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THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Vote Their Own Emancipation.

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The A B C of Socialism

No. 6, By Jos. Wanhope

lives which will ultimately enlighten them, not only to the desirability, but to the necessity of Socialism—the fact that under the present system they are less able to satisfy their wants even though they continually produce more wealth by their labor.

Poverty Will Educate Them.

The poverty which they are always seeking to avoid without success will at length impress upon them the necessity of changing the system which creates it as a permanent condition of the lives of their class; for they cannot ignore the fact that in society today there are two classes with opposing interests engaged in a continuous struggle for the wealth produced by labor. They themselves are forced to take part in this struggle, and every strike and lockout, every trades union and employers' association is proof positive of its existence. The more wealth is produced, the keener becomes this struggle. In the wealthiest nations of the world it rages most fiercely, and it is impossible to avoid it while the present system of producing and distributing wealth remains unchanged.

Only a Matter of Time.

It is merely a matter of time, then, until the working class must, in spite of the continual efforts made to deceive them, at last realize the true nature of the struggle and take measures to end its class character forever by changing the system so that they can use and enjoy to the full the wealth created by their labor.

Thus we see the impossibility of satisfying their wants under the present system of production and distribution is the main factor impelling the workers toward Socialism as a remedy. As they compose the major portion of society today, this is the same as saying that the present economic system is fast becoming unsuitable to the needs of the human race. The measure of its decay is therefore to be found in the growth of Socialism.

The Foreign Market.

At the same time the development of the present system of producing and distributing goods is working toward the same end. Those who own the means by which they are produced do not use these goods, or rather do not have them produced for their own use. They are produced for sale instead, so that a profit may be realized. Those who actually produce them can only purchase to the extent of their wages; the rest must be disposed of in foreign markets, and as all the great producing nations are in fierce competition for the possession of these markets, and further, as both the home and foreign markets are strictly limited, the time must come when these markets will be unable to absorb all the goods produced, and so production comes to a standstill. In such times the workers must either starve quietly, waste their strength in useless complaint or possibly riot, or else unite to change the system by producing for use instead of for sale.

What Makes the "Crisis"?

Every improvement in the method of producing goods every invention that lowers the cost of their production, displaces a certain number of workers, renders more fierce the competition to obtain work, thus lowering wages and hurrying production beyond the capacity of the market. At the same time it tends to the bankruptcy and financial ruin of the small capitalists, who in such cases are naturally the first to go under. This is the real means of production-capital as it is called—sufficiently to tide them over these continually recurring periods of depression.

These periods are generally known as "crises." Production ceases temporarily, and while the small capitalist is deprived of his property, the laborers starve because they have produced too much. Wealth therefore

Fraternally
Jos. Wanhope

tends to concentrate ever into fewer hands. While the present system endures these crises are inevitable. As the machinery of production is perfected they become ever more severe and more widespread. Where they throw thousands out of employment in just years they will throw out millions in the future, and ultimately the workers will be compelled, in order to preserve their existence, to unite for the purpose of changing a system which compels them to starve in the midst of plenty. In other words, they will be compelled to establish Socialism.

Socialism Entirely Practicable.

And it will be readily seen that this is entirely practicable. The present system rests upon man-made laws and can therefore be changed by men. The workers being by all odds the most numerous class in society can easily make the change when they recognize its necessity.

They will have to capture the power of making, interpreting the laws and administering the machinery of government, which is now in the hands of the capitalists, who secure it only through their ability to systematically deceive the workers into sacrificing their interests to those of the capitalists.

This is accomplished through what is called politics, and the change can be made through the same instrument, for politics, after all, is but the means by which the industrial system of a nation is maintained and conducted. Whether it be Republican or Democratic politics, it is always capitalist politics, that is, it is always the system of producing and distributing that we have described.

The Politics of the Working Class.

The politics of the working class, then, with and through which they must seek to change the economic system to suit their interests, cannot be either Republican or Democratic, but must of necessity be Socialist politics.

