the official organ of the B. C. S. P., and they were circulated by its editor, as well as by Secretary Lang himself and others, though such action was in direct conflict with a unanimous resolution of the Local.

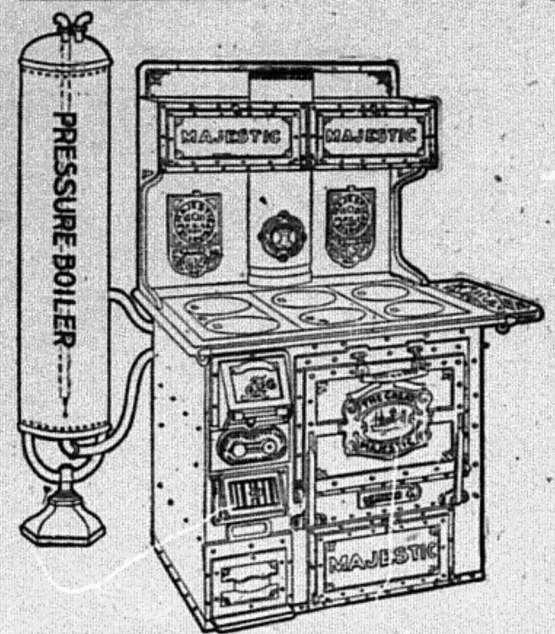
But what calls for most comment is Secretary Lang's preference for a Capitalist Labor Party to a Socialist Labor Party. To support unionism on its own field, the industrial field, is Socialist policy. But to support unionism when it leaves its own field and enters politics on a capitalist basis, is treason to socialism.

We believe the way to treat the S. L. P. is not to meet their slime with other slime, as Comrade Lang does, but to recognize freely that they are Socialists on a Socialist platform. Tell the truth about them, whatever they say of us. In our judgment every Socialist in Vancouver should have voted for Mortimer, Stebbings and Griffiths and no others. Principles before men. It is also to be noted that the B. C. Socialists succeeded in electing their candidates in those districts where they were most uncompromising, Nainaimo and Newcastle.—Ed.

**What is Socialism?**  
Socialism is a specific for the extermination of microbes, which when fully developed are known as parasites that live on the unpaid toil of labor.  
A. J. THOMPSON,  
Jeffersonville, Ind.

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# FOR SOCIALISTS

RICHARDSON OF CALIFORNIA.

Another National Committeeman Threatens a Split—Rebuked by National Secretary Mally.

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., Oct. 14, 1903. To the National Committee Socialist Party:

Comrades:—The following are here with submitted to you for your consideration and action: From National Committeeman Richardson, of California. San Bernardino, Cal., Oct. 9, 1903. Wm. Mally, National Secretary, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb. Dear Sir and Comrade:—Your weekly report of Sept. 30 states that Comrade P. J. Hyland of Nebraska is recommended for National Organizer for Wyoming.

If Comrade Hyland represents the dominant faction in Nebraska, the faction that refuses charters to good men because they do not work directly for the wages—the faction that passed the resolution on this question in the last state convention of Nebraska, I desire to register my protest against his speaking under authority of the National Committee or anybody authorized to represent them.

Was he in the last state convention of Nebraska? Did he speak or vote for the resolutions above referred to? If so, I move.

That Comrade P. J. Hyland of Nebraska be not commissioned as National Organizer for Wyoming nor for any territory or state whatsoever.

If Comrade Hyland was not guilty of taking part in the Nebraska proceedings as aforesaid, you may table this motion; if it must be submitted to the National Committee I ask that it be accompanied by this letter.

Yours truly, N. A. RICHARDSON, National Committeeman California, San Bernardino, Cal., Oct. 9, 1903.

Dear Comrade Mally:—Your controversy with Comrade Massey I read with deepest interest. To me the relative merits or demerits of Comrade Martin is of slight consequence in itself; but what it may (I do not say does) indicate is of vital concern.

In certain quarters there is manifested the spirit that obtains in Nebraska, at least among the dominant faction there. This is the spirit that constantly labors to stir up strife by pitting—or trying to pit—the laborers—the wage worker proper, I mean—against the farmer—the spirit that cries out that a farmer has no place in the Socialist party.

