

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Vote their Own Emancipation

# The Socialist

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

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demands the public ownership of  
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patchwork and W.H. POT  
English wage slavery.

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### THE BELGIAN CRISIS.

Our cartoon to-day tells the exact truth. The Socialists in Belgium are conducting a campaign for Universal Suffrage and the capitalist press, both Democratic and Republican, is either silent altogether or utters slanders and slurs like those on the Bulletins in the picture.

What could possibly tell the story of capitalism like that? What could possibly reveal the true animus of the daily papers like such conduct, when the great question of Universal Suffrage is involved?

Whether have we drifted? You sometimes think Socialists are too pessimistic about present conditions and tendencies. But what do you think now? Here is a contest waged against monarchy, waged by workingmen for a Republic, for the simple fundamental right of "one man, one vote." And your journals have no word of commendation, not a sign of encouragement. Where is your boasted spirit of Democracy?

No. We Socialists know what we are talking about. There is no Democracy left save Social Democracy. There is none but the Socialist nowadays to preserve the old spirit we sing about and preach about. The "Sweet Land of Liberty" is no more.

But the dawn of a new day is visible. The light of Socialism illuminates the workers of the world, the new champions of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

The Socialists of Belgium are certain to win their fight. The capitalist government sustained by a capitalist church will resist as long as they dare and then yield.

Comrade Emile Vanderwilde estimates that when they secure Universal Suffrage, the Socialists will have some four or five hundred thousand votes out of a total of twelve hundred thousand. And this immense agitation now in progress will rapidly increase the Socialist strength. Belgium may be the first European state to be actually captured by our party.

We make numerous quotations this week from the Belgian Comrade's book, "Collectivism."

"The Seattle Socialist is sick. The comrades should change physicians before it dies. De Leonism will do the movement hurt."—From "The Appeal," April 12, 1902.

On the contrary The Socialist was better, Dr. Wayland.

But what do the comrades think of attempting to drown The Socialist in its editor? Whatever faults The Socialist may have been guilty of, it never advised its readers to boycott "The Appeal." This is the third time that Wayland has warned his readers against "the smaller papers."

So it seems we have not only Madden but Wayland to fight just at this moment. By the way, has any one seen the "The Appeal" about Madden's treatment of The Socialist, identical treatment which, aimed "The Appeal," made its editor boil with indignation?

Well, now, comrades, we call upon you, one of you who believes The Socialist is making a fight for working class Socialism and who believes working class Socialism, to come on and show both Madden and Wayland that we are very far from being sick and very much alive.

We invite comrades to take two copies each of the next three Sun-days to get new subscribers for The Socialist as a present to Madden, as a present to Wayland and as a Labor Memorial. Wayland says no Socialist paper can pay expenses till it has 5,000 to 10,000 subscribers. Then, we give you a two-hours lift each afternoon till May 4, that we reach that 5,000 goal.

Attempting by the expropriation of the capitalist class, by acts of the collective will, can assure the complete emancipation of the workers."—Vanderwilde.

## SOCIALISTS IN BELGIUM

### Workingmen Shot for Advocating Universal Suffrage. Capitalist Press Support the Crime.



TWO OF A KIND.

De Leonism stands for two things, abuse and falsehood, especially directed at fellow Socialists.

In place of argument against the Socialist Party, De Leon will dub it "Kangaroo," "Debozier," "Multi-cocca," or will hurl at it "Freak," "Fool," "Fakir," and his admiring followers parrot after him and imagine they have demolished the Socialist Party.

If you want to be sure a thing "ain't so," just look and see if De Leon says it is so that settles it. For instance, take his recent statement in "The Weekly People," that The Socialist supported the Whatcom platform in favor of the taxpayers. Actually, that is what he said. So that it has come to be a truism, "If you see it in 'The People,' it can't be true."

Now in these two particulars of mud-throwing and lying, we did not suppose any Socialist editor could rival De Leon. But the following clipping proves we were wrong. De Leon must take a back seat.

"What spite at the movement has the National Committee that it turns such a freak as Boomer on a helpless community? From the places he has visited at once spring up dissection. Pension him and send him home or to an imbecile asylum."

Comrade Geo. E. Boomer is the member of the National Committee of the Socialist Party elected by the membership of the party in the State of Washington. He was sent by the National Committee as special organizer to reorganize Utah which was badly split into two factions.

