

Socialism demands the public ownership of all the means of production and distribution. Anything less is but middle-class patchwork and WILL NOT abolish wage slavery.

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## THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

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### THE INTERNATIONAL TRUST

Outlines of Magnificent Address by Walter Thos. Mills at Carpenters' Hall, Seattle, Feb. 23, 1902. Prepared for "The Socialist" by Mr. Mills Himself.

The exigencies of the local campaign last week crowded out many good things of a more general interest, among them the following abstract of his great speech, which Comrade Mills has kindly furnished us. We wish now we had provided a stenographer, for many of his most telling epigrams and brilliant points are not given here. However, Mills will return this way again and we will snapshot him then, sure enough.

Mr. Mills said in part: The trust was not created by the meanness or malice of any one. When tools were so cheap that anyone could own them and so simple that a single workman could use them and the product so small that a single family could use it all, the trust was not possible.

The new machines were so expensive that only by the joint earnings of many could they be owned, only by the joint labor of many could they be used and only by a wide market could their large products be disposed of.

Joint ownership was first tried by the partnership, which finally developed into the corporation solely because the corporation was found to be of rather was created in such form as made it the most simple and effective method of joint ownership.

The new corporations, with their large machines, were once to destroy the old small shops with their rude and simple tools. Then, as they grew in productivity and in the demand for wider markets, they came to the point where the extending of the market for one factory involved taking the market away from some other factory. Under this condition of things either one factory would absorb the market of both and so destroy the other, or the struggle together would run both, or they would combine. When the process of mutual destruction had destroyed the smaller of the large shops, the larger ones so threatened the destruction of all that combination was undertaken. The syndicate was tried, only to fail because of the constant violation of the mutual agreements by the competing corporations. The trust has proven the only successful method for the combination of corporations. It was in order to avoid mutual destruction and as the only way by which it could be avoided that the trust was formed.

When the trust was formed new corporations began selling in the same market. Then these new corporations had to be absorbed or destroyed or by the same competition and resulting mutual destruction take place as before. And so it was discovered that whenever the trust is once undertaken there is no logical stopping place in its growth until it has destroyed or absorbed all competitors in the same market. The market has become a world market. In many articles the trust is already a world trust. The others must be. Where the trust was once undertaken, immediately it shut down some of the shops already built. It had no reason for building more shops. There was then no way by which the trust could profitably reinvest its own earnings in its own business. It would reinvest in related lines of business, and so the trust, once organized in one line of business, would at once extend its investments to all other lines of business, and so the trust not only must become a world trust but a federation of all trusts in one world trust.

When the trust is undertaken at once it shuts down the shops it does not need in supplying the market. It will then produce goods only in those shops where raw materials are cheapest, labor cheapest and transportation most direct. The world trust will supply the world market from that place on all the earth where raw materials are cheapest, labor most helpless and

## Her Latest Suitor She Will Accept Him!



access to the open sea, most direct. That means that Americans can hold their place in the world market so long as they can produce more goods for less money than any other workers anywhere on all the earth. They will make more goods for four dollars than a Chinaman can make in a month, or the American machine will go to China and the American workman will tramp till his living standard has made him able to live on less rice and produce more goods than a Chinaman. Senator Hanna says that America is producing 30 per cent. more goods than can be sold at home. That a foreign market must be obtained or our production made less by one-third. If capitalism is to remain his proposition cannot be disputed. But when the world trust has all the shops in all the earth it will be at home in all lands, and will be unable then to find a foreign market.

Here there is the coming climax of the capitalistic development. The trust will grow till it covers the earth, and will own and control lines of business in all lands. Then it will always be producing more than it can sell and will pack its own storehouse with goods it cannot sell, and must shut down because of the world-wide failure of the market. It will own the earth, and while its earnings will be greater than ever, it will not be able to find anything in which to reinvest its earnings, and so the motive which produces for profits in order to reinvest the profits in some other business in order to earn more profits will be overdone. Its earnings will be greater than ever, but it cannot sell its goods nor reinvest its profits, and so the whole system at the hour of its culmination comes to the hour of its collapse.

What then? Socialism. Socialism will make the purchasing force of the workers great enough to take out of the market all that their own labor puts into the market. And so the machinery will at last discover a way by which it may run on forever. What is Socialism? It is a proposal to establish collective ownership of the means of producing the means whereby we live. It proposes the democratic management of the work of the world by the workers themselves, and it proposes to establish and enforce forever equal opportunity for all men and women to use and benefit by the use of these collectively owned and democratically managed means of producing the means of life. These three proposals are the proposals of the So-

cialists. Anything less than all these is not Socialism. Anything more than these is not Socialism.

