

Do you Want  
**SOCIALISM?**  
Push This  
Paper.

# The Socialist

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

50 cts. a year  
10 weeks 10 cts.

The Socialist Educational Union.

220 UNION ST., SEATTLE, WASH., SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 1901.

NUMBER 32.

## THE LABOR UNIONS How Capitalists Handle Them

Tactics of the Capitalist Parties to Defeat  
the Working Class Party at  
the Ballot Box

**WORKING CLASS NOW AWAKING FROM THEIR SLEEP**  
Socialists Demand Not Wages But  
Full Product

The following is from "A Paradox Explained," a new ten cent book by Comrade Geo. A. Eastman, of Detroit, Mich., editor of The Wage Worker, a new, outspoken, class-conscious monthly. Every union man should read this.

### History of Labor Movement

At the first symptom of the organization by the working class into trade unions to protest against unjust treatment and wages from their economic masters, the capitalists, with their forward business foresight, understood since the injury which this might inflict upon their class interests should immediately become a part of the trade union movement. For that reason, several steps were taken to discourage the discussion of political and religious questions among organized working people. How well they succeeded, the reader has but to review the history of the trade union movement.

### Awakening Class-Consciousness

The trade union was the first evidence manifested by the working class of awakening class-consciousness, the first sign which showed they realized that their interests were in some way opposed to the material interests of the capitalist class. This MATERIAL interest of the capitalist class demanded that this "sign" should be quitted. The workers, under the sweet lullaby of capitalism, must again be soothed into a slumber.

### Harmony Between "Labor" and "Capital"

How was this to be done? By making a great fuss and noise against the movement, or by tipping around the ears of the restless sleepers, chanting while the sweet tones of "harmony between LABOR and CAPITAL?" We all know that the latter course was pursued. Antagonism to the trade union by the whole capitalist class at once, openly, would have been the signal to attend the funeral of capitalism. This they had no desire to do, so, as individuals, they did not object to attending the commercial funeral of capitalism. Therefore, individuals of the class (whenever it was PROFITABLE) began to use the trade unions as a means of bankrupting their competitors.

### Capitalists as "Friends of Organized Labor"

To do this they were obliged to obtain the good will of the unions. This they accomplished by posing as "friends of organized labor," making a big ado about "scabs" and "scab labor," or "scab-made goods," thus appearing better friends to organized la-

bor than those of the working class who did not join the union. The public press was and is used to advertise those firms "who employ none but union help," using this as a reason why the working class should use their goods and boycott all others. This once advocated, was soon followed up with the plea that the workers should also VOTE for these employers only that employed union labor.

It has come to light many times that those who were loudest in the praise of the union and foremost and first to condemn the "scab," have, while employing union men in one factory, been interested in others employing "scabs."

### Two-Fold Benefit for Capitalists

This kind of double-dealing has a two-fold benefit for the capitalists. First, it keeps the working class divided—the union men against the "scab"—instead of both fighting the capitalists. Second, these small capitalists who are not in (or on) to the combination, and are foolish enough to openly oppose the unions, are crowded to the wall, thus becoming peaches and cream to be devoured by those who are both "in and on."

### Don't Discuss Religion or Politics

For a long time after the trade union movement had been thoroughly launched, things were gliding thus smoothly along in favor of the "successful" capitalists. The unions would discuss neither religion nor politics. Their knowledge of economics ended when they ascertained the amount of "wages" they were to receive for a given number of hours' work. Their political knowledge consisted in voting for the "friend of labor" that could make the most noise about "scabs." It did not appear to them that he was only advertising his own or his employer's goods when calling for the union label. To them he appeared as he assumed to be, "only a friend of labor."