I use the word "pits" advisedly, for a man who contends that a farmer is unfit to be a Socialist, I mean to take any active part in the movement, to be a member as well as a voter, of necessity separates him politically from the wage worker—pits the one against the other.

I would call such a man's attention to Kautsky's "Day After the Revolution" in which he directly manifests so deep a concern in the farmer-socialist that he refuses to sanction the idea of confiscation for fear that the farmers' vote and support may thereby be withdrawn. In all this Kautsky is a long way in the rear of the movement from an American standpoint; but I simply call attention to these "foresight" Socialists to the Nebraska-despised farmer.

These anti-farmer Comrades are generally ultra-scientific and prate a great deal about the nature of the German movement—something about which they know nothing, would call their attention to the fact that in the not far distant future we will be in the same position that Germany is today, except that it will be the German position italicized. In the Santa Fe shops in my town there were last spring more than 600 men at work—shops that have been running for some fifteen years—and there were but 200 of them that were not disfranchised. The other 400 were not qualified by residence for registration. The great mass of organized workers work for great corporations and are readily shifted about and thus disfranchised without any law to that end. If any Socialist thinks that we are not up against a hard proposition as indicated in the above figures, he is ignorant of the power of capitalists to fight when they find light necessary. We are rapidly approaching the time when we will need the farmer vote to a degree that Germany knows not of. And a man who cannot see that point is absolutely ignorant of American practical politics.

But enough of this. The typical American farmer is coming into our movement from necessity. The exploiters will force him there. And he is going to be recognized in the movement—have a full and active place in it. So is the small merchant and small holder everywhere. And the Socialist that stands in the way will be swept aside as he should be as one unfit to guide or control our movement.

Comrade Massey speaks of a split in our party. Now no one would deplore such a thing more than the writer of this letter. But permit me to say that if such tactics as now prevail in Nebraska should become general or should be sanctioned by a majority of a national convention of Socialists in America, that split would be on and it would be of such proportion that in three months it would leave of the Nebraska wing an inconsiderable mutual admiration society, such as is today the S. L. P. in all but two or three states of our Union.

I would further suggest that the spirit that actuates the opposition to the farmers, in fact to everything except the worker for wages, is the same that prompted the so-called fusion movement of a year ago. Every "fusionist" shouts for the Nebraska tactics, though I would not say that every man who favors such tactics is a fusionist. But that is where his tactics logically leads.

The Socialists of this country will not endure fusion nor any such foolishness as obtained in Nebraska. One is rank and stupid as the other and this I think, was what Comrade Massey had in mind when he wrote his letter, though his choice of words in expressing it was not what mine would have been. No such tactics can rule the Socialist Party for one hour and if a fight on that line must be precipitated, the sooner it is on the better for the party.

I am thoroughly convinced that a national referendum prohibiting such work as has been going on in Nebraska during and since their last state convention, should be launched. No state organization should be permitted to refuse a charter to six good and true men solely on the grounds that they were not regular wage workers. We want Socialists, not cranks. We want men who are ready to die if need be to put down capitalism and we need the same sort of men to lead them. And they are not the sort of men who spend more time in ranting that can but disgust those inclined to listen to our teachings, than in legitimate efforts to spread the Socialist philosophy.

I beg your pardon for writing at such length, but the occasion demands it and more. The matter is gradually opening, ripening—gradually being forced by such men as dominated the Nebraska state convention and their few sympathizers in other cities. They are generally men who imagine that they were born to lead, that they are absolutely essential to the welfare of the party and of the world. They seem to entirely overlook the fact that Socialism would come right along if all who are now in our ranks were thrown into the sea.

Yours truly, N. A. RICHARDSON, Natl. Com. of Calif.

Reply of National Secretary. To the National Committee:

Comrades:—The questions and both letters of Comrade Richardson, I believe, require not only answers but some explanation and comment from me, since I suggested Comrade Hyland for National Organizer. I shall be as brief as circumstances permit.

Replying directly to the questions asked, I can say without entering upon an investigation that Comrade Hyland was a member of the last Nebraska State Convention, and I believe that he voted for the resolution known as the "80 per cent. resolution," which is apparently the one referred to by Comrade Richardson. More than this, I know Comrade Hyland to be a member of the present State Quorum of Nebraska.

