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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves
of Capital to Vote Their
Own Emancipation

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BRYANISM

BY TOM SLADDEN

How are the Working Classes going to vote at the November election? This seems to be one of the leading and most interesting questions of the hour.

How far is the partisanship of Gompers going to redound to the benefit of the windbag of the Platte? Was Gompers justified in taking this course? Much wind is being disbursed of the hot variety at the present time by alleged Socialist leaders (?), as well as by gaseous politicians of the old order.

If we attack error within our own ranks we are called disrupters and disturbers of that beautiful bird of variegated plumage called harmony; we are skunks unfit for the association of the respectable comrades of the movement; we are all that is mean and low and vile; we should be knocked on the head and kicked out of the party.

But if we will join in the howl against everyone outside the party; if we will call fakir and grafter, thief and traitor at everyone who has not been to the mourners' bench and been converted to Socialism, like the hypnotized female of superabundant avoirdupois at a Free Methodist camp meeting; if we attack everyone in the Labor Union movement who will not bow down and worship at our shrine and pay tribute to our idol; if we pin a button on our coats as big as a soup bowl in a ten-cent restaurant, with a photograph of our latest magazine hero (Wilshire) who brings Socialism in 1908 upon it; if we talk about the brotherhood of man and humanity like a country parson who has lost his job; if we will cry hurrah every time another millionaire, college professor, preacher or slyster lawyer joins our ranks to lead us into the promised land, then we are safe and sane Socialists; we are of the material of which heroes are made, and all of our comrades will hasten with garlands to deck the brows of the saviors of all humanity, the men and women who are hastening to the rescue of the Capitalist Class to save them from their slavery.

Is Socialism a metaphysical dream like Christianity? From one end of the country to the other what are called Socialist papers are crying almost unanimously—vote for Socialism! Can Socialism be voted for? Is Socialism a platform, an idea, a piece of paper? Is there anything remarkably different in the promises made by Socialists, Republicans, Democrats or what not? Are we to erect another idol, paint it red and dance around it like a lot of howling Dervishes?

We are quick to see the beam in our brother's eye, but damned slow about finding out if we are cockeyed ourselves. We are everlastingly trying to convert someone else, while it would not be a bad habit for us to start converting a few of our own members to the fact that Socialism means more than a name.

Mystery, mystery everywhere, and the simple, common, every day truths which can be easily explained to anyone left in the background! What is Socialism? Nothing in the world but Unionism turned around and viewed from the opposite side. It is simply for the Wage Workers—and when we say Wage Workers we should mean Wage Workers, men that are paid wages by a boss—it is for these men to form a political party just as they have formed a labor union and to elect their own representatives to office in the general government. They must send their own delegates to the councils of the cities, to the legislative bodies of the states, to the Congress of the United States, or to the Presidency, on just the same basis as they send their delegates to a trades council, or to a national convention, or as they would elect a body to the Presidency of their own allied organizations.

Yet it is not an idle dream today to say that the Socialists themselves are just as much muddled as are the labor unions, although the tendency is toward a clarification in both the ranks of the Socialists and the Labor Unionists. As one gets the mud off its skirts so will the other. The Socialists who have studied the Labor Union movement laugh at the silly attempt to unify the different granges and the Labor Union movement; they quickly recognize the fact that they are attempting to unify two antithetical and inharmonious bodies, and yet they will go deliberately and nominate men from these same bodies on their state ticket and call the union man a fool because he will not vote for them.

Who is the fool? Will any man tell me that a man who is not eligible to membership in a trades union is eligible to represent that union in the legislatures? Rats! Many of the labor unions in the United States today are in a state of paralysis on account of their non-recognition of the class struggle and their allowing other than actual Wage Workers in their unions.

The painters are becoming disorganized because they let a lot of pot juggling contractors, who do not hire men, retain their membership in the union. The barbers likewise. The cigarmakers likewise, and all down the line wherever a union has deviated from that class line the least particle, there that union has had its efficiency impaired.

Such is bound in the last analysis to be the cause of lack of efficiency in our own party. The Wage Workers are bound to be suspicious, and they have a right to be suspicious of any party, no matter what name it sails under, when the party points to its holy of holies and says: "There is your party; these people represent you; they will see that labor gets the free administration of justice."

The laboring man is going to take up your ballot and is going to ask you, Who does this candidate work for; who pays his wages?

You will say, He is an honest lawyer but he represents you. And the laborer is going to say, THE HELL HE DOES.

The Socialist Party must be a party of Wage Workers, put up by Wage Workers to represent Wage Workers, and any time it does not do that it does not fulfill its mission.

But some would say, Would you keep others from joining the Socialist Party? My answer would be, No—not if they recognize these self-evident truths, but if they do not recognize that they must take a back seat and allow the Wage Workers to manage their own affairs, then they are not Socialists, and a party built up of material which will not stand on that rock of a Class Struggle is bound to become the same as any other party, and the Wage Workers will be forced to form their own.

What has this to do with Gompers? Just this: You are accusing Gompers of the very thing that you are doing yourself. For years we have nominated ticket after ticket, and in instance after instance we have nominated—preachers, lawyers, business men—friends of labor. It is tiresome, this pettifogging jingoism that is being indulged in by Socialists from one end of the country to the other. Can anyone point to the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and say that that committee can represent the Wage Workers, and if they can, how can that man consistently say that the Wage Workers can only gain their emancipation by electing their own class to office?

We have vilified Gompers for years because he stuck with the policy of keeping politics out of the unions. Now you attack him for bringing politics into the unions. Yet the truth is, that Gompers' only safe course has been to keep out of politics, and his almost fatal blunder has been to go out and attempt to bring politics into the unions.

Does anyone suppose that even had Gompers been a good Socialist, the results would have been different? Had he gone on the stump for Debs, does anyone for a moment suppose that the result would have been different? The union movement in the United States has not reached a point where Gompers or any other man can unify it on the political field any more than he can unify it on the economic field.

Now what effect will Gompers' stand have in the November elections? As nearly as I can see, none. It was a safe bet that large numbers in the labor unions were going to vote for Bryan this election. It would have been the same if Gompers had never been born. It is questionable if the reaction following the endorsement of Bryan by Gompers will not drive more votes away than Bryan will receive through that endorsement.

Yet what right has any man to question the right of Gompers to endorse Bryan if he so desires? You would have shouted with glee had he endorsed our candidate, and the "Chicago Socialist" would not have had type heavy enough to have recorded the fact. Two years ago many of the Socialist papers were practically accusing this same man of having sold out to the Republican party. Common decency of a Working Class type should be exhibited by the Socialist press, to say the least, and jingo tactics and yellow journalism will never gain us the respect or support of our fellow workers.

Too many times have I heard it repeated by men who called themselves good Socialists, that they do not vote for men; they vote for principle. They

vote for a party. This proposition has been exploited longer than it should have been. How can you have principle apart from men is something I do not understand. That principle may be a child of the air, neither tangible nor ponderable, like a twentieth century preacher's God, but if that principle is not put in practice by men who do not float around in the air, then I cannot grasp that principle.

