

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Vote their Own Emancipation

The Socialist

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

Published by The Socialist Educational Union (Inc)

1164 VIRGINIA ST., SEATTLE, WASH., SUNDAY, MARCH 30, 1902.

50 Cts a Year
10 weeks, 10 cts
More than Twenty Copies
One-half Cent Each

Socialism
demands the public ownership of
All the means of Production and
Distribution.
Anything less is but middle-class
patchwork and W.H.L. N.O.V.
(which was slavery)

THE GERMAN EMPEROR AND THE SOCIALISTS

The following is quoted from "The World's Work" for March. It is from an article on King Wilhelm written by the German chief correspondent of the Associated Press at Berlin. It will be an eye-opener to some of our capitalist friends.

It must be remembered that in Germany the Socialists are the great bulk of the mechanics, skilled labor, and the best of the whole laboring population, and that they are quiet, law-abiding, peaceable folk. * * * These Socialists polled at the last general election about 2,170,000 votes, which is about twice the voting strength of any other political party in the empire. Yet so unrelenting and unreasonable is the antipathy of the kaiser to this large fraction of the nation that he referred to them in a throne speech as a "horde of men unworthy to bear the name of Germans." He has on many other occasions, in public and in private, insulted these men and their children in the grossest and most unjust manner, and he has frequently provoked them in a most despicable way. He has harangued regiments, telling them that it would be their duty if there ever was another popular uprising to shoot down the rioters, even if their mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters were among them. At his courts sentence some of these same Socialists, when they have said something not quite to the kaiser's liking, to terms more biting which many have died. This hatred is constantly being heightened by some of his irresponsible advisers and cronies, and it forms one of the chief hindrances in Germany to a more liberal political era. For the kaiser needs not to be told that some projected measure is likely to strengthen the Socialist party to condemn that measure. At the root of the paramount influence of that old fossil of mediaeval times, the so-called Conservative Party in Prussia, lies nothing more nor less than the kaiser's fear of a popular uprising under Socialist leadership. The kaiser's attitude is most deplorable, since it hinders all political progress, and has weakened liberal political aspirations and movements enormously.

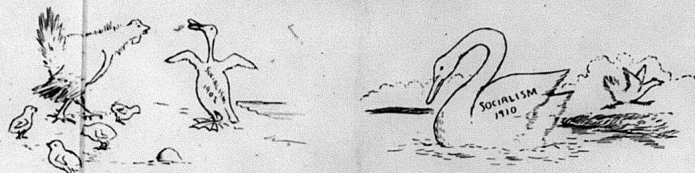
Intimately allied with his meagerness toward the Socialist party is the kaiser's blind confidence in his army. At least thirty per cent. of the army is composed of the sons of Socialists, themselves usually already confirmed in that faith. Of the petty officers, too, many are Socialists, or sympathizers with them. There is little doubt that if another political or social revolution should occur in Germany—the chance of such a thing is very small—the army would not play the part of a blind instrument in drowning such an uprising in a deluge of blood. The emperor has a strong dislike of the press. It is mainly owing to his own influence that that very modest measure of comparative liberty which the German press enjoyed under his grandfather and his father has been curtailed, until even the semblance of free press has disappeared. Thus, it may be well to say, in passing, in view of the constitution both of the empire and of Prussia, but unfortunately the current of political thought in Germany during the past decade has favored and facilitated this systematic oppression of the press. The courts in their annual sessions have assumed more and more an attitude of downright hostility, and the practice of the highest judiciary, the imperial court in Leipzig, has for years been unfair, even almost revolutionary. Judges and lawyers themselves have strenuously and persistently protested against the rising tide of reactionism.

Poor Blenheim, "The Times!" He has his D. T. and sees twin snakes wherever he looks. They are called Anarchy and Socialism. Can't somebody administer the Kinky Cure?

The Tacoma Socialists will cast their full vote next Tuesday for municipal officers.

The Mad Hen and the Duckling

Dedicated to The Hon. E. C. Madden, Third Assistant Postmaster General of the United States of America, The Land of the Free



An Old Fable Adapted to Present Conditions

There was one a Hen who found a Duckling. "Can you lay eggs?" "No," Duckling answered her chicks. "You are said the Duckling. "Then you'll have to go big," she said, "and too ugly. You the goodness to hold your tongue," "are not my kind." And she got very said the Madhen. "Tell me, I say, mad and flew at the poor Duckling can you lay golden eggs, you ugly and pecked at him cruelly. But the thing?" "No." "Then," said Madden, "Duckling kept on growing and attracting more attention than the chickens own when sensible people are speaking. Then the Mad Hen demanded of the mg."

