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Eighth Year—No. 375

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, May 16, 1908

Price Five Cents

THE PROLETARIAT FOREVER!

CONVENTION DOES THINGS

(Special Dispatch to "The Socialist.")

Many Rumors in Daily Papers Made Up by Cub Reporters. Pay no Attention to Them. Haywood Withdraws. Debs and Hanford May Be Ticket Again. Platform Committee Mixed. Great Victory for Washington State Party. Hutchison-Mills Faction Turned Down by 164 to 27 at Special Session of Convention. Opportunism and Fusion Outvoted 6 to 1.

The third National Convention of the Socialist Party gathered in Brand's Hall last Sunday. Our correspondents will give full details next week. "The Socialist" is delayed this week in order to include the earliest days' doings. Little can be done by the Convention before Wednesday or Thursday except to perfect organization and elect committees. Then time must be given for those committees to act.

Monday night the National Executive Committee met by special direction of the Convention upon recommendation of the Credentials Committee for the express purpose of investigating and reporting on the protest of the Mills-Hutchison-Wolfe faction from the State of Washington against the seating of the Washington delegation. On Tuesday afternoon the Convention received their Executive's report and settled the whole controversy then and there after full discussion.

The Capitalist papers call it "wrangling." They cannot understand that a vital question of organization is at stake. The Capitalist parties have no democratic organization depending upon class unity and free co-operation as the Socialist Party must have in order to survive.

Haywood's withdrawal means he recognized his nomination would be followed by a campaign which would throw over again the Boise trial and center about the Western Federation of Miners instead of being a campaign about Socialism.

Capitalist dispatches report Carl D. Thompson's name received by the Convention "with cheers." It has been known to "The Socialist" for some weeks that the Opportunists and Christian Socialists were working for the nomination of this Reverend to the office of President. But it is simply impossible a wage-workers' party should so stand itself on his head for a race. His nomination, on the heels of his pamphlet, "Constructive Program of Socialism," which Bryan could swallow whole without gagging, would be the suicide of the Socialist Party. It savors of infinite egotism on his part to dream of it even.

Equally unlikely is the reported caucus of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio delegates for Ben Hanford and Max Hayes. This would be too obviously an A. F. of L. ticket exclusively and a kick at Industrial Unionism. A. M. Simons' selection would also be abnormal. The good sense of the delegates will probably prevail, if the following message from the Washington comrades is to be trusted:

Chicago, April 12th, 1908.
Tuesday, 11:30 p. m.

To Washington Socialists: The greatest victory in the history of the party for Revolutionary Socialism was won this afternoon.

The National Executive Committee met last night (Monday) and specially considered the Washington controversy by instructions from the Convention through Credentials Committee. Phelps-Stokes, of New York, acted as chairman of Executive Committee. A. Hutchison, of Seattle, was present as Organizer of the "Provisional Organization," which has appealed to the National Party for a Referendum to be conducted by the National Secretary to elect a new State Committee in Washington. He claimed the present State Committee was illegal and that for the last three years the Washington Socialist Party had been irregular and invalid. He asked for a Referendum, based on the last amendment to the National Constitution adopted in November, 1907.

Morris Hillquit, of New York, member of the National Executive Committee, then cross-examined Hutchison, making two points: (1) That the amendment to the Constitution was not retroactive and hence could not apply to matters three years old; (2) that there could be no controversy as to validity of title of present State Committee because the protestants themselves took part in the State Convention last year, helped make the present laws and elect the present officers. Therefore they should abide by results.

Hillquit made motion to reject protest and deny Referendum in Washington on the grounds that national constitutional amendment was not retroactive and that no controversy has arisen since the present organization was duly and regularly constituted; and that national office offer its services for unity.

State Organizer Wagenknecht, State Secretary Krueger and National Committeeman Herman defended the State organization and brought out all the facts clearly. Work was silent.

Victor Berger and Rev. Carl Thompson, of Wisconsin, members of the Executive Committee, started to support Hutchison, but in the end Hutchison was laughed at. Berger told him he was "easy." We were praised for good organization and shrewdness. Berger said: "They are Germans."

The Hillquit motion was adopted by unanimous vote of Executive Committee.

Today (Tuesday) the Executive Committee reported to Convention. Goebel, of New Jersey, National Organizer, spoke against us with much feeling. Also Miller, of Nevada, re-

ceiving much applause. The main point they made against us was that our organization was autocratic, but when it was demanded that they prove it by our laws, they failed.

The rule was adopted that each party to the controversy be given 20 minutes to state their case. Hutchison occupied his full time, talking about what happened years ago and telling how sick we were. Brown, Wagenknecht, Herman and Boomer occupied our 20 minutes, speaking five minutes each. They centered their arguments on the Revolutionary Socialism the party in Washington stood for and the resulting anti-fusion tactics. They exposed the reform principles and compromising tactics of the Hutchison crowd.

The debate was closed by four five-minute speeches, two on each side. Vanderporten, of New York, spoke first for us, making strong speech against all fusion and in support of revolutionary methods. He handed Walter Thomas Mills a very sour lemon.

Next Goebel spoke for Hutchison. He was very weak. He told how we made him obey the state organization when he was in Washington.

We had selected Hillquit to close for our side, but Simons, of Chicago, got the floor ahead of Hillquit. He was strong for us, praised our organization and machine, but said we were a little unscrupulous.

Waldhorst, of Alabama, closed for Opportunists. He said nothing.

Wagenknecht and Herman moved for roll call, to put every one on record. Opportunists objected strongly and wanted to adjourn. Roll call was ordered. It resulted 164 for us to 27 for the Opportunists. The Washington delegates declined to vote. If we had voted, the result would have been 172 to 27.

Many Fusionists and Opportunists voted with us.

Vanderporten dared them to bolt, as they had threatened to do on Labor Union matter.

There is no toadying here to Willshire, Patterson, Hunter, Stokes, or any in same class.

This convention is working class. The farmers here refuse farmers' sops. They understand the working class basis of the party.

The platform committee is Simons, Untermann, Hillquit, Work, Berger, Carey, Guy Miller, Bramatetter of Oklahoma and Clark of Texas.