Now Debs and Hanford are a couple of real flesh and blood articles that I can deal with. The workingman who works for wages and passes those men up is crazy with the heat, as crazy as those that go voting for principle. What does the Socialist Party platform mean, what does the Democratic platform mean, or any other party platform mean, except as they are to be interpreted by the men we put in office? Does anyone have any idea that Bryan would not stand on anything that he thought would put him in office? Does anyone think that 300-pound mass of guts and corruption from Cincinnati would not accept any platform to get in office? Does anyone think that breaking a promise will make either Bryan or Taft lose any sleep after they are elected?

Is there a Socialist in the United States that would not break his oath or his promise or anything else in the interest of his class? I do not think so.

Does anyone suppose that the oath or promise of Bryan or Taft will stop them from acting in the interest of their class? Socialism has been an ideal long enough. It is time to bring it down off that shrine and clothe it in flesh and blood. It is not a dream. It is not a picture; it is not a beautiful idea born in the head of an esthetic minded individual. It does not mean that we are better than somebody else or worse than somebody else. It does not mean that everybody is a fool or a fakir that does not see as we do or act as we do or think as we do. It is time that we come to realize that we as human beings are still confined with human limitations as well as everyone else. Let us quit our yawning at everyone that will not dream our dreams, and start to build up a real revolutionary movement.

We are subject to the laws of change as well as all other organizations. The whole history of our work is a series of blunders. We have done those things we ought not to have done, and we have left undone those things which we ought to have done. We have adopted a platform which is better than Bryan's and worse than Taft's. But what of it? Bryan's platform represents nobody; our platform represents everybody and Taft's platform represents the Capitalist Class and their interests. But still we do know that if the Working Class were to elect Debs that what kind of a platform he was elected upon would be of secondary importance. We know that if we were to elect Debs and a majority of Wage Workers to office, that they would start restocking the larders of the famished inhabitants of the tenement houses before they started to restock the forests.

STREET MEETINGS IN SEATTLE

Four street meetings were held in Seattle last Sunday night, all were successful holding crowds ranging from 50 to 500. Certainly at the four places 1,000 people were reached, most of them strangers and non-Socialists. No hall meeting except the very largest could equal this. About six dollars' worth of literature was sold besides, mostly in 10 cent pamphlets. That means at least 60 people were permanently provided with something good to read on Socialism.

All comrades and friends should remember the places (1) Pike St., either at 1st ave. or 3d ave. (2) University and 2d ave. (3) Washington and Occidental. Three nights a week, Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday.

Special Subscription Cards good for campaign, Five for a Dollar. Order a bunch right away and sell them for a quarter apiece.

Some good friends of "The Socialist" occasionally feel called upon to advise its editors as to the conduct of the paper. Some think it should consist of tidbits of general information with a Socialist tang. Others wish it had less local Socialist news. Some want us to stop mentioning the Socialist papers or Comrades critically. Others don't like our mildness. We welcome all advice most cheerfully, but we haven't the least intention to follow any of it. "The Socialist" is what it is. Those who want it, want it very bad and those who don't want it, don't have to take it. And there you are.

"The Socialist" does not aim merely to point the way to Socialism, nor merely to make theoretical Socialists, but to make political Socialists, active Socialists, practical Socialist Party members.

To our advisers, we say, we know now, after eight years' experience, exactly what we are about, exactly what we want. We are not after dollars nor popularity nor even approval. We do intend to jar you loose from the fetters of Capitalist thought and feeling which make a slave or a fool of you, one or both. If you take and read "The Socialist" faithfully for one year we guarantee you will understand Socialism and love it or understand it and hate it, whichever is best for you.

The offer of \$6.00 a Thousand in bundles of Five Hundred or more is effective. Many Locals are taking advantage of it. Get yours to try it.

DEBS AHEAD.

In Tacoma one union took a straw ballot on choice for president. Result: Total number votes cast, 26; Debs, 13; Bryan, 12; Taft, 1. This was two weeks after Debs got 15 out of 50 in the Seattle Central Labor Council. As the campaign advances, so does the Socialist vote.

COMING

First. Another series of articles by Gustave Bang, the great Danish Socialist, translated by Arthur Jensen. Three instalments on The Origin of European Nations will open quite new vistas for most historical students.

Next. After Bang's series will appear a discussion of the Asiatic Exclusion question by Ernest Untermann, who is Chairman of the Committee appointed by the National Convention to investigate and report on this matter at the Organization Convention to be held in 1910.

Bang's discussion of the relations between the Consanguine nations of Europe in which environment most European Socialist ideas on Internationalism have developed, will constitute an admirable introduction to Untermann's wider view expressing the ideas which are the outgrowth of those conditions wherein different nations are in contact which are at the same time different races.

The question is, Does Socialism Stand for Internationalism or Inter-racialism?

Every Socialist in America should read Bang's and Untermann's contributions.

Fourth: Be sure and have all the printing that your local or any member of your local or your union needs, done by the Trustee Printing Company, the publishers of "The Socialist."

The Seattle "Times" and the other Democratic papers charge the Debs "Red Special" must be paid for by the Republicans to help beat Bryan.

Yet up to date only some \$5,000 of the necessary \$20,000 has been paid by anybody. If the comrades don't hurry up with their dimes and dollars, we may not have any "Red Special" after all this hurrahing.

"The Call," the new New York Socialist Daily paper and "The Socialist" both one year for \$3.50, regular price, \$4.00. Western readers who have wanted "The Call" can now subscribe through this office and help both "The Socialist" and "The Call."

Twenty-Five Cents for the campaign is cheap. Five for the campaign for a Dollar is cheaper. You can do something with this rate. Get busy.

THE BALLOT AND THE PROLETARIAN WOMAN

Article by Bessy Fiset Asked for by the "Seattle Sunday Times" and Rejected -- Too Proletarian to Suit "Times" -- Might Set Some Wage Workers Thinking

Some time ago I was told that the women who are active in the present "Woman Suffrage" agitation in Seattle were to edit the Magazine section of the Sunday "Times" for August 23rd, and I—as one more than interested in the movement—was asked to contribute an article. Being above all else a "Socialist" suffragist I naturally chose as my title "The Woman Question from the Socialist Standpoint." Those having charge of this matter suggested that I change my subject as they wanted nothing that denoted affiliation with any political party which I accordingly did, using as my subject, "The Proletarian Woman and the Ballot."

Today comes the information that—together with two or three of the large articles advocating active propaganda—my article had been thrown out. As can well be imagined I would have been completely nonplussed had it been accepted, as its nature was such that it might have interested and influenced a few wage workers and they might take it into their heads to do some thinking for their own interests.

Here is the article such as it is—too Socialistic for a Capitalist paper and too Capitalistic for a Socialist paper—I have just glanced over this article and I compare it to nothing but a good dose of warm water—

most awfully mild and harmless but it turns you pretty sick when you take it—but such as it is—here goes.

The Proletarian Woman and the Ballot.

