Eighth Year-No. 377

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, May 30, 1908

Price Five Cents

SETTLED

for good. It made it certain that the Socialist Party is a Wage Workers

The "Principles" adopted as the preamble and introduction to the platform are absolutely unequivocal on this point. The following words are high warter mark of all Socialist platforms:

"THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN WAGE WORKERS AND CAPITALISTS GROWS EVER FIERCER AND HAS NOW BECOME THE ONLY VITAL ISSUE BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE."

That does not say "Workingmen" or "Workers" or "Producers", but "WAGE WORKERS," that is the Proletariat, exactly the specific word employed by Marx and Engels, "PROLETARIANS of all lands, unite."

Hereafter, it will not be possible for any Socialist to claim the Socialist Party stands for all classes alike. The political primacy is given to the Wage Workers because theirs is the economic primacy. As the platform proceeds to say: "THE WAGE WORKING CLASS HAS THE MOST VITAL AND DIRECT INTEREST IN ABOLISHING THE CAPI-TALIST SYSTEM"; and "THE WAGE WORKERS CANNOT BE FREED FROM EXPLOITATION WITHOUT CONQUERING THE POLITICAL

This crowning achievement of the Socialist Party in America at the close of its first eight years' existence, signifies its right to live and achieve. It proves a degree of enlightenment, a deliberate class consciousness, which insures future victory.

The selection of Debs and Hanford, two typical Wage Workers, as standard bearers in this campaign, still further marks the Party's coming of age. The brushing aside of the professoinal aspirants, Thompson, Simons and Steadman, with insignificant votes, was a splendid manifestation of virile proletarianism.

The attitude of the majority of the farmer delegates in the Convention was remarkable. The actual farmers disowned their would-be middle class and "intellectual" leaders. The old line Populists have been reading scientific Socialist literature and have learned that the only hope of the Agrarians lies with the Proletarians. It was the farmers from Oklahoma and Texas and Oregon who refused the Middle Class Resolutions prepared by an Opportunist Committee, and demanded a revolutionary declaration instead. Thousands of small farmers are indeed disinherited and exiled Wage Workers who rightfully understand that modern capitalist development has given birth to the Wage Class as the predestined instrument of the world's emancipation.

The Socialist Press will undoubtedly take a brace now. We shall hear no more silly jeers at "Skyentific" Socialism or jokes about the "Prowling Terriers" or flings at "R-r-r-evolutionary" doctrines or loud boasts about "Constructive Socialism."

The fact is, the only Socialism which is constructive, and not re-actionary and self-destructive, is that which bases itself on the Wage Class. It may be humiliating for some of us of the professional and business sub-classes who instinctively regard ourselves as superior to "common laborers," to admit these proletarians to supremacy, but there is no escape. It is their destiny and ours. There is no liberty for the rest of mankind save in the victory of the Proletariat.

That the Socialist Party of the United States in its convention of 1908, democratically made of one delegate for every two hundred of its members, consciously and deliberately placed itself on record as primarily a Wage Class Party, is occasion for supreme self gratulation and an augury of certain triumph.

ABOLISH THE

at its business meeting held Thursday evening, May 21st, voted to circulate the following petition:

PETITION FOR NEW ORDINANCE.

We, the undersigned qualified voters of the City of Seattle, propose and ask the enactment of an ordinance which is as follows:

An · ordinance smending Sections No. 2 and No. 4 of ordinance 'An Ordinance Providing for the Working of Prisoners Confined in the City SOCIALIST VEAL if the old constitution remains in Jali, Having Been Duly Convicted of SOCIALIST VEAL force the balance of this year, we of Prisoners Confined in the City an Offense Against any Ordin the City of Seattle."

BE IT ORDAINED BY THE CITY

a term of imprisonment in the city Garrick Theater, Sunday morning, jail of said City, whether in default May 10th, 1908. said term, except Sundays, to per page 1, column 4). form eight (8) hours' labor upon the streets, public buildings, lots, engine the curtains of the Temple were rent VOTE DOWN THE 1909 PROhouses, sewers or public grounds of on a memorable occasion two thou- VISION, COMRADES. such city, or other property of the sand odd years ago. A thousand So city, or property of which the city cialists, and yet again a thousand has direct charge or control, or in became transformed. Their bodies clearing the crossings of streets in dropped away from them. They be said city.

oners performing labor, as provided were not. for in the preceding sections, shall Chief of Police of the City of Seattle, audience harked back to the falling whose duty it shall be to see that walls and burning shrines of Jeru-body can possibly tell "WHEN THE such prisoners are guarded to pre-salem; every one saw Israel under CONTROVERSY BEGAN." at work or while passing to or from It was the cry from the beginning." such work, shall not be required to wear chains, shackles or other irons."

prescribed by law and had to be followed. Accompanying the petition py reporting. are the following resolutions:

Party of the City of Seattle, that, chain GANG! whereas, the present city administration has failed to make good its preelection promise to abolish the chaingang maintained by the police departor not. Write to Ault and he'll put After waiting in vain for Mayor Miller to keep his pledge to abolish the disgraceful and barbarous chain gang, the Socialist Party of Seattle at its business meeting held Thursmerely unfortunate workingmen, caught in the net of the city's licensed vices, or the more fortunate unemployed. We consider that the chaineffect immediately, but not till Janugang treatment is conducive to a career of crime. We appeal to the people of Seattle to suppress this offense against human sentiment, and it

is further.

Some of the rawest rot or rottenest rawness ever published in any OF SEATTLE, as follows:

Section 1. That Section No. 2 of cago Daily Socialist's" report of the local paper on earth appeared in the 'Chigoes into effect at once the National officers will be chosen by the far Ordinance No. 16373, entitled "An Ordinance Providing for the Working of Prisoners," etc., be and the same is hereby amended to read as fol
"The Socialist" must have seen it.