But time went on, and the Duckling grew and grew till at last he developed to be what he really was, not a duckling at all, but a beautiful, strong swan, with arched neck and powerful wings, swimming over the waters like a monarch. Then the poor old Mad Hen fled away, ashamed and frightened, and was never heard of any more.

PERSECUTION NOT PROSECUTION.

Seattle Police in a Conspiracy to Suppress Free Speech—P. J. Cowley Arrested Five Times—No Other Street Speakers Molested—Cannot Convict Him.

Chief Sullivan and Patrolman Flannigan, of the Seattle police force, are engaged in an attempt to forbid P. J. Cowley from exercising the right of free speech on the public highway. In this they are aided by their master, Gambler-Chief Clancy. The charge is, "obstructing the sidewalk." The Salvation Army and every street fakir may block the walks from curb to building and not a word said. But Cowley is not teaching the people to turn the other cheek to their oppressors, like the Salvationists, not reducing tax rates by paying a license to sell patent poisons. He is telling too much truth. He is making his hearers discontented with their conditions. He is laying bare the social system. He has no respect for persons. He attacks capitalism and all its defenders, the church, Catholic and Protestant, the Army, the Police, the Courts, the dens of vice and profit. He talks very pointedly, and Clancy, Sullivan and Flannigan don't like this talk delivered right in the center of Clacetyown. The charge that he is obstructing the streets is only a pretense. The real offense is, as Chief Sullivan said, "He's a damned nuisance with his talk." That means the Chief of Police proposes to decide what men shall say or shall not say on the streets of Seattle.

Cowley is not a member of the Socialist Party, so far as we are aware. He himself claims to be a Socialist, and certainly is no Anarchist. But we defend him as a man who stands for the right of free speech. If Cowley can be suppressed at the will of the Chief of Police, so can you or I. It is a vital principle and must be fought out to the bitter end. All the proceedings in Cowley's case show animus on the part of the police. At his first arrest (Sunday, March 2) he was released on five dollars cash bail, put up by himself, and did not appear for trial at 4:30 next day. When he appeared at 1:30 he was informed that his trial was called at 9:30, and because he did not answer he had forfeited his bail. That was March 3, the day before the city election, and proved an easy way to get rid of a disagreeable trial and put five dollars in the city treasury. His money was at last returned to him privately, but not until a lawyer had gone to the police court and registered a big "kick."

March 16 he was again arrested in the afternoon, released on \$8 cash bail, rearrested while speaking in the evening, and only released when the Chief of Police was assured he would not speak again till his case was tested in the court. At his trial no case was made out and he was discharged. "This ought to have satisfied the police. But no, they arrested him again last Sunday, the 23d. They put him in "The Black Hole of Seattle," without any charges, and refused bail because there was "no charge." From 7:30 to 7:30 he was held, though no charge was on the books against him. This petty tactics and outrageous condition of affairs only ceased when the Chief found a big howl was being raised on account of this false imprisonment. The telephone wires were kept hot by some of his friends on his behalf, and then he was released on \$10 cash bail, and before any charge was recorded against him. Last Tuesday he was again tried on the same old charge and again acquitted. The police got together three officers, a saloon keeper and a waiter in a Clacetyown restaurant, to testify against him, and they were a surprised lot of "cops" when the judge discharged the prisoner. Judge George made some very telling remarks on the subject of free speech which Chief Sullivan ought to have heard. He said the best way to suppress error was to allow it full opportunity for expression. If it was wrong it would die. And the best way to spread error was to crush it by coercion. The latter, he said, was the way "Nihilism" and "Anarchism" had grown in Russia, and such a method was un-American. We fear the judge is a little old-fashioned in his notions, but he's right, all the same, and Madden and Sullivan will have to take lessons of him soon or late. Chief Sullivan has now arrested Cowley again, this time on the charge of circulating obscene literature, and his trial is set for Wednesday, April 2, at 9:30 a. m.