Boomer was then the official and accredited representative of a state organization and of the Socialist Party of the United States when the above astonishing attack was made upon him. He was engaged in the difficult task of reorganizing a state already split by personal differences. There is no question he was proceeding to secure a new alignment along

the principle of the class-struggle in place of the old division about persons, when this unexpected denunciation was published. It was a gratuitous insult to the great Socialist Party; an unwarranted interference with its work of organization as well as a contemptible slur upon an individual member of that party.

You want to know the man who could so out-De Leon De Leon himself?

The above quotation is from "The Appeal to Reason," date of April 5, 1902. It was written by J. A. Wayland, a fellow member of the Socialist Party with Geo. E. Boomer.

In two respects this attack is worse than anything De Leon has done. First, De Leon is true to a man so long as he remains a member of his party. He will not vilify a fellow-member. Second, De Leon has one redeeming quality, namely, he always advocates real Socialism, the political movement of the working class. Wayland stands for middle class Socialism, anything to catch votes and win, and hence we cannot even plead for him that his abuse and falsehood are intended to help Socialism.

With respect to the truth of the charges contained in the epithets, it is sufficient to say that a few years ago Comrade Boomer was editing three pages of "The Appeal" and superintending its printing office, being Wayland's right-hand man for many months. He could hardly have been a "freak" or "imbecile" or a candidate for an "asylum" in Wayland's estimation at that time.

As to creating dissension, out of the many Locals visited by Comrade Boomer, only four have shown any dissension and in each of these cases the trouble has arisen solely because those Locals were so imbued with Wayland Socialism by years of reading "The Appeal," that they were intolerant of the working class Socialism insisted on by Boomer.

Wayland talks a great deal of brotherhood and co-operation and readers

of "The Appeal" are always deprecating any unkind criticism of fellow Socialists—but this attack on Boomer reveals a concentrated bitterness and meanness in Wayland that puts De Leon in the shade. They are two of a kind. Only you always know where to find De Leon, and he makes no goody-goody professions.

In conclusion we hereby challenge "The Appeal" to produce any proof whatever of its slanderous allegations sent broadcast over the country concerning the official national representation of the S. P. of the State of Washington. And we demand, in the absence of such proof, that "The Appeal" make an acknowledgment of its error in the same public manner it uttered the slander.

"Certainly, every right-minded man must desire, even were it against all hope—that the liberation of the workers may not cost humanity so much in blood and tears as did the civil wars and international hecatombs which marked the coming of the Third Estate. But when one sees the blind, persistent, ferocious resistance which the privileged classes always oppose to the most modest claims of the lower classes, one cannot but think of the words which Schiller puts into the mouth of Wallenstein, "Force it is that triumphs."

This force then, this force that rules the world, the proletariat must conquer. The workers, rallying under the emblem of the International, must awaken in those who still sleep the consciousness of their class-interests, they must shatter by incessant propaganda the ancient discipline which imposes passive obedience upon the armies, they must hold themselves with unalterable patience to the conquest of political power in all branches of government."—Vanderwilde.

"Private co-operation may prepare for Socialism, it can never realize it."—Vanderwilde.

### ROOSEVELT AS DON QUIXOTE.

Don Quixote was a brave man. He knew no fear. He was ready to fight men, wild beasts or windmills.

The only trouble with Don Q. was, he was out of date. He put on armor and used a spear after gunpowder and firearms were discovered. He went about the country as a knight seeking adventures, with a squire in his train, long years after knights and squires had had their day. He could not comprehend that the world had out-grown all that sort of thing. His was wasted bravery.

President Roosevelt is our modern American Don Quixote. He has undertaken to suppress The Trust or at least to repress The Trust. He directed the Attorney General to bring suit against the Merger, the great combine of the Northern railroads. Now he orders an investigation of the Beef Trust by a Federal Grand Jury at Kansas City.

Some think he is only playing a shrewd game for political effect and doesn't mean anything serious. So some people took Don Quixote as a joke in his day. But they soon found out their error when he charged at them with his spear. So our Don Theodore is very much in earnest. Let nobody take him as a mere player for effect.

But history will regard him as only a courageous, well-meaning anachronism. Occupying by accident the most influential personal opportunity in the world today, he is as powerless to stay the onward sweep of industrial development as the most insignificant child.

He does not know what Mc Kinley took as a matter of course, that the government is only a committee of the capitalist class to do whatever is needed to support that class. To be selected Roosevelt will not have selected Roosevelt as chairman of their government committee because he has these old-fashioned ideas about individual power and responsibility.