Looks like Debs and Hanford for our candidates. It is rumored Berger wants to run Steadman (Chicago lawyer) or Thompson. Haywood's withdrawal is announced tonight.

(Signed.) DELEGATES.
Per Wag.



GETTING THERE

On the Way to the 1908 National Convention -- By A. Wagenknecht

Sleeping on the cushions is no fun. But most of us knew this before we started. Nor would we make beds of our seats if we could buy a bed. Most of us can't spare the five it costs. So here we are, in the middle of an alkali desert in Utah, feeling a little irregular, but already two dollars in pocket.

The Oregon delegation joined us, Varner, Ramp and Ryan in Portland, Barzee in Pendleton. They have their wives with them. One each, I must explain, being in Utah they also are traveling in usual working class fashion, though not of that class. Lunches in baskets and grips, sleeping in the day coach. We have all noticed one thing. That part of the working class that must travel, make their home while traveling in the day coach. No tourist or Pullman beds, no meals in the dining car. The railroad companies, in their efforts for large profits, don't furnish enough accommodations for day coach travelers, and as a consequence the periodical rush for seats is interesting.

E. E. Martin drew first blood. A few neighbors of his were against Socialism. Just against it, that's all. No reason for it. The argument was a good one from a Socialist viewpoint—our side was winning it, you see. The opposition resorted to sarcasm.

Martin is no second when it comes to this, and with an occasional jolt from us, we soon had the whole car laughing at our friend. The climax was reached when Martin asked them to name the books on Socialism they had read. They had read none. And as usual, we decided that no person knows a thing about anything he knows nothing about. That settled the argument. By the way, one of the opponents says he will hire all the men sent him for \$1.25 per day. He failed to leave with us his name and address, however.

We were received by the Utah comrades of Salt Lake City, Murray and Ogden, but not our Socialism, so far as we could tell. We met in social session in Lawyer Scott's office. He, in the course of his remarks, said that he favored the mem-

bership pledges being changed from, "I, recognizing the class struggle, etc." to "I, knowing of the degradation and misery of human race, and realizing that something should be done, etc." State Secretary McLaughlin, who praises Work's work and whom Work praises, said he was an Evolutionary Socialist, an opportunist and in favor of harmony always. We found out after the meeting that all our Utah comrades need to establish harmony with us, was to become our kind of Socialists. A woman member, Comrade Johnson, wanted a broad movement, humanitarian in character, a movement of justice and right. She said she voted for a candidate for Attorney General on a capitalist party ticket last election and that there was some talk, as a result, of denying her membership. All the above was said after the Washington and Oregon delegates had made their short speeches on the fundamentals of Socialism and the no-compromise character our party should attain.

Comrade Johnson said we came very near calling the Utah comrades traitors. Comrade McLaughlin told me he had persuaded former State Secretary Burt, who was a factor in the American party fusion, to remain a member of our party. McLaughlin says he makes a very good chairman.

The American party is a late political aggregation, which has as its economic foundation an Anti-Mormon crusade. The delegates from Utah were present at the session. They left Salt Lake City twelve hours later than we, but we expect to meet in Denver. All the Utah comrades are very honest in what they believe Socialism is and should be.

A monster argument occurred today. Right in our own ranks, too. Brown on one side. All the rest of us on the other. Brown claimed a lawyer belonged to the working class. The rest claimed he belonged to most any class except the working class. The argument was loud and long. We won, for we were much and he was few. He got even with us later in the evening by opening up a barber shop in the day coach and giving

us a free shave while the train was going forty miles per hour.

More from us later. We are learning how to make Socialists in day coaches and we shall get further experience. Today was banner day. We had four arguments on the program at the same time. We make no special effort to talk loud, that coming natural, and so if we have the arguments equally distant from each other, the whole crowd hears.

Varner don't talk much. He is a sort of a thinking man. Barzee and Herman join hands as against Oriental exclusion. Ramp is a good joker and Ryan is also. Hendrickson wants the convention to treat the liquor problem more fully. Krueger has the voice that can be heard, sounds like a rattling gun, I think, though never heard one. Hale, M. A. L. from Puyallup, who is with us as a visitor, talks presidential possibilities. Downie eats hearty and converts.

Big Fight Monday

(Special to "The Socialist.")

Chicago, May 11, 1908.
Monday Noon.

Organization of Convention not yet perfected.

Washington delegates seated but Credentials Committee urge National Executive Committee to take action on Washington trouble and report to Convention.

The election of Trade Union Committee occasioned a big fight. Berger practically threatened to bolt if vote did not go his way. Motion finally carried to call committee "Labor Organization Committee" instead of "Trades Unions Committee."

BOOMER.

Washington Replies

MESSAGE TO CONVENTION.

To the National Convention Socialist Party, Brand's Hall, Chicago:

Comrades:—The Socialist Party of Washington gratefully acknowledges endorsement of our revolutionary position by the National Convention. This enables us to make a better fight than ever against capitalism without by disposing of the enemy within. No compromise forever.

ARTHUR JENSEN,
Acting Secretary.

"The Terrible Truth About Marriage" is still on hand. It is now selling for 10 cents per cop, postage paid. In quantities the price is \$3 for \$3.00, 100 for \$6.00.

DEBS & HANFORD

Nominated on First Ballot -- Complete Victory for Revolutionists

Special Dispatch to "The Socialist"

The following dispatch dated Chicago, Ill., 2:18 a. m., Friday, May 15 will bring cheer and assurance, even reassurance, to the Revolutionary Socialists of the country.

The renomination of Debs and Hanford by massive majorities over the Reform candidates, Preacher Thompson and Lawyer Steadman, shows the Proletarians were in control of the Socialist National Convention. The idiosyncrasy of Thompson's candidacy was revealed by his meagre 13 votes out of 190 odd. It was a magnificent victory for Common Sense Wage Class Politics.

The Platform, too, is Revolutionary. It is divided into two parts, a Preamble constituting a general statement of principles, which is the real permanent platform, followed by a practical, present day appeal or application of the main platform to the political situation in 1908. This dispatch from the Washington delegates calls the Preamble "excellent" which proves its Revolutionary character.