Here is the passage they quote from a leaflet which Cowley has had printed: "In American some of the women buy poodle and cats, and no one is to be taken into account for it. In the day time work in-stores and factories for glory and at night on the streets for a living." It is evidently very dangerous to allow such a tongue to keep on wagging, but it will take more than a Sullivan and a Flannigan to stop it and others like it. In another column we take occasion to let Comrade Cowley throw a little light into "The Black Hole of Seattle," one of the ulcers of capitalism which stinks to high heaven. While they are suppressing Socialist Free Speech we will incidentally try to suppress a lit-

tle capitalist free Deivity. If the Police Administration in Seattle would really like to be investigated, why, there's nobody who can do the job better than the Socialists.

The Liberal Party in England is disintegrating. Campbell-Bannerman and Rosebery lead the two wings. "Party solidarity has gone to ruin," remarks a Seattle daily, and the same editor then proceeds to call for "winning issues" and a "capable command" something and somebody to appeal to the popular heart and reconstruct the party. To the Socialist, who has studied history and who knows how parties are formed, such comment sounds as simple and out of date as Pastor Jasper's contention that the reason the Liberal Party is going to pieces is the same as that which is destroying the Democratic Party in this country, namely, they both stand for the dying class of small capitalists. The varying interests of their subdivisions cause various small parties to spring up, as the Populists among the farmers, but there is no common interest, no great economic class to make them cohere into a united political party. The working class is the only possible antagonist of the capitalist class, and that's why the Socialist Party, but on the working class, is certain to grow and remain.

MADDED TO DATE.

Not a word from our dear enemy yet. Things are precisely as they have been in this paper lives and receives subscriptions the old stand. We have now over a thousand certificates of subscription. That is, Madden has 732 of them in Washington, and we have some 200 more received since we forwarded our evidence on the 15th. We have also added several hundred more since that date. We expect to pass the 6000 mark one of these days, but on the second 5000 come easy. We'll send at least one more paper from Seattle.

WOULD'NT IT MADDEN YOU? Comrade Madden of the postoffice department has now taken a job as chief subscription hustler for the Seattle Socialist. He has sent our esteemed correspondents a notice that "they'll have to show him" if they are entitled to second-class rates. Will-shire and Washington don't seem to be the only pebbles on the beach. We await their comments on this latest move of our comrade, with much interest. For our own part, we confess that our business department needs a visit from the third ass in the post-office general's bureau. A hundred or a thousand more suits would just about suit our palate. And, by the way, no comrade need wait for Madden to madden him into hustling for us. Payment of sub's is always in order. It wouldn't jar us—Ad. Vance.

Some of you are forgetting our advertisers! Remember, if you forget they will remember (to take out their ad.) and we can't live on faith.

A LESSON IN POLITICS

The Seattle Building Trades Council furnishes a capital lesson in labor politics. It ought to be laid to heart by every labor union man.

The council as a trades union body has been a great success. It has fought the employers by fighting. It will not compromise. Just at present it refuses to arbitrate. Editor Blethen, of The Times, a capitalist pure and simple, pays the Building Trades Council a great compliment. He says bitterly. He is now trying to destroy it by every means available. He and the Employers' Association work hand in glove to break the Building Trades into their constituent unions and deal with them separately. It is said the plumbers have yielded to their fatal temptation. In union action opposition alone is strength. The Building Trades Council knows this and knows its wisdom. No separation and no arbitration are the watchwords of labor's success against capital.

Last week the council expelled its President, Baker, for keeping a sum of money paid to him in advance by the Republican City Central Committee on condition that the Republican candidates be endorsed by a labor mass meeting called for the night before election.

Our readers know how that endorsement was prevented by the determined fight made by the Socialists in that mass meeting. Our readers also know that two members of the Socialist Party, Oldham and Baker, who advocated the endorsement of the Republican candidates, were promptly expelled from our party for their part in the election.

But Baker was not the only guilty man. It is true he did not return the money when they failed to "deliver the goods." But the point is this, all the members of that committee agreed to receive the money from the Republican committee, and in delivering the labor vote to the Republican candidates. By that bargain and sale of itself the present management of the Building Trades Council not only committed a stupendous error, but abandoned its own principles and became guilty of a crime against organized labor.

This is the lesson to be learned—apart from the obvious lesson of common morality. No compromise with capital. Just as you always refused to arbitrate on the economic field, why did you not refuse anything to do with your enemy on the political field? Carry the same fight into politics that you wage in the unions and you will be equally successful.