He does not recognize the social character of all modern lives. He still fancies individuals can support themselves apart from others, just as they could and did fifty years ago. A lone farmer, producing his own meat and wheat, wool and homespun clothes, bricks and fireplace and fuel in his own, self-built house, this man was the American type in the early part of the last century. Those days are forever gone. Social production has changed all that. The wage-worker, doing his single part in the factory or smelter or mine or shop—this is the typical modern citizen. He cannot exist without the other man. All men are interdependent. Production and hence all human relations have become social. Roosevelt does not know this basic fact of modern life. He does not know that the Trust and the Merger are simply Institutions of Social Production, vast instruments evolved in the course of development for the better doing of men's work. He is attempting to bring back the old days. He is full of the old ideals. He has an overweening estimate of the power of the individual. He is a Don Quixote tilting bravely but vainly against the growth of new human institutions.

### Give Us 500 Like This.

Preston, Wash., April 16, 1902.  
Dear Comrade: Your plan of celebrating first of May meets with my heartiest approval. We could not do better at present time than increase the subscription list to 5,000 and thereby show Mr. Madden that he cannot check the spirit of liberty. Let every comrade do his best in this noble work. Please find enclosed check for \$3 and subscription list of eight names. Yours in the cause,  
A. V. HOGG.

# WISDOMS,

By Your Uncle.

Sunday night, April 6, I succeeded in organizing the Fifth precinct, Salt Lake, and thus straightened out the last thing possible before the state convention.

The insurgents had been active, and those who wanted money planks and office-holding members had effected a combination of forces with the Ogden contingent, who claimed to be class conscious, but wanted autonomy sufficient to enable them to do any old thing without the right of the National Committee to interfere; the Murray outfit, who would recognize nobody nor nothing unless Bogart's election as state secretary was guaranteed, and with one or two weak country locals who didn't believe in paying dues. They held a secret caucus on Sunday in Money Plank Lawrence's office, having captured by personal appointment a few delegates who had been elected to attend the convention regularly called by the National Committee.

The latter convention was to be convened at 10 a. m. Monday, but long before that hour the money-plank-no-fee-all-autonomy bolters stationed themselves in front of the stairs, and by pouring into their ears a mixture of falsehoods and catering to their prejudices captured a few more, and sent them into Lawrence's office, where they proceeded to hold a "convention," of the existence of which many locals were unaware. They organized, and by personal appointment National Committee and making strenuous objections to provisions of the national constitution and platform, sent on an application for a charter to the very organization they had revolted against. If that isn't middle-class consistency, I don't know what is.

In the meantime I called the regular convention to order as soon as credentials from different locals were received. Before a temporary organization had hardly been effected three more locals sent in their credentials, and with this number of loyal locals who recognize the importance of leading efforts upon the state struggle, and who believe they ought to live up to the national constitution until the majority see fit to change it, the state convention was effected. Lehl was chosen as headquarters. Comrades Woodhouse and Lund, both of that place, were chosen state secretary and treasurer respectively, and Comrade Tawney, of Salt Lake, was elected national committeeman. Since the convention I received a letter from Silver City assuring me of their support. This makes eight locals out of fifteen (counting Cottonwood branch of Lehl) that are under the National Committee. According to newspaper reports, the middle-class opportunist contingent claim a representation from 15 locals. This is untrue, as there are only 14 locals in the state. Out of this number we have 8, and I am positive that there are one or two others that have not and do not support the bolters.

Like most middle-class outfits they eagerly embrace all comers, even those who have not been Socialists enough to help carry on the political fight in any way whatever. I don't know what the national quorum will do, but I know what it ought to do. It should give a charter to the loyal locals, and absolutely refuse to entertain in any way, or hold any controversy with, the Lawrence money-plank faction. Harmony or united effort cannot be secured by admitting them by any compromise whatever. Oil and water will not mix, and middle-class reform and working-class necessity will always be at war. A quorum should be firm in this matter, and set its foot firmly down on any project or attempt to bring into the party any individual or set of individuals who, even before they get in, refuse to live up to the principles and platform of the organization they seek to join.

The split between reform and revolution is inevitable. By compromise and delay the chasm is made deeper and wider. It is due to the movement that the National Committee say to the world, in a language plain enough to be unmistakable. "They who wish to join the Socialist Party must drop all 'ifs' and 'buts' and 'maybes' and 'possibly' evasions of mind in the matter of living up to the proposition of the working class. This proposition, plainly stated, will prevent the disruption that must come whenever a considerable number are led to believe that the Socialist party can be used to advance reform measures to stay the falling fortunes of the little parasite."