The Proletarian Woman and the Ballot! What is this Proletarian woman—this woman of the great Proletariat that has slowly but steadily reared its head during the last few years and today stands out a gigantic concrete that will have to be reckoned with?

To put it simply the Proletarian woman—is the working woman. The five million women who are today engaged in industry in the United States alone—the waitresses, cooks, shop girls, clerks, factory hands, stenographers, school teachers—and every woman who is a wage earner—and last but not least that huge phalanx composed of the women of the farms whose lives are more dreary and devoid of pleasure than those of probably any other class. All these, then, go to make up the Proletarian woman—as a class absolutely propertyless and having no political, economic or sex freedom.

Being, as a class, propertyless, why should this great body of women desire or even be interested in the ballot? With no care as to who occupies the seats of the mighty in the government, with no property to interest her as to municipal management, have we any reason to expect these five million, weary, working multitude to be interested in whether it be allowed the privilege of putting

a piece of paper into a box or not? Most emphatically yes! When the Woman's Suffrage movement was first started it was started on the grounds that "taxation without representation was tyranny," and that there should be equality of the sexes. All very right and proper. At that time the movement was composed of women who belonged to the large and small propertied class—the great mass of proletarians not having been aroused from its dormant condition, but almost at one leap the condition has changed. Women realize that the woman's question is no longer a sex question alone—but a class question as well. Hundreds of workers are clamoring for the ballot today because they know they can have no chance for industrial betterment without it. Years ago men and women entered into an agreement or partnership in which the man promised to raise the funds providing the woman kept house. Is that universally true today? Not at all. Industrial conditions are such that the woman has had to go into the world to help earn the money to keep the household. Hence our five million industrial women workers.

Now, "for them the use of government as an instrument for the distribution of wealth has become the great political consideration."

The working woman stands on the same footing as the working man—when he fought for the same thing—and is demanding the ballot because she realizes it is the only weapon by which she can acquire political economic and social emancipation, and thereby attain the highest and noblest womanhood. With the proletarian woman class is far greater than sex—for the simple reason that it is more understandable and poignant. There is less of a gulf between her and the men of the same class than between her and her propertied sister whom she only sees in a class removed and as benefiting by her industrial slavery.

More and more the great middle class is being ground between the nether and upper millstones. Those workers are finding that some special propaganda is necessary to meet this special class. As it now stands there are millions of women workers who know nothing whatever of even their own slavery—and who wouldn't know what to do with a ballot if they had it. But let this slumbering proletarian mind be once aroused from its sluggishness and nothing can stem the tide of their onward rush.

In England and in parts of America there is a movement on foot for a limited suffrage which means that workers would have to have property qualifications to enable her to vote. That one movement is the recognition of the "propertied" class. However much in our philanthropic mind we are inclined to deny there are classes in this country, we cannot get away from it. They are there, head-headed, demanding equality. Among them is the Proletarian woman for whose benefit, industrially, politically and sexually the suffrage is particularly and absolutely necessary.

If the time should come when a limited suffrage should be secured for the proletarian woman, the woman who owns nothing—not even her own labor power! This woman is the great mother of our coming race. It remains for us—who see the light of the coming day when it will be possible for women to come into her own—to show this new born woman—this new woman who has been sent battling into the world whether she would or not—to show this woman, I say, that there is a way by which she can secure for herself some respite from her ceaseless toil; how conditions for her children may be made better; how those very children may be brought forth into their first heritage, and both men and women may be able to live a life that is a setting for true manhood and true womanhood.

In the Times of August 19th inst. are two different accounts of terrible explosions. Thirteen hurt—six fatally—in one, and sixty killed in another. Possibly the "casual observer" doesn't see any reason for mentioning this in a "Womans' Column," but what about the women and children who are left behind? As if life were not already hard enough for them! It makes me heart sick when I hear and read of these things and there is never a day that goes by in which something of a like nature is not brought to our notice. And yet a pitiful little article written for the sole purpose of helping some woman in that class that even yet doesn't seem to be able to throw off its swaddling clothes, couldn't be printed because it aimed at propagandism!

All children of the working class—attention! Wouldn't you like to greet your friend—your representative—your Eugene V. Debs? Well, then, come along with us to Room 49 Holyoke Bldg., First Avenue and Spring Street, at 11:30 next Sunday morning, to talk it all over and make arrangements. All boys and girls welcome—come and each one bring another with you. Don't forget the time, 11:30!

TITUS LECTURES CHANGED

The second Titus lecture was given to an enthusiastic audience in Marxian hall, Monday evening, August 10.

The third lecture was delivered in the Labor Temple at Sixth avenue and University street, hall 319, where the Socialist Party has its new headquarters. It was found impossible to secure any hall in town for Mondays, and Thursday was chosen as the evening for the remaining six lectures of the course.

"Socialism and Economics," or "Surplus Value," was the theme of the last lecture. Each of these lectures dovetails into the preceding one and the subject of Socialism is seen to be so vast as to include the whole range of human existence.

Those who have attended from the first are the ones who value them most. Tickets for the remaining five lectures can be had for 75 cents. Single admission, 25 cents.

The fourth lecture will be on Thursday evening, August 27, at hall 319, Labor Temple.

"The Call," the new New York Socialist Daily paper and "The Socialist" both one year for \$3.50, regular price, \$4.00. Western readers who have wanted "The Call" can now subscribe through this office and help both "The Socialist" and "The Call."

"The Social Democratic Herald" of Milwaukee prints a letter from Backus, of Seattle, in which the most glaring mis-statement of facts occurs concerning the Socialist Party of Washington. The editor of the "Herald," Heath and its associate editor, Berger, both were present at the National Convention at Chicago and heard a full refutation of these falsehoods about the Washington movement. For them to print these mis-statements now, when they are well aware of their inaccuracy, must indicate a purpose. Is it to disrupt the Washington Socialist Party or is it to prepare the way for Walter Thomas Mills to return to the stump in Wisconsin, notwithstanding his expulsion by Washington for Fusion tactics in British Columbia? We shall see. Anyhow, next week, we intend to discuss some questions of organization with this letter and the Milwaukee party methods for a text.

DAN WHITE AT LABOR TEMPLE

The big hall at Labor Temple, Sunday night, August 30, should be packed to suffocation to hear National Organizer Dan A. White, of Massachusetts. Let everybody know, and bring all your friends. Remember the time and place.

The two big meetings of the campaign will be White at Labor Temple, Sunday, August 30, and Debs at Dreamland Rink, Tuesday, September 15. Spread the news.

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Officers—Arthur Jensen, Secretary;
John Wm. Gehrke, Treasurer; Melvin
Engolf, Literature Agent.

Headquarters of Local Seattle No.
1 in Labor Temple, Room 319, Sixth
avenue and University street.

Local Business Meetings held in
Party Headquarters every Thursday
evening at 10 o'clock.

Women's Socialist Educational Club
meets every Wednesday night at 7:30
o'clock in Room 49, Holyoke Building,
entrance at rear of Frederick & Nel-
son's on Spring street.

