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The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves
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Own Emancipation

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THE CRISIS IN GERMANY

Socialist Fight for Unemployed in Reichstag—Some Things for Americans to Consider

The universal crisis of unemployment is felt as intensely in Germany as perhaps in any other country. This condition caused the Socialist members of the Reichstag to address an inquiry to the imperial chancellor asking what steps were being taken to relieve the suffering of the idle workmen.

In the discussion which followed some very interesting facts were revealed, as may be noted in the extracts given below.

Molkenburr (Socialist): "Unemployment is caused by economic crises, which are in turn born of the capitalist system of production. In the decade 1892-1902 we suffered from but one such crisis. After but ten years we are again in the midst of misery. And this despite the fact that the capitalists have assured us that through their corporations and trusts they are enabled to regulate production to a certain extent. The scourge of unemployment is raging especially fiercely now, but it must be emphasized that in many crafts a permanent state of unemployment prevails even under normal economic conditions. The building trades, the miners, the farm laborers and the river workers go idle every now and then because of climatic conditions. The sugar and confectionery industries are running only in certain seasons. The chocolate and confectionery industries run in full force for only a few months of the year. Aside from these a number of dying crafts are constantly struggling for an existence, for instance the wood-turning craft. Many thousands go idle under normal conditions.

"During the crisis the capitalists limit production still further. And the crisis is not felt by the unemployed alone. Those at work must often consent to wage reductions, the full extent of which we do not learn until after the crisis. In the Royal Mines, during the last crisis, the yearly wage went down from 1137 marks to 921 marks, or a reduction of 4 marks weekly.

"The Department of Transportation issued in 1901 a circular recommending a reduction of wages to counteract the raise during the 'prosperous' times. After the crisis has once passed over, the Trades Unions will be forced to hard struggles in order to raise the wages to the former level.

"We are again amidst a great crisis. In the building trades the hard times began already in 1907. The high rents were blamed. But activity did not increase when the rents were lowered. According to governmental reports there are now 420,000 more unemployed in Germany than under normal conditions. But this figure is in reality much too low. The Trades Unions paid out during the third quarter of 1907, 804,000 marks to 1,250,000 members insured against unemployment, but during the third quarter of 1908, 1,622,000 marks, or over twice the amount of last year, was paid out. The few pennies saved up disappear quickly; then comes hunger, followed by disease. Many thousand workmen are forced on the road. When the unmarried laborer finds himself no longer able to pay his board, he is simply forced to beggary. If caught at it he is punished, though he is innocent of the cause of his own condition. Thefts and hold-ups increase fast. The 'Kreuzzeitung' calculated that the cost of maintaining the prisons and workhouses during the crisis year of 1901 amounted to 150,000,000 marks. And still the same journal demanded more prisons for the beggars.

"The number of homeless given assistance during 1904-07 amounted to about 20,000 yearly; 1907-08 this number increased suddenly to 38,000. And the charitable institutions in Berlin gave besides at the same time lodging to 74,000 people. Many of these suffer so much physically and morally that they are socially lost. If the amount that is now used for maintaining criminals had been used in keeping these men and women above water before they sank down into the pool of misery they would have remained useful members of society.

"During the last twenty years the national wealth has increased thirty billion marks. The fortunes in Prussia increased during the decade 1895-1905. But the workmen have received none of this increase.

"The government cuts wages whenever it can, for instance for the miners in Saarbrücken. The state orders its superintendents to import foreign labor for canal construction in order to forestall scarcity of labor power, which would cause an increase in wages.

"The new taxes increase the mis-

ery. The tobacco tax alone will throw 50,000 out of employment.

"We demand insurance against unemployment. The census of the unemployed in 1895 proved clearly that insurance is practicable. There were 167,000 sick and 366,000 idle, and two marks daily to each one of these for every day of idleness would have caused an expenditure of 220,000,000 marks for the year (interruptions from the Rights: Two hundred and twenty millions). Yes, but consider that you do not regard five or six hundred millions yearly too much for the army and navy. You think that two hundred millions is too much only when it is for the assistance of the workers (applause from the Social Democrats). But this sum can be diminished by saving on workhouses and prisons. My intention is that the state, the municipality and the workmen each should pay one-third toward the insurance.

"Furthermore, the public labor employment agencies should be thoroughly organized throughout the country and the nine-hour day should be made the legal workday. It is the duty of the state to help the unemployed. The state must help. Do not waste the money on cannons and warships, but use it to improve the health of the people and the economic power of Germany." (Vigorous applause from the Social Democrats.)

A long debate followed, with the result that the government gave the unemployed a few nice phrases, while the government parties scornfully refused to do anything to relieve their condition.

(Translated from the Danish in "Social-Demokraten," Copenhagen, by Arthur Jensen.)

LOCAL SEATTLE ENFORCES AUTHORITY

Last Thursday evening, at the regular business meeting, Local Seattle was openly defied by two suspended members, Mr. and Mrs. W. P. Parks, with the result that Mrs. Parks was removed from the hall by order of Chairman McCorkle.

These two people have spent their days and nights for the last six months endeavoring to disrupt the Local.

There is good evidence that they have been paid by others to do this work. They have had practically no other occupation but to denounce Local Seattle to every member and prospective member. Allied with Dr. Brown and Dr. Falk and those whose minds they were able to poison, they have even organized a club of local members for the express purpose of getting back the old Mills faction until they should have "votes enough to put Titus out."

At the previous meeting of the Local, Dec. 11, Parks was in the hall and anteroom and lobbies denouncing the Local members as crooks, and his wife sat defiantly in the meeting hall, scoffing at the speakers and voting as if still a member.

At the meeting of Dec. 18, after Parks had shouted "Liar" at a comrade who had the floor, a motion was passed ordering Parks from the hall and its entrances. He left the hall after considerable delay, but remained in the entrance, using the vilest language concerning the Local and its members, even swearing "there wasn't a decent woman in it." These insults were addressed to a group of "Independent Socialists" who had come up to witness the scrap which the Parks couple have undoubtedly been seeking to bring on for some time.

E. J. Lewis, of Philadelphia and Portland, now employed by Local Seattle as a special Propagandist and Lecturer, went out into the entrance hallway to carry out the expressed will of the Local and see that Parks left as ordered. Parks then and there called Lewis a vile name and put up his fists for a fight. He got it. He was knocked down and put out.

Meanwhile Mrs. Parks got up and defied the Local to put her out. Accordingly, the motion was passed excluding her from the room. The chairman again and again requested her to leave, only to be met with point blank refusals and insulting epithets. Then, protesting his dislike of the disagreeable necessity, Chairman McCorkle appointed four sergeants-at-arms "to escort Mrs. Parks from the room." When they approached her she swung a heavy chair above her head and dared them to come on. When the chair was taken

from her, she sprang forward and struck Comrade George Stevens full in the face with her clenched fist. Stevens then picked her up and carried her from the hall. As the door closed behind him, and before he could disengage himself, Stevens was set upon and beaten in the face by a dozen "Independent Socialists" waiting in the hall since the Lewis-Parks set-to.

Then Mrs. Parks called in the police to arrest Lewis. The chairman went out into the hallway and explained the situation to the officer, who then went away, making no arrests, and the meeting proceeded in an orderly fashion with the regular business on the docket.

The capitalist papers, especially the "P.-I.," have been making a specialty of scraps, big and little and none, in the Seattle Socialist Party Local for the last few months. You would think from reading them that nothing but scraps was to be found among the Socialists. That is good policy to injure the growth of Socialism, which the "P.-I." points out editorially has a bigger percentage of votes in Washington than in any other state, though it kindly prophesies it won't grow much more—not if it can prevent it.

The fact is, no Local is more alive nor doing more Socialist propaganda than Local Seattle. During the past six months it has developed twelve good Local speakers, holding six street meetings a week and one public hall meeting, reaching at least 1,000 new people every week with the message of Socialism, besides distributing from 3,000 to 5,000 pieces of literature a week from house to house. The only reason the actual membership has not increased more rapidly and risen to the size it formerly was, is that the Reformist faction has put up a constant fight against the Local, not only on the outside, but chiefly on the inside. The capitalist papers have aided the disruptionists by parading every dissension before the public.

This latest fight, which came to blows, is made the most of by those same papers. It was undoubtedly the purpose of the two Parks to provoke the very thing that happened, and they were backed up by Dr. Brown and the "Independents."

But Local Seattle has now cleared the decks. There will be no more defiance of the will of the Local. It is settled that organization is first and individuals second.

Now they can resume the splendid work of propaganda which has been interfered with, though never interrupted, by the dozen active spirits engaged in defeating every attempt of the Local to do real Socialist work on the outside.