Salt Lake has quite a number of solid, unflinching Socialists, among whom may be mentioned Comrades Hanson, Eklor, Peate, Douglas, Tawney and others. As long as they have any influence Salt Lake Local will remain true and loyal to the cause of the working-class.

One of the most gratuitous insults that can be thrown at the working-class is the statement that "the workers can never free themselves; they must look to individuals from a higher class for leadership and brains." There are two strange things about this insult. The first is that the working-class take it weekly, and the other is that the assertion always comes from members of the middle class—small farmers, small tradesmen and unsuccessful lawyers. The inference is that the latter, soaked to the skin with their class egotism, wish to make the proposition acceptable, so that they can be the leaders and furnish the "brains."

The leadership and "brains" of the middle class might be accepted were it not for a couple of things. They have been the leaders in the past, and history shows that it has always resulted in the working-class being turned over to a fresh and greedy crew for a closer plucking. That middle class is even now, with its "brains" and leadership, again endeavoring to sidetrack the movement for the emancipation of the working-class. For from whom else is now coming protests in showers against the "narrowness of the class struggle?" Who else is demanding the institution of money planks and the abolition of wage slavery? Who else wants a "liberality" so liberal as to allow the voting of Democratic and Republican proxies in a Socialist convention? Who else applauds the single taxer, who defends the right of the little robber to continue plundering? Who else denounces our Socialist platform as "too radical"? Who else wishes to sacrifice working-class principles in the hope of catching votes? Who else? No one but the middle class, who like wolves in sheep's clothing, would again betray the working-class into the hands of the capitalist wage-master.

Who joined forces with the monarchists of France, wrested Paris from peaceful, working-class rule and stood thousands of men, women and little children up against the stone wall and shot them down like dogs? The middle class, who now desire to lead a new growth of this.

What regiments are they that can always be depended upon to shoot down working men at the behest of the capitalist class? Those like the one in New York city, composed of the sons of rich men and of the middle class, and those like the civic guards of Brussels, composed of two of the middle class. It is strange, with facts of today and history to light the way, there are still misguided or hypocritical individuals who would still force the Socialist movement to win its strength by appealing to the class that has always been a Judas to the cause of humanity. It is strange, with facts of today and history to light the way, there are still misguided or hypocritical individuals who would still force the Socialist movement to win its strength by appealing to the class that has always been a Judas to the cause of humanity.

Don't think I am particularly mad at individuals from the middle class. I am not. The Commune anniversary occurred a few days ago. Some of you may have read up on the history of that important incident, and I just wanted to give you a few modern thoughts to weave in with your reading. It may help to fortify you against the influence, the enemies of the working-class movement will inevitably bring to bear in the hopes of defeating revolution for the sake of reform. UNCLE SAM.

One Result of Wayland's Advice. Corvallis, Oregon, April 11, 1902. Gentlemen Sir: Please don't trouble me with your 709 sheet. I am a thorough Socialist and reader for four years of "The Appeal To Reason."

I have made it my business to prevent any friend of the cause to subscribe for your paper. LEVI OREN.

Do you know how to use a Coin Card?

## THE EXCLUSION ACT—WILL IT EXCLUDE?

All Workmen Must Read This. Prof. Mills joined in the demand of all the workers for the re-enactment and enforcement of the exclusion act, but pointed out that the bill did not propose to forbid the going to China of American machinery. He said: "The industries of China are being developed. Every concession to European and American capitalists requires the establishment and maintenance of trade schools in every new industry undertaken, to the end that no industry in China shall depend on foreign labor; that these industries Chinese workers are proving their ability to produce cotton now, as they have produced silk for centuries; to work on railways now, as they have worked for centuries on the greatest system of waterways in all the earth."

"The natural resources of China are practically untouched, but land, under continuous cultivation for four thousand years, has been unharmed. Her resources in coal, iron, copper and in untaken agricultural and grazing land are unequaled anywhere. The men who are organizing the world's market for the sale of American machinery, Chinese labor and Chinese resources in order to supply that market.

"American labor depends on markets abroad for employment at home. In that market the workers of America and of China and of all the earth will compete with each other, and the only way to produce the most goods for the smallest wages. If the battle between Chinese and American labor is not fought out in San Francisco, it will be fought in Shanghai and Peking. If Chinese labor is not permitted to produce in an American factory in America, or on an American farm for the world's market, it will produce in American or European factory in China and on Chinese lands, with American machinery and under American management, for that same world's market.