Officers will be chosen by the far officers will but as a "horrible example" and to constitution does NOT go into ef-"All persons during their term of justify our strong language we quote imprisonment or commitment, after a bit. The first quotation is supposed WILL BE NO ELECTION OF NAconviction and sentence by the Po to be a description of a song or two TIONAL OFFICERS TILL NOVEMlice Justice of the City of Seattle to by a Hebrew, Musical Club at the BER 1910. In this case the present

of payment of fine or otherwise, may (From "Chicago Daily Socialist," be required to work on each day of "National Edition." Tuesday, May 12,

"A cry rent the heavy air, even as fect at once. came souls, mere souls. For the Sec. 2. That Section No. 4 of said cry was the cry of Rachel, the wall ordinance be and the same hereby is from Ramah-a mother crying for vides for a referendum conducted by amended to read as follows: 'Pris-children, and weeping because they the National office in states where

be in the care and custody of the annihilated. Every soul in that vast defeated. vent escape, but such prisoners while the savage hoofs of Titus' legions.

This form of petition is the one is mellow journalism. We have ity of votes-which might be Demo heard of cub reporting. This is pup-

Be it resolved. By the Socialist you don't want to make your daily TIONAL OFFICE.

ing stock of the world. Socialists re not such veal. Here's another, same issue, page 3 column 2. Wanhope made a good

and the cause it represents, the laugh

speech evidently. But poor Wanhope, when served up by "Beyer" as

"Wanhope paused and drew himself up to his full height. Then he hurled the tunderbolt.

"IF MEN HAVE SOULS TO BE SAVED I SAY TO YOU THAT THE DEADLIEST ENEMY OF THE SOUL OF MAN IS THE DAMNA BLE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM."

There was a hush over the vast assemblage. The strained and eager faces were for a moment quiet Then each man looked at his neighbor as if a god had spoken. The utterance was Delphic. Then the strained, eager faces turned again toward the speaker, but this time the laws were set. There was determination in those white faces. They had seen a vision of Satan, seated on his blazing throne, "Fondling a screaming thing his friends had flayed," and the screaming thing was numanity."

Such is Socialism as she was re ported to thousands of walting subscribers throughout the United States. Good Lord deliver us!

Mills' paper, Walter Thomas Mills paper, which only a short year or ago, was advertised to be the big gest yet, twelve pages and universal suspended publication last week, just after having gathered in all the sec ond year renewal subscriptions pos sible. W. T. himself has been gone several months selling new stock for ome new veftures. But he no longer bleeds the Socialist Party.

Every Socialist in Seattle should begin to make Socialist votes, How Why, first, get your man to attend the Sunday night meetings at Egan's Hall, Arcade Block, Second Ave. Måke him a regular attendant. We are a selfish lot. We "go to meeting" like a few holders in a church, and never think to take along a workingman friend with us. Lets wake

[Note to above.-While reading this [Note to above.—While reading this in proof, we learn that the owner of Egan's Hall has turned us out. Probably because we would not refuse Emma Goldman the chance to debate with us on that platform. This is the second hall, or third, we have lost. Free speech for Socialists may yet be driven underground.]

You can make good money hust ling subscribers for "The Socialist."

VOTE IT DOWN!

tional Constitution shall not go into

under the misapprenension that an Resolved. That an initiative petition for an ordinance amending the present law, be submitted to the voters of this city.

But the exact opposite is the fact. If the old constitution remains in shall have to elect these officials by national referendum beginning, November 15th, with the call for nom-

fect till January 1, 1909, THERE officers will hold over till February, 1911, serving three full years, though relected for only one year.

Whatever way you look at it, the new constitution should go into ef

THIS TOO!

That foolish section which pro there is a question of validity of Before the cry space and time were title of state officers, should also be

It is impracticable, unworkable. No

But the main objection is that i allows decision of party validity whol-And so on for some two columns. Iy without reference to the princi-Talk of yellow journalism. This ples involved and solely on a majorcratic or Republican votes.

VOTE DOWN THE SECTION ON Cut it out, Simons, cut it out, if STATE REFERENDUM FROM NA-

HISTORICAL ACHIEVEMENT OF KARL MARX

By Karl Kautsky

Translated at the request of "The Socialist' by Ernest Untermann

5. Unification of the Labor Movement and Socialism

The materialist conception of history marks by itself an epoch. With it begins a new era of science, in spite of all reluctance of bourgeois learning. It marks an epoch, not merely in the history of thought, but also in the history of the struggle for social evolution, of politics in the widest and highest meaning of the word. For by means of it the unification of the labor movement and of Socialism was accomplished and the proletarian class struggle endowed with the greatest strength of which it is capable.

The labor movement and Socialism are by no means identical from the outset. The labor movement arises with necessity of itself as a resistance against industrial capitalism, wherever this appears, expropriates the laboring masses, oppresses them, but at the same time crowds and unites them in large enterprises and industrial cities The most primitive form of the labor movement is the purely economic one, the struggle for wages and labor time, which at first assumes merely the form of simple outbreaks of despair, or unprepared revolts, but is soon carried over into higher forms by labor organization Along with it appears at an early stage the political strug-The borgeoisie itself requires in its struggles against feudalism the help of the proletariat and calls upon it for that purpose. In this way the laborers soon learn to value the significance of political freedom and political power for their own purposes. Particularly universal suffrage soon becomes in England and France the objects of the political efforts of the proletarians, and leads in England, during the thirties, to the formation of a proletarian party, the Chartists.

Socialism arises even before that time. But by no means among the proletariat. True, it is a product of capitalism, just as the labor movement is. Like the labor movement, socialism arises from the desire to escape the miseries, which capitalist exploitation brings upon the laboring classes. However, the resistance of the proletariat arises of itself in the labor movement, where a large laboring population congregates, whereas socialism requires a deep insight into the nature of modern society. All socialism rests upon the understanding, that capitalist misery cannot be abolished so long as bourgeois society lasts, that this misery rests upon the private property in means of production and cannot disappear until it does. Upon this point all socialist systems agree. They differ only about the ways that should be chosen for the purpose of abolishing this private property, and in their conceptions of the new social property that is to take its

Although the expectations and suggestions of some socialists were at times rather naive, yet the understanding, upon which they were based, required a social science that was wholly inaccessible to the proletariat during the first decades of the nineteenth century. It is true that a man could arrive at socialist understanding only when he placed himself upon proletarian ground and looked at bourgeois society from this point of view. But at the same time it had to be a man who commanded the means of science, which was then even more than at present accessible for bourgeois circles only. Even though the labor movement develops naturally and inevitably out of capitalist production wherever this reaches a certain height, socialism required for its development not merely capitalism, but also a meeting of extraordinary circumstances, such as occurred but rarely. In any event, how-ever, socialism could have its first beginning only in a bourgeois environment. In England, until very recently, socialism has even been mainly propagated by bourgeois elements.