Red Sunday, Jan. 22

Protest Against Political Extradition.

The Chicago defense committee for the political refugees at a recent meeting carried a motion making the next "Red Sunday" (Jan. 22, the anniversary of the beginning of the Russian revolution of 1905) a day of great protest demonstration throughout the United States.

A special committee was elected to arouse all Irish societies to action in order to prevent the extradition of Patrick Koks, a young Irish lad who is wanted by the English government. The same committee has in charge the defense of the Mexican revolutionists now held in Arizona and California.

(Compiled from "Strahdneeks," the Lettish Socialist organ, by Mikkel Kuplals.)

Socialism, in a Nutshell

By A. M. Simons

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

The word Socialism has come at the present time to have two quite distinct meanings. One, that of a future Co-operative Commonwealth, is a legacy from the Utopian stage of Socialism; the other, that of a social philosophy, is the result of the modern scientific phase of Socialism. Both of these meanings have now become so firmly fixed in the language that it is probably useless to attempt to eradicate either of them. Yet while they do remain the fact of this double meaning must give rise to constant confusion.

CATASTROPHIC UTOPIANS.

The first sense of the word, that of a future stage of society, need not detain us long, for while it is still the more popular and common meaning of the word it is really almost meaningless. No Socialist, and least of all the scientific revolutionary Socialist, ever dreams that there is going to come a day when one can say, "Yesterday was capitalism, today is the Co-operative Commonwealth." Hence they leave to catastrophic utopians the task of telling "what will happen under Socialism." By the way, it is interesting to note that it is always just the "step-at-a-time" opportunist Socialist who really adopts the "catastrophic hypothesis." He is the one who continually tells us how this, that and the other thing will be run "under Socialism," as if he expected some morning to wake up out of capitalism into a society labelled Socialism.

SOCIALISM A SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

But it is in the sense of a social philosophy that the word Socialism has really come to have its present tremendous importance in the world of thought and action. It is this meaning, the acceptance and understanding of which, in a large degree, differentiates the modern scientific Socialist from the sentimental utopian who formerly bore that name.

In this sense there are two essential points in the meaning of the word, which are comprehended in the philosophy expressed by the word Socialism.

FIRST POINT—"ECONOMIC DETERMINATION."

The first of these is what is commonly called the "Materialistic conception of history," or, since this expression tends to confuse the idea with metaphysical materialism, with which it has little or no essential connection, it is now coming to be known as "Economic Determination."

This expression as accepted in the Socialist philosophy is simply a recognition of the fact, now universally admitted in the realm of biology, that the way in which any organism adapts itself to its environment and secures its subsistence from that environment, determines every portion of its organism. If we admit an exception to this law in biology we destroy all possibility of ever making that subject a science, because if Nature can afford to use material for any other purpose than the securing of the best interests of the organism, she may indulge in any sort of a freak expression and all law in nature is gone.

It is because of the discovery of this law that we have a science of botany, zoology, or any of the related sciences of life. It is upon this law that the whole doctrine of evolution rests, and the very fact of its universality in these realms raises a strong presumption that it will be found prevailing in the field of social life.

It was the discovery of this law and its application to sociological thought by Karl Marx, Lewis H. Morgan and Frederick Engels that made possible that science of social evolution called Socialism.

Just at the present time it has become quite the smart thing with a little knot of cheap thinkers in the Socialist camp, who desire to secure a notoriety by doing or saying outrageous things to deny the name of science to modern Socialism. But if the word science has any application in the realm of biology then by every law of analogy and every principle of verbal interpretation it should be applied to the system of thought and mode of investigation elaborated by the thinkers enumerated above.

SECOND POINT—"THE CLASS STRUGGLE."

The second fundamental thought of Socialism in the sense in which it is now best used is embraced in the discovery of the law of social evolution through the class struggle. By this it is meant that each method of production brings to the dominant social position some one social class. This class is the one which under that method of production is most essential. But as the tools of production are improved and the method of their utilization changed a new social class is made essential. This new class struggles with and overcomes the old and society advances another stage.

CAPITALIST CLASS NO LONGER ESSENTIAL.

The importance of this law at the present time lies in the fact that the capitalist class by abdicating its function as the organizing, directing class in industry has ceased to be the socially essential class. At the same time the change in the manner of production from individual to collective production and the organization of the laborers in great industrial productive armies independent of an owning class, now useless, so far as the productive process is concerned, has made the laborers the essential economic class. Therefore, in obedience to these two laws it is certain that the time is not far distant when that class will become socially dominant, and take possession of all the instruments of social control. They will then, as the capitalist class does at present, control the state, determine public opinion and set social customs.

THE NEXT STAGE.

But an examination of the present stage of industry and manner of production shows us that the next change in the organization of industry will be in the line of a transfer of ownership in a highly concentrated form from individuals to the collectivity. Now it also happens that this change is one which will be of tremendous benefit to the laboring class and hence they have a strong incentive to work in accord with social development to hasten the action of the laws we have just explained.

ALSO REVOLUTIONARY.

This philosophy constitutes the base of modern, scientific Socialism. Since this transfer of social classes will constitute a reversal of a large number of social institutions, it is also called revolutionary. And in every sense which this word has in the English language there is no more proper place in which it can be used—a fact I would call to the attention of some persons who seem to be inclined at present to revise that language, at least so far as the vocabulary of Socialism is concerned.

SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES PERSASIVE.

The principles of this philosophy are now invading every field of human thought. They are reflected in the present cry of "back to the people" (which is simply another way of calling for Proletarian domination and capitalist overthrow) in art, literature, music, handicrafts, history and pedagogy.

Once that a laborer has become thoroughly conscious of the truth of these principles, the manner of their operation and the function which his class is to play in the working out of these laws—once in short he has become "class-conscious," he is a Socialist for keeps, for his Socialism is grounded upon the everlasting rocks of truth and fact and not upon the shifting sands of sentiment and day-dreams.

"THERE'S A REASON"

By E. J. Lewis and Arthur Jensen

(Dedicated to C. W. Post, of Battle Creek fame.)

CAST OF CHARACTERS.
Boss of printing shop.
James Jones, a Scab pressman.
John Smith, a Union pressman.

(Boss seated in comfortable chair. Enter a meek workman. The workman, James Jones, the scab, takes off his hat and twists his hat embarrassedly in his hands.)

Jones (in a frightened, low voice)—Good morning, sir, I saw your ad in the morning paper and called to see if I could get the job.

Boss—Well, what can you do?

J.—Oh, I think I can do what you want done.

B.—Well, what makes you think you can?

J.—I belong to the Y. M. C. A. and I am honest, and I have worked for a man back in South Bend, Ind., who was one of the trustees in the Methodist church, and he said I was all right.

B.—That's all right. But have you got any recommendations?

J.—Yes, Sir, I've got one (hands it to the boss).

B. (reads aloud)—The bearer, James Jones, went to work for this firm as pressman at the time of the strike for an 8-hour day and remained loyal during the entire time of his service. He is a fairly good mechanic, but his chief merit lies in his loyalty to his employer.

(Signed) HOLLISTER BROS.

Per Jas. Andrews.

Chicago, Jan. 4, 1908.

(handing it back to Jones) Well, what would you be willing to work for?

J.—I would be willing to start for anything that you would be willing to pay and then you can raise me when you think I am worth more.

B.—Well, you can come back in about an hour.

J.—Thank you, Sir. (Exit.)

B. (talking to himself)—Well, it's hell all right that we have to ally ourselves with such shrimps, but it is necessary in order to stay in business, so I guess the best thing a fellow can do is to not let one's better feelings run away with him.

(Enter John Jones, the Union pressman.)

Smith (in a straightforward and fearless manner)—Good morning, I saw your ad in this morning's paper for a pressman, so I called for the job.

Boss—Yes, I need a man. What can you do?

S.—Anything you have got in my line.

B.—Hm, got any recommendations?

S.—Yes, here it is (handing his union card to the boss).

B.—That ain't no recommendation. What has that card to do with your ability to work?

S.—That card means that I can fill the bill at anything in my line.

B.—Well, what are you willing to work for?

S.—The scale.

B.—The scale. What does that mean?

S.—That means living wages as determined by my union.

B.—And how much is that?

S.—Twenty-one dollars, and I won't work for less.

B.—Well, I don't think you are the kind of a man I want. Besides, \$16 is all I intend to pay.

S.—Oh, I see. You don't want a man, you want a horse.

(Exit John Smith.)