Their religion consisted in an apparent disregard of creeds, yet seeming to cling to the original superstition upon which the creeds were all built. They had a keen sense of justice—that is, from the standpoint of capitalistic morals. They would often be moved to tears by a kind act, heroic deed, or charitable gift. They were quick to applaud an individual that had succeeded in building himself a fortune, although he did pull down and climb over his fellow men to do it; for the same reason would they cheer a good prize-fight. Competition being the foundation of their economic, moral and political educa-

## What Labor Gets

\$1 a Day

Unorganized Labor

\$2 a Day

Organized Labor

\$10 a Day  
or  
All You Produce

SOCIALISM

### LABOR'S THREE STEPS

#### Get Ready for the Last

tion, they could not find any enjoyment in life unless someone was always getting the worst of it.

They were, as individuals, quick to resent any slighting remark bearing upon the chastity of their own mothers, sisters, near relatives or friends, yet as quick to debauch the family of another workingman, should the opportunity present itself.

I do not wish to be understood as confining this moral SLEEP to the working class, by any means. What I do wish to show is, that in the development of trades unions from capitalists' wage slavery to a consciousness of liberty and equality, they have been no better, nor have they been any worse, than the system under which they have lived—capitalism.

### Unions Fast Learning

Could the capitalist system have stood still, they would have remained so forever; but, fortunately for them, the evolutionary process taking place in the tools used by the capitalist system of wealth production will not let it stand still, and they are fast learning a better system of economics as well as morals.

It is forcing them into association and finally discussion of these questions, although the capitalist class are constantly trying to avoid their doing so. This association will in time, and has to a great extent already, taught them their solidaric interests; shown them that the family of a working man, if injured, is as much the concern of all the rest as that of the immediate family.

### Learning Solidaric Class Interests

When first the trades unions became a factor in the world of labor, they confined their operations to the immediate craft organized—understanding the word class to mean only those of their craft that belonged to their organization. Their demands were for better WAGES and HOURS for their members only. Time, however, has thrown them together in ever-increasing bodies. In this way are they learning that the "injury to one is the concern of all"—or, in other words, their solidaric class interests. This knowledge is preparing the way for the complete emancipation of the

working class—not more wages, but FREEDOM from their economic wage slave-drivers.

### New Demands Now

It will now become plain to the reader that as time has brought about this change, the old demands of trades unions for increase of WAGES, and the attempt to enforce those demands with the strike, boycott and label, are not up to the higher conceptions of liberty.

Between these demands and their newly discovered rights there is a wide breach. As long as they cling to their old demands alone, the individuals of the capitalist class could use them as tools to bankrupt their competitors; but now things have changed. The socialists have stepped into that breach and taken up the fight for the complete liberty of the workers.

### Organize at the Ballot Box

This system of economics completely overthrows the capitalist system, with its strikes, lockouts, boycotts and bickering over wages, hours and treatment of the workers. This system is represented in the political arena by the socialist party. It demands for the working class the political management of OUR social organization. It demands for labor the full product of its toil instead of WAGES. Is this antagonistic to organized labor? The eyes of the workers are becoming opened to the fact that they have been lied to in this respect. They are beginning to see that this party encourages them to organize unions to keep up the fight for wages as long as wages are paid, but to also organize at the ballot box to abolish the system of wages altogether. Should they do this, they cannot be handled by the capitalists as tools to enslave themselves.

Comrade J. J. Fraser, of Tacoma, spent a few months at the headquarters last week. He is one of those Socialists who are not "quitters."

By the way, he reports that his brother, residing in Haverhill, Mass., writes that Haverhill comrades regard Seattle as the hotbed of Socialism in the Northwest.

Comrades in Seattle, this from Haverhill puts us to our trumps.

### LABOR LEGISLATION IN NEW YORK.

Some five years ago New York State passed a law in favor of organized labor. It provided that all contractors on public works should pay wages equal to the "prevailing rates." That was intended to mean the union scale rates, and the unions thought the Republican and Democratic legislators had done them a big service when they passed that law.

But the contractors refused to pay the "prevailing rates," until the laborers had lien-claims amounting to six million dollars.

The N. Y. Court of Appeals has just decided the law "unconstitutional," and five years of hope and work by organized labor has gone for naught.

When will you learn, O labor unionists, that in politics you must be Socialists?

Do you suppose a Socialist Court of Appeals would have turned you down?