Socialism insists that what all men must use together they ought to own together. Capitalism insists that those things which all must use together a part may own.

Socialism insists that all shall own the means of producing the means of life in order that ownership shall not be made the ground for oppressing anyone. Capitalism asks that what all must use together a part may own in order that by this ownership the products of those who toil may be taken away from them by those who do not toil.

Socialism contends that those who do the work of the world are entitled to control the doing of the work they do. Capitalism contends that those who do not work may control the industry of those who do.

Socialism asks for equal opportunities for all. Capitalism asks for better opportunities for those who are strong than for those who are not. Socialism demands that the stronger man shall not be permitted to use his strength to compel those weaker than himself to carry his burdens for him. Capitalism has produced the trust as the culmination of itself. But its culmination is its collapse. Socialism will follow the trust as naturally as the trust has followed the corporation. The trust is a half built house. Socialism will complete the building and move in.

The International Trust will give the industrial and commercial foundation as wide as the earth and as deep as the sea on which Socialism will proceed to build the brotherhood of all mankind.

"As a Mouthpiece of the Socialist Party, The Seattle Socialist is Something to be proud of."—Jas. S. Roche, National Committeeman from California.

### MADDEN—HERE ARE OTHERS.

Kansas City, March 13, 1902.  
Dear Editor: I inclose certificate that I am a subscriber to The Socialist and paid for it myself. Ask Madden why he don't jump onto the Home Comfort, the Home Quest, of Augusta, Maine, and others like them. I have received them for years and never even sent my name to them, much less subscribed for them. K. C. Socialists have a drum and fife corps now. Yours fraternally,  
C. W. JACOBS,  
1423 Ball Avenue, Kansas City, Mo.

Our cartoon this week is taken from the comic weekly, "Life." That paper has had a number of pictures the last year which display its keen perception of the drift of economic development.

The big suitor appears disagreeable to Miss Columbia. Her guardian, "Bird o' Freedom," looks savage, too. But the truth is, Miss Columbia doesn't act that way at all. She is quite smiling at the advent of her new gallant. "Life's" artist makes her stand for the Democrats in this instance, the old and passing order of things.

But perhaps Miss Columbia is only "fooling." She's doing a little flirting and will soon melt again. She might as well give in, first as last. She was betrothed to that big fellow before either of them was born and there is no escape.

Miss Columbia is a funny old maid, always young. Does she forget what suitors she treated just this way in years gone by and then came around and accepted them like a lady? Now, there was Mrs. Corporation. She thought him horrid at first, but soon fell dead in love with him. And then, Syndicate was terrible, but inside of ten years she dismissed Corporation in his favor.

And Trusts is all right, too, only Miss Columbia must hurry up. She won't be allowed much time to get used to this one before his successor arrives. "Merger" is knocking at the door, and he's far bigger, stronger, burlier than even this self-confident swaggering "Trusts."

Don't be alarmed, Miss, at all these great big suitors, such as you never heard of when you were a little girl. There is still another on the way. After "Merger" sweeps "Trusts" aside, his master too will come and brush him away. But Merger's successor won't be coarse and brutal like these fellows. His name is "Socialism." He will be bigger and stronger than any of them, but he will be also tender and true, the very hero and husband you have always longed for and waited for.

### SOCIALISM NO DREAM

Fool—You won't get Socialism in a thousand years. It's too good for men as they are. Be practical. Take what you can get. Men are bound to be selfish.

Common Sense—That's just what we say. You think Socialism means universal brotherhood, a sort of Christian millennium. But we don't mean anything of the sort. That's Utopian Socialism, and that kind won't come in a thousand years. You are right there. But our kind of Socialism is based upon the scientific study of history.

Fool—There you go again, always talking about scientific Socialism. "Scientific" isn't a sentiment in this world. Socialism without sentiment and unselfishness will never succeed.

Common Sense—Well, you are a peach. First, you tell us we can't get Socialism in a thousand years because men are too selfish, and now you tell us Socialism can't succeed without men are unselfish!

Now, Fool, you listen a minute and learn something. The kind of Socialism you've got in your old head is the kind people believed in about 75 years ago. It wasn't a grain of common sense in it. It trusted! In the goodness of the human heart, dreamed of happy lands where everybody loved everybody else, established colonies and planned phantasies.