B. (talking to himself)—It's no use talking, a man like that demands respect, but there I go again like a mushy old woman; any time I can get suckers like that mamma's boy from the Y. M. C. A. I guess I won't be foolish enough to hire men.

(Re-enter James Jones, the Scab.)

S. (cringingly)—Excuse me, mister, but do you think there will be any chance to put me on now?

B.—Yes, you can go to work tomorrow morning, and I will see what I can pay after I see what you can do.

S.—Thank you, Sir. (Exit.)

B.—Well, it's no use talking, those union men have more sense in a minute than those others have in a month, but I will have to use all the suckers that are willing to be used. But I think one union man is worth a dozen of those nice little dubs.

Curtain.

Debate Delayed

Emma Goldman challenges Dr. Titus to debate. She is not satisfied with last spring's debate. Local Seattle of the Socialist Party, accepts the Anarchist's challenge. The subject: "Socialism against Anarchism." The time set was for Friday night, Dec. 18 at Labor Temple, Seattle, but the following telegram was received Wednesday afternoon: "Because arrogant stupid men delayed us, debate must be postponed. Letter follows." No letter Wednesday night, time of this writing.

The "arrogant, stupid men" were the Bellingham police. They arrested Miss Goldman and Dr. Reitman, her advertising manager, on the wonderful charge "That they intended to hold an unlawful meeting calculated to incite riot." They were kept in jail over night, according to capitalist dispatches, and then ordered out of town with the alternative of being held under \$5,000 bonds for trial, on an insanity charge.

"Arrogant" and "stupid" are mild terms for such an outrage. This is the same town and same police that put Fowler in jail for holding an anti-Asiatic meeting, then doped him into a phrenzied condition, put him in irons and railroaded him to Stella-con, from which institution he escaped as sane as anyone, and far more than the Bellingham officers.

What Bellingham needs is a few Socialist fighters to bring its law officers to their senses.

It's a pity the Anarchists hadn't the sand.

Latest: It is now expected the Debate will occur on Dec. 28, Monday evening. Miss Goldman has set this date and the Socialists will be on hand. Tickets are good for the new date.

The Capitalists have been furnishing some remarkably good stuff for Socialist propaganda since the election. "The Socialist" wanted to give its readers this week, a full page, headed, "Roosevelt and Bryan on Socialism," but will have to defer it till next time. And now comes President Schurman, of Cornell University, with a Complete Reputation of Socialism. It will keep us busy refuting the refuters. But the thing is, they are all talking about Socialism.



ED. J. LEWIS, of Penn., who speaks every Sunday night in December at Labor Temple. No better in America.

THE PARTY

Impossible Smoke from Opportunist Funnels

The Socialists in Seattle who want to bring back the expelled Mills faction into the party right away, are now led by Edwin J. Brown, Dentist and Lawyer.

His latest move is to bring "charges" against Local Seattle before the State Executive Committee.

The same "charges" were brought first in the Local, against Comrades Titus and Kubaski, candidates for the legislature in the 45th District, a district made up largely of wage-workers.

The main "charge" was "Party Treason," with no specification whatever. Being required to specify at the trial before the Local, the charge of "Party Treason," which had already been sent broadcast to every member of the Local, was found to consist in this: That these candidates, Titus and Kubaski, had circulated campaign literature which appealed for votes for themselves and had stood on a platform which, in addition to the abolition of the Wage System, also advocated reduction of high rents in that district.

The Local found the two comrades not guilty, as it was proved by the records, that every act charged had been authorized either by the Local, or by the Campaign Committee elected by the County Convention and given full power to act.

There was not a vestige of "Party Treason," even if the comrades had acted without express authority. At the most, the acts complained of could

only be construed as mistakes of judgment of policy; and only then on the impossible assumption that no votes should ever be solicited for special candidates in specially selected Proletarian election districts and that no temporary or local measures for the relief of the workers should ever be advocated by Socialist candidates.

Local Seattle after acquitting Titus and Kubaski set apart the business meeting of Dec. 11 to discuss the entire question of Party Policy involved. The matter was gone over in complete detail in a debate lasting five hours. Differences of opinion were decided, but no one mentioned "Party Treason" as involved in any possible way. Such a charge was simply "Smoke" to blind the eyes of the comrades.

The Local voted on every count that there had been no breach of Revolutionary Tactics in the circulation of any of the literature on which the serious charge of "Party Treason" had been so lightly brought.

The fact is, the very man who now tries to embroil the State Committee in a meaningless controversy and attempts, with a lot of hot air, to blow this impossible smoke over the whole State organization, has been seeking, for months, to restore the Middle Class Opportunists who have lately, organized as "Independent Socialists" in Seattle, and who regard Bryan's defeat as a "disaster."

There is a benefit which has come to Local Seattle out of this Opportunist attempt to pose as Impossible. The discussion has been an educator to many younger members in the matter of Tactics. Straight Socialism is seen to be neither pure and simple Opportunism, nor pure and simple Impossible. There is such a thing as Proletarian Opportunism, very different from Bourgeois Opportunism and the former is recognized by the Socialist Parties of all lands.

And there is such a thing as a Legitimate Impossible which holds fast to the Revolutionary End to which we tend and must come, though impossible of present realization.

One other thing many comrades have learned, namely, that it is a pretty serious business to bring a charge of "Party Treason" against an innocent member without a shadow of fact to justify it.

We propose, for the benefit of the party at large, to publish, next week, all the documents in question, so that others can get advantage of the discussion in Local Seattle and see for themselves every detail of this question of practical politics.

The Socialist Vote

The vote for the Socialist Party as given herewith is from the N. Y. "Call" and completed by W. J. Ghent, of the Rand School.

Other reports from Capitalist sources make our total about 450,000 and the Socialist Labor vote about 15,000. This is a gain for the S. P. of 45,000 and a loss for the S. L. P. of 15,000 or a total Socialist gain of some 30,000.

It will be noticed that Ghent's figures put the State of Washington at the top in percentage to total vote. We are also about at the top in percentage of Socialist Party members to population.

It is not about time our "Constructive" friends took notice that Straight Proletarianism of the R-r-revolutionary sort, such as we have now had established in Washington for eight or nine years, can show results both in organization and in votes? Take notice too, that Wisconsin has actually lost in number of votes cast for Debs while Washington has gained some 5,000.

Above all, take notice it is the Proletarian state organizations which have gained votes, while your Reformists like Work in Iowa, or Simons in Illinois, or Wilson in Kansas, or Carl Thompson's friends in Nebraska, have dropped into the cellar.

We have one more practical sugges-

tion drawn from this table. Suppose we give the Proletarian states who have proved their capacity to organize and to stand against false labor parties, a chance to run the National Executive Committee for the next year or two. No man should be elected on that Committee who has not been able to organize his own state. Is not that a fair test of fitness? For example, here is Pennsylvania, standing out like a mountain in a plain, showing a gain of 55 per cent. Let's elect Ed. Moore of Phila. on the N. E. C. as a recognition of the Proletarian and successful Pennsylvania Socialist Party organization.

And there is Idaho with a big gain. Ernest Untermyer had much to do with it, another Proletarian.

Certainly, we want a committee of Proletarians instead of our present unrepresentative one.

	1904	1908	1908
Alabama	853	1,399	1.33
Arkansas	1,816	5,842	
*Colorado	4,304	7,974	3.02
Conn.	4,543	5,113	
*Delaware	146	240	.50
Florida	2,337	3,747	
Georgia	197	584	
Idaho	4,354	6,305	
*Illinois	69,225	54,711	3.00
Indiana	12,013	13,476	1.87
Iowa	14,847	8,287	
*Kansas	15,494	12,420	3.30
*Kentucky	3,602	4,060	.81
*Louisiana	995	2,538	3.33
*Maine	2,106	1,758	1.65
*Mass.	13,604	10,779	2.36
Minnesota	11,992	14,471	
Mississippi	393	1,048	
*Missouri	13,009	15,398	2.15
*Nebraska	7,412	3,524	1.32
*N. Hamp.	1,090	1,299	1.44
*N. Jersey	9,587	10,249	
*N. Caro.	1,254	245	.13
*N. Dakota	2,017	2,405	2.54
Ohio	36,260	33,795	
*Oklahoma	4,443	21,752	8.15
*Oregon	7,651	7,430	6.71
*Penn.	21,863	33,913	2.69
Rhode Island	956	1,295	
S. Carolina	22	100	
*Tennessee	1,354	1,870	.73
Texas	2,791	7,870	2.68
*Utah	5,767	4,895	4.51
Virginia	218	255	
*Washington	10,023	14,777	8.18
*W. Virginia	1,572	3,676	1.42
*Wisconsin	28,220	28,146	6.18
Total	317,500	327,746	

*Official.