You must elect your own class, do you see? Capitalist politicians will never do anything real for you.

You waste your time, money and votes on Democrats and Republicans—both alike capitalistic.

Talks on "political economy," are all right in unions—at the proper time; but that time does not arrive until a body of men are so thoroughly unionized that they do not fear discharge from work for political activity.

The above from the "official" organ of union labor in this city is a faint and feeble attack on socialism. A big contrast with its all sorts of fury a while ago.

Officialism is discovering it doesn't pay to be forever ranting at socialism. That only make more socialists.

Socialism, straight, class-conscious socialism, is the only natural outcome of unionism. Unionism is O. K. as far as it goes. But socialism will do ten thousand times what unionism can possibly do for labor.

When you give up your fossil ideas about politics, and study enough "political economy;" to know what socialism really means, you will then be qualified to conduct a true labor paper—one which fights for ALL the interests of labor, like The Cleveland Citizen, for example.

First Workingman's Government

THE PARIS COMMUNE--GLORIOUS HARBINGER OF A NEW SOCIETY

A Lesson in Socialism For all to Learn. What Marx and Engels Have to Say About it

Instead of our regular Lesson in Socialism, we present this week extracts from Engels and Marx commemorative of the Paris Commune. Doubtless many of our readers still think of the Commune as it has been misrepresented by Capitalistic historians, as a bloody mob, an uprising of the lowest dregs of society against law and order. Too many of us fail to look behind the externals of so-called "Law and Order," and discover therein the iron rule of the propertied class over the propertiless class. They control press, school, church, all molders of public opinion.

We recommend all our readers to get one or both of the following books, so as to have their eyes opened: "Lissagaray's History of The Commune," cloth, 500 pages, \$1, or we will furnish a copy for 4 yearly new subscriptions to The Socialist, as a special offer, good for one month.

"The Civil War in France," by Karl Marx, 25 cents, or for one new subscription to The Socialist, offer good for one month.

Eleanor Marx Aveling--Introduction to History of the Commune.

To most English people the Commune still spells "rapine, fear and lust," and when they speak of its "atrocities," they have some vague idea of hostages ruthlessly massacred by brutal revolutionists, houses burned down by furious petrolouses. Is it not time that English people at last learnt the truth? Is it not time they were reminded that for the sixty-five hostages shot, not by the Commune, but by a few people made mad by the massacre of prisoners by the Versailles, the troops of law and order shot down thirty thousand men, women and children, for the most part long after all fighting had ceased? If any Englishman, after reading Lissagaray's "History of the Commune," still has any doubt as to what the "atrocities" of the Commune really were, he should turn to the Parisian correspondence for May and June, 1871, of the Times, Daily News and Standard. There he can learn what kind of "order reigned in Paris" after the glorious victory of Versailles.

"The wholesale executions continue indiscriminately. Prisoners are taken down in batches to certain places where firing parties are stationed, and deep trenches dug beforehand. . . . At one of these, the Caserne Napoleon, since last night five hundred persons have been shot. . . . There are invariably women and boys among them. . . . Prisoners are soon disposed of by a volley and tumbled into a trench, when, if not killed by the shots, death from suffocation must soon put an end to their pain. Two court-martials alone are shooting at the rate of five hundred a day. Two thousand dead bodies are collected round the Pantheon."--Standard, June, 1871.

Nor is it enough that we should be clear as to the "atrocities" of the Commune. It is time people understood the true meaning of this Revolution; and

this can be summed up in a few words. It meant the government of the people by the people. It was the first attempt of the proletariat to govern itself. The workers of Paris expressed this when in their first manifesto they declared they "understood it was their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies by seizing upon governmental power." The establishment of the Commune meant not the replacing of one form of class-rule by another, but the abolishing of all class-rule. It meant the substitution of true co-operative, i. e., communistic, for capitalistic production, and the participation in this Revolution of workers of all countries meant the internationalizing not only the nationalizing, of the land and of private property.

And the same men who now cry out against the use of force used force--and what force!--to vanquish the people of Paris. Those who denounce Socialists as mere firebrands and dynamitards used fire and sword to crush the people into submission.