From Capitalist dispatches we learn that the Labor Union Resolutions are also satisfactory. They refuse to recognize any distinctions in national union organizations, denote no preference for A. F. of L. or I. W. W., but make a clear appeal to all Unionists to support the Wage Workers' platform and ticket put forth by the Socialist Party. In a word, the Socialist Party confines itself to Political Action, declining to be embroiled in Trade Union disputes, or by implication even to endorse "Direct Action."

Again it has been demonstrated that the rank and file of the Socialist Party has become both instinctively and deliberately Proletarian. The delegates at Chicago simply overwhelmed Opportunism, Reformism and all Middle Classism whenever the issue was definitely made. The result will brace up weak kneed editors and leaders all over the country and will strike dread into the hearts of intelligent capital-

EUROPEAN NOTES.

By Edmond Peluso.

Sometimes, somewhere, Socialists get Justice.

The Tribunal of Lorient (France) brought judgment against "La Depeche," a daily progressive and reactionary, for having libelled comrades Goude and Masson.

A very interesting fact is that the comrades, who brought trial against the reactionary sheet, insisted on pleading their own case, without the help of a lawyer.

After the colony of Natal, in South Africa, that of Congo will probably have a National Socialist Organization. "L'Humanite" informs us that a gigantic trust is on the verge of being launched in the Congo, under the management of Andre Lebon, the ex-minister of colonies of ill fame at the time of the Dreyfus affair. This exploitation trust, which engages a country twice as big as France will no doubt awake the susceptibilities of our African brothers and hasten their conversion. At least if, as the capitalists say, they do not feel the pain when they are imprudently of some limb for disobedience, wage slavery, we hope, will make them class-conscious sooner than we expected.

The report of General Arnade, the official butcher of the French Government in Morocco, relating the massacre of March 15th, which tries to excuse the horrible murder of several hundred of peaceable tribesmen, is the most cold-blooded report in the records of the French conquests. It will stand as an example of French "heroism" under the third Republic.

Women and children slain, villages burned to the ground, with all the incidental crimes of a passionate soldiery, such is the review of that report.

The Federation of the Building Trades in Paris has won the fight against their employers. The result is a working day of 9 hours and also the recognition by their employers of the Union. This fight which involved about 50,000 workmen shows once more that union is the only way for the proletariat to win its battles. The leaders have been most diplomatic in the so-called negotiations which the employers had called for, and by refusing their offers the workmen have won.

For having voted a bill in favor of Premier Clemenceau's policy six of our comrades, belonging to the French Socialist Parliamentary Party, will have to answer the charge of disobedience before the National Committee of the French Socialist Party. This tactic of control of Socialist Votes by the Party has been most

ists everywhere. Roosevelt and Taft and Bryan and Hearst will know that Debs and Hanford mean the War of the Workers on the Workless will be prosecuted to a finish.

Latest Special

CHICAGO, Ill., May 15, 1908, 2:18 a. m.—Debs was nominated at night session by Phil Callery of Missouri. Nomination seconded by Spargo and others. A. M. Simons was nominated by Steadman of Chicago. Berger placed Rev. Carl D. Thompson in nomination. Carey of Massachusetts and Max Hayes of Ohio were also nominated, but were afterward withdrawn. The ballot resulted as follows: Total cast, 196; Debs, 159; Carey, 15; Thompson, 13; Simons, 9. Berger moved to make it unanimous. Carried with immense enthusiasm.

Ben Hanford of New York was placed in nomination for Vice President by Robt. Bandler of Ohio. Lipscomb of Missouri, Carey of Massachusetts, Slayton of Pennsylvania, May Simons of Illinois, Woodby (colored delegate from California), were also nominated for Vice President. Rev. Carl Thompson nominated Steadman. Carey and Lipscomb declined.

Ballot resulted: Total, 184; Hanford, 106; Steadman, 43; May Simons, 20; Slayton, 15.

The Revolutionary element won, over two to one. They had not caucused beforehand but Opportunists did.

The vote for Hanford shows Revolutionary strength, though a few were misled.

It was reported Debs would be disqualified on account of his physical condition but Hanford denied this on the strength of a letter from Debs himself.

The Preamble to the Platform is excellent.

WASHINGTON DELEGATION.

beneficial for the past few years, for it has stopped a great deal of Opportunism among the French Socialists.

The "Pacification" of Morocco by the French soldiery still goes on. The last news from the battle field brings the desolating report that the French guns are destroying the camps of the enemy regardless of the women and children who are scattered to pieces with the help of the most modern and human war engines. Jaures has received a letter from a Soldier who is a Socialist and is on the battle field, describing all the horrors of this Pacification. He will arraign the Government for this barbarism.

The Municipal Elections in France will be held during the month of May. The United Socialist Party has been tireless in its efforts throughout the campaign to get every town to have a Socialist candidate. The 10 biggest towns in France are almost sure to have a Socialist Municipal Council. Paris will sweep away their good patriots and other Nationalists, for the craze for Patriotism is dying away in France. Let us hope that this free land of ours will soon follow her example.

GERSCHUNI'S FUNERAL.

A Great Demonstration for the Movement for the Russian Freedom.

Gerschuni's burial in Paris turned out to be a grand demonstration for the Russian revolution. An awing procession marched from one end of Paris to the other. Several wagons were loaded with wreaths and flowers, presented by the French and Russian organizations. A platform was erected in the churchyard from which 27 speakers addressed the multitude, one after the other. They represented groups of the Russian and Polish proletariat, also French organizations, besides representatives of the German, Austrian, English, Swedish, Italian, American, Belgian, Roumanian, Armenian and Hungarian parties.

Rubanovitch eulogized Gerschuni as the untiring fighter. Huysmans brought greetings from the organizations of the proletariat of the world. The Parisian deputies, Wilim and Rouanet, held that the French workers were without blame in the persecutions and condemned in strong terms those governments which have exiled Russian champions of freedom.

After the speaking, Russian revolutionary songs and the "International" were rendered.

Thanks to the absence of the police, everything went off without the least disturbance, in spite of the great multitudes assembled.—From "Svenska Socialisten."