Seattle News Notes

Comrade Jesse Day has been elected a member of the adding committee to fill the vacancy left by the suspension of Mrs. Parks.

Six applications for membership were referred to the membership committee last Thursday.

The following comrades have been admitted to membership: Jos. S. Biscay, C. J. Reimers, Christopher Peterson, Wm. Morehouse, Olaf Anderson, Claud Gwynn.

Comrade E. J. Lewis' work in Seattle is bearing splendid results. The Sunday night Labor Temple meetings are growing and a splendid audience is on hand every Sunday evening to hear this genuine proletarian thinker expound the working class philosophy.

Every evening that is at all favorable Comrade Lewis speaks to large audiences at Fourth and Pike. Collections are taken at all these meetings and meet with entire favor with the audiences.

Literature sales are good and Comrade Lewis has proven himself to be the convincing soap box orator he was reputed to be.

Comrade Lewis will remain in Seattle until January 1st. All comrades are earnestly asked to be present at these street meetings when ever possible.

It helps the speaker and you as well, besides it is strengthening the prestige of the Party.

By the way, if any comrade has ambitions to become a soap boxer, Comrade Lewis has volunteered to give him free instructions in the fundamentals and the experience of making an introductory talk on the box every night.

The State Executive Committee has given Local Seattle the services of State Organizer Wagenknecht until January 1st.

All who know Wag's record can safely expect results from his two weeks' work here, even during the short time and the unpropitious holiday season.

THE SCHOOL CAMPAIGN.

Now that the school campaign is a thing of the past, and the committee in charge relieved of their work, a short review of the manner in which the campaign was carried on should prove interesting, especially to those comrades who were unable to be in and a part of the campaign.

The campaign committee, composed of Mrs. Fiset, Sam Sadler and Arthur Jensen, were elected at Local business meeting on November 12th. This committee proved a wise choice and showed their efficiency from the first meeting, held the following day, to the time the last vote was counted and phoned into headquarters.

Comrade Jensen was delegated to attend to the details of the campaign on a \$5.00 a week salary, under the supervision of the committee.

Forty thousand school platforms were printed for distribution. Circular letters to the entire list of school teachers and janitors were mimeographed and mailed.

Campaign leaflets of undoubted revolutionary character were printed and distributed at all street and hall meetings, as well as from house to house in a large portion of the city.

Interviews with the daily press were secured for our candidates, and announcements of meetings, as well as other notices of interest to voters.

Subscription lists were made up and sent to each member.

Collections for the campaign were taken at the street meetings. With the endorsement of Comrade

McCorkle by the Carpenters' Union, a considerable amount of work among union men was undertaken and carried out most successfully.

Comrade Lewis of Portland secured admission before a number of Unions and laid before them the position of the working class in its relation to the public school.

The endorsement of our candidates by the Central Labor Council enabled the committee to reach, through a committee appointed by the Council, practically every union man and woman in Seattle with a circular letter.

On election day every voting place almost, without exception, was fully manned for the collection of names of sympathizers and Socialist voters for future reference in organization work.

Local Seattle has carried on many school campaigns, employing the useful and willing services and much sacrifice of many "Jimmie Higginsons." But all agree that the campaign launched and carried through by this committee, with the help of us all, was the best organized, especially considering the factional division in Locals most, thoroughly and capably managed, of any previous ones.

And there is Idaho with a big gain. Ernest Untermyer had much to do with it, another Proletarian.

Washington

State Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Washington.

State Headquarters, Dec. 6, 1908. Regular meeting was called to order by Chairman Barth, Comrades Martin, Steele and Smith present.

Applications for membership at large were favorably acted upon as follows: Mathias Schmitz, Ella Knutz Stone, Albert F. Cook, W. Cook, James Stevens, Fritz Ganzel, James Livingston, W. C. Davis, August Mueckenheim, Chas. E. Merritt, John B. Thompson, Jas. L. Spencer, Mads Thompson, Thomas H. Nace, John G. Everett, O. C. Hanson, Charles B. Peterson, Oscar McCartney, R. G. Van der Mel, C. W. Smith, John Nelson, G. B. Bauthaus, Frank Boman, Anna Lovisa Jern, August Peterson, Edward G. Partch, O. Gibbons.

Charters were granted to comrades in Alder, Georgetown and Blaine. Communication from E. J. Brown of Seattle, bearing upon the unfinished business an ordered laid over from previous meeting of S. E. C. was received and filed.

E. J. Brown, of Seattle, lodged charges against Hermon F. Titus and Bernard Kubasky. Inasmuch as the matter giving rise to these charges was still in the hands of Local Seattle, of which both comrades charged are members, the matter was laid over to next meeting, awaiting a report from Local Seattle.

In the matter relating to what was intended to be a report from the law firm of Barker & Brown in the Osborne case, E. J. Brown submitted a communication which was filed; the State Secretary was instructed to request the law firm that a report be submitted giving evidence that said case of J. B. Osborne vs. City of Seattle had been entered on the docket of the United States court, other than a mere statement to the effect from one member of that firm; the Secretary was further instructed to request John Dowdle, former State chairman, to be present at next meeting and report what he may know in connection with financial transaction in connection with the case.

State Secretary submitted several requests from publishers for a list of local secretaries, which were denied and the ruling made that these lists should be furnished only to such papers, editors and persons whose attitude on party organization can not be questioned.

Tom Russell, a newly elected member of the S. E. C., submitted a communication stating that circumstances had arisen that he himself so that he must remove to the eastern part of the state, that therefore he could not attend S. E. C. meetings, and that for that reason he tendered his resignation as a member of the S. E. C. Resignation was accepted and the Secretary instructed to issue a State Committee referendum with the names of C. L. Whiting of Snohomish and C. C. Hale of Puyallup as the candidates to fill the vacancy on the S. E. C. ruling, however, that Comrade Russell was still a member of the S. E. C.

Communication of F. H. Moore from Spokane, requesting payment of bill in favor of Louis Gatewood for 14 days service in the eastern part of the state during the late campaign was filed and request not granted.

Local Seattle in a communication requested credentials for Comrade J. E. Morgan, of Colorado; also requested the services of the State Organizer for 30 days. Both requests were granted, limiting, however, the services of the State Organizer to 15 days and allowing for such services \$20 per day.

The special committee to confer with the Women's State Committee relative to the raising of funds for the latter, submitted a report advising the issuance of special stamps to be sold for the purpose at 10 cents or more. Report was adopted, leaving all details, however, to the Women's Committee.

The resignation of Rose B. Moore, a member of the State Women's Committee, was accepted, and filling of vacancy created was left to S. W. C. Communication from Local Puyallup protesting against Comrade E. C. Johnson of Puyallup remaining a M. A. L. was received, and the Secretary instructed to request of Comrade Johnson that he deposit his membership book with Local Puyallup.

Under unfinished business the matter of Secretary-Treasurer's bond was discussed and that official instructed to make inquiry relative to cost of a two thousand dollar bond and to report at the next meeting.

In matters relating to county committee, which was adopted; also drafted of circular letters to county committees and the state membership; both were ordered sent out.

Correspondence that had passed between Local Bellingham and the State Secretary was read, relating to an action of the former instructing its secretary to pay to the State Committee for dues on each member of the Local in good standing 15c only instead of 25c, to pay for November or 23 members; subsequently, however, rescinding the action as a matter of better policy and not from change of sentiment, demanding a list of all local secretaries and remitting dues on 20 members. Secretary did not comply with demand, neither did he send stamps, pending instructions from the S. E. C., which unanimously endorsed Secretary's action, but in-

structed the Secretary to inform Local Bellingham that if the local had any legitimate matter that it wished to go before the membership, same should be submitted in the regular manner, namely, through the state office.

The matter of available speakers to whom credentials can safely be given was taken up. An application for credentials by E. J. Brown was rejected, that of Paul Turner of Tacoma was granted, and upon recommendation by Chairman Barth credentials ordered for C. Akeley of Tacoma in the event application is made.

Elge Eddy, secretary of Local Olympia reported upon request relative to irregularities in nomination of candidates in Thurston county, admitting same and in part at least offering excuses. State Secretary was instructed to take necessary steps to prevent a recurrence of all irregularities in future campaigns in this state.

Communication from D. Burgess, requesting copy of a committee report, was filed and the Secretary instructed to inform him that the state office is open to him as well as any other party member and if he wished to make a copy of said report, he could do so.

Auditing committee was given to next meeting to report on Secretary-Treasurer's books.