"In the world's market it is not certain that the Chinaman will win. It is only certain that the cheapest man will win, and in San Francisco white women and children are driving coarser labor out of American factories because they are willing and able to produce more for less pay than the Chinese can. Who shall be able to tell the story of the infamy and suffering which will be the result of this result already found here in San Francisco, and soon to be reproduced the earth around. Let the exclusion act stand! Woe to the congressman who shall deny the temporary protection it may afford! But strike at once and in all lands to secure for all workers—Chinamen along with the rest—the total exclusion of the 'chill'."

"When all the workers of the world shall have for themselves the total products of their labor, then the Chinese labor problem will be settled forever. Then no worker will be employed for the smallest share of his products which he will consent to take, and no American worker having for himself that his own total produces—can be harmed because any Chinaman anywhere, with the best machinery and complete organization, shall produce for himself, and have for himself all that his toil creates. The harm comes now because the Chinaman gives away more of his products than an American can want to do, and so compels us to follow suit or hot to be employed at all. The real battle is not between the helpless workers—black, white or yellow. The real battle is between all who are laborers on the one hand, and all who are exploiters of labor on the other."

Extract from lecture on "Chinese Labor in America, and Chinese Products in the Markets of the World," delivered by Prof. Walter Thomas Mills in San Francisco.

### A NOTE.

San Francisco, Cal., April 8, 1902.

To the Editor: A comrade writes asking if it is true that I intend not to continue my work in the training school next fall. No; I have now fifty-one students in the school here and over seventy pledged for the next fall term. There is every probability that the next fall term will open with two hundred students. This impression may have arisen from the fact that Comrade Roche, National Committeeman for California, recently published a very kind note, commending me as a speaker and suggesting that I abandon the school and speak continuously. My plan is to teach three months in the year and be on the platform the balance of the time. The next term will open at Girard second week in November. Save your money and meet me there. Yours truly, WALTER THOMAS MILLS.

### TACOMA RETURNS.

After two weeks' delay Tacoma Socialists have been able to ascertain from the city election Socialists Party, 127; Socialist Labor Party, 44. Two years ago the Socialist Party put up no ticket, but voted for Socialist Labor Party candidates. The latter then claimed great gains for themselves and loss for the Socialist Party. This year's vote reveals the true state of the vote. The Socialist Party has about 3 to 1 compared with the Socialist Democratic party. Together they cast 2 1/2 per cent. of the total vote, a very good result, especially considering that no very active campaign was conducted.

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### THE FIRST STEP TO SOCIALISM.

Socialists are often asked why they do not support candidates in other political parties who favor the public ownership of various public utilities, the inference being, of course, that such public ownership would be a "step in the direction of Socialism." But such an idea comes from a total misunderstanding of Socialist principles. The "class struggle" is the basis of Socialist propaganda—the warfare between the working class and the capitalist class for possession of the fruits of labor. The history of governments among men is that they have ever been used for the purpose of serving the interests of the ruling class.

Affairs of government are now in the hands of the capitalist class, whose interests are hostile to the working class. Now, this being true, the Socialist Party, representing the interests of the working class, is opposed to the extension of the powers of the ruling class by enlarging government activities through engaging in the operation of public utilities.

In Germany the imperial government has already the ownership and operation of many of the utilities for which the "public ownership" advocates are clamoring, yet the workers are as much oppressed as before, because the government, being purely capitalist, operates these industries for the benefit of the masters; and the revenues, instead of being used to increase wages and shorten hours, serve the purpose of lessening the taxes of the capitalists.

Government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, etc., in Italy, Belgium and other countries has failed to militate in favor of the working class, and nowhere are Socialists more active in pointing out that "government ownership" and Socialism are two entirely different propositions.

And only "after" the direction of Socialism is the conquest of the powers of government by the working class. This accomplished, they can then proceed to put in operation such "steps" as may be deemed expedient, always keeping in mind the interests of the workers. Undoubtedly a Socialist government would extend to the municipal and municipal ownership and operation of public utilities, but the question to be considered is the introduction of each would be, "How will it affect the interests of the working class?" not "How may the taxes of the capitalist class be lessened?"

It would be the aim of a Socialist government to increase, rather than diminish, the revenues of the state or municipality, in order that its functions might be extended, until the final goal was reached—the complete collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution of wealth and the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.—"From 'The Exponent,'" Saginaw, Mich.

"Peacefully or through revolution, by a series of insensible modifications, or by more or less sudden eliminations, the authoritative functions of the state will go on decreasing while its economic functions will take on an importance ever greater."—Vanderfeld.