Young People's Socialist League
meets every Sunday morning in Room
49, Holyoke Building, entrance at
rear of Frederick & Nelson's, on
Spring street.

The Headquarters of Local Seattle
are now located in the Labor Temple,
Room 319. The Secretary has desk
room there and the adjoining hall will
be used for the lecture course given
by Dr. Titus on Thursday evenings.

The first two of these lectures on
Scientific Socialism were given in
Marxian Hall and were listened to
with intense interest. Next lecture
will be on "Surplus Value or Social-
ism and Economics." The theory of
Surplus Value is one of the funda-
mental principles of the Socialist
philosophy and it is highly important
that all Wage Workers and students
should understand this, for on the
mistaken conception of exploitation
the Socialist Movement has been side-
tracked in various places at different
times.

Thursday, August 27, the subject to
be discussed will be "Tactics of
Socialism and Politics." This ought
to interest all Socialists and sym-
pathizers as there is a great variety
of opinion about correct tactics
among Socialists.

A series of street meetings have
been begun in different parts of the
city. The plan is to have three
meetings each on Wednesday, Satur-
day, and Sunday nights; one on
Washington street, one on University
street near Second avenue, and one
on Third avenue north of Pike.

This plan will be deviated from
Sunday, August 30th, when National
Organizer Dan White will address a
mass meeting in the big hall in the
Labor Temple. Dan White is an iron
moulder by trade and was for a long
time the national organizer of the
Iron Moulders' Union. He has for
several years ranked among the most
powerful and eloquent orators of the
Socialist movement. Don't fail to
hear him.

The biggest event of the season
will be the monster meeting to be
addressed by EUGENE V. DEBS,
candidate for President on the Social-
ist Party ticket, in Dreamland Rink,
Tuesday, September 15th.

Everybody who has heard Com-
rade Debs before will surely be
wanting to hear him again, and those
who have never heard him will be
just as anxious to do so. He has for
many years ranked among the most
powerful and eloquent orators of the
Socialist movement. Don't fail to
hear him.

By the way, don't forget to turn in
the money that you have collected
for the Red Special Fund.
Also remember to keep your list for
the National Campaign Fund going.
Have you paid your last month's
dues yet? If not, why not?

The secretary has in his possession
a long list of Socialists and sym-
pathizers, a great many of whom would
become members and active workers
if they were only approached about
the matter.

Any member, wishing to act on this
suggestion, will be given names of
Socialists in his or her neighborhood
by applying to the secretary.
ARTHUR JENSEN,
Secretary.

WHY BURGESS DIDN'T GO.
Pocatello, Idaho, Aug. 15, 1908.—
Editor The Socialist: I have been
criticized for not attending the Nation-
al convention of the Socialist Party,
and recently I have been asked to ex-
plain why I did not go, and to do this
through the party press so that com-
rades generally may know the cause
of my failure to bow to the expressed
will of the party.

If you will grant me the space I
should like to tell all that I know
about this matter. I was notified of
my election as a delegate while at St.
Regis, Mont. I was completely
"brokers" at this time, and being among
strangers, I could not feel sure that I
could arrange to get the necessary
support, and I wrote to the State Sec-
retary that I would probably reach
Missoula the next Sunday, the Sunday
that the Washington delegation would
leave Seattle. Afterwards I cancelled
two dates and arrived in Missoula on
Saturday, and at once sought out the
Socialists of that town, hoping that I
might be able to arrange to go to Chi-
cago. On Sunday I succeeded in ar-
ranging for the money, but I could
not get a definite answer until Mon-
day evening.

About noon on Monday I received a
telegram from the Washington State
office to the effect that my alternate
had been given credentials. This is
all that I know about this matter.
I have never desired any office, and
have always asked the comrades to
select some younger comrade to serve
in my place, but I have always be-
lieved that it was my duty to accept
any responsibility that the comrades
might deliberately impose upon me.
I did all I could do to express my ap-
preciation of their confidence in me.

If the will and desire of the com-
rades have been defeated, and respon-
sibility rests upon other shoulders.
Fraternally,
D. BURGESS.

Special Subscription Cards good for
campaign, Five for a Dollar. Order
a bunch right away and sell them for
a quarter apiece.

SOCIALIST ACTIVITY IN WASHINGTON

By Richard Krueger

State Headquarters, Aug. 16, 1908.—
Regular meeting called to order at
usual time and place, with John Dow-
nie in the chair and T. F. Burns and
E. C. Johnson present. Comrades Mrs.
Fiset and Mrs. Grace Lewis present as
representatives of the Women's Com-
mittee elected by the recent State Con-
vention, with Mrs. Hornbrook and
Steele of Seattle as visitors.

Minutes of previous meeting ap-
proved as read.
Applications for membership at large
were favorably acted upon: John H.
Atkins, Pasco; Onie Willmoist, Gar-
field; Napoleon Mennard and George
G. Moore, North Yakima.

Charters were granted as follows:
To comrades at Outlook, Chehalis,
Dunn and Rogue Prairie.
Several communications having
bearing upon actions taken by some
locals and all locals of a county, not-
ably Olympia on the one hand and Ste-
vens County on the other, with refer-
ence to the primary law, in relation
to the former, the State Secretary was
instructed to notify all locals in Thur-
ston County that the committee un-
qualifiedly condemns the action as
proposed by Local Olympia to enter
the primary election and thus nomi-
nate a county ticket, purporting to be
the Socialist Party ticket; to further
notify them that the primary law does
not make it obligatory on the Socialist
Party of Thurston County to make the
county nominations through the means
of the primary election, the party there
being a minority party; and to further
notify them that it is the sense of the
committee that whatever action may
have been taken with reference to
nominating a Socialist ticket for county
officers through the means of the pri-
mary election in Thurston County is
illegal in so far as the Socialist Party
is concerned, because (1) it appears
from the records that whatever action
has been taken was in no sense repre-
sentative, and (2) because it is the
expressed wish of the party that where
the law does not provide otherwise, the
Socialist Party in this state make
nominations by conventions, and that
in no instance were the fees to be paid.

With regard to Stevens County no
further action was taken by the com-
mittee because it appears from the
records that the party there is not a
minority party and must make nomi-
nations through the means of the pri-
mary election, and further because the
filing fees were paid under protest.
However, the committee disapproves
of their action as a whole and wishes
to point out that united action in these
matters will assure success, more than
a battle waged on a single handed,
which can bring success only of bene-
fit to a certain locality, instead of to
the party as a whole.

The various reports on hand dealing
with the nominating of a party ticket
in Whatcom County were read, report-
ing a victory in the courts of that coun-
ty. No further action was taken await-
ing the looked for and by the party
desired appeal to the State Supreme
Court.