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A few copies of John M. Work's "What's So and What Isn't" about Socialism, regular price 15 cents; to close out, 10 cents each. A popular reply to popular objections to Socialism.

Are Farmers Workers? -- A Reply

By Tom Sladden

I take this opportunity to refute some of the peurile statements made in an alleged Socialist paper of Seattle, Washington, published and owned by a democrat and edited by an imbecile, not for the purpose of entering into a controversy with these gentlemen, as a controversy with them is a willful waste of energy, but in hopes that if any reader has been misled by these crooked misstatements that they will have an opportunity of realizing the depths to which some people will sink in an effort to establish a circulation.

The mission of a Socialist paper is to educate. But there is one danger, however, with which these papers are all surrounded. They must have a circulation to live and they are liable to publish what we like to hear and to suppress that which, even if the publisher himself knows it is true, may prove distasteful to some of his readers; in other and plainer words, to suppress the truth and teach a lie for to gain a circulation. That is one of the faults today with many of our Socialist publications, they dare not tell all that they know.

And yet it is from the distasteful things we get our knowledge. As a child we place our fingers on a stove or a lighted lamp and then we know what a burn is, we bite a green apple and we realize what a good apple is, we work hard and then we understand what rest means, we travel through life and everything is good or bad, sour or sweet, harmful or helpful, only in comparison with something else.

Now when the Editor or whoever wrote the statement, "Tom Sladden of Oregon loudly insists that the farmers do not belong to the working class and have no place in the labor movement," he deliberately and intentionally lied. For years I have done my best, and have been generally successful in bringing farmers into the Socialist Party. The only thing I have not done is to attempt to bring them in under false pretenses. I have told every farmer who has asked me that he was not in the working class and I believe and hope that all of them in Oregon realize that fact, (that are in the party.)

When I ran a small blacksmith shop, as the editor of the article under discussion brought up, I was not in the working class. I had a few dollars of capital, perhaps \$100.00, invested and at any time that I put a man to work for a single instant I was an exploiter and that man's interests and mine were diametrically opposed. It was to my interest to get as much work out of him as I could and pay him the smallest possible wage and it was to his interest to do as little and to get as big a wage as he could. That is the class struggle and there is no other. The same thing holds good with the farmer, but that is not to say that he as a farmer nor I as a blacksmith should have no place in the Socialist Movement.

When I said that "if a farmer is in the working class so is Rockefeller," I meant just what I said, and it does not disparage the farmer, either, unless that farmer has absorbed considerable of the miserable rot as published in papers of the calibre of the one in question.

The farmer is a worker—not a wage worker—consequently not in the "Working Class," and there are but two classes with their numerous subdivisions. He is a producer and a member of that portion of society that feeds the world. He is a useful member of society. So is John D. Rockefeller. Rockefeller is perhaps the greatest organizer of industry that the world has ever known. He has taken the oil industry and organized it perfectly. He has taken railroads and brought order out of chaos. He has eliminated by his methods of organization much of the waste of competition. He is one of the men that are making Socialism not only possible but probable in the near future. Every man who makes "two blades of grass grow where one grew before" is a useful member of society.

But the trouble is that Rockefeller and the farmer and I and the economist (?) at the head of the "Tribune" live in a capitalist society. The work of none of us redounds to the good society because production is carried on for profit instead of for use. All the efforts of any unit in competitive society benefit the individual at the expense of the community. Profit for Rockefeller means a loss to society, profit for the farmer means loss to society, profit can come to none without a corresponding loss to some other.

The statement, "by common consent the term farmer is applied to the man who tills the soil, whether he owns, rents or pays interest on it," is a very clever evasion and nothing else. Why not tell all and state the truth with this addition: "But if he draws wages from somebody at the end of each month he is not a farmer, but a farm hand."

The same writer makes this statement: "Whether a man is a capitalist or a laborer depends more upon his habit of thought than upon his manner of getting a living as far as the great class struggle is concerned." The editor must be a Christian Scientist and is getting the "great class struggle" mixed up with Mrs. Eddy's philosophy. I was a millionaire one time—and then I woke up. I suppose that if Rockefeller got to imagining he was a wage earner he would be one, and if I got to thinking I was a millionaire I would be one. What Rockefeller thinks will not change the price of oil, what he does, may.

Facts are facts, a rock is not a feather bed, an oyster is not a bird nor the hallucinations originating in the disordered brain of the editor of the "Tribune" reason nor logic, no matter what he may think.

The statement that my ideal working man seems to be the "blanket stiff" is an insult to the intelligence of the reader and a contemptible slander on a body of men who are as far above the man who makes that statement as his own mother is above the denizen of the red light district or the degenerate son to whom she was unfortunate enough to give birth.

There are hundreds of thousands of honest and honorable men who have built the railroads in this great west, who have dug the ore from the mines, who have denuded the forests of the timber, some of which tonight covers our heads, and who from British Columbia to Mexico have done the work on the great Pacific Coast Ranches, and they are worthy of respect in every sense of the word.

They are the mental and moral superiors of the man who would traduce them. A man's character can not be judged by the clothes he wears nor the place in which he sleeps. When the sun sinks tonight beyond the Western horizon, many a man who helps the needy when he can, who divides his last dollar with his comrade or the stranger in distress, will be found sleeping in some bunk house beneath the blankets he carried across the country on his back, or perhaps even without blankets, under the starry canopy of heaven, while the usurer, the landlord who turns the aged and infirm and helpless children on the streets, the prostitute who sells her virtue to some captain of industry, the factory owner who grinds infant blood and bone into profit and the editor who prostitutes his brain, will be found sleeping in their gilded palaces upon their silken covered beds.

No, my ideal of a working man is not a "blanket stiff," nor a carpenter who is paying for his house on the installment plan, nor one who owns his own house, nor one who has good clothes, or bad clothes, or indifferent clothes, or no clothes, or owns his own ranch or does not own his own ranch, or who sleeps in a palace or under a pair of well-worn blankets in a bunk house, or sleeps under the starry skies in the chill of autumn, homeless, friendless and alone.