Now, Fool, listen hard, so you can get a new idea into your head that isn't an old one. Modern Socialism is scientific because it has studied men and their history, just as Darwin studied animals and their history. Scientific Socialism is based upon the laws of human development, deduced from accurate observations of human actions, just as astronomy is based upon the law of gravitation deduced from observations made upon the motions of the stars.

Hold on, Don't interrupt me. But listen again. Here is the law, as stated by Prof. Sombart, of the University of Breslau. This is the first sentence in his book on Socialism:

"When Karl Marx began a communistic manifesto with the well known words, 'The history of all society thus far is the history of class-strife,' he uttered, in my opinion, one of the greatest truths that fill our century."

Fool—O, give us a rest! Always the same old jargon, class struggle, class struggle; scientific, scientific. Go right on. Let's have the rest of it—revolutionary, proletariat, bourgeois, class consciousness, to the end of the story!

Common Sense—Well, that's a pretty strong argument you put up. You are tired. But just brace up for only one minute more of thinking.

It is because we know absolutely, as a fact of history, proved and indisputable, that the struggle between economic classes is the basis of progress, that we insist that our political movement shall be built upon one economic class. Any other foundation will prove a quacksand. You fools, good fools, some of you, lovable fools, think we are just stirring up strife among Socialists when we fight for the scientific foundation. Especially now you can see that we are fighting for the only thing that will save our movement from ultimate destruction.

But you are tired. Good night.

My great-great-grandfather fought under Washington. In fact, I had a father of some kind in every American war. I never committed a crime, pay my taxes, etc. Anything else?  
R. B. CHRIS,  
1505 Seventh Avenue West.

### CERTIFICATE OF SUBSCRIPTION.

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# BOSTON CORRESPONDENCE

Prince Henry of Prussia has marched upon Beacon Hill, beset by a friendly smile upon his face, and the legislators, as they were, always marched down again. He left behind him a dazed and humiliated lot of men who, ever since this momentous event, have been anathematizing themselves for their servile stupidity in departing from an established custom of the legislature to do honor to "His Royal Highness."

It was the first time in the history of the State that a convention of the two branches of the legislature was held to receive an individual, and those responsible for it suffered as they deserved. The reception to Prince Henry at the State House will be memorable for its brevity, the brusqueness of the royal guest, and the chagrin and humiliation of the host. It is the one feature of the Prince's visit to Boston which will be remembered and commented upon when the other features are detailed into comparative insignificance—and there those today who lay the blame for the occurrence at the door of the two Socialist representatives.

Everything was arranged to make the State House resemble a brilliant event. The common multitude that has the temerity to infest the corridors of the State House on ordinary occasions was excluded. Only the members, their chosen friends and the state officials were admitted. The Sergeant-at-Arms and his corps of assistants drilled and drilled as they drilled, as they perform the customary observances at the feet of royalty; the members and friends had decked themselves in their best and looked their very prettiest; the officials had rehearsed their little lines again and again, and the plain people were standing in a line outside impatiently waiting for the appearance of the royal party. Everybody was rewarded according to their deserts.

After spending a few minutes with the Governor in the executive chamber the prince was led in with solemn grandeur to the joint convention. The sergeant-at-arms announced him in due form, and as he walked into the convention the members arose and applauded. He shook hands with the President and Speaker and sat down. The members sat down. The President then presented "His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia." His Royal Highness, unadorned himself, bowed stiffly, smiled frigidly, and sat down again. That was all. Everybody waited. The President of the senate looked at the members; the members gazed at the Prince; then they all looked at each other. Not a sound was heard for two or three minutes. Then the silence was broken by a coarse, rude laugh; the laugh spread and presently an ill-suppressed titter ran around the house. Those in charge of the ceremony blushed guiltily and the Prince looked somewhat annoyed. His royal plegmatism. After a whispered consultation with the Speaker, the President and Admiral Evans, the Prince arose again. The members arose also. The Prince walked out of the chamber; the members sat down again. And it was all over.