"Collectivism does not necessarily imply equality of remuneration."—Vanderfeld.

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IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF KING  
County, State of Washington. Wm. B. Kelly, Plaintiff, vs. Kelly, et al., defendant. No. 35,071. Summons  
Filed.

State of Washington to the said Blanche I. Kelly, defendant: You are hereby summoned to appear within ten days from the date of the first publication of this summons, to-wit: within ten days after the 6th day of April, 1902, and defend the above entitled action in the above entitled court, and answer the complaint of the plaintiff herein, and serve a copy of your answer upon the undersigned attorney for the plaintiff at his office below stated, and in case of your failure so to do judgment will be rendered against you according to the demand of the complaint, which has been filed with the Clerk of said court.

The object of this action is to obtain a dissolution of the bonds of matrimony existing between the plaintiff and defendant, and that the plaintiff may have return of the custody of his minor children to the plaintiff and defendant, and that the plaintiff may have awarded to him all the property, real and personal, belonging to him, undivided by any rights or interest of the defendant therein wherever and whenever the same may be situated.

RICHARD WINNOR,  
Plaintiff's Attorney,  
Postoffice and Office Address: 78  
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PARTY NEWS

LOCAL NEWS

Comrade with a meeting... McDewitt is doing good... Jackman is making a splendid... Comrade Boomer gave an excellent... Local has decided to hold... Comrade Jackson has been elected...

NEWS AND NOTES

Trust has started a big fac... Bagger and Silkeberg, Denmark... Helpingstien, who is now at... Mills School at San Fran... Northern California. He is said... Arthur, Michk. in 1901... St. Petersburg, Fla. Socialists... N. M. Socialists took... Italy went... The government resorted... The Socialists were strong... International... France, after running amuck... another leaves the Millard... combination and other joins... Republican Party... founded in Dublin in May, 1896... Eight hun... only two wards of this city... allowed us to contest... Labor... candidates... of the fight instructed its stand... refuse to sign the... body, and to stand or fall by... meaning of its revolutionary...

CORRESPONDENCE

WHAT IS "CAPITAL?"

Dear Sir: In your paper of April... I have a bundle of seven... I also wear an Appeal Army... I giving the private ownership... The interests of capital and labor... For financial... take the locomotive on... that is capital. You put... destroyed by rust; but you let labor... the levers and the locomotive goes... spinning down the track at the bidding... together in union. Labor guides and... capital does the work. It is the same... every body and in fact, every... capital does the work and labor guides... If Socialists are fighting capital... labor and capital is a curse to labor and... would advocate the abolition of capital... capital would suit them best, and I... think that is the cannibal islands of... the Southern Hemisphere. I am an... "Appeal to Reason" Socialist I would... prefer to live in the country that has... most capital, and what I mean is an... to obtain more (the more the... better), and fight the private own... ship of capital. It is the private own... ship of its just reward. If we had public... ownership of capital in the form of the... cooperative commonwealth, then la-

bor would receive its just reward, and that is what I am working for. Fraternally yours, C. H. LEACH, Appeal to Reason Socialist.

Reply.

Now here is a reasonable letter. We commend its style to all correspondents who expect their communications to be published. It is frank, it tells the truth, the writer sees it. And it abuses nobody, call names, it puns, no motives, it simply argues. Now in reply we want to say that Comrade Leach's explanation of the Socialist means. The one difference is in the definition of Capital. He takes the common definition of orthodox capitalist political economists. The Socialist takes the definition of Marx. The Socialist goes on the economist. If he will read "Wage Labor and Capital" by Marx, issued by H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, for five cents, he will find the distinction clearly drawn. If Comrade Leach has a file of The Socialist and will turn to No. 24, January 29, 1901, he will find a full discussion of the whole matter. Let us repeat, however, for there is no more valuable lesson for all Socialists to learn than this definition of capital. If you accept the capitalist definition of capital, it seems an innocent thing and it is possible to say, as Comrade Leach does, that the interests of Capital and Labor are identical although not identical from that and conclude that the interests of Capitalists and Laborers are identical. But if you refuse the Capitalist's definition as incomplete and too inaccurate, it is different from yours, and yourself to keep ever in view, that wage-labor is not identical with capital.

Now Comrade Leach says the engine standing on the track is capital. No, teaches Marx, no more than a dead man, he must be alive to be a man. So that engine must be in action to be capital, and it cannot be in action without the existence of modern conditions, without wage-labor. And wage-labor always implies robbery. You cannot separate that engine from its twofold work of transportation and exploitation. It would never have been built. Under this system, it would never have been built merely for transportation. It must be capable of producing profit, that is, it must be worked on for wages and thereby produce surplus value for the owner.