My ideal of a working man is he, irrespective of class, clothes or lodging place, through whose veins courses the red blood of revolution, who despises your conventional hypocrisy, capitalist morality and sham respectability, whose heart bleeds at the sight of misery, destitution, shame and crime, which surrounds him, who is sick of the soul stifling atmosphere in which he breathes, whose hand is ever ready to help his fellows in distress, who works beside me in the shop, fights beside me in my union and votes beside me in the Socialist party, who lives and dies an entire man whether in rags or broadcloth, who was ever ready to look the enemies of progress in the eye and tell them to go to hell.

"The International Socialist Review" has been enlarged to 80 pages. The May number is "Convention Number" and contains a new translation into English of Karl Marx's Criticism of the Gotha Platform, which is worthy of appearing in a more permanent form. Although the industrial world has progressed by leaps and bounds since the days of Marx, we find that his letters upon the subject of Socialist Platforms are in no way out of date and that we are today facing many of the problems he discussed over thirty years ago.

Cameron King of California, in an article on Asiatic Exclusion, and H. S. Victorsen, in the News and Views Department, discuss the Immigration question from the national and international viewpoints.

The Alcohol Question is ably handled by Comrade Wurm, of Berlin, in an article which has been used as propaganda by the Party in Germany. Mrs. Jessie M. Mollie, of Kansas City, writes upon Women and the Socialist Movement and strongly opposes a separate organization for women.

Combination subscription price of the "Review" and "The Socialist" for one year, if sent to this office, \$1.50.

"The Terrible Truth About Marriage" is still on hand. It is now selling for 10 cents per copy, postage paid. In quantities the price is 50 for \$3.00, 100 for \$6.00.

"God Knows" buttons, 1-1/4 inches wide, with cartoon of Taft by Ryan Walker, 10 cents each, by mail postage paid. A good thing to spring on your Republican friend.

Latest from Treadwell

Capitalist Reports Exposed. Scabs Leaving Douglas Island. It's a Slaughter House.

From all reports and communications I have received from Treadwell and Fairbanks all is quiet and peace reigns, of course not to the liking of our opponents, Tanana Mine Owners' Association and the Treadwell Gold Mining Co.

Mr. Fred Bradley is on Douglas Island at the present time. Mr. Fred Bradley (consulting engineer), famous in the balm days of Orchard testimony, Cripple Creek and Coeur d'Alene, whose shrewdness has cost the W. F. of Miners thousands of dollars to save from the scaffold true and innocent brothers.

The soldiers are to be removed from the Treadwell May 15th. Why? Because the authorities at Washington, D. C., have found out that men owning the controlling interest are themselves to blame for the trouble and as a general rule do their own dynamiting in order that they may get the public sentiment against us as an organization.

Who stole the powder from Kinzie's powder house that caused the rush of soldiers to Treadwell? Kinzie will answer you, "The Western Federation."

Brothers, what think you of men stealing powder from a tunnel, with but one outlet, this being constructed with two iron doors, under lock and key and an armed guard (relieved every eight hours) on watch at the entrance day and night? It is to laugh, that "Our Great White Father" should be so simple and stupid as to think miners can steal powder from a mining company.

Can a miner fill his pockets with the precious metal when he works on the bed rock? No, he can draw his slaver's wage. Can the common laborer go in the bank and command his millions? He can, as much as the miner can steal powder from the Treadwell company.

There is no doubt the mills might go up or perhaps a mine. But who will do it? Who placed the powder, a hundred ton, along the dead line that divides Treadwell from Douglas?

Who placed it under the wharf and under the mills. Why is Fred Bradley there?

Since our strike a foreman has quit, a foreman was killed, a shiper was crippled and between 50 and 60 strike breakers have lost their lives. Almost that number being named forever. Why has this killing been so great when there never has been over 100 men working since the strike?

Why were not that many men killed before the union went on a strike when we were 2,000 strong? Because the Western Federation of Miners were most all skilled workmen, and would show the unskilled how to avoid danger.

But when a strike could not be averted, when men could no longer tolerate the dirtiness and rottenness of the company, when a demand was made for shorter hours and better conditions; when this company refused to recognize us as a body, these skilled men walked out and left the mines to become an execution ground for "scabs" and "strike breakers." The men who are at the head of the move to break this strike are no more than murderers. Every man who is instrumental in landing a man on Douglas Island and knows it during this trouble, nine chances out of ten becomes a murderer, and a charge should be preferred against him of "premeditated murder."

"Time will work wonders," for even now men who cannot be persuaded not to go to Treadwell stay only long enough to take the next boat back, facing the wrath of Kinzie and his motly bunch of cutthroats, thugs and gunmen rather than the yawning depths of the "slaughter shops" they call the "Treadwell mines."

In the strike now on, our demands are just and no matter what kind of ruse may be worked on us, we will be out until they are met. We haven't got so much money, but we have the labor and know how to use it.

They trumped up freaks, riots and such, robbing us at the polls on the 7th of April has only made the rank and file more firm, and we stand today with a determination to win a complete victory or none.

CHRIS PUCKETT,
515 Yesler Way,
Seattle, Wash.

Comrade Shimp of Bliss writes: "Were Socialism a scheme I might have fits of despondency; but like the eclipse of the moon it is going to come and I rejoice to know that a better day—the perfect day—is not so awfully far off! Capitalism, like a horse in a bog, hastens its own doom with every struggle for escape. So let the struggle continue via the injunction route as that is the most despicable and consequently the most effective."

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Published Weekly, by Trustees Printing Co., 14 News Lane, Seattle Wash.
 Entered as second-class matter April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Washington, under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1907.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES.
 United States and Canada.—One year, \$1.00; six months, 50c; three months, 25c; single copies, 2c.
 For Foreign Countries.—One year, \$2.00; six months, \$1.20.
 Weekly Bundles.—For one year:—5 copies per week, \$3.25; 10 copies per week, \$6; 20 copies per week, \$10; 50 per week, \$20.
 Special Bundles.—10 to 50 copies, 3 cents apiece; 50 to 100 copies, 2 cents apiece; 100 to 500 copies, 1 1/2 cents apiece; 500 to 1,000 copies, 1 cent apiece
 All remittances should be made payable to "THE SOCIALIST," Seattle Wash.
 All business communications should be addressed to "THE SOCIALIST," Seattle, Wash.
 Communications intended for the Editor should be so addressed. Rejected manuscripts will not be returned unless stamps are enclosed.
 Communications intended for publication should be mailed in time to reach "The Socialist" office not later than Monday.