Comrade Richardson's motion is therefore submitted to the National Committee, with his accompanying letter, as per his request. In proposing Comrade Hyland I did not take into account his position on any party question as a determining factor in his favor, or otherwise. I have not considered the expressed opinions upon party questions of other comrades in selecting or suggesting them for organizers or lecturers. I have judged them solely upon their abilities, either from personal knowledge or from report, not upon what "faction" they belong to or align themselves with. I can see no reason why I should make an exception in Hyland's case. The standard of merit in a democratic movement must of necessity be that of fitness. This I have tried to keep in mind in all my selections. To follow any other rule would be to discourage individuality and restrict freedom of speech and action in a way which would result most disastrously to the movement.

Among the regular instructions given by me to National Organizers is one to "avoid mixing up in party differences in any locality or state, and refrain from becoming identified with or promoting any side of any question in dispute between party members." Organizers are enjoined to "always observe the constitution and laws of the state and local where they may be at any time." In Comrade Hyland's case I was particularly careful. He knew nothing of my having suggested him as organizer until the Quorum endorsed him. Then I pointed out to him how necessary it was that he refrain from discussing any party question in dispute, especially in Nebraska; that I had suggested him because I had confidence in his ability to do good work for the National Party; that he was the representative not of the Nebraska State Quorum and its views, but of the National Party, and that in his case, more than in that of any other organizer, it was essential to exercise care and tact, because he would be the one most subject to censorship and criticism. Comrade Hyland promised to follow instructions and I believe he has kept, and will continue to keep, his word.

But to come direct to the point of Comrade Richardson's motion, what does it mean? It means simply and unmistakably that because Comrade Hyland holds, or has expressed certain views as a party member, on a certain question, that he is unfit to hold a commission as a national organizer of the party. It means that and nothing else. Further, the inference is justifiable that if Hyland did not disagree with Richardson then the latter would not have objected to him. Comrade Richardson is one of those members of the party who have prided themselves upon their tolerance and broadmindedness, but his action in this case exhibits the very attributes for which he ridicules and condemns others. It is the very acme of intolerance and DeLeonism, of which we have heard so much lately.

When Comrades Bigelow, McKee, Goebel and Bennett (of whose sympathies with the farmer there can be no question) and other comrades were appointed national organizers they were not put through catechisms, they were not asked what "faction" they favored, or what side of a party question they supported or opposed. They

were chosen because of their fitness for their positions, and there has not been, and I do not believe will be, any cause to regret the engagements. Why ask more of Hyland than any of these? The fact is there has been going on for sometime a great deal of clamor about the "farmer and Socialism," which, in my opinion, has been somewhat unnecessary. Because the Nebraska convention adopted a certain resolution favoring the restriction of membership in the party to 80 per cent. wage earners, there seems to be an attempt to make it appear that the National Party is rapidly drifting to that position and that a conspiracy is on foot to ostracize the farmer. Whether this is simply a wrong impression acquired because of the location of national headquarters in Omaha, or whether it is intentional in order to create a prejudice against the national office, and provoke the conflict which Comrade Richardson predicts would occur under almost inconceivable circumstances, I would not presume to say, but I take the liberty of pointing out that the national headquarters came to Omaha through the efforts of those who have since placed Nebraska and its acts under the ban.

I have not before expressed an opinion publicly upon the 80 per cent. resolution adopted by the Nebraska Convention, because I have avoided on account of my official position becoming identified with any disputed party question. I have had my opinion but have only withheld it for that reason. It is to be in order for me to say now, however, in order to let the National Committee and the party membership know, that I do not believe in the 80 per cent. resolution, and have never favored it. I believe it unnecessary and impracticable. I have told some of the Omaha comrades so, and have been a party member in Nebraska at the time I would probably have opposed its adoption by the state convention. But I was not a member then, and my few moments talk to the convention did not touch on the subject at all, reports to the contrary notwithstanding. I was not even present in the hall when the resolution was introduced and adopted. I am a member of Nebraska now, and if the resolution should ever come up in Local Omaha, I shall exercise my right as a party member and oppose it.

More than that, let me point out that since the present administration of the National Party began there has been more money spent by the national office in the farming districts than anywhere else, in the proportion of ten dollars to one. Yet there has been no objection made to this by those who are accused of opposing the farmer. In view of this there should certainly be no complaint from those who assume to be the special advocates of the farmer. And I have reason to believe that the work of agitation and organization being done in the farming states, west and south, has met with the universal and unqualified endorsement of the entire party membership.