Up to the present the working class has taken no active part in politics. They have merely contented in the politics of the capitalist class. Votes given to elect capitalist representatives to office are worse than lost, so far as working men are concerned, and such votes are indispensable to the capitalists, and this explains their eagerness to secure them at election time.

Perpetual Deception Impossible.

It will be apparent then that the present economic system depends for its continuance upon the ignorance of the workers. Socialism, on the other hand, to be realized depends upon the intelligence and knowledge of their own interests.

Capitalism dooms the working class to continue in this way. We quote a number of the starting point of Intelligence. Out of the conditions that capitalism creates grows the necessity for Socialism, and for this reason the continual deception of the workers is impossible and explain why Socialism constantly increases in strength and numbers.

The Socialist knows that plenty is better than poverty, security than uncertainty, peace than strife, justice than injustice. He knows that these things are possible of attainment for all, and that the present evils which the producing classes suffer are but the necessary lessons which will finally teach them that the present system of production and distribution must be changed, and that in their class alone lies the power to change it.

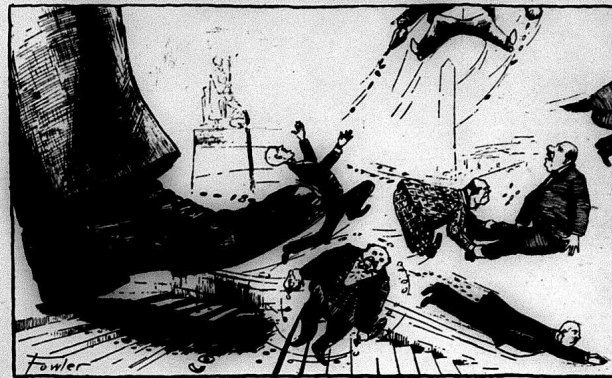
Socialism Certain as the Rising of the Sun.

And that change can only take the form of the Socialist society described crudely in the opening paragraph. The ownership of the means of life by a few being the cause of the evil conditions of today, must necessarily give place to ownership of these means by all—the collective ownership by society of the means of producing and distributing wealth.

This is the goal for which all Socialists strive. In the working class alone lies the power and will to attain it, and Socialism is therefore essentially the movement and mission of this class. It coming may be retarded by the ignorance or lack of intelligence, but its ultimate coming is as certain as the rising of tomorrow's sun.

The Socialists of Massachusetts nominated John Quincy Adams for Lieut.-Governor. So the Adams family, which has furnished two presidents for this republic, gives its latest and best bid to Socialism. Old John Adams, rugged and independent, lives again in the fifth generation. But how about the Socialists being all "ignorant foreigners" and "red-headed brutes"? Revolutionary fathers seem to have left behind some Revolutionary sons!

A (Baer) Boot—"Divinely Appointed."



The Relation of Labor to Capital.

THE STITT WILSON MEETINGS.

In spite of short advertising Comrade Wilson had two good houses in Seattle. The second night the hall was well filled.

Two significant tests were made of the audience on Saturday night. The speaker called for hands up to show how many labor union men were present and they went up by scores. Then he called for a show of hands of those who were connected "directly or indirectly" with any religious organization. Not half a dozen responded. It is evident union men's estimate of the preacher is about what you might expect from the preacher's treatment of them, as recorded in another column.

Stitt Wilson is an interesting, instructive and powerful speaker. He made a great impression, and will get still bigger audiences next time he comes this way. We quote a number of his best points on this page.

If you see a boy caught in some machinery and bleeding, will you let him stay there until you find out what the New Testament says? Will you say, Hello, there; John Marshall, what does the constitution say? What do you care what the constitution says? If it has anything in it that hinders us from looking after the welfare of human life, then change the constitution. (Great applause.) The only sacred thing about the constitution is that the men who made it, tried to make more sacred, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; but they didn't do it, and it has got to be done all over again by us.—Stitt Wilson.

If enough of us show our colors, we can make our enemies cease persecution. Wear a party button. You can have it for a six months' sub.