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EMIL HERMAN.....Socialism and the Farmer
E. L. RIGG.....Socialism and the Farmer
C. W. BARZEF.....Socialism and the Middle Class
A. B. CALLAHAN.....Socialism and the Middle Class
MRS. FLOYD HYDE.....Socialism and the Home

Wholesale Scabbing

Editor's Note.—We invite the other side to defend itself. It looks as if this Federal Union had gone out of the Union business into the contractor's business.
 534 Washington St., Spokane, Wash. May 5, 1908.
 Editor "The Socialist," Seattle, Wash.
 Dear Fellow Worker: Enclosed you will find a clipping from the "Spokane Press" of May 4th. The "Press" is a typical capitalist sheet.
 We think this instance, here referred to, should be given the widest possible publicity for the good and education of the Working Class.
 It is the most glaring example of the scabbing of the American Federation of Labor which has happened in this locality lately.
 If you see fit to reprint this enclosure with appropriate comments, it will no doubt not fail of its effect. Permit me to thank you in advance for the courtesy of a reply.
 Yours for the Revolution,
JAMES WILSON
 Rec. Secy. Local 222, I. W. W. Spokane, Wash.

ick embossed the funds of the union and has fled.
 For several days Frederick has spoken repeatedly of British Columbia, and it is believed that he has already made his way across the border. As the sum was comparatively small he is reasonably safe from extradition. He came to Portland from Spokane several months ago.
 "We have members all over the world. No matter where he goes some of us will find him. There'll be a good thumping coming to him from the first member that lays eyes on him, too," said one member of the union in the North Sixth street hall this morning.
 Frederick is described as a man about 40 years of age, medium build, dark wavy hair, black mustache, weight 150 pounds, wears wide shoes, and walks heavily on his feet, his legs having been broken as were also his arms several years ago. He is a laborer by trade, usually following the railroad construction gangs.
 "No, the loss of this money won't break us, but we'll feel it all right enough," said one member.

THE WOMAN
 The Women's Socialist Educational Club entertained its friends in its rooms in the Holyoke Building on Wednesday last.
 Miss Elizabeth McPhie and little Aradne de Crane gave some charming musical numbers, while Mrs. Lamp and Mrs. Steel gave two interesting short talks, after which ice cream and wafers were served.
 The club gave the "glad hand" to two new members, Mrs. Childs and Mrs. de Crane. The time of this organization's meeting has been changed from Wednesday to Tuesday night. This change has been made in order that those members wanting to attend the regular meeting of Local Seattle on Thursday, can do so without having to go out two nights in succession. Such dissipation as that, on the part of women, would tend to ward breaking up the home—you know!

James Hill (no relation to Big Jim) the young secretary of the Young People's League, has moved to Vancouver. While we are losing one of our most enthusiastic boys, Vancouver is gaining an active worker, for Mrs. Hill—who was interested in the Educational Club work—intends joining the local in Vancouver and going to work with the women there. So if Vancouver has no children's League now, it will probably work into one in the near future.

SEE WHAT A PROMINENT LADY IN SEATTLE SAYS ABOUT DOYLE'S MEDICINE.
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Local Business Meetings held in Party Headquarters Thursday at 8 p. m.

Membership Committee meets in Party Headquarters on Thursday at 8 p. m.

Propaganda meetings every Sunday at Egan Hall, 8 p. m.

Executive committee meets at headquarters Tuesday, 8 p. m.

Women's Educational Club meets every Wednesday evening at room 49 Holyoke Building, Entrance at Rear of Frederick & Nelson's, on Spring St.

Polish Propaganda Club meets the first and third Sunday afternoons in each month at Socialist Headquarters.

Scandinavian Propaganda Club meets every Tuesday evening at Local Headquarters.

SOCIALISM IN GREECE.
 Not until of late has the Socialist movement succeeded in fastening its roots in this, the cradle of ancient culture, but it is now moving up in line with the rest of the world. Socialist organizations have been formed in many cities, and in one—Patras—one organization contains 500 members.—From "Svenska Socialisten."

About 20,000 members of organized labor in Stockholm, Sweden, are without employment as a result of a general lock-out.

Don't forget the baby's picture. You cannot afford to let such an opportunity pass by as you have at present to get such fine photos as Grunwald & Winter are making. Corner Fourth and Pike.

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THE HISTORICAL ACHIEVEMENT OF KARL MARX

By Karl Kautsky

Translated for "The Socialist" by Ernest Untermann

(Begun in Number 373 of "The Socialist.")

3. Marx and Engels

It was his revolutionary proletarian point of view which enabled a mental giant like Marx to lay the foundation for a unified science. But when we speak of Marx, we must never forget that the same great deed was also accomplished by a thinker who was his peer, Frederick Engels, and that without the intimate co-operation of both, the new materialist conception of history and the new historical or dialectic conception of the world could not have manifested itself at the first blow so perfectly and comprehensively.

Engels arrived at this conception on a different road than Marx. Marx was the son of a jurist, and had first been intended for a legal career, later for an academic one. He studied law, philosophy, history, and did not turn his attention to the study of economics until he keenly felt the lack of economic knowledge.

In Paris he studied economics, the history of revolutions, and socialism. Particularly the great thinker Saint Simon seems to have exerted a strong influence on him. These studies led him to understand that society is not made by law, nor by the state, but vice versa, that the society arising from the economic process makes the law, the state, according to its requirements.

Engels, on the other hand, was born as the son of a manufacturer. Not the classic high school, but the ordinary high school gave him the foundation of his knowledge and taught him to think after the manner of natural scientists. Then he became a practical merchant, carried on economics practically and theoretically, in England, in Manchester, the center of English capitalism, where his father had a factory. Being familiar with Hegel's philosophy through his German training, he knew how to deepen his economic understanding, and his attention was directed mainly towards economic history. At the same time the proletarian class struggle, during the forties of the 19th century, was nowhere so well developed as in England, and in no other country did its connection with capitalist development show itself so plainly.