Arthur Callahan appeared before the committee with the request that a committee elected by the former S. E. C. for the purpose of establishing an interstate speakers circuit, be re-elected. Comrades Jensen, Ault and Callahan were elected a committee for the purpose.

The salary proposition affecting the State Organizer and Lecturer was discussed at some length, but finally ordered laid over to next meeting.

Adjourned to meet on Sunday, Dec. 20th, 1908, at 10:30 a. m. Fraternally submitted, R. KRUEGER, State Secretary.

State office is now connected with a large number of towns in the state by telephone "Main 7958."

Socialist Labor Party Gains

Some Socialists seem to enjoy to mention that the vote of the Socialist Labor Party shows a general falling off all over the country, when compared with the vote of four years ago. Now I do not believe in kicking a man when he is down. I think we should be fair to mention the gains made, when mentioning the losses. We should do this even when the same split is not shown by the S. L. P.

I am referring to a table recently published in the "Daily People" giving the S. P. and the S. L. P. vote, in eight states for 1904 and 1908, showing and comparing the losses of both parties. The S. L. P. vote showed a decrease of 7,793 in these eight states, while the S. P. vote decreased 31,657 in the same states. "The People" did not state that the chief reason the S. L. P. did not show as large a decrease as the S. P. was that it did not have sufficient votes in 1904 to take the decrease from. If the S. L. P. had lost 31,657 votes they would have received 17,420 less than none at all. "The People" might have shown this fact, but even though it failed to do this there is no good reason why we should be unfair to the S. L. P.

It is true that the S. L. P. vote fell off nearly 50 per cent in Missouri; it is true that a loss of almost 65 per cent was shown in Illinois; it is true that the Indiana vote decreased about 60 per cent, aye, it is true that the S. L. P. vote of the United States decreased from 34,172 in 1904 to 15,421 in 1908, or about 55 per cent, but all these losses are all the more reason that we in the spirit of true fairness and comradeship should record every gain made the S. L. P.

If agreeable to the editor of this paper, I am going to report the gains made by the S. L. P. from week to week as they come to my notice.

So far only one report of gains has appeared, but this gain is in return much greater in percentage than any loss the party has suffered.

The glad tidings hall from Tonopah, Nevada. Here the effectiveness of two years of co-operation between the I. W. W. and its self-appointed political reflection, the S. L. P., is shown.

The S. L. P. here increased its vote 200 per cent. This proves conclusively the correctness of the conflicting arguments of Daniel de Leon and Vincent St. John. Four years ago Tonopah cast one (1) vote for the S. L. P., this year three (3) Tonopah citizens cast their ballots for Preston by voting for Gilhaus.

A little mathematical exercise will show how Tonopah may become the great revolutionary center of the future.

How do I conclude that? That's easy. Supposing the S. L. P. vote throughout the country continues decreasing 55 per cent every four years while the Tonopah vote increases 200 per cent. This would place the entire S. L. P. vote in Tonopah in 1928. Then if the 200 per cent increase should continue the social revolution would be in sight.

It is rumored that the national office of the S. L. P. is to be moved to Tonopah.

"When the Revolution comes, The Social Revolution, It's coming fast, Our turn at last, The Social Revolution."

ARTHUR JENSEN.

S. M. Reynolds, of Terre Haute, Ind., reports that a committee of twelve, headed by W. D. VanHorn, president of the United Mine Workers of America, has been selected to push the investigation in court of the Socialist vote in Terre Haute. On demand for an inspection, the election officials conceded nine votes for the Socialist ticket in Debs' precinct.

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Baggage, Furniture and Freight Moved and Stored. Large Furniture - Vans. Five Days' Storage Free. Quick Service. Rates on trunks, from or to docks or depots and to hotels with porter 25c. Other charges equally reasonable. Both Phones, Independent 902; Main 902. 1221 FIRST AVENUE. OFFICE: ENTRANCE TO POSTOFFICE

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Regal \$15 Clothes

Are Worn because they Wear the Year 'Round

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If You Work

for a Living it should interest you to know that you get in wages only part of what you produce; that a larger part goes to the capitalists who own the tools with which you have to work. This book by the greatest of Socialist writers explains clearly and forcibly how wages are determined and how they can be raised. Study Marx for yourself; he will help you to do your own thinking. Cloth, 50c; paper 10c.

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Dry Cleaning and Pressing a Specialty dainty garments cleaned as they should be

Sponging and Pressing: Suit Pressed, 50c; Suit Sponged and Pressed, \$1.00; Coat, 50c; Pants, 25c; Vest, 25c; Overcoat, 75c; Boy's Suit, 50c;

Dry Cleaning and Pressing: Suit, \$1.50; Coat, 75c; Pants, 75c; Vest, 50c; Overcoat, \$1.50; Suits Steam Cleaned, \$2.00; Boys' Suits Steam Cleaned, \$1.00.

Dyeing and Pressing: Suit, \$3.00; Coat, \$1.50; Pants, \$1.00; Vest, 75c; Overcoat, \$2.00.

Kinnings: Velvet Collars, from \$1.00 up; Sleeve Lining, from \$1.00 up; Coat Lining, from \$2.50 up; Coat or Vest Buttons, 25c up; Coat and Vest Binding, \$2.00 up.

Ladies' and Gent's Dry Cleaning a Specialty: Waist a. 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.

Phones, Q. A. 2541, Ind. 7199 C. MURRAY, Proprietor

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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."

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Light Airy Rooms. Steam Heat.
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Ind. 1125.
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Phones: North 13; Red 362. Free deliv-
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cils, Checks, Signs and House
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308-310 Pike St. Seattle, Wash.

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Butter, Eggs, Groceries at Market
Prices
First and Pike
J. A. Inman Phone Ind. 506
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Home Cooking and Baking
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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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HARRY CARLSON and D. CLARK
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THIRD.

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BUTTER.
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ington street.
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Both these splendid ships make con-
nections with Canadian Pacific Trans-
continental trains and offer the pub-
lic such a steamship service as Pu-
get Sound has never heretofore ex-
perienced. Canadian Pacific office,
609 First avenue.

Walking Streets All Night.
A fitter's mate had been walking
the streets for four nights, "counting
the lamp posts." A hotel porter had
been out five nights and had had no
work since June. A house painter
had not done a stroke for two
months, and a general laborer had
been out of work for three months.
It was the same dismal tale all
through the room. "And the worst of
it," said one, "you lose heart after
a week of two of this sort of thing."
"For heaven's sake, try to do some-
thing for me," pleaded a man who
waited in the street an hour on a half
for a personal interview. "I was a
stoker and I have been in electrical
work. I left my last place in July
owing to slackness, and at the begin-
ning of last month I had to go into
Wardsworth workhouse, with my wife
and four children."
"I asked the guardians to give me a
fortnight's leave to look for work—
and I can't find any work. I went to
Wardsworth town hall and asked to
be put down for relief work, but they
would not do it, because I am a
pauper. I think I could get a month's
work with the postoffice at Christ-
mas time, but how am I to keep out
of the workhouse till then?"

**JIM HILL'S
PREDICTION**
A population in the United States
in 1950 of 200,000,000.
The 500,000,000 of China and Japan
quicken into manufacturing life. Im-
itating and adapting the methods of
the Western world and producing an
enormous output.
A tremendous flood of manufactured
goods flowing from the cheap labor
regions of the Orient and inundating
the expensive labor markets of the
Occident.
The fiercest struggle the world ever
knew for trade—a struggle in which
the West must go down unless it puts
down its standard of living—which it
will never do without a struggle.
James J. Hill is probably the most
long headed, level headed, hard head-
ed capitalist in America, and he is
apt to tell the truth occasionally. The
above is pretty nearly what Socialists
have been prophesying for some little
while.
The West surely has a fierce strug-
gle coming. But the Wage Class will
not stand for such a reduction of the
standard of living, not if it knows
itself.
The Socialist Party is educating
and organizing that Wage Class to
rise and capture the "tremendous
flood of manufactured goods" for its
own use, and thus abolish the neces-
sity of any competition for foreign
markets.
Thus we will end the struggle by
putting up the Standard of Living, not
by putting it down, as Hill fears.

