

TO ORGANIZE SLAVES OF CAPITAL TO VOTE THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION

Vol. I.

SEATTLE, WASH., SUNDAY, AUG. 26, 1900.

No. 3

## WHAT SOCIALISM IS

For Congressman



HERMON F. TITUS, Physician, Seattle.

### SOCIALISM IN GENERAL.

Socialism is a movement in history, not a mere method or panacea like Single Tax. It therefore will have many definitions according to the point of view of the observer, like a hundred photographs of the same battle, no two alike.

Two distinctions are easy, however. Ultimate Socialism and Present Socialism. Ultimate Socialism is the human condition when capitalism shall have disappeared, when Present Socialism has achieved its ends.

It is this ultimate or theoretical Socialism which the dictionaries and Sociologists attempt to define, like those given in the next column. Such definitions are necessarily general. The details of the future no one can foresee. Those who attempt to lay down an exact program of Ultimate Socialism expose themselves to legitimate attack by the enemy. It should always be specified that the details of what the next historical era will be are purely speculative.

### SOCIALISM IS POLITICS.

But Present Socialism is definite. It is no theory. It is a fact, a living, fighting fact. Socialism in action is politics first of all. It is the citizen at the ballot box. It is real democracy, the modern man expressing his part of the public.

Two distinctions are easy, however. Ultimate Socialism is not.

It is a political party. In no other way can men with a common purpose enact that purpose. Socialism, then, in the present tense means votes.

Theories are breath. But votes are bullets. No vote is thrown away.

DEFINITIONS

**Bellamy.**

"Industrial self-government is a very convenient and accurate definition of Socialism."

**Lafargue.**

"Socialism is not the system of any reformer whatever; it is the doctrine of those who believe that the existing system is on the eve of a fatal economic evolution which will establish collective ownership in the hands of organizations of workers, in place of the individual ownership of capital. Socialism is of the character, therefore, of an historical discovery."

**Ely.**

"Socialism is that contemplated system of industrial society which proposes the abolition of private property in the great material instruments of production, and the substitution thereof of collective property; and advocates the collective management of production, together with the distribution of social income by society, and private property in the larger proportion of this social income."

**Gronlund.**

"A theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth and the more equal distribution of the products of Labor through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property), and the public collective ownership of all industries. Its motto is, 'Every one according to his deeds.'"

**Graham Wallas.**

"Socialists work for the owning of the means of production by the community and the means of consumption by individuals."

**Encyclopedia Britannica.**

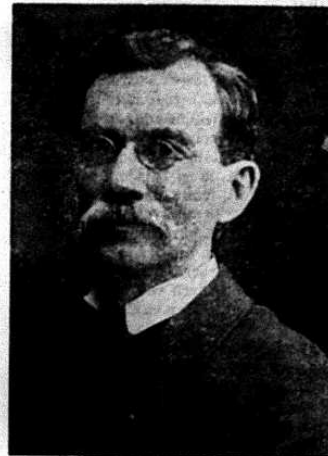
"Karl Marx spent forty laborious years wholly in exile as the scientific champion of the proletariat. In the combination of learning, philosophic acumen and literary power, he is probably second to no economic thinker of the 19th century. He seems to have been master of the whole range of economic literature and wielded it with a logical skill not less masterly."

"The great merit of Marx lies in the work he has done as scientific enquirer into the economic movement of modern times, as the philosophic historian of the capitalistic era."

"The school of Marx maintains that the really vital and powerful tendencies of our time are toward a higher and wider form of social and economic organization,—towards Socialism."

"On the irresistible momentum of two inevitable and ever-growing forces—the concentration of industry and the growth of the new democracy—Socialism depends for its realization."

For Attorney General

DAVID W. PHIPPS,  
Lawyer, Seattle.

### SOCIALISM WORKERS' POLITICS.

There is no doubt on this point. Present Socialism, the Socialism which is a political party, is composed of a class in society. That class is not an arbitrary thing, which we are seeking to create. Socialists are not trying to work up a class war. They only recognize that a class war exists, and has existed for at least a hundred years.

The working class and the capitalist class, wage labor and capital, have interests exactly opposite. They stand in the relation of slaves and masters.

The slaves have been slow to find out the cause of their slavery. Tradition, law, religion, have obscured their vision. But at last they see both cause and cure. The capitalist must go, and go by the ballot.

Present Socialism is a political party composed of the workers with brain and hand united as a class with common interests to overthrow the capitalist class, their masters and robbers.

**John Stuart Mill.**

"What is characteristic of Socialism is the joint ownership of all the members of the community of the instruments and means of production; which carries with it the consequence that, the division of the produce among the body of owners must be a public act performed according to rules laid down by the community. Socialism by no means excludes private ownership of articles of consumption."

# The Socialist

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50 Cents a Year. 10 Cents to Election.  
 Single copies Twenty or more,  
 2 cents each.  1/2 cent each.

## HERE TO STAY.

Simply can't stop. With subscriptions 20 a day there is no doubt about our future. And we haven't begun yet. This very morning Comrade Ross writes from Tacoma: "Will do all I can to build up circulation. I have not seen a copy yet, so can form no opinion of its merits." What's the matter that our candidate for Secretary of State right here in Tacoma has not seen a copy? Who is to blame, the postoffice or our mailing agent? Probably neither, but our lack of Comrade Ross' address. Comrades, send in addresses, street and number. We can do nothing without addresses. Then you will see the subscriptions jump.

Comrade, secretary of a local, or president, or treasurer, sit down this minute and send addresses of all your members. We want every Socialist in this state to hustle for subscribers. Then our future will take care of itself if we put up a good paper.