In this way Engels arrived simultaneously with Marx at the threshold of the same materialist conception of history, only by a different route. While the one came by way of the old mental sciences, law, ethics, history, the other came by way of the new mental sciences, economic history, ethnology and natural history. Both met in the revolution, in socialism. It was the agreement of their ideas, which at once drew them closer to one another when they came into personal touch in Paris, in 1844. This agreement of their ideas soon became a complete amalgamation into a higher unity, in which it is impossible to say, what and how much the one or the other has contributed to it. Marx was indeed the more powerful of the two, and no one has acknowledged this more unselfishly, even joyously, than Engels himself. After Marx, their mode of thought is also called the Marxian. But Marx could never have accomplished what he did without Engels, from whom he learned a great deal. Of course, the reverse is also true. Each one of them was lifted by the co-operation with the other, and by this means each acquired a far-sightedness and universality which he could not have secured by himself alone. Marx would have found the materialist conception of history without Engels, and Engels without Marx, but their development would no doubt have been slower and they would have passed through more mistakes and failures. Marx was the deeper thinker of the two, Engels the more daring. In Marx the power of abstraction was more strongly developed, the gift of discovering in the tangle of concrete phenomena the general; in Engels the power of combination was more pronounced, the gift of constructing out of individual characteristics the whole complex phenomenon in his mind. In Marx the critical power was more vigorous, even the self-critique, which put a brake on the daring of his thought and constrained it to advance cautiously and examine the ground step by step, whereas the mind of Engels received light wings from his proud joy over the stupendous understanding gained by him and flew over the greatest difficulties.

Among the many suggestions received by Marx from Engels, one became especially significant. He had been tremendously uplifted by overcoming the oneness of German thought and fertilizing German by French ideas. Engels acquainted him also with English thought. By this means alone did his mind rise to the greatest power which it could reach under the prevailing conditions. Nothing is farther from the truth than the assertion that Marxism is a purely German product. It has been international from its very inception.

The Unification of German, French and English Thought

Three nations were the bearers of modern civilization in the 19th century. Only he, who had become imbued with the spirit of all three, was armed with all achievements of his century, only he could accomplish the best that was possible with the means of this century.

The unification of the thought of these three nations into a higher form, in which the oneness of each should be overcome, forms the starting point of the historical achievement of Marx and Engels.

England, as we have already mentioned, had capitalism farther developed in the first half of the 19th century than any other country, owing particularly to its geographical location, which enabled it in the 18th century to draw considerable benefits out of its colonial policy of conquest and spoliation, which led to death the states of the European continent bordering on the Atlantic Ocean. Thanks to its insular situation it did not have to maintain a large standing army, was enabled to devote its entire strength to the navy and to conquer the supremacy of the sea without exhausting itself. Its wealth in coal and iron, enabled it to employ the wealth gained by its colonial policy for the development of a great capitalist industry, which in its turn, through its supremacy of the sea, conquered the world market, that could be opened for the consumption

of large masses of goods only by water ways, so long as the railroad systems had not been developed for this purpose.

Capitalism and its tendencies could therefore be studied in England earlier than elsewhere, and so could the proletarian class struggle, called forth by these tendencies, as I have already indicated. So the insight into the laws of the capitalist mode of production, that is, political economy, was nowhere farther advanced than in England. The same was true of economic history and ethnology, thanks to world commerce. Better than in other countries was it possible in England to recognize, what the future carried in its womb, and, thanks to the new mental sciences, to perceive the laws governing the social development of all times and thereby to accomplish the unification of natural and social science.

But England offered only the best material, not the best methods of research, for this purpose.

Just because capitalism developed earlier in England than anywhere else, the capitalist class there conquered the rule of society before feudalism had completely run its race in politics, economics, and in the human mind, and before the capitalist class had come to full self-dependence in every respect. The colonial policy itself, which promoted Capitalism so much, gave new strength also to the feudal lords.

In addition to this, the standing army did not reach a powerful development in England, for reasons which we have already mentioned. This prevented in its turn the rise of a strong centralized government. The bureaucracy remained weak, the selfmanagement of the ruling classes retained its great power in a subordinate position. But this signified that class struggles were but little centralized and frequently split up.

All this caused the spirit of compromise between the old and the new to penetrate the entire life and thought. The thinkers and champions of the rising classes did not oppose christianity, aristocracy, monarchy on principle, their parties did not make any great programs. They did not strive to think their thoughts out, they preferred to champion only individual measures dictated by the practical exigencies of the moment instead of comprehensive programs. Narrowmindedness and conservatism, overestimation of little measures in politics and in science, indifference to all striving for the development of a wide horizon, penetrated all classes.

The situation was quite different in France. This country was economically far more backward, its capitalist industries were mainly purveyors of luxuries, the small bourgeoisie predominated. The small burghers of a great city like Paris sounded the keynote. There were but a few such large cities with half a million inhabitants before the introduction of railroads, and they played a far different role than today. Armies could be only small before the introduction of railroads, which made the rapid transportation of masses possible. They were scattered through the country, could not be rapidly concentrated, and the mass of the people were not so helpless against the equipment of the military forces as they are today. It was also the Parisians, who had distinguished themselves more than others by opposition, and had forced concessions from the government by several armed revolts long before the great revolution.

Before the introduction of compulsory education, the improvement of the postal system by railroads and telegraphs, the spread of daily papers throughout the country, it was the population of the large cities which was mentally superior to the rest of the country and thus exerted a great influence upon mental life. Social intercourse at that time offered the only opportunity for the mass of the uneducated to inform themselves, particularly about politics, but also on matters of art and even of science. How much greater was this possibility in a large city than in the country towns and villages! Whoever had esprit in France, crowded into Paris to express and develop it. Whoever expressed himself in Paris, was filled with a higher spirit.

And now this critical, overbearing, audacious population witnessed an unprecedented collapse of the government and of the ruling class.