The bill of C. A. Riddle, Party At-
torney, to the amount of \$137.85 was
ordered paid.
Several communications were read
from Yakima County reporting free
land and an attempt to organize
dual organizations by one J. M. Boan
and one Reed, the latter presumably
from Cunningham and the former well
known in Seattle as a strong advocate
of any measure in opposition to the
party. Further, a report from the Sec-
retary of Local Colfax, reporting an
action taken by that local tending to
encourage free lancing in the Palouse
country; also a letter from Walter
Thomas Mills to M. H. P. Harrison of
Local Centralia tending to implicate
Comrade Stanley Raynor of Winlock
acting as the agent for said Walter
Thomas Mills to secure dates. Sec-
retary reported in part what action al-
ready had been taken to counteract
the disrupting method. With refer-
ence to Winlock, a report from J. B.
Osborne, who was sent there to investi-
gate, was read and filed. Upon mo-
tion the State Secretary was instruct-
ed to prefer charges against any local
or individual member reported in fu-
ture to have violated the Constitution,
and in particular with respect to giv-
ing or procuring dates to persons with
a tendency to be free lancers, and es-
pecially allowing expelled party mem-
bers to lecture under their name as
Socialist lecturers, and to bring these
charges with a view of having them
disciplined.

Secretary's action authorizing the
Idaho State Secretary to route speak-
ers in that part of Washington the
Idaho speakers must pass through in
reaching one part of Idaho from an-
other was concurred in.

Relating to an application from Com-
rade George Barr of La Center to be
routed as a lecturer for the party, ac-
tion was not taken owing to the fact
that the committee is not convinced
that the comrade has sufficient knowl-
edge of the basic principles of Social-
ism and can expound them.

Regarding an inquiry of Comrade
F. Solscheid, of Langley, the commit-
tee authorized the State Secretary to
employ the comrade on the same terms
and conditions as others than lectur-
ers or organizers may be employed,
namely, to assist him in the sale of
papers, and in securing subscriptions
for Socialist papers.

A bill of J. B. Osborne for \$8 for
printing of personal posters was re-
ferred back to the comrade.
Regarding posters generally it was
ordered that the Secretary instruct
the various speakers to collect the cost
price for these, about 50 cents a hun-
dred, from locals which may want to
use them.

The committee's attention being di-
rected to the fact that at present the
National Committee is about to vote
upon a motion to employ Comrade
Wagenknecht as a National Organizer,
the State Executive Committee de-
clared itself as heartily endorsing Com-
rade Wagenknecht's employment and
concurred in the action taken by the
State Secretary tending to help bring
about the result.

State Secretary made verbal report
upon results from organization and
agitation work carried on during the
past; also giving a general outline of
plans for future work, committee con-
curring.

A motion was then made and car-
ried that if we do adjourn, we do so to
meet on Sunday, August 30, 1908, at
8:30 o'clock, and that the first order
of business be the counting of ballots
on state membership referendum "A."
The Women's Committee then be-
ing asked to make a statement, pre-
sent their plans, etc., Comrades Mrs.
Steele responded and reported upon
the work of the Women's
Committee had done during the past

In connection with work among women
and young people, boys and girls. A
general discussion developed the fact
that at present the plans as outlined
had not matured sufficiently to war-
rant any definite action on the part of
the State Executive Committee, and
the Women's Committee was invited to
present their plans in a more defi-
nite shape at the next meeting, Aug-
ust 30.

On motion meeting adjourned.
Fraternally submitted,
RICHARD KRUEGER.

Not later than September 8 all Lo-
cal Secretaries will receive detailed
instructions relating to the filing of
Socialist Party tickets. The nominat-
ing conventions for the purpose of
naming county officers must be held
on the day of the primaries, the 8th
day of September.

Local Mossyrock, Henry McKinley,
in Lewis County, has been reinstated
and is in good standing.
For non-payment of dues the fol-
lowing names of locals have been
stricken from the roll of Washington
locals: Addy, Clouquatum, Gate, Ho-
quiam No. 2, Loom Lake, Metalline,
Newport, Port Orchard and Tiger.

Article IV, Section 23, provides:
Members who have not paid dues for
the preceding month are not in good
standing and shall take no part in
party proceedings.

Nothing in common.
Bellevue, Idaho, Aug. 12, 1908.—H.
F. Titus: Dear Comrade—I have just
had an opportunity to look over the
"Pacific Monthly" for July, and I find
in the left hand column, on page 103,
strictures that I would like to have
you comment on.
These are the exact words that I
desire to have you comment on:
"Socialists and Anarchists have
enough in common—and are maligned
enough by the common enemy—the
parasites of wealth and privilege—to
induce each to defend and explain the
other, not malign and confuse."
Fraternally,
D. BURGESS.

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Kidings: Velvet Collars, from \$1.00 up; Sleeve Linings, from \$1.00 up; Coat Lining, from \$2.50 up; Coat or Vest Buttons, 25c up; Coat and Vest Binding, \$3.00 up.
Kidings and Gent's Dry Cleaning a Specialty: Waist, S. Jackets and Skirts cleaned, 75c up; Skirts, Jackets, Dyed, \$1.25 up; Skirts Cleaned and Rebound, \$1.50 up; Blankets, 1.00 up; Lace Curtains, 50c up.

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Socialist Party

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Buy and sell second-hand machines. Also carry a full line of sheet music. Come in and see me for terms.
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You're the fellow who has to spread the propaganda. If it was not for the subs. you send in we couldn't run a week. Have you used that sub. blank yet?

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Start a Savings account with us and get 4% interest, this grows while you sleep.
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Better job printing than you can get elsewhere at the Trustee Printing Company office. Patronize your own class press and see the results in the improvement of "The Socialist."

SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM FOR 1908

Adopted at the National Convention, Chicago, 1908, as Reported by the Sub-Committee on Style -- Reprint of the Report

PRINCIPLES

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs; human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring over larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class. (As adopted by the National Convention, this should read after the words, "present order": "or from the dominant class of society.")

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climax of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.
The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of working-men in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of working-men annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the working-men will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society: The small farmer, who is today exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the root upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.
The basis for such transformation

PROGRAM

Intelligent understanding of the historical development of civilization and of the economic and political needs of our time. They are bound to perish as the numerous middle class reform movements of the past have perished.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

General Demands

"1.—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforestation of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour work day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to States and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

"2.—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.
"3.—The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.
"4.—The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.
"5.—The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.
"6.—The absolute freedom of press, speech and assembly.

Industrial Demands

"7.—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.
(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productivity of machinery.
(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.
(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.
(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.
(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all unskilled factory labor.
(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

Political Demands

"8.—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.
"9.—A graduated income tax.
"10.—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.
"11.—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.
"12.—The abolition of the Senate.
"13.—The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.
"14.—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.
"15.—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.
"16.—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.
"17.—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.
"18.—The free administration of justice.

"Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are, but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance."

Oh, yes! That offer to send a bundle of Five Hundred or more at the rate of \$8.00 per Thousand is still open. Yes, you can subscribe for a bundle at that rate to be sent during the campaign. It will cost you \$45.00 for a bundle of 500 for the fifteen weeks from now till election day.