That is the Socialist program. Your capitalist enemies can never be your friends, in industry or in politics. Your own and your employer's interests can never be identical. You have learned that lesson. But the Republican and Democratic parties stand for your employers. The same class is in these political organizations as in the economic field. No identity of interest between the two. Nothing but contest and opposition, are conceivable.

The Building Trades Council had a grand opportunity in Seattle but has lost it. It might have endorsed a Socialist ticket composed as it was of its own best workmen, and thus have fairly terrified the capitalist parties. If it had carried the same tactics of defiant fighting into the political field that it has prosecuted in the economic field, what a splendid situation of vantage it would now occupy. Instead of being divided and disgraced to labor, such as it is, divided and defeated, it might have held the most commanding position ever occupied in this city.

But if workmen learn by these events that oil and water will not mix, and that when the workmen will be defiled, that the only way in politics as well as in unions, to fight capital is to fight it; the occasion will not be without some gain.

Socialists, Attention!

This paper has received considerable cursing for its position with respect to "The Appeal to Reason." We do not regret a single editorial comment thereon from "The Chicago Socialist," which fully confirms all that the socialist has ever said. "The Appeal," in its last issue, contains an attack upon The Socialist as it has before attacked "The Worker" and "The Workers' Call."

It does not answer the arguments presented by the Socialist press, but cries out: "Envy, Envy, Envy!" We must be answered. We are not criticizing Max Yandor or his paper, but his doctrine. It is his platform "For Public Ownership of Monopolies," that we declare is not Socialism. Some of our critics say that is only a headline—not its real teaching, as found in its columns. We shall soon take occasion to show that headline and columns are quite consistent.

ASKS FOR INFORMATION.

Editor Chicago Socialist:

I am a farmer and an advocate of the doctrine of Socialism, and have read several Socialist papers for the past ten years, among them being the Appeal to Reason, the Democratic Party, the Socialist, the Dakota Ruralist, of which last named paper has been a contributor for twelve or more years. I have also read several Socialist books, and am a firm believer in the justice and ultimate triumph of Socialism. I have subscribed for your paper in order that I may know more of the workings of the Socialist party of your city. At present I am not a member of the Socialist party, but am chairman of the People's party county committee in this county. I am, and have been for some time, dissatisfied with the People's party because of its fusion with the Democratic party, but I have hesitated cutting loose and joining the Socialist party on account of its apparent narrow and close corporation manner of organization, and the constant bickering amongst its members over what seems to me to be non-essential.

I may not be correctly informed, but I believe that no one can take any part in nominating an candidate or in electing one to the platform of the Socialist party unless a member of some regularly chartered section, and in good standing by payment of dues. Now this plan may be all right and necessary in the cities, but from personal experience I know it would not work in the country among the farmer. When I organized the People's party we conducted our campaigns by voluntary contributions, and public collection. Men who would not join the Farmers' Alliance and pay dues would "chip in" to pay such campaign expenses.

Another thing I don't like, that as I understand it, may be an error, any voter who votes for a candidate of any other ticket is liable to expulsion from the Socialist party. I usually vote for all the candidates of the People's party, but it sometimes happens that there is a candidate on whose defeat I consider it to be to the best interests of the cause. Such a candidate, in the person of Judge Moore for congress was on the People's party ticket last election, and I publicly opposed him, and so liberal are the Populists in their party discipline that I have had no trouble on that account, and was not expelled. When I was elected chairman of the county committee and tendered a nomination as a candidate for the legislature.

There is one rule of the Socialist party I am heartily in favor of, and that is that no one shall propose his own name as a candidate for a position, or do anything personal wire pulling to secure a nomination. In this county, and in some others, the Populists have discouraged the self-seekers.

I hope you will print this letter that I may be informed by the Comrades of any error under which I may be laboring. I wish my candid and honest suggestions to be met by the Socialist party as at present constituted can gain much support in this state. But I do believe that a liberal, broad gauged Socialist party could in the near future secure a large following. You will remember that its farmers organizing the People's party in 1896, and upon nearly 25,000 votes secured a majority. Our ideas were very crude then, but now among our members are men of wealth like ex-Gov. Lee, and State Senators Crill and Crawford, ex-Congressman Knowles, and others who believe in radical Socialism. Among the farmers, too, there are many Socialists. A good many copies of the Appeal to Reason are in circulation here. I feel certain that the Appeal does a great deal of good among the farmers. All party quarrels, and petty discussions of non-essentials are eliminated from its columns. It does not oppose public schools, because all teachers cannot be Socialists, as I understand some Chicago schools do. It does not oppose municipal ownership because all city officials cannot be Socialists. It teaches as I believe to be the proper policy, that we must take all in our line offered us, and reach for more. As a member of our township board I have secured the public handling of the school books, and the construction of public fire guards as a protection against the destructive prairie fires which formerly ravaged this thinly settled country. And yet, as I understand it, some of our Socialist Comrades would say to me, "Let the prairie fires rage unrestricted until such time as a majority of the voters favor the Co-operative Commonwealth."