What is Capital? It is an instrument used for producing wealth. That is the capitalist definition of capital. What is a Negro-slave? A human being of the black race. That definition of a Negro-slave is just as valuable as that capitalist definition of Capital. "A Negro is a Negro," says Marx. "In a certain condition, he is transformed into a slave. A spinning jenny is a machine for spinning cotton. Only under certain circumstances does it become capital. Outside these circumstances it is no more capital than gold is intrinsic money or sugar is the price of sugar."

Marx spent twenty years writing his book on money and naming it "Capital." That whole book is aimed to show what Capital is and is not. It is a study of production in all its modern relations as means of exploitation and robbery, not as bare, abstract, dead matter, inactive and unrelated. That is the capitalist definition of capital. We are not surprised that an "Appeal to Reason Socialist" knows nothing of this question. He writes in his editor that he ever caught a glimpse of this first of all Socialist truths. He takes the words of Marx which he wrote in January, 1901, which, by the way, make evident that The Socialist occupies the same ground today that it did over a year ago.

"Many Socialists employ the word Capital in a sense which is not only wrong, but also a surrender of our strongest, but the true definition of Capital is the mere dead mass of instruments of production, but it is always and invariably the instrument of exploitation necessitating the exploitation of those laborers who work them. Never again will the capitalist exist without wage-labor. They are inseparable twins. They form the characteristic feature of present-day society. Study away till you grasp this idea of Capital, and you will never be led astray with superficial theories and temporary expedients. You will then have a key and interpreter of events which our "Statemen" are quite ignorant of."

The Socialist platform says nothing of Public Ownership of Capital, but it does say that Capital is the means of Production, which is quite different. But, as we said at the beginning, we have no quarrel with the Appeal to Reason Socialist in this letter. But he and all other "Appeal to Reason Socialists" need to study the Scientific Analysis of Modern Society by Marx and Ferri and Kautsky and Sombart have made. Then they will see that the true definition of Capital as a historic product involves also the Class Struggle upon which we have no compromise. We are confident we hope to succeed.—Editor.

ANOTHER KIND.

We depart from our announced intention of publishing no abusive letters and print the following, chiefly because the author seems sincere and thinks he is reasoning and not abusing. Also because we wish to reply to some of his questions. We are glad he is able to discover only a single instance of abusive language in our work. We wish it to be understood that truth-telling does not constitute abuse. For instance, our words that we are not a party to be called abuse by some, when they are only a naked statement of truth. If a man is a liar or a schemer, he will be called a liar or a schemer. It is not abuse to expose him. It is the part of obligation to our party and its future that comrades

should be informed concerning one another. For instance, what we said last week concerning Wayland and others as properly belonging to an Opportunist party can be substantiated by their own publications. Boomer's instructions as a correspondent, when he went East, were: "Find out facts and tell them. That is the policy of the Socialist. Facts, facts, no illusions. This, this is the Marxian way. Read his 'Civil War in France.' Marx has terrible expose of Thiers and Favre and their kind. What we object to in De Leon is not his directness, but his disregard of the facts and the truth. While speaking of De Leon, we might as well answer our correspondent's question, why we don't advocate joining the De Leon party."

First—Because of this very method of vilification and misrepresentation which prevails throughout that party. Second—Because of its stand on the Trades Union question which compels support of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance and opposition to all other Labor Union.

Third—Because the Socialist Party is more democratic in its constitution and attitude than that of the De Leonists or Northport or Spokane has the greatest number of comrades present, and is better calculated to gain converts to Socialism.

Fourth—Because we believe the Socialist Party contains more Socialists than any other party.

Fifth—Because the S. L. P. is a dwindling and the S. P. is a growing party. Now we suspect Comrade Boomer's reasons for not joining the S. L. P. are different from ours. He agrees with Lux in most things, and Lux objects to the S. L. P. because it exalts class fight and the workingman's self-emanipation of the working class, etc. Boomer suggests his own opposition, but he says "we have stolen their platform." It is their (and our) platform which you object to, and we do not object to their platform. We do not object to their platform, and if Boomer and Lux and Baymiller and Gilbert do not agree with our platform, who should leave the party, those who object to the party, or those who uphold it?

The answerer the clash Boomer predicts comes the better for us all, that we may find out whether we in Washington are a working class party or not, whether we belong to the National Socialist Party or not. That is the real question.