The Republican party is turning the machine, and its cohorts are feeding the machine with human beings, and they are catching the life blood and coining it into coin. You—go into the machine next, and if you are too tough, your baby will go in. You want girls driven like cattle; you want little children coined into John Pierpont's Millions. Yes; you want that, you workmen. I only test you by your votes.—Stitt Wilson.

One of our county organizers found one workman perfectly satisfied with his condition. He didn't want to hear anything about Socialism. He lived in a shack and was doing his wife's washing.

Do you realize what that Album of Historic Socialists is? It's an album containing the photographs, not newspaper cuts, but the actual photographs of some of the most prominent Socialists in the world. It will be given to the person who makes the closest estimate of the Socialist vote to be cast in this state this fall. To get in your estimate, send a new yearly subscription. Every new yearly entitles you to one vote.

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PINE PLANKS.

I know one thing if I don't know anything else, and that is that wherever I find human life suffering and degraded and worn and broken and tired and robbed, there's the time for you and me to step in and do our part. It is not your business to find out their religion is, or their character, or their nationality, but your first business is to get "that boy" out. He's under the wagon, and the plank breaks and the wagon goes down on the boy harder than ever. Did you ever try to lift a sand wagon with a pine plank? William Jennings Bryan had a pine plank. Bryan is a good clean man, but it is not character that is wanted.

Andrew Carnegie comes along, and he pulls out Gulliver's Travels and Herbert Spencer, and he cries, "Read, Read!" "Boy, stay right where you are and I will build a library right where you are." Then he puts his own book in, "On the Blessings of Poverty." Another fellow says, "Little boy, just be good. Be good. You won't last long, you'll soon die and go home to heaven."—Stitt Wilson.

"No king is one-tenth so powerful as Morgan. Edward VII, Emperor William, Nicholas of Russia—any one of these is a pigmy in real power compared with Morgan."—N. Y. Banker.

Adventures of a Professional Hero



DOOLEY ON TEDDY ROSENFELT'S RAMPAGE.

"Th' thrusts," says Tiddy to himself and the rest of th' world, "th' thrusts are hejious monstahs built up be th' enlightened interprise iv th' men that have done so much to advance pro-gress in our beloved country," he says. "On wan hand I wud stamp this underfoot; on th' other hand not so fast. What I want more th' 'bu' bustin' 'iv th' thrusts is to see me fello' countrymen happy an' contented. I wudnt have thim hate th' thrusts. Th' haggard face, th' droopin' eye, th' pallid complexion that marks th' inimy iv thrusts is not to me taste."

REMEMBER THE PLACE AND TIME.

EX-MAYOR JOHN C. CHASE of Haverhill, Mass., is to speak in Carpenters' Hall, Seattle, Sunday evening, Sept. 28. Mr. Chase was nominated in Boston, Sept. 8, for governor of Massachusetts. He is a shoemaker by trade, and served as a "Labor Mayor" of Haverhill, Mass., for two terms, being elected by the Socialist party. He has been traveling throughout the West for several months, addressing Labor Unions particularly. His theme is of the greatest possible interest to all workmen. The hall is sure to be packed. Socialists should bring along all their "unconverted friends."

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THE WAY TO MAKE SOCIALISTS.
 Astonishing things occur every day. To Astonishing things occur every day. To Astonishing things occur every day. To
 canvases for a Socialist paper gives the best possible chance to talk face to face, and in many cases this is the only way to overcome prejudice.
 Lists of subscribers should be written very plainly on a separate sheet of paper. It will assist us in this.
DR. FREDERICK FALK,
 A & B, Times Bldg. Phone Main 731.