This fact might appear in contradiction with the Marxian theory of the class struggle. But it would be so only, if the bourgeois class had ever adopted socialism anywhere, or if Marx had declared it to be impossible that single non-proletarian individuals could, from particular motives, accept the point of view of the proletariat.

Marx has always contended no more than that the working class is the only power which can consummate socialism. In other words, the proletariat can free itself only by its own power. But this is by no means equivalent to saying that only proletarians can show it the way to that goal.

That socialism does not amount to anything, unless it is backed by a strong labor movement, need not be proved any more today. Not so clear is the reverse side of the medal, namely that the labor movement can develop its full power only, when it shall have understood and accepted socialism.

Socialism is not the product of ethics standing outside of time, space and all class distinctions. Fundamentally and primarily it is the science of society from the point of view of the proletariat. But science serves not merely for the satisfaction of our curiosity and inquisitiveness in trying to understand the unknown and mysterious, it also has an economic aim, namely that of saving energy. It makes it possible for men to find their way more easily through reality, to apply their strength more efficiently, and thus to perform and accomplish at all times the maximum of the work possible under the existing circumstances. In its points of departure science serves directly and consciously such purposes of saving energy. The more it develops and departs from its starting point, the more intermediate links come between its exploring activity and its practical effects. However, the connection between the two can merely be obscured, not abolished

Thus the proletariat's science of society, socialism, serves to make possible the most effective application of its strength and thus the highest development of its powers. This science accomplishes this so much better, the more perfect it becomes itself, the deeper its understanding of the reality opened up by it.
Socialist theory is by no means an idle play of parlor

scientists, but a very practical thing for the fighting proletariat,

Its principal weapon is the combination of its total mass in powerful and independent organizations, free from all bourgeois influences. This it cannot accomplish without a socialist theory, which alone is able to discover the common proletarian interest in the varied multiplicity of the different proletarian strata and to separate them all sharply and permanently from the bourgeois world.

This cannot be accomplished by that naive labor movement, which arises of itself among the laboring classes against the increasing capitalism, and which is devoid of every theory.

Take a look, for instance, at the labor unions. They are organizations of trades, which seek to protect the immediate interests of their members. But how different are these interests in the individual trades, how different those of the seamen from those of the coal miners, those of the cab-drivers from those of the typesetters! Without a socialist theory they cannot recognize the identity of their interests, without it the various strata of proletarians face one another as strangers, or even as enemies.

Since a labor union defends only the immediate interests of its members, it is not, merely for that reason, antagonistic to the whole bourgeois world, but primarily to the capitalists of its own sphere. Apart from these capitalists there are other bourgeois elements, who derive their existence directly or indirectly from the exploitation of proletarians, and who are thus interested in the bourgeois order of society and will oppose every attempt to make an end of proletarian exploitation, but who have no interest at all in having labor conditions in that particular line very bad. Whether a spinner of Manchester earned 2 shillings or 2½ shillings per day, whether he worked 10 or 12 hours per day, would be immaterial to a great landlord, a banker, a newspaper owner, a lawyer, so long as they didn't own spinning stock. Such people might be interested in making concessions to labor unionists, in order to obtain in return their services in politics. In this way it became possible that labor unions, which were not enlightened by a socialist theory, could be made to serve ends that were anything but proletarian.

But even worse things were possible and happened. Not all proletarian strata are able to form labor organiza tions. The distinction between organized and unorganized laborers arose. Wherever the organized laborers are filled with socialist thought, they become the most vigorously combative sections of the proletariat, the champions of their entire class. Where they lack this thought, they are prope to become aristocratic, to lose not alone all interest for the unorganized laborers, but to place themselves frequently in opposition to them, to make their organization difficult, and to monopolize the benefits of organization. The unorganized laborers, on the other hand, are incapable of fighting, of rising, without the help of the organized laborers. Without the assistance of these they sink into poverty so much the more, the higher the organizations rise. In this way the organized labor movement, in spite of the increasing strength of some proletarian strata, may bring about a direct weakening of the entire proletariat, unless the organizations are imbued with the socialist spirit.

Neither can the political organization of the proleiat develop its full power without this spirit. plainly shown by the first labor party, the Chartlists of England, born in 1835. It is true, that Chartism contained some very farreaching and farseeing elements, but in its totality it followed up no definite socialist program. It had only some practical aims, which were directly obtainable above all universal suffrage although this was not supposed to be an end in itself, but a means to an end: but the end, for the Chartlists as a body, consisted only in some immediate economic demands, particularly the normal Ten Hour Day.

The first disadvantage of this was that the party did not become a pure class party. Universal suffrage was a thing which interested also the little bourgeois.

Some may think that it would be an advantage, if the small bourgeois as such would join the labor party. But this would make this party only more numerous, not stronger. The proletariat has its own interests and its own methods of fighting, which differ from those of all other classes. It is hemmed in by uniting with other classes and cannot develop its full strength. It is true, that we socialists welcome small business men and farmers, if they wish to join us, but only on condition that they place themselves upon proletarian ground and feel like proletarians. Our socialist program is a guarantee that only such small business and small farmer elements will join us. The Chartists did not have such a program, and for this reason numerous little bourgeois elements joined in their struggle for universal suffrage, who little understood and sympathized with proletarian interests and methods of fighting. The natural consequence of this were hard internal fights within Chartism, which weakened it considerably.

The defeat of the revolution of 1848 made an end. for a decade, to all political labor movements. When the European proletariat began to stir once more, the English laboring class again took up the fight for universal suffrage. A resurrection of Chartism was to be expected.

Continued on Page Four

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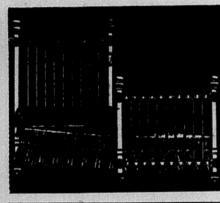
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apiece; 100 to 500 copies, 11/2 cents apiece; 500 to 1,000 copies, 1 cent apiece. All remittances should be made payable to "THE SOCIALIST," Seattle from it, but before her vote will do very much for the interests of the working class, that working class, whether of men or women, will have to get down to business, namely: Get to get down to get d

Communications intended for the Editor should be so addressed. Rejected manuscripts will not be returned unless stamps are enclosed.

Communications intended for publication should be mailed in time to reach "The Socialist" office not later than Monday.