**Next Door to House
of Lords**
Will Taft Cure Things Like This?
The Great Issue Not Even Dis-
cussed by Taft or Bryan.

BE A SOCIALIST
By Emil M. Herman.
The election of 1908 has come and
gone. Once again the conscious mem-
bers of the proletariat and those in
sympathy with us have counted noses
with the capitalist class and their
dupes.
An election is but a skirmish in the
tremendous class struggle going on in
society.
It is a time to test the strength,
solidarity and intelligence of the wage
class. We have taken a marked step
in advance. We have passed another
milestone in the road of progress. We
are a little stronger, a little more en-
lightened and a little more aggressive
than we were four years ago. Much,
very much work is yet to be done—
the most important of which is more
and better organization. As a result
of the late election the capitalist class
is still in complete control of the
powers of government, national and
state. Injunction Bill Taft and the
Republican Party have been elected to
administer the affairs of state. The
interests of capital are safe. Labor
will continue to get it where the
chicken got the ax—to the full meas-
ure that they voted for. Capitalism
and all its attendant evils will con-
tinue to kill 5,000 and maim 65,000 of
their employes annually. Men will be
blown up in the mines—and their
widows insulted by the very class
who are responsible for their death.
The wage class will continue to ex-
ist in poverty, misery and despair.
Seven million women and 4,000,000
children will continue to go to the
factory and workshop, while millions
of able-bodied men search in vain for
a chance to sell their labor power.
Two hundred thousand women, annu-
ally, will still be forced to sell their
virtue upon the altar of lust in order
to keep their miserable carcasses in
existence. The department stores will
continue to be recruiting stations for
the houses of ill fame. Children will
still faint in their seats at school from
the sheer lack of nourishment. The
bread lines will continue to grow and
tag days to collect charity for the
"worthy poor" will recur occasionally
to remind us that the Republican is
in power and that production for profit
still continues. Crime, insanity, vice,
drunkenness, unemployment, graft,
vagrancy, etc., will continue to shock
and appall us, and the remedy applied
by the Republican and Democratic re-
presentatives of capital will be, as in
the past, the penitentiary, workhouse,
chain-gang, poor farm and charity.
Comrades, a tremendous task is be-
fore us. The capitalist class have en-
listed in their service the church, the
school, the university, the press and
the law. The minions of capital in
these various institutions are organized
for the perpetuation of capital-
ism. Their intellect is dead, their
heart is adamant and their ear deaf
to the cry of suffering humanity.
The wage class have nothing to ex-
pect from these intellectual prosti-
tutes but treachery and persecution.
Their forces are well disciplined, they
are able and aggressive. The Social-
ist Party must organize the wage
class and those in sympathy with us
so thoroughly that we will be better
disciplined, more able and more ag-
gressive than all the superstructures
of capitalism combined.
So, comrades, let's buckle on our
armor and lend ourselves to the task.
Let each one feel that he is smaller
than the party. Let each one take the
place assigned him by the organiza-
tion and perform the task assigned
to the best of his ability. Mistakes
will be made, but we will learn by
doing.
Don't be a shirker—be a Socialist
and prove it by joining the Socialist
Party. Don't depend on the other
fellow to do the work, he may be de-
pending on you, with the result that
nothing is accomplished. Set a good
example by doing something yourself,
get the other fellow to do likewise
and then things will begin to move.
Join the Socialist Party—do it today,
and if you can't do your share in work,
make up the discrepancy by giving
some of your time in the form of
money, so as to make it possible for
others to do your share of the work.
Now, all together, let's get down to
work and see what we can do by 1912.
EMIL M. HERMAN.
November 16, 1908.

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THE REVOLUTIONIST THE WOMAN

By Tom Sladden

Editor's Note—"Tom Sladden" is the Oregon Editor of "The Socialist" and our readers are well acquainted with him. The article which follows occupies a leading position in Kerr's "Review" for December, which many of our readers may not see, though all of them ought to subscribe for it.

With the entire trend of this able and timely article, we heartily agree, with all of it, in fact, except with the new definition of Proletarian: We believe the limitation of this term to "Unskilled Labor" to be un-Marxian, unscientific, confusing and tending to introduce new and unwarranted factions into our ranks.

The argument gains no force by this new distinction. The fact remains that the Unskilled Laborer is a normal product of industrial evolution, that the Skilled Laborer is being eliminated by Machine Production, that the Unskilled therefore becomes constantly the larger and more significant

portion of the Proletariat and that he is far more Revolutionary.

Sladden's limited definition would exclude multitudes of those mechanics who are now included in the ranks of "Organized Labor."

We also believe his interpretation of Marx's "artisan" or "handicraftsman," both the translation of the same German original, "Handwerker," is historically incorrect and inapplicable to present conditions.

If Marx and Engels had intended "Proletariat" to apply only to the Unskilled Laborer, they would not have left the matter in doubt. Their thinking and definitions were too clear and unmistakable. It would not have been left to Sladden to make it evident what they intended.

All the same, his article is a great antidote to the poisonous bourgeois Reform sentiments which would soon kill off the Socialist Party if allowed to prevail. It is a magnificent call to arms. It rings with the spirit of real Revolution. It issues from the shop and not the parlor. It must be read and heeded.

(Reprinted from "International Socialist Review," December, 1908.)

At present in the Socialist movement there is a spirit which in all sections of the country seems to be manifest, to conceal, somewhere in the background, what should be the foundation stone of any Socialist movement, the class struggle.

The meaning of the word proletariat, the proletariat of Marx and of Engels, has been stretched and stretched until today, like the word Christianity, it is used to cover a multitude of sins. As the word Christianity is used to cover everything from Unitarianism to Roman Catholicism and from Christian Science to Christian Socialism, so has the word proletarian been used to cover every thing from a civil engineer to a roustabout and from a millionaire ranchman to a Mexican peon. This toying with words has gone on until it is today a generally accepted theory that the word Socialist and the word proletariat are synonymous. I have been told by Socialist organizers, that lawyers were proletarians, that doctors were proletarians, that farmers were proletarians, in fact that all who worked with hand or brain doing useful work in society were proletarians. And here is another extreme error. Under capitalism whether a person were engaged at useful labor or not could in no way alter the economic status of that person.

In defining the class struggle it is a notorious fact that in the United States today, ninety per cent of the Socialist educators accept the idea and spread it, that the line of demarcation between the classes is a line between poverty and riches. Again it is spread broadcast that every poor person's interest is with the working class, every rich person's interest is with the capitalist class. It is time that something was done in the Socialist movement to stop the spread of erroneous ideas—this spreading of the doctrine of the Neo-Communist as Marxian Socialism.

There is one thing and one thing only which marks the line of demarcation between the classes, and that one thing is the wage system. The thing which sways men and societies is not future but immediate interests. In the case of a highly paid official in

a corporation, that official's interests are and must be diametrically opposed to the interests of the stockholders. It matters not that the official may be a heavy stockholder himself, he is always the gainer by a rise in his wages, the stockholders the losers. Of course this would not mean in any sense that this highly paid official of a corporation would be a desirable acquisition to either an industrial or political organization of the wage working class. He, like every other worker who is paid for his efficiency in extracting toll from others, from section boss to president of a railroad, is by the very nature of his occupation dangerous to any movement of the wage workers.

There is not a rule which applies in any labor organization on the industrial field that will not apply equally well on the political field. A Socialist organization that will stand the test of time must be simply the reverse side of the industrial movement. Today the American Socialist movement is the reverse side of the American labor movement. Every mistake which has ever been made in the American labor movement on the industrial field finds its counterpart in the political organization of the Socialist Party. Much of the trouble in the different unions belonging to the American Federation of Labor finds its inception in the attempt of a labor organization to fuse the interests of two opposing classes.

I wish to call attention to two cases in particular.

The Journeyman Barbers take into their organization not only journeymen barbers as the name would imply, but also all barbers who are shop owners but who employ no journeymen, in other words, to use the old stock phrase of many Socialists, men who exploit no one but are themselves exploited by the system. What is the result? A union will be composed we will say of two hundred men, seventy-five will be owners and partners in small shops, seventy-five will work in small shops, and fifty will work for say five big shop owners. Now as a matter of fact this kind of a union will immediately become concerned in something which is of no concern to the journeymen, and that is prices charged in the shop. The journeyman is concerned only with the questions relat-

ing to hours and wages or the degree of intensity or speed at which he must work, but the seventy-five owners of small shops are concerned in the question of keeping prices high. Times get hard and the big shop owner desires to cut prices, but the small shop owner objects. The union is now called upon to go into a foreign war to protect the small capitalist barber from his larger competitor. The seventy-five men running shops vote to declare a strike against the big shop owners who wish to crush them, the seventy-five men working in smaller shops divide evenly according to the temperament of the men, and thus the fifty journeymen who did not desire to strike and who had no grievance are forced out by these small shop owners who have everything to gain and nothing to lose in the strike—and another union is wrecked.