machine owners, to work even half the time. If we owned these factories and railroads and mines and mills ourselves and all of us worked at them to produce wealth for our own use and happiness, all the troubles of poverty would disappear at once.
 The only thing that lies between us and the promised land is this private ownership of the means of producing wealth.
 Therefore, what Socialism proposes to do, in order to get wealth for all, is to take possession of the instruments of Wealth Production and run them for the use of all.
 C.—HOW Socialism Proposes to DO IT.
 This is the practical first step. It is of no use to talk about what we propose to get nor even what we propose to do to it, unless we know just how to do it.
 And we do not just now. And this is how:
 We suppose that all those people who are deprived of their right to use the machinery they have made and to get the riches they make shall come together in a political party and "vote the machine out."
 And we denied the right to use their own machinery are the men who now work for a bare living. They have nothing to lose, and everything to gain. This is the working class. Socialism appeals to them on the ground of their self-interests, the ground on which all great men have their appeals to other men. Ours is a business enterprise, and like all business

enough to point out a single editorial utterance in The Socialist which implies even that any opponent inside the party or outside the party is "dishonest!" I am heartily tired of insinuations of this sort, that The Socialist is "dishonest" the motives of anybody, and I hereby challenge you or anybody to point out a sentence in The Socialist, from the pen of the editor, that makes any such accusation.
 Nor is there any question that others than members of the working class are eligible to membership in our party. Of course, there will be many such members from the middle class and the upper class. I am equally tired of hearing this charge repeated that The Socialist has ever made any claim that the party must be constituted wholly and solely of wage workers. What I have said is this, that the party must be constituted in the main of wage workers, that it is a working class party fundamentally and that the main appeal must be addressed to that class.
 Now, what you say and try to maintain is this, that the appeal should be made equally to all classes, and that the Socialist Party must be constituted mainly of wage workers. In maintaining this position you are opposed to the Socialist Party platform and to the policy of the International Socialist movement. You, and not I, are the rebel, the recalcitrant. If you are not willing to accept the well-defined and well-settled policy of the Socialist Party abroad and at home, then you do not belong in our party. I am defending the policy of the party until that policy is changed. Any such criticism of me or The Socialist is directed, therefore, not against me or the paper, but against the policy of the International Socialist Party.
 Your contention that the Socialist Party must depend for its support on the men outside the working class is one that you would hardly want to defend in public. The party is not dependent on the Wilshire, nor the Wilshire, nor the Harrimans, nor the Tituses, nor the Millises, nor any other whose training and instincts have been of capitalist origin. I fully agree with J. Stitt Wilson, who told me this week he believed the hope of our party to lie in the crowds of labor union men and others of the working class who are now turning to the Socialist Party as the instrument of their emancipation. He also said he expected the leaders of the movement, those who are to organize and be the official representatives of the movement, would come from the same class. Your distrust of the working-class shows that you have not yet comprehended the mission of the working class.
 Until you accept the party program in this regard you will be more of a hindrance than a help to our party.
 Now, don't call this Debauchery or Intolerance or a questioning of motives or Pharisaism or any other expetive, but take it for what it is, a plain statement of your relation to the universally recognized party policy.
 The Socialist is loyal to the policy, you are disloyal to it; and so is any man, big or little, who does not accept the working class as the spinal column of the Socialist movement. Yours sincerely,
 HERMON F. TITUS,
 Editor The Socialist.

The Socialist party of Kentucky give their First Grand Picnic at Clark's grove, Dayton, Sunday, Sept. 21. A great time for Socialism and socialism is expected.
 The time is not far distant in American politics when absolutely nothing will be talked about in any part of America but this Socialist solution of the labor problem.—Stitt Wilson.
 If you care a snap about this paper, you'll patronize its advertisers.