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THE **BLANKET STIFF**

By Hubert Langerock

By Hubert Langerock

The blanketstiff, that typical product of weatern industrial conditional and quite a pland time of its late. Answering in the "Saturdian standards in "The Socialist" and adores in "The Socialist" and adores in "The Socialist" and another or realist section of the product of weatern industrial conditional strong wings to fly from one place to late. Answering in the "Saturdian strong wings to fly from one place to late. Answering in the "Saturdian strong wings to fly from one place to late. Answering in the "Saturdian strong wings to fly from one place and the strong wings to fly from one place and the strong wings to fly from one place and the strong wings to fly from one place and the strong wings to fly from one place and the strong wings to fly from one place and the strong wings to fly from one place and the strong wings to fly from one place and the strong wings to fly from one place and the strong wings with a fine of strong the strong wings and anything in the "Saturdian strong wings with a fine of the strong wings and the large were were myself and it know by experientation of the strong wings and the large worker myself and it know by experientation of the strong wings and the large worker myself and it know by experientation of the strong wings and the large worker myself and it know by experientation of the strong wings and the large worker myself and it know by experientation of the strong wings and the large worker myself and it know by experientation of the strong wings and the large worker myself and it know by experientation of the strong worker myself and it know by experientation of the strong worker myself and it know by experient the strong work and the stro

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Out of his well reasoned hatred gather the elements of positive So- tailstic opinions, of which his life becomes a translation into deeds, or he will bow before the amount of his sufferings, overwhelmed by their unsufferings, overwhelmed by their unsizeable intensity. In his discouragement because powerless, he will brood over his hopeless plight, with an occasion- all outtors into some anarchistic act of desvate but most of the time end
Exclusive Styles - Low Prices

Out of his well reasoned hatred gather the elements of positive So- tailstic opinions, of which his life becomes a translation into deeds, or he will brood over the amount of his sufferings, overwhelmed by their unsizeable intensity. In his discouragement because powerless, he will brood over his hopeless plight, with an occasion- all outtors into some anarchistic act of desvate but most of the time end
Exclusive Styles - Low Prices

Out of his well reasoned hatred gather the elements of positive So- tailstic opinions, of which his life becomes a translation into deeds, or he will brood over the amount of his sufferings, overwhelmed by their unsizeable will be suffering where he gets only a labor and gressman from Western Washington. The best ever See about to now cannot afford to let such an opport unity pass by a you have at persent to get such fine path yerity graphs and that state of wage slavery where he gets only a gressman from Western Washington. The best ever See about the said notion, we could elect be above the said notion, we could elect on the suffering such as all he asks. Play the capital still gath he asks. Play the capital st

al outburst into some anarchistic act of despair, but most of the time ending into a somber scepticism, losing his faculty of sociability and dropping with those he has put in the world into the abyss of the slum and the degradation of social wreckage. For the blanketstiff has come to the parting of the ways. Others have to get to the same status, before they can think his thoughts or feel the pang of economic necessity as he does feel them.

Not that (wish to exclude from prove that the blanketstiff is no single proper that the blanketstiff is no single proper that the blanketstiff is no single prove the prove that the blanketstiff is not single prove the prove the prove the prove the prove the provention of hungry dogs. Capitalism makes him poorer.

I want those general considerations to be only an introduction to a series of articles in which I propose to describe the petroperations.

Not, that I wish to exclude from the possibility of a real scientific Socialist conviction, all who have not reached the caste of the pure proletarian. Exclusiveness also is here. reached the caste of the pure prole-tarian. Exclusiveness also is here a danger. The power of the mind can develop the economic consciousness of the proletarian in a capitalist, an intellectual or a middle class man. But such cases must always remain individual and they should be indi-vidually appreciated, for today as in the past there is an ever impending danger that those non-proletarian So-

the past there is an ever impending danger that those non-proletarian Socialists if they are not deliberately fooling us, are fooling themselves.

The very fact that a paper that claims t obe Socialistic can speak of a pure proletarian type with haughtiness and scorn, is all the proof I want that it has not penetrated the very core of Socialistic doctrine and only dabbles in some constructive reformism with the concealed afterthought that the main issue is the bringing about of a transitory period wherein the economically unsound and condemned agencies of the present day will be artificially kept alive in their actual outgrown and nonsensical form.

THE WOMAN

On Sunday night, the women of Local Seattle had charge of the meeting at Egan's Hall. Mrs. Emma Smith DeVoe, State president of Equal Suffrage Association, being the principal speaker.

Mrs. DeVoe has a gracious, charm

Mrs. DeVoe has a gracious, charming manner on the platform, and has done splendid work for the women's movement, both in this state and in Oregon. Mrs. Hutton, president of the Spokane Equal Suffrage Association, took the platform for a few minutes and gave a very spontaneous talk that was much enjoyed.

All the women were very proud of the president of the Women's Socialist Educational Club, Mrs. Anna Steele, who acted as chairman of the meeting and presided with unusual

ent day will be artificially kept alive in their actual outgrown and non-sensical form.

But let us go back to the blankets stiff. During the whole period of capitalism, where competition had not brought about its own destruction by creating monopoly, the homeless, toolless, propertyless proletarian was halled as a hero. Read the old Manthesterian economists of the there is the late of the closing talk.

Steels, who acted as chairman of the meeting and presided with unusual grace and dignity. Two other club members were on the program, Mrs. Anna Burgess, who made a strong appeal for a liberal collection (which women) and Bessy Fiset, who made halled as a hero. Read the old Manthesterian economists of the theory of the guestions asked Mrs.

hailed as a hero. Read the old Man-chesterian economists of that period and see how they insist upon his faculties of easy and cheap displace-ment. At that time the blanketstiff and the answer was: "Yes, for she

will be able to emancipate herself economically through her vote, etc."

If any one can find a state where either men or women are living in economic freedom, no matter how great their political emancipation, we would like to know about it. We hold that it is utterly impossible for either men cr women to be emancipated either politically or economically when they are living under a profit system.