And what has been the result of these massacres, of this slaying of thousands of men, women and children? Is Socialism dead? Was it drowned in the blood of the people of Paris? Socialism today is a greater power than it has ever been. The bourgeois Republic of France may join hands with the Autocrat of Russia to blot it out; Bismarck may pass repressive laws and democratic America may follow in his wake--and still it moves! And because Socialism is today a power, because in England even it is "in the air," the time has come for doing justice to the Commune of Paris. The time has come when even the opponents of Socialism will read, at least with patience if not with sympathy, an honest and truthful account of the greatest Socialist movement--thus far--of the century.

Engel's Account of What the Commune Did.

During the Franco-Prussian war the Parisian workmen had confined themselves to demanding the energetic continuance of the struggle. But now, the capitulation of Paris having secured peace, Thiers, the new head of the government, could not help seeing that the rule of the propertied classes--of the great landlords and capitalists--was in continual danger so long as the Parisian workmen retained their arms. His first work accordingly was the attempt to disarm them. On the 18th of March he sent some troops of the line, with the order to steal the artillery belonging to the National Guard, which had been manufactured and paid for by public subscription during the siege of Paris. The attempt miscarried. Paris armed herself as one man to resistance, and war was declared between Paris and the French government sitting at Versailles. On the 26th of March the Paris Commune was elected, and proclaimed on the 28th. The Central Committee of the National Guard, which had hitherto carried on the government, abdi-

cated its functions into the hands of the Commune. On the 30th the Commune abolished the conscription and the standing army, and all citizens capable of bearing arms were to belong. It remitted all rents from October, 1870, to April, 1871, such rent as had already been paid to be apportioned to future quarters; and returned gratis, all pledges of necessitous persons in the public pawning establishment (mont-de-piete). The same day the foreigners elected on to the Commune were confirmed in these functions, since it was declared "the flag of the Commune is that of the Universal Republic." On the 1st of April it was decided that the highest salary of a functionary of the Commune, whether a member or otherwise, was not to exceed 6,000 francs (£240) a year. On the following day was declared the separation of Church and State, and the abolition of all State payments for religious purposes, as also the transformation of all ecclesiastical wealth into national property. As a consequence of this, on the 8th of April all religious symbols, dogmas, prayers--in

kind. The matter was henceforward placed in the hands of the mayoralties of the twenty arrondissements of Paris. On the 30th of April it decreed the abolition of pawnshops as being incompatible with the right of workmen to their tools and to credit. On the 5th of May it ordered the destruction of the chapel erected in expiation of the execution of Louis XVI.

In these measures the class character of the Parisian movement, hitherto thrust into the background by the struggle against the foreign invasion, came clearly and emphatically to the fore. In the Commune there sat almost exclusively workmen, or the recognized representatives of them. Its decisions naturally bore a distinctively proletarian character. They either decreed reforms which the Republican bourgeoisie had omitted to carry out from cowardice, but which formed a necessary foundation for the free action of the working class, as, for instance, the carrying out of the principle that religion as far as the State is concerned, is a purely private matter; or they were the expressions of reso-

Constitution of the Commune

The commune was formed of municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in various wards of town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, acknowledged representatives of the working class. The commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time. Instead of continuing to be the agent of the central government, the police was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into responsible and at all times revocable agent of the commune. So were officials of all other branches of the administration. From the moment the commune downwards, the public service had to be done at workingmen's wages. The vested interests and representation allowances of the high dignitaries of state disappeared along with the high dignitaries themselves. Public functions ceased to be the private property of the tools of the central government. Not only municipal administration, but the whole initiative hitherto exercised by the state was to be handed over to the commune.

Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical elements of the old government, the commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the "son-power," by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches, proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the apostles. The whole of educational institutions were opened to the people gratuitously, and at the same time cleared of all interference of church and state. Thus, not only education made accessible to all, but science itself freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it.