Next morning when Carey and MacCartney appeared at the State House they were congratulated by their fellow-members on their absence the day before. They were told by many that the joke was not on the Socialists after all, and several members were trying to get the Prince to vote for the order that the two Socialists opposed. Carey and MacCartney had lots of fun since Thursday commiserating with those who were foolish enough to recognize a prince at the expense of their dignity. The greatest disappointment was felt because the Prince did not make a speech in acknowledgment of the honor paid him by the legislature holding a joint convention. It was the least that was expected, although it was also expected that he would greet each member personally and give him a friendly hand. It was thought that he gave them the "frozen milk," so to speak. One of the members said afterwards that the Prince might at least have said "my whites."

The bearing of the Prince while in the State House has been generally remarked. At no time did he appear interested and he was plainly ill at ease. He seemed to be in a hurry to get through the visit as soon as possible and his abrupt departure from Beacon Hill was not at all flattering to those who had made such extensive arrangements to greet him. Of course, it is not known whether the Prince knew the Socialists were absent or not, but if he did not know it might perhaps have reassured him if he had been so informed. His failure to make a speech was explained, by himself it is said, as being due to his not making a speech while visiting congress. But this explanation has been known to have been given in report of his speeches to the senate and house of the New York Legislature on the day following his visit here.

MacCartney did not appear at the legislature at all on Thursday, but Carey came because of his bills was pending from the day before and did not know where he was. He left the House, however, immediately upon the entrance of the senators for the joint convention, and he did not appear again. The absence of both Socialists during the Prince's stay was commented upon by the press. The affair was a complete failure, covered the floor with ridicule, and though the Socialists were not present and therefore could not be cited as responsible for the fact itself, yet there are those who blame them for being accessories before the fact.

The Wednesday afternoon session of the

House was interesting in several ways. The Woman Suffrage bill was on the calendar and drew a full house, the gallery being especially well filled. The advocates of Woman Suffrage have met defeat year after year in the legislature, but they have always reappeared at each session, optimistic and determined. But if the speeches made for woman suffrage were all like those delivered on Wednesday afternoon, then one need not wonder why it has been defeated. And yet in the history of the fight for woman suffrage in the legislature there have been occasions when the cause was adequately represented, and it is written that those occasions were when the two Socialist members have spoken. Carey's speech of Wednesday afternoon was a good one, as acknowledged by the woman suffrage leaders, including Mary Livermore herself, to be the most brilliant ever delivered in this State, and last year MacCartney's speech was recognized as the most trenchant utterance on the subject.

The original speech was a rapid argument, well supported in all its bill, good, bad or indifferent, they were delivered by the advocates of woman suffrage on Wednesday afternoon. They were of that quality which would hurt rather than help a cause. The rapid, inane and rapid arguments were well supported in all its bill, good, bad or indifferent, they were delivered by the advocates of woman suffrage on Wednesday afternoon. They were of that quality which would hurt rather than help a cause. The rapid, inane and rapid arguments were well supported in all its bill, good, bad or indifferent, they were delivered by the advocates of woman suffrage on Wednesday afternoon. They were of that quality which would hurt rather than help a cause.

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ing before Prince Henry's arrival. As there was no opportunity, however, to discuss it on that day, the bill was laid upon the table until a future date.

As an instance of what the Socialists have to contend with in their work of seeking to organize labor let me relate the following incident: Some time ago Representative Carey and MacCartney were, by a committee of Electrical Workers' Union No. 103 of this city, to address an open agitation meeting to be held in Faneuil Hall on last Thursday night. The meeting was for the purpose of strengthening the organization by attracting new members. On Wednesday night the union held its regular meeting and the Arrangements Committee made its report. Objections were made to Carey and MacCartney being the speakers on the ground that they were Socialists and "in politics," and after a lengthy discussion the secretary was instructed to withdraw the invitation and the committee was also instructed to notify Carey and MacCartney of the fact. The meeting, which had been advertised in the daily papers with the two Socialists as principal speakers, was held on Thursday night. Frank K. Foster, legislative agent, and Fred Kneeland, the latter a well-known labor leader and a Democrat, were the principal speakers, and as neither of these gentlemen are "in politics," the dignity of the union is preserved. Meanwhile Carey and MacCartney went on fighting for labor in the legislature, despite the indifference and insults offered them by those whose cause they ably and unflinchingly champion.

WILLIAM MAILLY.  
Boston, March 8, 1902.



REV. G. W. WOODBEY,  
Socialist Lecturer,  
San Diego, Cal.

FOUND ANOTHER:  
St. Paul, Kan.  
The Socialist, Seattle, Wash.—Dear Sir: Inclosed find certificate filled out as stated in certificate. I did not subscribe for it, but my son, G. M. Odell, of 711 Union street, Seattle, Wash., wrote me he had sent it to me. I am not opposed to taking it. On the contrary, I want it. Yours for the Socialist, F. M. ODELL.