The very fact that men are quired to live six months in a state before election is proof that even tho he may have the ballot and have great ideas about his political freedom, the capitalist masters can and will find a way to disfranchise the working men—and women. Women have the right to vote and

into the party that stands for their class interest, that party that sets truth, freedom and a square deal (not Teddy's kind) before everything else. Women Comrades, get in and work. Some of you, probably, will not care for auxiliaries of women, but will prefer the work in the local. Get at it then, make your local as attractive as possible and bring in all the women available. It will be a new improved the state of the stat

as possible and bring in all the women available. It will be a new impetus to the old ones in the local, will encourage the new ones, and will do much for the sociability of all. To those women who feel a hesitancy about going into local without some experience among women first, I would say, get together, if there are only two or three of you. Make yourselves more familiar with scientific Socialism—discuss your local questions—the national and international affairs, and before you know it you will be taking up an active share of the local's work. Don't think you are not equipped; don't wait for that. There will be some thing ready for you to do, and in the doing you will be equipping your self for bigger work in the future

self for bigger work in the future.

It is inspiring to see the suffragists—those who are first affiliated with the Socialist party. How they work—a little here and a little there—and just for the ballot! Certainly we who know how to use that ballot when once we get it—we, who realize what this great struggle means—we, who know more about corrections.

down the said notion, we could elect Independent 1110



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New Method Sole Originator
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Lessons every day and
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livery to any part of the city. Clarence H. Merritt, Mgr. 7208 WOODLAWN AVENUE.

State convention will be in session July 3-5, inclusive, in Seattle. The delegates to the national convention will report there. The call for nominations of delegates to the state convention will be mailed to all locals in the first part of June.

Owing to the lack of speakers and organizers, the campaign will not be gin in full blast until after the state convention.

organizers, the campaign will not begin in full blast until after the state convention.

Comrade Herman is filling dates in Colorado and California and will reenter this state about July 1st. Com. Wagenknecht is in the East and will return about June 15. Com. Boomer is also filling dates in the East and will be open for engagements after the state convention. Comrade Osborne, of California, will enter this state June 2nd, ready to fill dates. The plan of a speakers' circuit is seemingly a failure, only about a dozen locals having responded. There is one thing in connection with this which is especially notable, namely, that those locals which could best afford it did not respond at all, while most of the smaller locals expressed their willingness almost at once.

their willingness almost at once.

The new primary law requires tha county conventions of minor partie must be held on September 2nd, th

must be held on Soptember 2nd, the date set aside for primary election. The Socialist Party must nominate its candidates on this date.

All contracts made with the national office regarding lecturers will be referred to the state secretary, and all speakers, exclusive of local speakers, should be engaged through the state office.

The state secretary is again back at his desk, filled with the energy and aspiration of the national convention.

JUST A SAMPLE.

On the petition to the National Executive Committee for a referendum in this state, there are 22 names from Port Townsend. Upon investigation relating to the signatures, the follow ing is the result obtained:

 Most all names known have been secured by fraud and misrepresenta-2. Only nine names are names of

Only nine names are names of persons who at once time or another have been affiliated with the S. P.
 Twelve names on the list are names, the bearers of which are absolutely unknown to the investigator, a loyal and trustworthy party member and an old resident of Port Townsend.

In Spokane, J. E. Jamlin, after weeks of strenuous effort, succeeded

in getting 20 names. R. KRUEGER.

met in session at Headquarters, 10 a.m., Monday, the 18th, directly after adjournment of National Convention.

The National Executive Committee The National Executive Committee in accordance with the instructions of the Convention, provided for the submission of the platform and Constitution to a referendum vote of the entire Party membership. The latter to be submitted in the following form: "That amendments adoptined by the Convention shall be submitted together with the corresponding sections of the old Constitution. The amendment to be printed in italics."

Comrades Eugene V. Debs and Ben Hanford, the candidates of the party.

ed in italics."

Comrades Eugene V. Debs and Ben Hanford, the candidates of the party, will meet a sub-committee of the National Executive Committee at nation

will meet a sub-committee of the National headquarters, within two weeks, to arrange the general plans for the speaking campaign.

The Woman's Committee elected by the national convention recommended the appointment of Comrade Anna Maley as national organizer. The same has been confirmed by the National Executive Committee.

By recent referendum May Strickland, of Anderson, Ind., was elected state secretary and S. M. Reynolds, of Terre Haute, a member of the national committee.

Contrary to the reports sent to the rest of the world by the capitalistic press agencies, the municipal elections in France have resulted in a satisfactory increase in the Social-

tions in France have resulted in a satisfactory increase in the Socialist vote. In Paris, for instance, the vote increased from 95,164 in 1904 to 105,461 in 1908, on the first ballot. In the northern part of France the increase in the Socialist vote was noteworthy. In Lille the vote increased from 12,610 to 16,506.

The returns from some other towns are as follows: Roubaix, 9,997 to 11,277; Leus, 2,995 to 4,051; Llevin, 2,601 to 3,621; Tourcoing, 1,733 to 3,150; Wattreloos, 1,741 to 2,276, and Limoge, 14,000 to 18,000.

By a recent referendum Tom Clifford, 3,517 Fulton Road, Cleveland, and H. H. Caldwell, 349 Bank St., Dayton, were elected members of the national committee for Ohio.

 Plate matter
 35,50

 Rent, April
 100,00

 Rubber stamps
 10,00
 Balance on Mand May 1st ... \$6,977.40 Fraternally submitted, J. MAHLON BARNES,

China is awakening from her long and lethargic sleep. She now no longer terrorizes the governments of

the world by the possibilities of yellow peril, but simply with her

Our Chinese Comrade Sun-Yat-Sen

in co-operation with some other

Celestial Empire the Chinese-Socialist Manifesto in which they assure th

people that they are resolute to get

their Independence because they ob-

ject to a handful of Manchurians monopolizing all privileges, that

they will overthrow the Reigning Dy

nasty because they do not believe

that one man should have the mon

opoly of all rights, and that they will

abolish the class of exploiters. When

China shall have realized this the

peace of the world will be assured,

for the Manifesto says, our aim is to help to establish the universal broth-

For advocating these noble princi

the persecution which will be suffered

by his disciples, will stop this human

wave for deliverance. Mr. Pichon simply lacks foresight.-PELUSO.

mentary principles, easily overlook

over their heads. They assume too

derstood. That is why every Social ist speaker and writer should pound

constitute the very compass and key

It takes even the most intelligent

John Clark, of Hoods River, Oregon, writes to a Portland Daily tel-

ling how shocked he was because he

to all correct thought and action.

erhood among the human family.