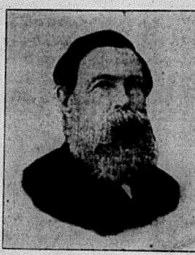
The judicial functionaries were divested of that sham independence which had but served to mask their direct subserviency to all succeeding governments to which, in turn, they had taken, and broken, the oath of allegiance. Like the rest of public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elective, responsible, and revocable.

The Secret of the Commune

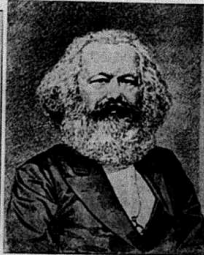
The multiplicity of interpretations which the commune has been subjected to, and the multiplicity of interests which construed it in their favor, show that it was a thoroughly expansive political form, while all previous forms of government had been emphatically repressive. Its true secret was this: It was essentially a working class government, the product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of labor.

Abolition of Classes

Except on this last condition, the communal constitution would have been an impossibility and a delusion. The political rule of the producer cannot coexist with the perpetuation of his social slavery. The commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economical foundations upon which



ENGELS



MARX

short, "all things appertaining to the sphere of the individual conscience," were ordered to be banished from the schools, an order which was carried out as soon as possible. On the 6th the guillotine was fetched out by the 37th battalion of the National Guard and publicly burnt, amid loud popular applause. On the 12th the Commune ordered the column on the Place Vendome, which had been constructed by Napoleon I. after the war of 1809 out of captured cannon, to be overthrown as a monument of national vanity and international jealousy. This was accomplished on the 16th of May. On the 16th of April the Commune made an order for a statistical account of all factories and workshops which were not at work, and for the elaboration of plans for their utilization by and for account of the workmen hitherto engaged in them, who were to be formed into co-operative societies for the purpose, and, further, for the amalgamation of these societies into one great co-operative organization. On the 20th they abolished the night work of bakers, as also the register-offices for procuring employment, which, since the Second Empire, had been the monopoly of certain scoundrels appointed by the police, exploiters of the worst

lutions directly in the interest of the working classes, and in a few cases even penetrating deeply into the life tissue of the old order of society. But all this in a besieged city could not be carried beyond the first stages of realization. And from the beginning of May onwards the struggle against the ever-increasing masses of the army of the Versailles Government claimed our exclusive attention and energy.

ADDRESS BY MARX

18th March, 1871, "Vive la Commune!"

On the dawn of the 18th of March, 1871, Paris arose to the thunderburst of "Vive la Commune!" What is the commune, that sphinx so tantalizing to the bourgeois mind?

"The proletarians of Paris," said the central committee in its manifesto of the 1st March, "amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs. . . . They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves the masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power."



roots the existence of classes, and therefore of every rule. With labor emancipated, every man becomes a working man, and productive labor ceases to be a class attribute.

#### Abolition of Class Property

It is a strange fact. In spite of all the tall talk and all the immense literature for the last sixty years about emancipation of labor, no sooner do the workmen anywhere take the subject into their own hands with a will, then uprises at once all the apologetic phraseology of the mouthpieces of present society with its two poles of capital and wage-slavery (the landlord now is but the sleeping partner of the capitalist), as if capitalist society was still in its purest state of virgin innocence, with its antagonisms still undeveloped, with its delusions still unexploded, with its prostitute realities not yet laid bare. The commune, they explain, intends to abolish property, the basis of all civilization! Yes, gentlemen, the commune intended to abolish that class property which makes the labor of the many the wealth of the few. It aimed at the expropriation of the expropriators. It wanted to make individual property a truth by transforming the means of production, land and capital, now chiefly the means of enslaving and exploiting labor, into mere instruments of free and associated labor.

#### Measures of the Commune

The great social measure of the commune was its own working existence. Its special measures could but betoken the tendency of a government of the people by the people. Such were the abolition of the nightwork of journeyman bakers; the prohibition, under penalty, of the employers' practice to reduce wages by leaving upon their workpeople fines under manifold texts—a process in which the employer combines in his own person the parts of legislator, judge, and executioner, and filches the money to boot. Another measure of this class was the surrender, to associations of workmen, under reserve of compensation, of all closed workshops and factories, no matter whether the respective capitalists had absconded or preferred to strike work.