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Criticisms and Comment.
 We reprint herewith the introductory article to the A, B, C Series. It is followed by a criticism on it, or on the last division of it, by a comrade quite prominent in the party. This letter was not offered for publication, and hence the author's name is suppressed. The editor's reply is also published. The entire matter affords an opportunity to state again and state again one of the most important questions that can be discussed at the present stage of the Socialist movement in America.
A.—What Socialism Proposes to GET.
 In one word, Wealth for all. Plenty of the good things of life for everybody. A fine house to live in, fine furniture in it and fine laws and trees about it. Tall trees and green things to eat. Abundance of clothing, comfortable and elegant. Opportunity and means to travel all over the world. Leisure to read and play and work. No poverty any more with its filth and sickness and vice. With these things, Socialism will get the consequences of all the things that make human development, large, healthy, noble men and women, a happy, energetic, progressive race.
 You say all this is a dream? No, no dream at all, but an immediate possibility. By means of the vast new machinery in this modern world, we can produce wealth enough for all without any trouble whatever. A modern cotton mill in place of the old stage-coach, a modern electric light company in place of the old candle-mold, a modern shoe factory in place of the old bench shoe-

A CRITICISM ON "C."
 Editor The Socialist.
 Dear Comrade—Your favor of the 12th received. Your A, B, C pamphlet is first-class, except the "C." I think there you fall down on the very principle of Socialism, and I claim to be class conscious in the extreme. Now we are rich, having applied to be class conscious and worthy to be members of the Socialist, or Workingman's Party, if you choose to call it such, though I, a workman and union member, think there is a difference between the Socialist Party and a strictly workman's party. Socialism will not stop at the workman as we know him today, but will bring everybody into the fold. The class movement is to show that one class produces, while another class consumes. As long as a member of the non-producing consuming class is ignorant of the facts he is entitled to as much respect as the ignorant member of the producing class. To illustrate: You are not a bit more honest now than you were when you were leading those movements in Seattle a few years ago. The thing is, you have learned What Honesty is. I recently asked a member of our local in the government employ if he would be at our convention. He replied no, that he couldn't ask to get off to attend the convention, that if he went off for that he would probably be let out for good. Now, it strikes me that such comrades are more likely to throw the party over on account of their material interests than men who are not dependent on the capitalist class for their immediate wants. It strikes me your position on the party membership is a good bit like Judge Jackson's injunction to prevent food and clothes being given to the strikers. The miners without outside assistance couldn't carry on the strike one week, and the Socialist Party, if it cuts off its outside supply, which, to be logical, would include the Wilsons, Vilshires, Tituses, Mills, Harrimans, etc., will die the death of the Socialist Party. Its growth will be so far, then, comes stagnation, as the matter has been signed so much it becomes rather disgusting. The Socialist has made a decided advance, and with the exception of when it gets on to that exclusive, everybody else dishonest sort of "I thank God I'm not like other men, even as this poor publican" tone, consider it par excellence the paper. Fowler's work, with your comments, can't be touched anywhere. Hoping you will continue to grow, and grow out, I am your for Socialism,
 Seattle, Wash., Sept. 17, 1902.

EDITOR'S REPLY TO THE CRITICISM.
 Dear Comrade—I think you will yet work yourself out to the Socialist position. For have only one step to take to stand squarely on the Socialist platform. Those who contend for anything else than a working class platform are simply not Socialists.
 There is no question of honesty or dishonesty. You say The Socialist assumes an "everybody else dishonest" attitude. Now, will you be kind

Where He Belongs
 UNION SHOP

 FRYE (the Fat Fried out of him)—"Please, Mr. Butcher, I want a nickel's worth of dog meat; something that will make good soup. I ain't a bit well."
 FOR THE BUTCHERS' STRIKE—LET REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS SHOW THEIR COLORS.
 In the name of the Socialists of Seattle "The Socialist" hereby offers Five Dollars as a starter to help the butchers continue their fight against Frye & Bros for better treatment and better wages.
 Now, we hereby challenge the representatives of any other political party to make a contribution for the same purpose. The Socialists are poor. You are rich. You are friends of the workmen. Just put up a generous Hundred Dollars, at the very least, you Republicans, or State Committee, by this morning daily.
 Or you, Colonel Jay B., you have a most successful journal and you are a great friend of the workmen, you know. You stand for the Democratic Party, which is the special patron of the workmen. Now then, show your colors. What will you give to help out this strike?
 You Two Parties, both dear friends of the workman, put up or shut up!
 Here is our little dog Frye! Which will speak first?