new consciousness and vision: the Chinese, has spread throughout the

National Dues From State Commit-

17.1		A SERVED DEPONE
١.	Alabama	\$8.50
1-	Arizona Arkansas	23.00
1	Arkansas	40.00
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ü	Colorado	47.00
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d	Florida	10.00
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e	Illinois	153,50
	Indiana	35.75
n	Kansas	105.00
-	Kentucky	10.00
1.	Louisiana	15.00
n	Maine	26.00
r	Maryland	5.00
d	Massachusetts	71.75
r	Michigan	75.65
	Minnesota	85.55
8	Missouri	100.00
8.	Montana	32.35
s	New Hampshire	11.50
8	New Jersey	50.00
e	New York	
8	North Dakota	9.35
7.	Ohio	54.00
t	Oklahoma?	. 111.20
e	Oregon	
d	Pennsylvania	
H	Rhode Island	10.00
ıt	South Dakota	24.00
8	Tennessee	6.00
e	Texas	88.40
1.	Utah	25.00
e	Washington	
Es.	West Virginia	15.00
3-	Wisconsin	48.90
īı	Wyoming	36.25
y.		
ú		1,816.55

Unorganized States 6.00 its principles must be presented in 2.00 the simplest forms and a thousand Georgia Mississippi Nebraska
New Mexico
Nevada
North Carolina
Virginia
Members at large Total for dues\$1,912.15 Literature

Express and freight
Postage
Telegrams and telephone a loyal and trustworthy party means ber and an old resident of Port Townsend.

This one investigation will suffice to stamp the whole petition as a glaring fraud upon the S. P. of America, and the ringleaders of this shame deserve the utmost contempt from loyal Socialists.

In Snohomish the methods practised

In Snohomish the methods practised

In Elegians Wages.

J. Mahlon Barnes \$125.00

W. W. Rihl 80.00

F. H. Slick 72.00

M. Flaherty 72.00

M. Flaherty 52.00

J. A. Gavin 48.00

A. L. Benedict 60.00

M. H. Hudson 36.00

T. E. Palmer 52.50

to secure the names to this petition are even more questionable, if this is possible.

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Extra help 3.60 Printing Bulletin
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C. H. Taylor 30.00

mind, trained in ordinary schools those schools which are controlled years to emancipate itself and learn to think proletarian-wise. Every wage worker should read right away, before the Taft and 1329 Bryan shouters get his ear, the Plat form of the Socialist Party. Union men should read the Socialist Party's "address to organized

him at 3d and Burnside streets. Clark says he thought Socialism meant "universal peace" and he can't under stand such inconsistency. When will these sentimentalists learn that Socialism means fight and not peace? Some false ideas of Socialism as something good and peace able and christian, were probably knocked out of Clark's head when he

saw that knock down in Portland. QUEEN ANNE DYE WORKS

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er the expulsion of our comrade, nor tried always used. Phone Sunset Main 4657. 2209 SECOND AVENUE.

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much knowledge on the part of their Puget Market Co. hearers. Proletarian thought is so hearers. Proletarian thought is so completely new to most minds, even Beef, Pork, Mutton, Provisions, Lard,

among proletarians themselves, that etc. Butter, Eggs and Cheese. Phones its principles must be presented in Main 2975; Ind. 5438. Stores 1 1-2, 2 and 3, Public Market PIKE PLACE AND PIKE STREET. times repeated, before they are un-

P. T. Baker 1. Dance start speaker and writer should be sh Homemade Bread, Jersey Butter. Strictly Fresh Ranch Eggs a Specialty.

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those schools which are controlled by capitalist thought, at least five M. EMANUEL WATCHES, JEWELRY, OPTICAL GOODS AND NOTIONS Watches and Jewelry Repaired—Shav-ing Outfits

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saw a Socialist street speaker knock down a man who kept interrupting him at 3d and Burnside streets. Clark Skin Diseases of the Face. Scalp Treatment by Electricity. People's Bank Bidg., Second and Pike.

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N.

Historical Achievement of Marx

Continued from Page One

But the English bourgeois class then made a master stroke. It split the English proletariat, granted to the organized laborers the suffrage, detached them from the mass of the other proletarians, and thus prevented a rebirth of Chartism. This movement did not have a comprehensive program beyond universal suffrage. As soon as this demand was fulfilled in a way that satis fied the combatant portion of the laboring class, the bottom fell out of it. It is only in our own day that Englishmen, painfully dragging behind the laborers of the European continent, devote themselves to the formation of an independent labor party. But even now many of them have not grasped the practical significance of socialism for the full development of proletarian power, and refuse to adopt for their party a program, so long as this could be only a socialist one. They wait until the logic of fact forces such a program upon them. Only when the new labor party shall be fuly imbued with socialist aunderstanding, will the labor movement of England de velop its full power and be able to produce the best fruit.

In our day the pre-requisites for the indispensable union of the labor movement with socialism exist everywhere. In the first half of the nineteenth century they were missing.

In those days the working people were crushed by the first onslaught of capitalism, so they could hardly ward off its blows. Still they resisted in a primitive way. But they found no opportunity for deep social studies.

Under these circumstances the bourgeois socialists saw in the poverty spread by capitalism only the one side, the depressing one, not the other, the stirring and revolutionizing one, which spurred the proletariat on, They thought that there was only one factor, which could bring about the liberation of the proletariat, namely the good will of the bourgeoisie. They judged the bourgeoisle by themselves and fancied that they would find in it enough allies to carry through socialist meas

In the beginning their socialist propaganda found much acceptance among bourgeois philanthropists. On the whole the bourgeois are not inhuman. They are touched by misery, out of which they derive no profit, and would like to do away with it. However, though the suffering proletarian excites their pity, the fighting proletarian makes them hard. The begging proletariat has their sympathy, the demanding proletariat arouses their wild resentment. For this reason the socialists found it very disagreeable, that the labor movement threatened to rob them of that factor, upon winch they built most: The sympathy of the "well-meaning bourgeoisie" for the

They regarded the labor movement so much the more as a disturbing element, the less confidence they had in the proletariat, which then consisted on the whole of a very low mass, and the more clearly they recognized the inadequacy of the unsophisticated labor movement. So they often turned against the labor movement, to demonstrate, for instance how useless labor unions are, which wish merely to raise wages instead of combatting the root of all evil, the wage system.