#### False Agents

In every revolution there intrude, at the side of its true agents, men of a different stamp; to whom some survivors of and devotees to past revolutions, without insight into the present movement, but preserving popular influence by their known honesty and courage, or by the sheer force of tradition; others are mere hawlers, who by dint of repeating year after year the same set of stereotyped declamations against the government of the day, have sneaked into the reputations of revolutionists of the first water. After 15th of March some such men did also turn up, and in some cases tried to play prominent parts. As far as their power went, they hampered the real action of the working class, exactly as men of that sort have hampered the full development of every previous revolution. They are an unavoidable evil; with time they are shaken off, but time was not allowed to the commune.

#### Results of the Commune

Wonderful, indeed, was the change the commune had wrought in Paris! No longer any trace of the meretricious Paris of the second empire. No longer was Paris the rendezvous of British handlovers, Irish absentees, American ex-slaveholders and shoddy men, Russian ex-serfowners, and Wallachian boyards. No more corpses at the morgue, no nocturnal burglaries, scarcely any robberies, in fact, for the first time since the days of February,

1848, "the streets of Paris were safe, and that without any police of any kind. "We," said a member of the commune, "hear no longer of assassination, theft, and personal assault; it seems, indeed, that the police had dragged along with it to Versailles all its conservative friends." The *convictes* had refound the scent of their protectors—the absconding men of family, religion, and, above all, of property. In their stead, the real women of Paris showed again at the surface—heroic, noble, and devoted, like the women of antiquity. Working, thinking, fighting, bleeding Paris—almost forgetful, in its incubation of a new society, of the cannibals at its gates—radiant in the enthusiasm of its historic initiative.

#### Internal Deeds Against the Commune

The civilization and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilization and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge. Each new crisis in the class struggle between the appropriator and producer brings out this fact more glaringly. Even the atrocities of the bourgeoisie in June, 1848, vanish before the ineffable infamy of 1871. The self-sacrificing heroism with which the people of Paris—men, women, and children—fought for eight days after the entrance of the Versailles, reflects as much the grandeur of their cause as the infernal deeds of the soldiery reflect the innate spirit of that civilization of which they were the mercenary vindicators. A glorious civilization, indeed, the great problem of which is how to get rid of the heaps of corpses it made after the battle was over!

To find a parallel for the conduct of Thiers and his bloodhounds we must go back to the times of Sulla and the two triumvirates of Rome. The same wholesale slaughter in cold blood; the same disregard, in massacre, of age and sex; the same system of torturing prisoners; the same proscriptions, but this time of a whole class; the same savage hunt after concealed leaders, lest one might escape; the same denunciations of political and private enemies; the same indifference for the butchery of entire strangers to the feud. There is but this difference, that the Romans had no mitrailuses for the dispatch, in the lump, of the proscribed, and that they had not "the law in their hands," nor on their lips the cry of "civilization."

#### Gallifet the Butcher

"The column of prisoners halted in the Avenue Ubrich, and was drawn up, four or five deep, on the footway facing to the road. General Marquis de Gallifet and his staff dismounted and commenced an inspection from the left of the line. Walking down slowly and eyeing the ranks, the general stopped here and there, tapping a man on the shoulder or beckoning him out of the ranks. In most cases, without further parley, the individual thus selected was marched out into the center of the road, where a small supplementary column was thus soon formed. . . . It was evident that there was considerable room for error. A mounted officer pointed out to General Gallifet a man and woman for some particular offense. The woman, rushing out of the ranks, threw herself on her knees, and, with outstretched arms, protested her innocence in passionate terms. The general waited for a pause, and then with most impassable face and unmoved demeanor, said, 'Madame, I have visited every theatre in Paris, your acting will have no effect on me' ('ce n'est pas la peine de jouer la comédie'). . . . It was not a good thing on that day to be noticeably taller, dirtier, cleaner, older

than one's neighbors. One individual in particular struck me as probably owing his speedy release from the ills of this world to having a broken nose. . . . Over a hundred being thus chosen, a firing party told off, and the column resumed its march, leaving them behind. A few minutes afterwards a dropping fire in our rear commenced, and continued for over a quarter of an hour. It was the execution of the summarily convicted wretches." *Paris Correspondent "Daily News," June 8.*