Again it is the painters. Small contractors, men who take contracts to paint cottages, rooms, small stores, etc., and who when they have no contracts work for wages—in painters' terms they are called pot-jugglers—these men are allowed in the labor unions. The result is that these men are always in favor of a strike, it matters not whether there is any chance to win or not, in case of a strike they might get a chance to get a small contract themselves, they have every thing to gain and nothing to lose. In all these cases the men of another class hold the balance of power in the council chambers and the labor unions must recognize this fact, must put a stop to this intermingling of two classes in one organization, before they can do any more effective work.

Now the Socialist Party must be, if its name is not to belie its character, nothing more and nothing less than a political party to carry this class war from the economic to the political field. It is nonsense to pretend that two sets of men whose hands are raised with daggers to plunge in each others' breasts on the economic field can ever unite and join hands at a love feast in a political organization. It matters not that the system compels men to act as they do, no set of men will join hands with and carry a card in the same political organization with men whom they must fight on the economic field.

Who are the Revolutionists? What is the proletariat? Why has the skilled mechanic so long ignored the unskilled worker?

To some a revolutionist is a nonconformist doctor, lawyer, preacher or a millionaire, or a woman with radical ideas on the sex question, to others it is a man with a dirty shirt without a desire to have it washed or a man who went on a strike against unjust conditions ten years ago and who has been on a perpetual strike ever since.

For a long while I have been seeking for the real revolutionary element in society and I believe I have found it. When these words, "Working men of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain," when these words were written they meant something.

As a class the farmer is not revolutionary; this can not be denied, he is a perpetual reformer. The fact that large numbers of them are at present in the Socialist Party in the last analysis will have nothing to do with the question and will not alter their status or actions as a class. It may be that it will prove in the end to be a bad thing for the Socialist Party. The skilled tradesman, it is a notorious fact, has always been frankly conservative. There must be a reason for this and there is. The skilled tradesman is not a proletarian. He has an interest to conserve, he has that additional skill for which he receives compensation in addition to his ordinary labor power.

A proletarian according to Marx in the Manifesto is a common unskilled worker. The position of Marx and of Engels is clearly defined in their Manifesto. In part they say, "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is the really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."

Following this comes a paragraph which more clearly defines by elimination, the proletariat. "The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shop keeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary for they try to roll back the wheel of history."

Again in reference to the farmers in "Capital" Vol. I, page 815, Kerr Edition, in the chapter "Genesis of the Capitalist Farmer," Marx clearly sets forth his theory of even the farmer on rented ground, the tenant farmer. He says in part, "This form quickly disappears in England, to give place to the farmer proper, who makes his own capital breed by employing wage laborers, and pays part of the surplus product in money or in kind to the landlord as rent."

The artisan is nothing but the skilled tradesman of today, skilled laborer is simply an Americanized term for them, in England they are still artisans and the peasant is the small farmer of these United States who hires no one and consequently exploits no one save

perhaps his wife and children, and this could hardly be called exploitation in that in general the product of the family toil is family property.

Skilled labor is nothing but common labor refined. Common labor can be produced at a minimum of cost. Then some one must advance an additional sum above that cost to refine that labor while the mechanic is learning the trade. Capital you might say is advanced to teach that common laborer a trade, and after becoming skillful and efficient in that line, this specialized worker gets back in addition to his pay as a common laborer the amount advanced to make of him a skilled mechanic. That extra amount he can use in any way that capital can be used. He can use it to buy a home, to wear better clothes, to eat better food, to educate his children better and to bring them up as skilled tradesmen in some line or another of the same degree of skill as he himself possesses.

But now a new factor has to be considered. A machine is invented which entirely does away with the demand for his particular kind of skill. When this occurs he drops back to the level of the unskilled worker. He is confronted with the same problem that confronts a man who has a lumber yard stocked with dressed lumber. There has been considerable capital used to convert rough lumber into finished. We will say the demand for finished lumber was eliminated, the demand for rough lumber increased. It makes no difference how much it cost to finish that lumber, what was spent in finishing it was wasted, it is now worth no more than the rough lumber, in fact it may be worth less on account of the waste in finishing it. The same with the skilled tradesman—he may be worth less than if he had never learned a trade—he may have acquired certain habits and modes of working that were harmful to him in doing simple labor.

So it has been that until the last few years the skilled tradesman, as organized in the American Labor movement, has paid but little heed to the conditions under which the unskilled laborer lived and toiled.

But one by one with few exceptions the skilled tradesmen were coming in contact with machine production. One skilled tradesman was put to work with two or three men or boys, he doing the skilled part of the work, the boys and unskilled workers doing the rougher work. The skilled tradesman then started enforcing the closed shop rules and limiting the number of apprentices. This was met by the instituting of trade schools, by converting the Y. M. C. A. into a manual training school, giving simple laborers a theoretical and superficial training in many of the skilled trades, while at the same time giving them a moral training which would have a tendency to make of them advocates of the open shop. And now in the last few years, still further to break down the barriers the skilled tradesman had erected, the capitalist public school is gradually replacing the old course of learning, the Three R's, by the new Three P's, Plastering, Plumbing and Painting, and a lot of others, too numerous to mention.

The public school system in the last few years has entirely changed in character, while the children of the bourgeoisie in increasing numbers depend for an education on private schools.

In the city of Portland, Oregon, in the last year, in the center of a working class district, the biggest school in that part of the city has been turned over completely into a manual training school. Here no pretense of education is maintained, other than an education in the different trades, and the lack of being able to read or write does not disqualify a child from being a member of any class.

And although this school was in an overcrowded district, no grammar school was built to take its place.

Now where are we drifting? Just this.

A few decades ago practically every wage worker was a mechanic. The plumber dug his own trench. Even the farm laborer was a mechanic. He learned all the branches of diversified farming. In time he married the farmer's daughter. But machine industry has invaded the farm. The farm laborer in most sections of the country is a proletarian. All he knows about farming can be learned in a few days. One set of these laborers is referred to as "skinners." They drive the horses and mules and do the plowing and drift on. They are followed in turn by harvest hands and fruit pickers—they drift on—where do they come from, where do they go to?—God knows.

The skilled tradesman is an ever decreasing quantity—the proletariat an ever increasing one.

The ratio—except in a few trades—between the amount paid skilled and unskilled laborers, constantly decreases. The tendency is toward a common wage.

In the last few years no strike of any magnitude has been won by a skilled trade. They had left the proletariat out. But unorganized though he was, homeless, propertyless and despised, his interests, his desires, his mind and ideas were becoming one. Spontaneously, unknowingly, without a flourish of trumpets he was becoming organized in spirit. His hatred of exploiters was a common hatred. What he lack-

ed in organization he made up in numbers and in spirit, instinct if you insist, class consciousness, if you will allow it.

The tendency of the trades union is gradually toward that proletarian base. It makes no difference what any one likes or dislikes, they must come to it. Even in the talk which now pervades union circles for an industrial form of organization there is yet lacking an understanding of what is necessary for the wage workers to cope successfully with their employers. The desire for an industrial form of organization in general is for the skilled trades in a given industry to consolidate. But the key to the situation lies not with the skilled trades but with the proletariat.

Just as the Indian with his bow and arrow had to give way before the Spaniard with their powder and shot, so must the skilled tradesman retire from the arena and allow the proletarian, the product of the machine, to take the stage.

This proletarian with all the strength he is mustering, is very little understood, the conservative unionist, the conservative Socialist pass him by while he simply smiles at their childish self assurance and ignorance. He can bide his time, can lose nothing, no home, no family ties, no property—long, long ago he has lost these. He is as Marx described him, "The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with bourgeois family relation; modern industrial labor, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of National character. Law, morality, religion are to him so many bourgeois prejudices behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests."

But the day is here whether it is recognized or not, that no strike on the economic field, no battle on the political field, can be won except through sheer force of numbers of this same unskilled, unrecognized wage-worker, the proletariat.

As yet he has no labor organization, he has no political expression. But the tendency is more and more for the economic organization to fall into his hands, the political organization, the Socialist Party, to give way to his numbers. Then and then only will the real struggle begin in earnest. He will not compromise, he will not back up; he has no place to back to. Victory lies before him; misery behind.

The Socialist Party and the Labor Union must either give way to, or take up arms against, "The man that thinks through his stomach."

Gradually, so slowly that no one noticed, like the storm clouds gathering in the distant skies, like the breaking of day or its fading away, this new factor in society has arisen seemingly from nowhere.

He has a language of his own, different from the accepted language of civilization, he is uncultured and uncouth in appearance, he has a code of morals and ethics as yet unrecognized by society, he has a religion unpreached in orthodox and unorthodox churches, a religion of hate, he has a system of mutual self-help, a system bred from the needs and mode of living of himself and his companions in misery, he has an intelligence which passes the understanding of the intellectuals who are born, reared and living outside his sphere.