But gradually a change took place. In the forties the labor movement had developed to a point, where it pro duced a number of talented brains, who mastered socialism and recognized that it was the proletarian science of society. These laborers knew by their own experience that they need not depend upon the philanthrophy of the bourgeoisie. They recognized, that the proletariat would have to free itself. There were also some bourgeois socialists who came to the conclusion, that no reliance could be placed upon the magnanimity of the bourgeoisie. True, they did not place any confidence in the proletariat, either. Its movement appeared to them only as a destroying power, which threatened all civilization. They believed that only bourgeois intelligence could build up a socialist society, but the incentive for it they now saw no longer in compassion with the suffering, but in fear of the aggressive proletariat. They already recognized its tremendous power and understood that the labor movement necessarialy arises from the capitalist mode of production, and would grow more and more within this mode of production. They hoped that the fear of the growing labor movement would cause the intelligent bour geoisle to deprive it of its dangerousness by socialist measures. This was a tremendous progress, but the unification of socialism and of the labor movement could not arise from this conception. The socialist laborers, in spite of the talent of some of them, lacked the comprehensive knowledge, which was required for the purpose of founding a new and higher theory of socialism, which should unite it organically with the labor movement. They could adopt only the old bourgeois socialism, uto

In so doing those proletarian socialists went farthest who connected themselves with Chartism or with the French Revolution. Particularly those who started from this revolution assumed a great importance for the history of socialism. The great revolution had shown plainly how important the conquest of the political power may become for the emancipation of a certain class. In this revolution, also, had a powerful political organization, the Jacobin Club, thanks to peculiar circumstances, succeeded in ruling all Paris and through it all France by a reign of terror of the small bourgeoisie that was strongly permeated with proletarian elements. And while the Revolution was still on, Baboeuf had already drawn its logical conclusions in a truly proletarian sense and attempted to conquer by a conspiracy, the political power communist organization and adapt it to its use

The memory of this had never died among the French laborers. The conquest of the political power very early became a means for the proletarain socialists by which they wanted to acquire the strength for inaugurating socialism. But in view of the weakness and immaturity of the proletariat they knew no better way for the conquest of the political power than the uprising of a num ber of conspirators which was supposed to start the revolution. Among the representatives of this line of thought in France. Blanqui has become best known. Similar ideas were held by Weitling in Germany.

There were still other socialists who started out from the French Revolution. But an uprising seemed to them an unsuitable means of overthrowing the rule of capital This line did not rely any more than that just mentioned upon the strength of the labor movement. It found a way out by overlooking to what extent the small bourgeolsie rests upon the same foundation of private prop erty in means of production as capital, by believing that the proletarians would be able to accomplish the settlement of their accounts with the capitalists without be ing disturbed by the small bourgeoisie, the "people," or even by their help. All that was needed was the republic and universal suffrage, in order to induce the government to introduce socialist measures.

This republican superstition, whose most prominent representative was Louis Blanc, found its counterpart in Germany in the monarchic superstition of a social kingdom, which was nursed by a few professors and other

This monarchic state socialism was always but a hobby, sometimes also a demagogic phrase. It has never assometimes also a demagogic phrase. It has never assumed any serious practical importance. On the other hand, the tendencies represented by Bianqui and Louis Blanc became practically significant. They acquired the power to rule Paris in the days of the February revolution of 1848.

In the person of Proudhon they met a powerful critic, He doubted the proletariat as well as the state and the revolution. He recognized very well that the proletariat would have to free itself, but he saw also that, if it fought for its emancipation, it would also have to take up the fight with the government for the control of the political power, for even the purely economic struggle depended upon this power, as the laborers felt at that time at every step, owing to the want of freedom to organize. Since Proudhon regarded the struggle for political power as hopeless, he advised the proletariat to refrain from all fighting in its efforts at emancipation and to try only the means of peaceful organization, such as banks of exchange, insurance funds, and similar institutions. For labor unions he had as little use as for

In this way the labor movement and socialism and all attempts to bring both of them into closer relation formed a chaos of many tendencies during the decade. in which Marx and Engels formed their point of view and their method. Each one of these tendencies had discovered a piece of the truth, but none of them had comprehended it fully, and each one had to end sooner or

What these tendencies could not accomplish, was perfected by the materialist conception of history, which thus assumed as great a significance for science as it did for the actual development of society. It facilitated the revolution of the one and of the other.

Like the socialists of their time, Marx and Engels also recognized that the labor movement appears inadequate when confronted with socialism in the question: What means is more apt to secure for the proletarian an assured livelihood and an abolition of all exploitation. the labor movement (labor unions, fighting for universal suffrage, etc.) or socialism? But they also recognized that this question was wrongly framed. Socialism, an assured livelihood of the proletariat and abolition of all exploitation are identical. The question is only: How does the proletariat come to socialism? And the theory of the class struggle answered: By the labor movement.

True, this movement in itself is unable to secure a guaranteed existence and the abolition of all exploitation for the proletarian, but it is the indispensable means of not only safeguarding the individual proletarain against drowning in misery, but also of bestowing visibly more and more power to his whole class, intellecteconomic, political power, a power which increases continually, even though the exploitation of the proletariat increases at the same time. The labor movement should be judged, not by its significance for the limitation of exploitation, but by its significance for the increase of power in the proletariat. Not out of the conspiracy of Blanqui, nor out of the democratic state socialism of Louis Blanc, nor out of the peaceful organization of Proudhon, but only out of the class struggle, which has to last through decades, or even through generations, arises the power which finally can and must bring socialism to the front. To carry on the economic and political class struggel, to perform its detail work devotedly while filling it with the ideas of a far-seeing socialism, to combine harmoniously the organizations and activities of the proletariat into one, tremendous whole which assumes ever more irresistible dimensions, this is, according to Marx and Engels, the task of every one, whether a proletarian or not, who places himself upon a proletarian standpoint and wishes to free the proletariat.

The growth of the power of the proletariat, again, rests in the last resort upon the displacement of the precapitalist, little bourgeois, mode of production, by the capitalist mode, which increases the number of proletarians, concentrates them, increases their indispensableness for the whole society, but at the same time creates in the more and more concentrated capital the prerequisites for the social organization of production, which is no longer to be arbitrarily invented by the utopians, but to be developed out of the capitalist reality.