The same causes, which retarded economic development in France, promoted the decline of feudalism and of the state. Especially the colonial policy entailed infinite sacrifices upon the state, broke its military and financial strength, and accelerated the economic ruin of the peasants no less than of the aristocrats. State, nobility and church were politically and morally bankrupt, and with the exception of the church also financially. Yet they managed to maintain their oppressive rule to the utmost, thanks to the power centralized by the government through the army and a widespread bureaucracy, and thanks to the complete abolition of all independent action and organization among the people.

This led finally to that colossal catastrophe, which we know as the great French revolution, and by which the small bourgeoisie and proletariat of Paris managed to rule all of France and defy all Europe. But even before that the increasing sharpness of the antagonisms, between the needs of the popular masses led by the liberal bourgeoisie and those of the aristocracy and clergy protected by the state power, led to the most radical defeat of all existing things in thought. War was declared against all traditional authority. Materialism and atheism, which had been in England merely a luxurious hobby of a degenerate nobility and vanished quickly with the victory of the bourgeoisie, became in France precisely the mode of thought of the most daring reformers among the rising classes. While in England more than anywhere else the economic root of class antagonisms and class struggles sprang into view, the France of the revolution showed most clearly, that every class struggle is a struggle for political power, that the task of any great political party is not exhausted in some reform, but rather must keep in view the conquest of political power, and that this conquest, if accomplished by a hitherto suppressed class, always carries with it a change of the entire social fabric. While during the first half of the nineteenth century economic thought was most highly developed in England, political thought was most highly developed in France. While England was dominated by the spirit of compromise, France was ruled by that of radicalism. And while the detail work of gradual organization and upbuilding had its place in England, France was seized by a revolutionary passion that swept everything away.

Radical and daring action was preceded by radical and daring thought which considered nothing sacred, which fearlessly and heedlessly followed up every understanding to its last conclusions, and thought out every thought to the end.

But though the results of this thought and action were brilliant and captivating, it also developed the faults of its virtues. Impatiently pushing toward the last and extreme aims, it took no time to prepare the way for them. Full of eagerness to storm the fort of the state by revolutionary impetuosity, it neglected the work of preparing and organizing its siege. And the longing to push on toward the last and highest truths led easily to the most hasty conclusions based upon wholly inadequate material, preferred brilliant and surprising flashes to patient research. It gave rise to the habit of trying to master the infinite wealth of life by a few simple formulae and catchwords. British sober thought was met by Gallic love of phrases.

In Germany, the situation was still different.

Capitalism was even far less developed there than in France, for Germany was almost completely cut off from the great thoroughfare of European world commerce, the Atlantic ocean, and therefore recovered but slowly from the gruesome devastations of the Thirty Years' War. Germany was still more a small bourgeois country than France, and lacked at the same time a strong central power. Split up into innumerable small states, it had no great capital to show. Petty provincialism and petty village nature made its bourgeoisie narrow, weak and cowardly. The final breakdown of feudalism was not accomplished by an uprising from within, but by an invasion from the outside. Not German burghers, but French soldiers swept it out of the most important parts of Germany.

It is true that the great successes of the rising bourgeoisie in England and France excited also the German bourgeoisie. But every one of the fields conquered by the bourgeoisie of Western Europe remained closed to the enterprise of its most energetic and intelligent elements. They could not find any great commercial and industrial enterprises nor conduct them, could not take a hand in molding the destinies of state through a parliament or a powerful press, could not command navies and armies. Reality was dismal for them, nothing remained for them but to turn their backs upon reality and devote themselves to pure thought and idealize reality by art. They threw themselves with full force upon these fields, and accomplished great things upon them. Here the German people excelled France and England. While these produced a Pitt, a Fox, a Burke, a Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, a Nelson and Napoleon, Germany produced a Schiller, a Goethe, a Kant, a Fichte, a Hegel.

Thinking became the foremost occupation of the great Germans, the idea for them constituted itself the ruler of the world, the revolution of thought became for them a means of revolutionizing the world. The more miserable and circumscribed reality was, the more their thought tried to rise above it, to overcome its limitations, to embrace all infinity.

While the English thought out the best methods for the victorious advance of their navies and industries, the French the best methods for the victorious advance of their armies and insurrections, the Germans thought out the best methods for the victorious march of thought and research.

However, this victorious advance, like the French and English, carried in its train disadvantages in theory and practice. The withdrawal from reality generated unfamiliarity with the world and an overestimation of ideas. These assumed life and strength by themselves independently of the heads of men that produced and would have to realize them. People were satisfied to be right in theory and neglected to reach for power by which the theory might be applied. Though German philosophy was deep, and German science profound, though German idealism was imaginative, though they created magnificent things, under their surface was hidden an indescribable, practical impotence and a complete renunciation of all striving for power. The German ideals were far more sublime than the French and decidedly more than the English. But the Germans did not take one step to get nearer to them. It was proclaimed at the outset that an ideal was something unattainable.

As conservatism sticks to the English, the radical phrase to the French, so inactive idealism still clings in some measure to the German to this day. It is true that the great industrial development of the last decades has strongly restricted it. But even before that it found a counterbalance in the invasion of the French spirit after the revolution. To the mixture of French revolutionary thought with the German philosophical method, Germany owes some of its greatest minds. It is enough to remember Heinrich Heine and Ferdinand Lassalle.

But the result was still more stupendous, when this mixture was fertilized by English economic thought. To this we owe the achievement of Engels and Marx.

They recognized to what extent economics and politics, the detail work of organization and the storm and stress of revolution, are mutual conditions; that detail work remains fruitless without a great aim that is its constant guide and inspiration, and that such an aim floats in the air without the preparation of detail work, which provides the power required for its consummation. But they also recognized that such an aim must not be born out of a mere revolutionary need, if it is to remain free from illusions and self-intoxication, that it may be gained by the most conscientious application of the methods of scientific research, that it must always be reconciled with the total knowledge of humanity. They also recognized that economics forms the basis of social development, that in it the laws are found by which this development is necessarily brought about.

England offered to them the largest amount of actual economic material, the philosophy of Germany the best method by which to derive from this material the goal of the present social development; the revolution of France, finally, showed to them most clearly the way in which we may acquire power, particularly political power, for the attainment of this goal.

In this way they created modern scientific socialism by the combination of all the great and good elements in English, French and German thought in a higher unity.

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