If the special train for Comrade Debs' tour materializes, it is proposed to send one of our speakers along to Spokane, and from there to go into Stevens county to fill probably fifteen or twenty dates, which are now being arranged; from there to go through Ferry county, and land at Oroville about October 10th, fill in that county as many dates as can be arranged for, and return to the coast over the G. N. on November 1st.

In Centralia the comrades are so elated over the success as a result of a meeting there in the city park with Comrade Titus as the speaker, that for August 22nd a return date has been arranged for.

The various 'reform' movements and parties which have sprung up within recent years are but the clumsy expression of widespread popular discontent. They are not based on an

PLATFORM FOR 1908

"The Socialist Party, in national convention assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and appeals for the support of all workers of the United States and of all citizens who sympathize with the great and just cause of labor.
"We are at this moment in the midst of one of those industrial breakdowns that periodically paralyze the life of the nation. The much-vaunted era of our national prosperity has been followed by one of general misery. Factories, mills and mines are closed. Millions of men, ready, willing and able to provide the nation with all the necessities and comforts of life are forced into idleness and starvation.
"Within recent times the trusts and monopolies have attained an enormous and menacing development. They have acquired the power to dictate the terms upon which we shall be allowed to live. The trusts fix the prices of our bread, meat and sugar, of our coal, oil and clothing, of our raw material and machinery, of all the necessities of life.
"The present desperate condition of the workers has made the cause of organized labor a renewed onslaught on organized labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.
"The attempt to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, although defeated by the solidarity of organized labor and the Socialist movement, revealed the existence of a far-reaching and unscrupulous conspiracy by the ruling classes against the organization of labor.
"In their efforts to take the lives of the leaders of the miners the conspirators violated State laws and the Federal constitution in a manner seldom equaled even in a country so completely dominated by the profit-seeking class as is the United States.
"The Congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of government. The laws for which the labor organizations have continually petitioned have failed to pass. Laws ostensibly enacted for the benefit of labor have been distorted against labor.
"The working class of the United States cannot expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the dominant parties. So long as a small number of individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation's wealth for their private profit in competition with each other and for the exploitation of their fellowmen, industrial depressions are bound to occur at certain intervals. No currency reforms or other legislative measures proposed by capitalist reformers can avert against these fatal results of utter anarchy in production.
"Individual competition leads inevitably to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.
"While our courts, legislatures and executive offices remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents, the government will be used in the interests of these classes as against the toilers.
"Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The Republican, the Democratic and the so-called 'Independence' parties and all parties other than the Socialist Party, are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class.
"In the maintenance of class government both the Democratic and Republican parties have been equally guilty. The Republican party has had control of the national government and has been directly and actively responsible for these wrongs. The Democratic party, while saved from direct responsibility by its political impotence has shown itself equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class whenever and wherever it has been in power. The old chattel slave owning aristocracy of the South, which was the backbone of the Democratic party, has been supplanted by a child slave plutocracy. In the great cities of our country the Democratic party is allied with the criminal element of the slums as the Republican party is allied with the predatory criminals of the palace in maintaining the interest of the possessing class.
"The various 'reform' movements and parties which have sprung up within recent years are but the clumsy expression of widespread popular discontent. They are not based on an

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SOCIALISM HARNESSED OR UNHARNESSED

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE

Conducted by John S. Phillips.
341 Fifth Avenue
New York

The Phillips Publishing Company.

August 9th, 1908.

To the Editor,

"The Socialist",

Seattle, Wash.

Dear Sir:

We have got hold of an article on Socialism for the September American Magazine which we think is going to interest our readers very much.

At the suggestion of some of the Socialists in New York, we are sending you advance sheets of the article. If you quote from it, or make any comment on it I shall be pleased if you send me a clipping. I shall be curious to see what you say about it.

Yours very sincerely,

JOHN S. PHILLIPS.

EDITOR'S COMMENT

The article referred to is entitled "Harnessing Socialism," and is written by Ernest Poole, who is now, we understand, a member of the Socialist Party and one of that group of magazine writers whose recent espousal of Socialism constitutes a phenomenon in American politics.

"Harnessing Socialism" is the proper phrase to designate the intent of Poole's article. The dangerous wild animal hitherto known as Socialism is now, according to Poole, being reduced to a mild, domestic variety, trotting quietly in the old "Democratic" traces. He makes "one of the organizers," probably Work, say: "Instead of wanting to destroy the Government we mean to build it up by giving it more and more power, and this by entirely legal and peaceable means, and only step by step."

Again and again Poole assures us Socialism has changed in the last few years. He is especially enamored of the Farmer and declares the Socialist Party in the last five years has made its chief gains in "the villages and farms." He concludes: "If the Socialists continue to change, if they spend more and more time on concrete measures and less on their Millennium dream, it is not improbable that in the next twenty years, they may grow to be a small minority party, as they are already in France, Germany and England. And we shall have in America a third political party."

So we shall be "harnessed" in bourgeois girths and bits and breeching! Nothing dangerous, nothing new, nothing r-revolutionary!

Poole's instructors for his article in "The American," his interviewed persons, are Mahlon Barnes and "one of the organizers," and Victor Berger and A. M. Simons. They all speak alike, all their issues are Poole's as above stated, whether correctly or not, it is up to them to say or not to say.

The really most remarkable thing about this series of "Interviews," called "Harnessing Socialism," is the complete, total, absolute ignoring of the Proletariat, except as the merest incident. No, here is one exception. "One of the organizers" tells Poole: "Times have changed. We're getting votes. And the farmer agrees to enough."

"First," said one old codger (the farmer is always "an old codger" to a New York provincial), "I don't want every blamed thing put under the Government, but I do like the idea of Uncle Sam bein' the big dog an' Wall Street bein' the pup. Second, I don't believe in this here class struggle, if you mean only them union strikes. But if you mean the Democracy agin the men who are stealing its independence, then I'm with you hard."

That's "Socialism harnessed," all right. If "one of the organizers" really said that, as well as the next quotation given below, why, he belongs to the present minority executive committee, body and breeches. For if Socialism is reduced to "Democracy agin the men who are stealin' its independence" and the class struggle as revealed in "thm union strikes," is to be belittled, then, instead of a "third party," we shall be harnessed up in tandem array, only one of three parties, all driven to the old Middle Class Buggy, touched up with the ancient ox-whip of reactionary radicalism.

Already Lawson and Bell assert the contest between Taft and Bryan is in reality, "Which best represents Roosevelt's policies?" That is: Which will correct the Trust evil? Which will save the small capitalist from extinction? Which will deliver us from the plutocracy back to the old Democracy?

Poole and his interviewed trio and his newly hatched brood of Socialist magazine writers, all need to pay a little more respect to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, even if they did die a quarter of a century ago.

"You took in the old codger on that basis?" I asked.

"The organizer" nodded.

"Isn't that stretching Marx a bit?"

"Let him stretch," said the Socialist, stoutly. "Stretching means growth, doesn't it?"

These amateur Socialists of the Poole variety and these Reform Socialists of the Berger variety strut about in Middle Class plumage as if the Proletariat were only common barnyard fowl to lay eggs for bourgeois roosters to cackle over.