Again I will repeat. Perhaps I do not understand you city Socialists. But if I do not understand you it is because some of you are in the habit of talking in such big words. I wonder, some times, if the workmen understand your scientific man-

ner of address. In our old Alliance days I have known an old farmer to get up more enthusiasm in an eloquent speech of five minutes than a college professor could in an hour's scholarly effort.

SEVEN SIG

Our Chicago Socialists may decide to abolish the public schools, but shall do all I can in South Dakota to make them more useful. It is the ignorant people who are the greatest enemies to Socialism, or any other progressive movement.

Fraternally,

WALTER PRICE

A PERPLEXED PHILOSOPHER.

The attention of party members, readers and subscribers generally, is called to the very remarkable letter which appears in my Comrade who will volunteer to enlighten him upon the matters referred to in his letter, and the columns of this paper are at their service for this purpose. Mr. Price having recently become a subscriber.

While fully recognizing the fact that Mr. Price's ideas regarding Socialism could hardly be expected to be otherwise than as they are expressed, there for reasons before mentioned, we confess that another motive in replying to his questions induced us to publish his letter. It shows as nothing else could possibly do the effect produced upon an otherwise intelligent man when Socialism comes to him in the adulterated form in which it is usually served up by the papers he mentions. He is an illustration par excellence of the result of a long course of "Appeal to Reason" Socialism, and his letter appears partly to serve in the role of "horrible example" to any local party Comrades who may have imbibed Socialism at the same famous fountain.

Once his premises are admitted, however, once his views of Socialism are accepted as correct, every stricture upon and criticism of the Socialist party of Chicago follows logically. If Socialism is merely a "remedy" for existing evils, if it is but a "plan" whose "justice" appeals to those who hear it, if its standard is reformulation of Socialism, if its political expression is to be judged by the standards applicable to capitalist political parties, then Mr. Price's conclusions can all be logically deduced from his premises, and the tactics endorsed by the Socialist party of Chicago will of necessity seem as confusing and mystifying to him as his ideas do to us.

Ten years reading of the "Socialist" papers mentioned by Mr. Price leaves him an avowed Socialist, but still chairman of a reactionary capitalist political party, a Socialist who thinks it "narrow" that non-Socialists are not permitted to take a hand in the formation of a party platform, a Socialist who believes in voting for the "best man" without regard to principles, and who cannot understand why one should not be allowed to do so and still retain party membership. Could any better testimony to the efficacy of the "Socialism" preached by such papers be offered?

It will be no light undertaking to convince Mr. Price that the reasons why he cannot understand the tactics of the Socialist party in Chicago lies in the fact that he does not understand the fundamental principles of Socialism; that his arguments and conclusions are drawn from false conceptions of the movement, which has never been presented for his consideration save in the shape of a "plan" or "remedy." It will be observed that all through his letter he confidently assumes that he has mastered the entire philosophy of Socialism, and it will be both an ungrateful and difficult task to convince him to the contrary.

But this confusion for which Mr. Price is in no way responsible, must be combated to be removed. Contradictory as his position may seem to us it is fully justified by his innocent acceptance of the strange mixture presented to him as Socialism, the truth or falsity of which he had no

means of testing. And it would seem that the only method by which his mind can be disabused of the peculiar ideas he holds is to see that the fundamental principles of Socialism are distinctly and definitely laid before him for consideration.—The Chicago Socialist.

NATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Adopted at Indianapolis, July 31, 1901.

The Socialist party, in National convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society in two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is waged by the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are waged in the name of national honor, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

By the same economic causes which have developed capitalism and Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois Public Ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, the program and opposition of which parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of its end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of socialism shall be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing of the taxes to the consumer.
2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.
3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and old age; the funds for this purpose to be furnished by the government and to be administered under the control of the working class.
4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be

(Continued on Page Three)

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