So it would appear that Comrade Richardson and others sharing his opinion have been, and are yet, making a mountain out of a molehill. They have mistaken a breeze for a hurricane. For within my knowledge the 80 per cent. resolution has received not a single endorsement from any local party paper or speaker outside of Nebraska. Who the "fusionists" are who "shout for the Nebraska tactics" I do not know. Perhaps they are in California. Perhaps Comrade Richardson alludes to the comrades who have been misrepresented as fusionists to the country when all their acts give the lie to the charge.

Let me remind Comrade Richardson that he is not in a position to cry "fusionist" so long as he is a National Committeeman from the only state which has a fusion clause in its constitution. Three months ago the National Quorum asked that that clause be repealed. Up to this writing this office has not been notified that this has been done. And notwithstanding this plain violation of the National constitution and the principles of the party there has not been a protest filed against Comrade Richardson's acting as National Committeeman. No one has been intolerant enough to do that.

This is not cited as a reflection upon either Comrade Richardson or the California comrades, but it is done to point out to him that he is not in a position to cry "fusionist" against any one wherever situated until his state constitution is clear of that clause before the country.

Referring to other portions of Comrade Richardson's letter, as I believe is necessary, it will be seen that he voices, though in most adroit language, almost the identical opinion expressed by Comrade Massey regarding a split or conflict in the party. I am compelled to ask if it is merely a coincidence that those holding similar views upon certain party questions should anticipate the same outcome to the existing discussion? If it is not a coincidence, is it something worse? If it is, then the sooner the party membership knows it the better. If there are men holding responsible party offices, who believe that unless their particular views prevail in the party councils and party government, there must be a split or a conflict, then they are unfit to hold their positions.

There is no occasion for a split or conflict in the Socialist party, and what is more THERE WILL BE NONE. The questions under discussion are of such a character that they can be settled amicably and honorably, those entrusted with their settlement exercise ordinary judgment, respect for each other's opinions and for each other. Those who choose to act differently, who would invite or foment disruption by prophecizing it, should be prepared to accept the consequence of their conduct when the party membership comes to pass upon it.

Speaking from an experience of eight months in a position where one can judge things from every standpoint, I must say that there are tendencies at work in the party; which, if not corrected, will work mischief. One of these prevails to some extent among the National Committee itself; another exhibits itself in the flagrant disregard of the party law and the commonest rules of organization. Several National Committeemen have not shown an overwelming sense of the responsible character of their positions. They have apparently not considered questions brought before them as simply ones affecting the government of the party, now and in the future. They have instead, judged matters from the standpoint of their own individual opinions, and not as representatives; they have displayed and expressed personal and other prejudices instead of being impartial and impartial. As a result, questions easy of settlement, have occasioned bitterness and misunderstanding, which could have well been avoided.

As a further consequence the work of this office has been obstructed and delayed. If more has not been accomplished, it was because our energies have been diverted from the real work waiting to be done. If there has been progress made, it has not been because of those who make the loudest professions of their devotion to the party but in spite of them.

I have refrained from expressing myself in this manner before, because I had hoped that there would come a better understanding and that those members of the National Committee who have disagreed with others, would become less objectionable and reckless in the presentation of their opinions. But the continual denunciation and misrepresentation, the lack of tolerance and the superabundance of suspicion, the narrow conception of their duties, displayed by some National Committeemen, the reiteration of "impending conflicts," and "splits" by party officials at a time when our energies and best thought are needed for greater work and loftier things, have become unbearable and insufferable. If there is ever going to be a Socialist party worthy of the name, there must be a higher degree of statesmanship and foresight exhibited than has been heretofore.

I speak for no faction when I say this. I have tried to recognize no faction, to be moved by no personal feelings or prejudices in performing my duties as National Secretary. I have endeavored to serve the whole party, not a section or faction, and to do the work I believe the party members wish done. I hope, therefore, that the National Committee will declare once and for all that every party member has a right to his opinions upon any party question, that so long as he observes the law and principles of the party, he is entitled to the same consideration as every other party member and that the standard of qualification for selection as an organizer must remain personal fitness and devotion to the party welfare.

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