#### The Execution of the Archbishop

But the execution by the commune of the 64 hostages, with the Archbishop of Paris at their head! The bourgeoisie and its army in June, 1848, re-established a custom which had long disappeared from the practice of war—the shooting of their defenseless prisoners. This brutal custom has since been more or less strictly adhered to by the suppressors of all popular commotions in Europe and India; thus proving that it constitutes a real "progress of civilization!" On the other hand, the Prussians in France, had re-established the practice of taking hostages—inocent men, who with their lives, were to answer to them for the acts of others. When Thiers, as we have seen, from the very beginning of the conflict, enforced the humane practice of shooting down the communal prisoners, the commune, to protect their lives, was obliged to resort to the Prussian practice of securing hostages. The lives of the hostages had been forfeited over and over again by the continued shooting of prisoners on the part of the Versailles. How could they be spared any longer after the carnage with which McMahon's praetorians celebrated their entrance into Paris! Was even the last check upon the unscrupulous ferocity of the bourgeois governments—the taking of hostages—to be made a mere sham off! The real murderer of Archbishop Darboy is Thiers. The commune had again and again offered to exchange the archbishop, and ever so many priests in the bargain, against the single Blanqui, then in the hands of Thiers. Thiers obstinately refused. He knew that with Blanqui he would give to the commune a head; while the archbishop would serve his purpose best in the shape of a corpse.

#### The Commune a Harbinger of a New Society

Working men's Paris, with its commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priest will not avail to redeem them.

#### THE LAW OF TRUSTS.

General Forrest said to one of his officers: "Miller, if you can't whip 'em, you must join 'em."

That is the motto of Capitalism today. That was Carnegie's principle when he "joined" Rockefeller, the Southern Pacific motto when it "joined" the U. P. That is the law of combination, which is organizing Modern Industry and making it ready for Socialist adoption.

#### Amesbury, Mass.

Spofford, Social Democrat, re-elected as "Selectman," receiving 928 votes against 887 in 1900 and 523 in 1899.

#### Rutland, Vt.

Lull, S. D., for mayor, 173, against 65 for governor last November. How are these for "Straws?"

#### A PRIZE FOR EVERYONE.

Only Two Bids.

#### WHO WILL GET THE FIRST PRIZE?

#### WHO WILL WIN THE SECOND PRIZE?

At Germania Hall, Mch. 30, 8 p. m., every one will get a prize; that is, a splendid entertainment followed by a ball, with Lueben's orchestra. A GUESS WITH EVERY TICKET.

If you guess nearest to the number of beans in the water bottle—you get first prize—Worth ten dollars!

#### ANOTHER PRIZE TO HIGHEST TICKET SELLER.

Here's a chance for the young folks—especially the girls. Whoever sells the greatest number of tickets will get second choice of those three beautiful prizes.

If you don't want to keep the prize you win, Rhodes Bros. will exchange it for anything they have of equal value.

#### NOW ON EXHIBITION AT 220 UNION STREET.

The prizes in the Headquarters window attract a stream of passers all day long. Tickets are selling readily—even this early, three weeks before the date.

The entertainment will be "way up."

Liela Paige Wilcox is great, always a favorite.

The Children's Prize Cake Walk will introduce the newest dances, and the audience will decide which child is to take first prize and second prize and third prize.

Some fine musical numbers on the program will be announced later.

#### THREE RULES FOR WRITING

- First. Be so simple and clear that every one can understand.
  - Second. Be so vivid and forcible that every one must understand.
  - Third. Be specific. Deal in facts, not generalities.
- N. B. Editor and contributors are specially requested to observe these rules.