Marx saw the Proletariat as the Savior of Society. Every great Socialist thinker in Europe sees the same. A few petty Bernstein "Revisionists," aped by Berger and those who submit to his bulldozing assumption of "being the whole thing" in the American Socialist movement, allured all of them by the immediate chance to "get votes" and therewith get petty political power, these affect to despise the critical analysis of Marx and the Scientific Socialists of all lands and proceed to proclaim that Socialism is Harnessed.

In Poole's interview with Berger, he asks, "What positive measures have your men in office in Milwaukee put through?"

"On one street-car line," said Berger, "we have brought the fare down to three cents. We have forced another line to pay \$90,000 more in taxes a year. When a railroad company tried to make the city pay all the expenses of building a new viaduct, our men fought the measure, and as a result the R. R. Co. paid its share of \$120,000. We have forced the Electric Light Co. to reduce its price."

Every one of these measures is in favor of the small taxpayer. Even the reduced street car fare and electric light rate will benefit the proletarian only temporarily till the wages are forced down to correspond to the reduction in the cost of living.

As to the "Milwaukee Movement," which is touted so valiantly, its true character as one based on Middle Class interests is explicitly revealed in Poole's eulogy. The Proletariat of Milwaukee support Berger's Reform Measures because (1) they are about as ignorant of Marxian economics as the Labor Unions are in other parts of the country, and (2) because a large number of them own little homes and their interests as small taxpayers have bribed them to neglect their class interests as members of the exploited Proletariat.

Furthermore, Poole ought to learn and probably will learn as he absorbs Proletarian thought, that the Berger-Thompson-Simons-Work brand of Socialism is only a reproduction of European Bernsteinism, sprung like it from the Universal Revolt of the Middle Capitalist Class against the Trust Capitalist Class, represented already in American politics by Roosevelt, Bryan, Hearst and Watson and for these few transitional years hypnotizing the world's attention.

Nevertheless and meanwhile the Proletariat grows by itself and by the disintegration of that doomed Middle Class and will find political expression for itself, if not in the Socialist Party, then in some other.

This all powerful Class of the Future does not want to increase the functions and strength of a Capitalist Government by its control of Railroads, telegraphs and other monopolies, which might indeed restore some "independence" to the old American agricultural "democracy" by reduction of rates and prices, but which would leave Wage-Labor intact, with its perpetual tribute of Surplus Value, and hence retain the Proletariat as a subject class.

The Farmers themselves know better, many of them, than their new "Intellectual" leaders. Let Ernest Poole and the N. Y. coterie of well-meaning magazines go out among the Socialist farmers of Idaho, for example, and they will be amazed and humiliated to discover how Proletarian and scientific their attitude has become. Populism is not regarded by these farmers as any preparation for Socialism except as following the wrong road prepares a man to seek the right road.

This is how Poole makes "one of the organizers" speak of the farmer: "He sees that Democracy is going; he sees the power converging into that Wall Street group. And he has about made up his mind that the only way to GET THAT POWER BACK is by government ownership of the trusts and the railroads. He showed it by his vote for the Populist Party. That party sold him out. And now he is coming our way."

Yes, he is coming our way, all right. But he is no longer deluded with your bourgeois idea that he "will get that power back" by "government ownership of the Trusts and Railroads."

New York City is about Fifteen Hundred miles away from the Populist centers of the Far West, as the bird flies, and about Fifteen Thousand miles measured by intellectual processes and social environment. The result is, the Western Farmer who was once a Populist, eager for Government Ownership as a panacea, now knows that the Trusts derive primarily their income and economic control over their fellow men FROM EXPLOITATION OF THEIR WAGE WORKERS. Consequently, so long as the Wage Class remains under Wages and Industries are conducted as Capital, whether owned by Government or not, the subjection of the little capitalist to the big capitalist will continue and the farmer will not be freed.

In a word, the Farmer Class can only secure its own independence by allying himself politically with the Party of the Wage Class.

The Redemption of the world hangs upon the political victory and economic emancipation of the Proletariat.

This is what the most intelligent of the old Populist farmers fully understand. They will smile at the change announced for the Socialist Party tactics in these words of Poole's concerning the "Chicago Daily Socialist":

Events create issues. These issues must be decided on the political field.

There are three great issues created by recent events which must be decided sometime at the ballot box. They are before the American people and before the people of Idaho.

First: The Trust Issue.

Second: The Poverty Issue.

Third: The Crime Issue.

The Trusts are strangling the business man and the farmer. The independent middle class are in process of disappearing from modern life and are being forced into the wage class. But they are desperately alarmed and fast arraying themselves for a Waterloo battle of self preservation.

That ten million people in the United States live on the verge of starvation as shown by the latest statistics, forms the second great issue before the American people.

That graft and crime were never so prevalent as now is testified to by every daily paper and every magazine.

What has the Socialist Party to say to these three issues which come home to every citizen: First; To the despairing business man and farmer, we point out where the Trust has made its money and exactly where the source of its power still lies.

Second; To the ten millions who are only a month away from starvation, we point out where and how a secure competence can be obtained.

Third; To those who are alarmed at the wide prevalence of corruption and the decay of moral standards, we point out the economic causes of crime and the way of their removal.

One Great Modern Fact.

Socialism is based on one great modern fact which the voters must know before they can meet the Trust issue, the Poverty issue or the Crime issue. That one central fact which will explain all our political questions, is the fact of Unpaid Labor.

Let us be specific.

Ten million wage workers of this country work on the average for two dollars a day or less. That is all they can possibly get, because the millions of unemployed, not needed by modern machinery, stand ready to take their places for even less. The result is, the owners of machinery, the employers of wage labor, get all the machinery produces over and above two dollars a day.

Six Billions of Unpaid Labor.

But the vast modern machine easily produces \$4.00 or even \$6.00 per day for every laborer. So that the Capitalist class, the owners of the railroads, packing houses, mines and shops, get at least two dollars a day of Unpaid Labor from every one of their ten million Wage Workers.

This in one year of 300 days, amounts to no less than Six Thousand Millions of Unpaid Labor. This sum is entirely independent of the exploitation of the working farmer, who is despoiled of Billions more.

The Socialist Party points out to the business man and farmer that this one stupendous exploitation of the Wage Class by the Trust Class forms a perennial source of revenue for the trusts which must be abolished before there is any hope for the farmer or the business man.

So long as the South had its slaves to draw wealth from, the North was powerless. So long as the trusts have their wage slaves to furnish them six billions of wealth annually for nothing the small Capitalist class is helpless. Their only hope of salvation is to join the Wage Workers' Party, the Socialist Party.

The Wage Workers form the great and increasing section of the modern world. With their emancipation is bound up the emancipation of all other slaves of Capital.

The Socialist Practical Proposal.

The Socialist practical proposal is that these Wage Workers above Ten Million voters of them in the United States, together with all other slaves of Capital, shall unite at the polls and capture all governmental powers. With these powers, legally and peaceably obtained, they will legally take possession of the vast modern machinery of producing wealth, now held chiefly by the trusts, and produce and use that wealth for the common good. The Socialists are the only soldiers of the common good.