Like the instinct of the brute in the forest, his vision is clear and he is ever on the alert, his hearing is keen, his nature suspicious, his spirit is unconquerable. Like the lion in his den this brute king of civilization, caged behind the iron bars of capitalist laws, restrained only by the gleaming lines of bayonets of those "that know and dread his enmity," this king of civilization waits and watches at the fast corroding bars that imprison him. Soon he will launch his mighty weight against them and this prison will tumble like a house of cards. Undaunted by the array of capitalist laws, morals and rights, he will spring into his own. With one swoop he will tear away your puny intellectuality, your bogus respectability and as master of all he surveys he will determine what is right and what wrong.

This is the proletarian. He has no shops, mills, mines, factories or farms. He has no profession, no trade, and no property. He has no home—no country—no religion. He has little education, no manners and little care for what people think of him. His school has been the hard school of human experience. His cradle has been the cradle of want. But upon his shoulders rests the problem of freeing society. The chains that bind him bind all. From his brain must come the plan of the new order.

I stood in a shoe factory in St. Louis, Missouri, four years ago and saw the dead bodies of nine little girls taken from the bottom of an elevator shaft. They were little girls ranging in age from 10 to 15. I learned that a few dollars spent in safety appliances would have prevented the accident of their falling from the seventh floor to the concrete basement below, which resulted in their young lives being crushed out. And mark you, this was a shoe company that boasted of making enough profits in a year to increase its capital stock by a million dollars. You may say, "Why did they work in this establishment?" I will tell you. They had to live. As Robert Hunter says: "The capitalists are murderers."—Paul Turner of Tacoma.

By Bessy Fiset

A meeting of the State Woman's committee, and the committee appointed by the State Executive committee to confer with the women, was held at eleven a. m. December 5.

The object of this meeting was to devise ways and means whereby funds might be raised to carry out the Woman's work in the State. After much discussion the plan of issuing special stamps was decided upon and recommended to the Executive Committee.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, the following day, the recommendation was indorsed and the matter left in the hands of the State Woman's Committee.

On account of the extra work entailed by the recent school election, the Young People's Socialist League, has not been able to hold a meeting for two Sundays. Now that things have quieted down, however, the League will meet as usual on Sunday morning at 11:30, room 49 Holyoke Bldg., First and Spring streets.

All members are requested to be present and a most cordial invitation extended to all the children of the working class.

Some time ago Comrade Mrs. Titus spoke at South Bend and organized some of the women of that locality into a study club. Word comes from there that the women are enthusiastically pegging away under the tutelage of Walter Lorentz, holding their meetings in his bungalow and making use of his fine Socialist library.

Word comes from Denver that the women of that city elected Ben Lind as judge of the juvenile court, in spite of the fact that he was opposed by all old parties, having no indorsement save that of the Prohibitionists.

I suppose twelve years of woman's suffrage has educated the women of Colorado so that they can figure out the thing they want and they get it.

The women of Seattle, have a lot to learn in this respect, and when one reviews the recent school election, one wonders if they will ever know enough to use the ballot for their own interests any more than the men do. However, with all the howl about the incompetency of women, one thing is sure, that they are not being set any bright and shining example by the men. I think the odds are about even, myself. When about two hundred union men—out of about ten thousand—vote for themselves in a school election, it is not so much of a shock that one hundred and fifty, out of, say, twenty five thousand women, vote for their interests.

The majority of men and women have no more sense than a long tailed rat anyhow, so what can you expect.

Every once in a while I feel like turning traitor to my side of humanity, but when I view the other side and see that magnificent display of idiocy, I pluck up courage and go at it again. Woman can't make more of a fizzle than man has, and the chances are that she will come out a long way ahead of him. I believe men realize that too, and they hate like the very dickens, to let her get a start. But she has gotten the start and I don't think anything on earth can stop her. It is up to us to make her realize that she has to fight with men and not against men, and that in order to do this, she must be fully equipped. It means work—ceaseless work, deprivation, discouragement—and we must have an immense amount of fortitude to win out, but we can do it and can prove to the new comrades that we will not only fight in the ranks, but when the time comes we will be worthy of being the color bearers of the Revolution.

Dec. 16, 1908.

Ever since the recent school election in Seattle I have pondered many things in my heart. The apathy of the average parent concerning the welfare of the child; the detriment rather than benefit to the Socialist Party from any outside indorsement; the organized class consciousness of the Capitalist Class; the indifference on the part of women in the suffrage movement to any radical campaign; and so on, ad infinitum.

It seems to me there is one thing the Socialist women have to thresh out, and that right quickly, namely, the relation of Socialist women to the suffrage and temperance movements.

In many parts of the country there is a tendency on the part of the Socialist women clubs and unions to affiliate themselves with the suffrage and W. C. T. U. movement for the purpose of securing the franchise for women. To me this seems most unwise, even disastrous. The object of Socialist Study Clubs and Unions is, or should be, to educate women toward Socialism, Socialism, Socialism, first, last, and all the time. Now Socialism means perfect emancipation for all, including the political emancipation of women, and is it not a very doubtful move to join hands with any body of women outside the Socialist Party for the sake of securing but one reform, and that one

which is included in our own philosophy?

The suffrage movement is antagonistic to the Socialist movement, and even were the entire movement to pledge itself to the Socialist Party we would have no more incentive to join forces with them than now? I have had prominent suffrage women say to me over and over again, "But you have no idea how the suffrage women are imbued with the spirit of Socialism. Fully ninety per cent of our women are Socialist sympathizers and when we once secure the franchise think what it will mean for the Socialist Party!"

That is a downright lie and every thinking Socialist woman, at least, ought to know it. If those women were so "imbued with the spirit of Socialism" that they would vote for it, after they had the right to vote, they would be in the Socialist Party right now working for what? the right to vote? No, for the emancipation of the proletariat!

I would like to ask the question: Why is it, if so many suffragists are "leaning" toward Socialism, that one is never allowed to mention Socialism on their platform?

They want to eliminate all politics from their meetings and yet "politics" is the thing they are trying to get into, and if the majority of them like Socialist politics (and they are the only real politics which consider women eligible to politics) I should think they would welcome the exponents of said politics!

I consider the affiliation of Socialist women with a bourgeois suffrage movement a violation of party principles, and I think the thing should be severely censured. If I am wrong in this I hope some one will set me right.

The suffragists of Seattle proved themselves to be cowards (with a few individual exceptions) during the school campaign! They thought a woman should be on the school board and straightway the club women fixed upon a candidate. In the meantime the Socialist Party nominated two candidates—one a woman. For some reason or other the candidate nominated by the Women's Clubs withdrew, leaving the Socialist woman alone.

What was the result? The Socialist woman was completely ignored save by three suffragists. One of those called up to ask her views on compulsory vaccination. "For it depends on how you stand whether I vote for you or not." (The other candidates stood pro-vaccination so that was no reason.) One other came out and volunteered to do what ever she could to help the Socialist candidates and the third expressed her good wishes and intention of doing what she could because she felt by so doing she would enhance her material interests.

Now I do not believe this is an unnatural case at all. I think on the other hand that it is a display of the attitude of the great bulk of the suffragists toward the Socialist movement.

Enfranchised woman is going to prove reactionary to the Socialist movement at best and we are going to help matters by stepping out of the straight Revolutionary Socialist path? I do not believe it.

The whole suffrage movement is ethical. They want the ballot because they have a right to it and no one has a right to deprive them of it! How about the man who has a right to provide for his starving children and has that right denied him; how about the woman who, being denied the right to feed and clothe herself decently, has to prostitute herself? What of the one out of four working class babies who have even her right to life itself taken from them? Talk of rights!

What the middle class suffragists want is a right to protect their own property rights and when they get their political rights that is what they will vote for every time!

Socialist women! Are we going to march under the red flag, keeping step with the constantly increasing numbers of the working class, or are we going to run out of the ranks every whip-stitch to help and use up our forces in some side combat which will make the women (and men) and children of the working class no better off?

B. F.

A short time ago a packing house in Kansas City advertised for 300 men. Six thousand applied for the job. The newspapers in giving an account of the affair called it a riot for work. It was a riot, the railing around the stairway was torn down as the maddened crowd surged forward trying to get the job, and many were severely hurt in the struggle. The agent selected the most robust and likely and turned the rest away.

Still the employers tell us there is plenty of work; that we are too lazy to work; that we have listened too much to the wicked agitators and Socialists; that we don't want to work and make a living for ourselves, our dear wives and darling children. That we are attacking the home and morality and that we are undesirable citizens.—Paul Turner of Tacoma.

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