#### LOCAL SEATTLE.

Mrs. M. Hobart addressed a well-attended meeting of the Local at 220 Union street on last Sunday evening. The speaker in her opening address, stated that she finds three facts which justify the existence of the Social Democratic party, namely: First, "because labor creates all wealth." Second, "to labor belongs all wealth." Third, "labor receives only a small portion of that wealth it creates."

Political parties and religious organizations she said were based on belief—whereas, scientific Socialism was based on scientific facts. Although the speaker has apparently studied the question sufficiently to fully realize the existence of a great social and economic wrong, she exhibited a lack of knowledge of what the political economist calls scientific Socialism—a term frequently used by the speaker of the evening without fully understanding its meaning.

Comrades Gilbert Titus and Seibert, in short addresses, clearly showed the errors made by the speaker of the evening, and enlightened the audience on the difference of that which Mrs. Hobart believes to be Socialism and that which is scientific Socialism in fact.

Comrade Jas. D. Curtis will address the meeting on next Sunday evening. Subject: "What Constitutes a True Socialist." H. N. BAUMANN.

#### TREASURER'S REPORT.

Receipts.	
Previously reported	\$715 36
Feb. 28, Union Laundry, ad.	4 50
for February	65
Feb. 28, sales of literature	1 15
Total	\$715 16
Feb. 28, donations	4 50
Total	\$719 66

#### EXPENSES.

Previously reported	\$719 93
Feb. 28, printer (3 days)	10 50
Total	\$730 43
Deficit	10 77
Total	\$719 66

#### Plant Fund.

#### Receipts.

Previously reported	\$210 20
Mch. 3, donations	12 75
Total	\$222 95

#### EXPENSES.

Previously reported	\$198 41
Mch. 3, assorting type for plant	8 00
Total	\$206 41
Bal. on hand	16 54
Total	\$222 95

#### TREASURER'S REPORT.

#### RECEIPTS.

Previously reported	\$715 16
Mar. 10, John Downie, dues	1 00
March, June	1 00
Mar. 10, subs. and donations	12 55
Mar. 10, papers	10
Total	\$728 81

#### EXPENSES.

Previously reported	\$725 93
Mar. 10, printer	12 00
Mar. 10, wrapping paper	95
Mar. 10, electric light	4 45
Total	\$743 33
Deficit	14 52
Total	\$728 81

#### Plant Fund.

#### RECEIPTS.

Previously reported	\$222 95
Mar. 10, H. Knust, donation	5 00
Mrs. Hartman, donation	1 00
Mr. Nelson, donation	2 00
Mr. Hamilton, donation	75
A. W. Kline, donation	50
Fred Cords, donation	5 00
G. H. Peters, donation	2 00
Donation from Buckley	4 00
Total	\$243 20

#### EXPENSES.

Previously reported	\$206 41
Mar. 10, repairs to press	4 75
Books, coms. and galleys	5 45
30-lb leads	5 13
Total	\$221 74
Bal. on hand	\$21 46
Total	\$243 20

#### EXPENSES.

Previously reported	\$206 41
Mar. 10, repairs to press	4 75
Books, coms. and galleys	5 45
30-lb leads	5 13
Total	\$221 74
Bal. on hand	\$21 46
Total	\$243 20

#### EXPENSES.

Previously reported	\$206 41
Mar. 10, repairs to press	4 75
Books, coms. and galleys	5 45
30-lb leads	5 13
Total	\$221 74
Bal. on hand	\$21 46
Total	\$243 20

If you want to help The Socialist, new's the time to get out and hustle to sell tickets for Mch. 30. Everything depends on selling tickets. Get all your friends—especially among the capitalists—to buy a ticket. Begin right away, before they get that evening engaged.

You will find it easy to sell these tickets, for see what they give for 25 cents:

FIRST—A splendid entertainment—an evening's fun and enjoyment.

SECOND—A ball in the best hall, and with the best band.

THIRD—A chance to win a \$10 prize.

FOURTH—An opportunity to help the best cause in the world.

Our advertisers are finding The Socialist a good medium. The boys are already going to these men and telling them they saw their ads. in The Socialist.