Lawrence, Whatcom Co., Wash. April 13, 1902.

Editor Socialist: The issue of your paper you published a letter to one Baymiller, in which he asks you to stop sending "The Socialist," as he believes you are trying to disrupt the party. He accuses you of De Leonism, and says that you are apparently in capitalist pay. In answering your say that Article 6, Section 4, will conclude as follows: Question No. 1. Shall the National Constitution be amended so that Article 6, Section 4, will conclude as follows: Provided, That the National Committee shall have power to arrange and conduct Lecture Tours with such Locals as they may desire.

Question No. 2. Shall the Official Party emblem be a red flag (in the shape of a flag), bearing the words "Socialist Party" in white letters. Question No. 3. Shall the Official Party emblem be a Globe with hands clasped across, surrounded with a wreath of red, bearing the words in black letters, "Socialist Party," and "Workers of the World Unite." The result of this referendum is as follows: Total vote on question No. 1... 4,041 Total yes on question No. 1... 3,420 Total no on question No. 1... 621 Majority in favor question No. 1... 2,799 Total vote on question No. 2... 2,840 Total yes on question No. 2... 426 Total no on question No. 2... 2,414 Majority against question No. 2... 1,266 Total vote on question No. 3... 2,282 Total yes on question No. 3... 2,722 Total no on question No. 3... 560 Majority in favor question No. 3... 2,162

According to these results you are hereby notified: First—That Article 6, Section 4, of the National Constitution has been amended as provided in Question 1. Second—That the red flag has been designated as the party emblem. Third—That the globe with hands clasped across has been adopted as the party emblem. LEON GREENBAUM, National Secretary.

The vote of the State of Washington is not reported. We do not know why.—Ed.

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and ignoring Wallace, is the decision of three men who make up the majority of the state committee. That proxies are not to be recognized. This is machine politics with a vengeance. Seattle is to lose the rest of the state. We are not to be represented in the convention unless we, each of us personally, go there to spend our money and jeopardize our jobs. What is to be gained by this treachery? Is not the party large enough to hold us all? We respect your ideas, considered though we may consider them. Can you not try to tolerate us? Turn your backs on the back and give fair representation to all who have paid for the rights. Yours for Socialism, FRANK BOSTROM.

Comrade Bostrom makes a fatal mistake when he says proxies are not allowed under the call of the State Committee for the convention. Proxies from a comrade's own Local are distinctly provided for, but not for any other Local.

His appeal to pride of localities is distinctly anti-Socialist. Whether and under what circumstances of Fullerton, Aberdeen or Northport or Spokane has the greatest number of comrades present, and is better calculated to gain converts to Socialism. We are just as sympathetic with Belgium as with Massachusetts. Our fight is a working class fight, and the workingman's interests in Whateam are exactly the same as in Seattle. Heroin see another symptom of the opportunistic disease, a failure to comprehend that Socialists are international in their sympathies and that no artificial or state or national boundaries give them separate interests.

Comrade Bostrom is making Socialists—far be it! The hardest task we find is to make Socialists out of those "The Appeal." In our opinion, Comrade Bostrom, suppose you and others who think as you do, including "The Appeal," get right down to the Working-class Socialism which unites the platform of the Socialist Party in this and all other countries.—Ed.

PRESS BULLETIN.

St. Louis, Mo., April 12, 1902. To the State and Local Organizations of the Socialist Party.—Comrades: In accordance with instructions, we have submitted to a referendum of the state and local organizations, the following:

Question No. 1. Shall the National Constitution be amended so that Article 6, Section 4, will conclude as follows: Provided, That the National Committee shall have power to arrange and conduct Lecture Tours with such Locals as they may desire. Question No. 2. Shall the Official Party emblem be a red flag (in the shape of a flag), bearing the words "Socialist Party" in white letters. Question No. 3. Shall the Official Party emblem be a Globe with hands clasped across, surrounded with a wreath of red, bearing the words in black letters, "Socialist Party," and "Workers of the World Unite." The result of this referendum is as follows: Total vote on question No. 1... 4,041 Total yes on question No. 1... 3,420 Total no on question No. 1... 621 Majority in favor question No. 1... 2,799 Total vote on question No. 2... 2,840 Total yes on question No. 2... 426 Total no on question No. 2... 2,414 Majority against question No. 2... 1,266 Total vote on question No. 3... 2,282 Total yes on question No. 3... 2,722 Total no on question No. 3... 560 Majority in favor question No. 3... 2,162

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