By this line of reasoning Marx and Engels have created the basis, upon which the social democracy rises, the fighting prolet the entire globe places itself more and more, and from which it started out upon its victorious march.

This achievement was hardly possible, so long as socialism did not have its own science, independent of bourgeois science. The socialists before Mary and Engels were generally well acquainted with the science of political economy, but they adopted it uncritically in the form created by bourgeois thinkers, and differed from them, only in such a way that they drew other conclusions from them, which were friendly to the proletariat.

Marx was the first to undertake the analysis of the capitalist mode of production quite independently and to show, how much more deeply and clearly it may be grasped, if viewed from the proletarian instead of the bourgeois standpoint. For the proletarian point of view stands outside and above it. Only it, which regards cap italism as a passing form, makes it possible to grasp fully its peculiar historical individuality.

This great achievement was accomplished by Marx in his "Capital" (1867), after he and Engels had proclaimed his new socialist position as early as 1848, in the Communist Manifesto.

By this means the proletarian struggle for emancipation had received a scientific foundation of a magnitude and strength, which no revolutionary class had possessed before him. It is true, however, that no other class ever faced so tremendous a task as the modern proletariat. It has to readjust the whole world which capitalism has disrupted. Fortunately it is no Hamlet, it does not greet this task with complaints. Out of the immense magnitude of this task it derives an immense confidence

Editor's Note-This admirable brochure of Kautsky's will be concluded next week with the final chapter. "The Combination of Theory and Practice." No Socialist library will be complete without this work, the best study of Marx that we know. The Trustee Printing Co. expects to publish this translation in a 10 cent pamphlet. Orders should be sent in at once.

THE PUMP

Translated from the Swedish in "Svenska Socialisten" by Arthur

Anderson and Peterson were coming down from the woods, where they
had been working during the winter
cutting logs and in the spring on the
river drive. They were now walking
down the road towards the city, to
seek another job.
While working on the river the last
few days a Socialist speaker had arrived on the scene and attempted to
explain the new revolutionary ideas

rived on the scene and attempted to explain the new revolutionary ideas to the woodsmen. But the result was rather slim. His listeners were either not capable of or did not dare believing in a delivery from oppression through their own efforts. Still a few of them had grasped the meaning of the lecture and saw dimly their position and the road to salvation. And among these was Peterson. While walking down the road, he was talking to his comrade about it and sought to convey his idea of Socialism to him. But Anderson was slow of comprehension. He apparently had a grudge against the preachers and officeholders because of their high salaries, but his criticism of Society did not go beyond that.

After a while they came to a large After a while they came to a large, red barn, standing next to the road. Close by stood a pump, and hanging on this was a tincup, apparently for drinking purposes. Anderson and Peterson had walked a long distance and a violent thirst was tormenting both of them.

"We can have a drink at last!" exclaimed Anderson. "Let us pump." Peterson was not slow in expressing his approval. He held the tincup

ing his approval. He held the tincup while Anderson was pumping—pump-ing till the sweat was streaming down his face, but only a few drops

down his face, but only a few drops of water was the result. It was barely enough to dampen Peterson's parched lips.

"That's a H——1 of a pump!" gasped Anderson, after having worked a quarter of an hour. It is your turn now, Pete."

Peterson stuck to it with great energy and endurance, but found it as difficult to squeeze out a few drops for his comrade, as the latter had found it before him. The amount of energy demanded for working the pump, proved conclusively that the well was not empty.

pump, proved conclusively that the well was not empty.

Suddenly they noticed the proprietor of the estate.

He was a big, fat and well-kept gentleman. He was standing at a distance, with his feet wide apart and his hands in his pockets, watching with apparent pleasure the hard working, sweating woodsmen.

Anderson became angered at this and walked bravely up to him.

"What is the matter with that pump?" he asked. "It certainly must be out of order, since it gives no water."

The proprietor laughed.

The proprietor laughed

"The pump is all right," he said

"The pump is all right," he said, "come with me, and you will see."
And he led them into the building, and showed them first a large tub filled to the brim with water.

"I have another one like it in the brewhouse," he said. "I have invented a very ingenious arrangement; this pump is connected with the watertubs through secret pipes, and every day thirsty wayfarers, in passing by stop and pump all the water ing by stop and pump all the water I need. They get only a few drops for themselves, ha, ha, ha!" Anderson and Peterson walked mo-

"He is a shrewd scoundrel," hissed Anderson between his teeth and clinched his fist in his pocket.

"Yes, there you have the typical Capitalist," reasoned Peterson. "Do

Capitalist," reasoned Peterson, you understand now, what is meant by the unjust distribution of the prod-ty numbed at least by the unjust distribution of the prod-ucts of labor? We pumped at least 125 gallons of water for that fat ras-cal, but got only one-tenth of a quart for ourselves. That is the way it goes with labor and the distribution of its products in society.'
Anderson understood.

John Clark is also shocked at a sign in Portland Socialist Headquarters, which reads, "To Hell with Charity." John demands that Socialists explain this "vile language." that language? Has he any doubt what it means? It seems plain enough to us. It needs no explanation. It says exactly what we mean How would John express it? "Damm Charity", might be briefer. But probably John Clark never swore in his Poor John! When he gets where he needs "charity," possibly he will not be so mealy mouthed. Anyhow, he's mighty poor material for a Socialist if he don't damn charity when its offered him. And any man, or woman, who is shocked at an oath, will never make much of a Socialist in this wicked capitalist world nor even in the good Socialist world to come

"MUST HAVE IT."

"The Socialist," Seattle, Wash. Dear Comrades: I enclose my re-newal to your Socialist paper par excellence. I have more coming to me than I can read, but feel like I must have your paper. I read the "Daily Socialist," "Appeal," "Common Sense," "Wilshires," "Rip-Saw," "Christian Socialist," the last mentioned being a disgrace to the proletarian movement in my estimation. Besides, I read nearly everything printed by C. H. Kerr & Co. So you see I am very busy, but still must have your paper because it is proletarian and there fore scientific.

What do we need with the Chris tian or any other religion after the Co-operative Brotherhood of Man is established? When that time come we will not need any religion, and i will be as obsolete and useless as the divine right of a king to rule would be to our present ruling Capitalis class. We cannot afford to drag the ignorance and superstition of the ancients along with our Socialist

With kind regards and best wishes to all you comrades on the Coast. Fraternally, J. L. HIGBIE.

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