THREE PARAMOUNT ISSUES

We show to the millions in poverty that modern machinery is capable of producing wealth enough for every man, woman and child to have plenty of this world's goods without robbing any one.

We show to the reformers who decry crime and graft, that, as Frances Willard came to see before her death, to abolish poverty is to abolish crime.

To all the citizens of Idaho at this critical time in her political history, we point out that the atrocious crime committed within her borders, no

"Even the editorials deal with concrete issues, QUITE UNLIKE THE OLD STREET CORNER SPEECHES."

Will Poole and Berger and the rest please remember that their candidate for President, Thompson, got at the Chicago convention, after much caucusing and coaching, exactly 13 votes out of some 200. Also, that Thompson's Farmer report, prepared with much care by a packed committee, was turned down overwhelmingly by that same convention and the Revolutionary minority prepared by the farmer, Barzee of Oregon alone, was adopted.

Those two facts speak volumes on the opinion of the Socialist Party of the United States, as deliberately voiced in its last National Convention which Ernest Poole says he attended.

Will Poole also read the "Principles" of our National Platform? It is there affirmed: "THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN WAGE WORKERS AND CAPITALISTS grows ever fiercer and HAS NOW BECOME THE ONLY VITAL ISSUE BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE."

Poole's may come and Berge's may go, but the Proletariat goes on forever.

Finally, let Poole & Co. read the following Platform on which the Socialist Party of Idaho fought through the State Campaign in 1906. There is no Bourgeois twaddle here.

matter who is guilty of it, is only an incident in the aggressive war of the capitalist mine owners on their wage employes, to prevent them from securing a larger portion of their product.

The Foundation of the Class War.

All over the United States this Class War goes on for the possession of that six Billions of Unpaid Labor, or "Surplus Value" now taken possession of by the Capitalist Class because they hold the powers of gov-

ernment in their hands. The Legislatures, the Executives, the Courts, the Army and the Police, are all held by that six Billions of Unpaid Labor, and enable the Capitalist Class to maintain their control of the sources of wealth.

The Capture of Capital.

The Socialist Party claims that Capital, that is, the vast machinery of producing wealth, now used by the Capitalist Class to exploit billions of wealth annually from the Wage Class, must be captured by Labor at the

When there's no work to do?
Chorus:
Hallelujah I'm a bum!
Hallelujah, bum again!
Hallelujah, give us a handout—
To revive us again.

O, why don't you save
All the money you earn?
If I did not eat
I'd have money to burn!

O, I like my boss—
He's a good friend of mine;
That's why I'm starving
Out in the bread-line!

I can't buy a job—
For I ain't got the dough,
So I ride in a box car,
For I'm a hobo!

Whenever I get
All the money I earn,
The boss will be broke,
And to work he must turn!

Twenty-Five Cents for the campaign is cheap. Five for the campaign for a Dollar is cheaper. You can do something with this rate. Get busy.

Republican candidate Sherman in accepting his nomination for vice-president, strikes from the shoulder very much like Roosevelt himself. No Taft caution for Sherman. He is especially down on any "appeal to class prejudice." To him the American people are one people, what is justice for laborer is justice for employer. Such rot is really believed by the majority of American citizens. They blind their sight to the existence of the class war. They are ignorant that the struggle between classes furnishes the motive power for all social and political currents of the day. Hence they talk idiotically about "eternal laws of justice," applicable alike to worker and master. Why, if the wage worker had "Justice," he would stop exploitation and the capitalist would lose his profit.

"The Call," the new New York Socialist Daily paper and "The Socialist" both one year for \$3.50, regular price, \$4.00. Western readers who have wanted "The Call" can now subscribe through this office and help both "The Socialist" and "The Call."

I. W. W. DEMONSTRATION

Twenty or more members of the I. W. W. from Portland passed through Seattle last Wednesday night, singing, "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum," and other songs of like pious nature.

They gathered a crowd of several hundred, talked economics, eulogized Debs, sold their songs and paraded the streets to the railway station, where they announced their "Special" was awaiting them on the N. P. freight track.

They are headed for Chicago, led by Walsh, formerly of Montana and later of several places on the Pacific Coast. They report the railway to the south lined with camps of "Bums."

They cannot fail to agitate wherever they go and the unemployed are tinder for the conflagration. While the Republican and Democratic orators ignore the very existence of hard times, these men expose the hard times in their very persons.

Here's the entire song they sang:
HALLELUJAH! I'M A BUM.
(Tune, "Revive Us Again.")
O, why don't you work
As other men do?
How in hell can I work

BALLOT BOX and used henceforth to benefit mankind.

Nothing but the abolition of wage labor will accomplish this benign result.

No ownership by a Capitalistic Class government, whether Republican or Democratic, of Railroads, Telegraphs, Meat or Oil Trust, which continues the wage laborer in slavery, will accomplish any permanent or substantial benefit.

Warning Against Imitators.

The Socialist Party warns the Working Class, including especially the small farmer, against the delusion of supposing that Capitalist Public Ownership which retains the wage system and its Unpaid Labor, can do any more for the worker in America than it does in Russia, Germany, Austria, Japan, or the other countries which now have Capitalist Public Ownership.

We conclude our appeal to the voters of this state with a re-affirmation of our adherence to the principles of International Socialism and the platform of the Socialist Party of the United States and again all attention to the immortal words of Kark Marx: "Workers of the World, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains—you have a World to gain."

Twenty-Five Cents for the campaign is cheap. Five for the campaign for a Dollar is cheaper. You can do something with this rate. Get busy.

While "justice" for the capitalist means that things shall go on as at present, with the capitalist living off of the wage slaves.

But Sherman has the courage to say what he thinks like Roosevelt. They pretend to no friendship for the proletarian. He must be content with "equal justice" as established by his masters.

The Bunkhouse

By Doc Wilson.

O, bunks and bunks,
Valises and trunks,
Blankets and swags by the score;
Smoky old cans,
Old spittoon pans
Scattered all over the floor.

Old gunny sacks
Filled from the stacks
Of hay in the field near by;
Under your nose
Pillow your clothes
And sleep with many a sigh.

Old broken door
Drags on the floor,
Overhead the nightbirds hide;
The roof is so thin
And the rain drops in.
The bunk where Anderson died.

Old shirts and coats
Where spider gloats
On the files and the moths in his lair
Rusty old stove,
Socks by the grove,
Polluting the room's warm air.

Off to the junks!
Bunkhouses and bunks—!
For the toiler requires rest,
A clean, warm bed,
Or home instead,
And then his labors are blest.

I found this in the "Pacific Monthly" for July, and as it appeals to me I thought that you may be willing to reproduce it for the benefit of your readers. Fraternally,
D. BURGESS.

The offer of \$6.00 a Thousand in bundles of Five Hundred or more is effective. Many Locals are taking advantage of it. Get yours to try it.

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