EDUCATE MADDEN.  
Van Wyck, Wash., March 16, 1902.  
Editor The Socialist, Seattle, Wash.: Comrade—Inclosed find blank filled out so as to show old Bismarck that we are ready to drill.

I paid for The Socialist with my own money, and I would not like to see it stopped as it is the best paper that we have; and my intention is to educate all my ten children with The Socialist and other Socialist literature. But I have not the time to do so. Whatcom and the German Lutheran of Seattle for many years, which I never paid for, and we do not particularly need them, only to stir fire with. Mr. Madden could stop 'em if he likes.

Hoping you will forgive Mr. Madden for his arrogance, as he is not to blame for what he is. The surrounding is perhaps to blame as much, and we know that the present system is breeding such people as Madden.

We have to try to give him a better education by sending Socialist literature. Hoping that he will not be so blockheaded as to refuse Socialist education. Your comrade, PETER ZORRIST.

"FATHER TIME WILL GET EVEN."  
Madrona, Wash., March 14, 1902.  
Editor Socialist—Dear Sir: This is to certify that I am a subscriber to The Socialist, always have been, and if I live long enough, always will be.

I think a little more "publicity" of the trusts and their strenuous agents at Washington, D. C., will multiply the number of our comrades in a way that will "vitalize" the list of said agents.

It really does look bad of the Socialist editors to put humanity to thinking when the Maddens are so anxious to do that for them. However, his Madness, third assistant, by his exclusions will only hasten the time when he shall fall into the pit of exclusions.

# OUR CASE WITH MADDEN

Tuesday, Feb. 25, we received orders to show cause by March 20 why we should not forfeit our rights to the post office. Wednesday, Feb. 26, we sent our reply asking for the evidence against us and for an extension of time. (Published in issue on March 3.) That was three weeks ago. We have received no answer.

Saturday, March 15, we presented to the Seattle post office for Mr. Madden the following evidence:

First.—Our printed mailing list, consisting of some 2,400 names, with expiration numbers attached. To this was fastened an affidavit signed by the Business Manager, the Cashier and Chief Clerk and Chief of the Mailing Department, certifying under oath that the list was known by each of them to be a paid up list of genuine subscribers.

Second.—A letter file containing 732 Certificates of Subscription, signed by individual subscribers and sent in during the last two weeks in response to a request published in "The Socialist."

Third.—A Jumbo letter-file packed with thousands of original orders and memoranda of orders received for subscriptions to "The Socialist."

Fourth.—Our subscription books with original entries of cash received (by the list was known by each of them to be a paid up list of genuine subscribers.)

Our cash books and original orders were returned to us, but the Certificates of Subscription and the mailing list, together with our letter to the department, in substance the same as that published March 2, were retained by the post office.

The Seattle office has nothing more to do with the case till further orders from Washington, D. C. It will continue to accept our papers as usual till directed otherwise.

What the ultimate decision will be, we have absolutely no means of knowing. It is not likely this paper alone was selected out of the scores of others published in this city, to be "investigated" just for the fun of the thing. This "investigation" began last November, about four months ago, and has continued ever since. It has a purpose. That purpose will undoubtedly be carried out, unless it shall appear too unjust to be safe.

Here are the facts: We have over 2,000 paid up subscribers and have been able in two weeks to get 732 of them to go to the trouble to say so over their own signatures and mail them to this office. Considering that our subscribers are mostly working men living in mining and lumber camps far from post offices, this is really remarkable. We have now over 200 more, received since our list was made up, for Madden. Keep on sending them in, Comrades and friends. If Madden should decide that we could only send to those whose Certificates are not ready, we can get, then you can get your paper unless you send us a Certificate.

Now, then, in the face of such evidence, sufficient to convince any jury on earth, if we are denied our rights under the law, what is to be done?

Of one thing all our readers may rest assured, Mr. Madden included, we shall not suspend publication. Another thing, our subscription list will not be any smaller nor our readers less numerous, nor our pictures of Hanna, Madden, Roosevelt & Co., any less truthful.

Having read your request, I hasten to send you the certificate of subscription and 50 cents for my subscription. Louie may "The Socialist" live! Yours for our cause, HUGO PICK, 326 W. Thirty-eighth St., N. Y. City.

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