You get the subscribers and we furnish a good paper—and there you have it.

If the present editor can't furnish a good paper, he will get down and out and some one take his place who can.

Hoquiam to the front. Didn't know there was a Socialist there. But L. R. Gage got our paper one day and the next he sends in a list of 20 addresses, and the next morning he wrote a postscript: "Have met several of the boys this morning. All seem to be fully aroused. Will probably organize tomorrow night. Will make the fur fly from this time on. Keep an eye on Hoquiam." Amen and Hallelujah!

Do so some more, everybody.

Eight hundred postoffices in this state. Bet your life there's one Socialist at every one of them—probably more. Tell us how to find them, boys. Our vote depends on finding them. Out of one Socialist this paper is bound to make ten before election, and educate them, too, so that they will make others. Help us to find them. Send in a list of everybody you know in any part of the state—not only in your own locality.

This paper is not big. No, neither is a bullet, but it is better than a slab. We are small, like the Socialist vote, but we are bound to hit the mark, both of us, whether it is the G O P or the P O P or the Demo-P.

That reminds. Lee Smith told a story to show the difference between Reps. and Dems. A colored brother had long kept company with Jane Smith. At last he went for a marriage license. When the clerk handed it to him: "You'se made a mistake, boss; 'tain't Jane I'se goin' to marry; it's her sister Lucy." He was informed it would cost him 75 cents to have the change made. "Never mind, boss, never mind; let it stand, let it stand; *thar ain't six bits difference 'tween 'em.*"

The Bundle Rate (above 20 copies) has been reduced to one-half cent. For fifty

cents you can distribute 100 copies of No. 1, with full directions for organizing new locals, biographies of all our candidates, our national and state platforms, etc., etc. For 10 cents get 20 copies of this educational number to let your friends know what Socialism is.

Every dollar we get ahead will be used to make this paper better and bigger, first better, then bigger. No salaries are paid to anybody. No profits to be distributed to anybody. The cause first, self last, must be the motto of Socialists and THE SOCIALIST.

## NOT SOCIALISM.

Social Democrats are asked every day. Why are you Socialists divided? Why have you two tickets in the field in this State?

Two letters published in Seattle papers July 30, will give a complete reply.

This is the first letter:

"To the State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party—Comrades: The state executive committee of the Social Democratic party were authorized by their state convention, held on the 30th inst., to consult with your state organization with reference to a joint ticket.

"We both stand for the same principles of International Socialism. We both seek the overthrow of capitalism by the political union of the working classes. It seems to us injurious to the cause we both represent to divide our forces at the polls. We therefore send this letter to inquire if you will consider a proposition from us looking toward a joint ticket. Fraternally submitted,

"JAS. D. CURTIS,  
 "Secretary."

And this is the significant part of the answer:

"To the State Committee Social Democratic Party: Your letter of July 28, asking for fusion with the Socialist Labor Party of Washington received. In reply we will state that you not only insult the S. L. P. by asking us to violate our constitution, the provisions of which you well know, but you brand yourselves and your party as traitors to the working class. P. MATSON, Secy."

We therefore are divided and have two tickets because the small body of Socialist Labor people who follow Daniel De Leon, of New York, as King and Prophet, right or wrong, refuse to consider any proposition looking toward union. They have only two or three active sections left in the state while the Social Democrats have over twenty.

They are not growing, except in bitterness and intolerance toward all who do not acknowledge De Leon. By far the largest part of their party, unable to stand the un-socialistic tyranny of a single man, and the inhuman methods of abuse and deceit practiced by him and his followers, have united with the Social Democratic party.

They stand in a Pharasaic attitude toward all other Socialists, declaiming against them as Middle-Class people and arguing against them by crying "Freak, Fool, Fakir!" This is done in blind imitation of De Leon in his paper, The New York Daily and Weekly People.

They stand, theoretically, for straight, revolutionary class-conscious Socialism, but they do so in such an insane and brutal manner, that they do vast injury to the cause they profess to represent. Every day we are confronted with this: "We don't want to hear anything about Socialism. We heard some Socialists talking on the street the other night, and that is

enough. They talked as if we were all fools or rascals."

It is because of this false impression of Socialism which these misguided people are producing everywhere that this article is written. They dishonor the name Socialist. They are simply De Leonites.

Toward the trades unions they are furious. Pretty soon they will not allow one of their members to be a member of a labor union. Already they forbid one to be an officer in a union. In place of the friendly and helpful attitude taken by Social Democrats towards the vast body of workmen in the unions, the De Leonites have no names too vile to cast at them.

As the Socialist movement in the United States advances it will outgrow the De Leon deformity, which has hitherto prevented its natural development. But for a long time to come Socialists will be called upon to explain and to disown as Socialism that hideous and inhuman spirit which De Leon develops in his subjects.

## COUNTY COMMITTEEMEN.

Whatcom County ..... D. Burgess  
 King County ..... Henry Krust  
 Clallam County ..... David O'Brien

The other counties should elect their committeemen as soon as possible.

## Subscriptions 20 a Day

Report Aug. 16 to Aug. 21.

### RECEIPTS.

|   |         |
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| Sample copy book .....                                 | .35     |
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|  | <hr/>   |
|  | \$57.85 |
| Balance on hand Aug. 21 .....                          | 11.25   |
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### SOCIALISM NOT ANARCHY.

Fifty years ago Communism and Socialism and Anarchism were pretty badly mixed. The first manifesto of Marx and Engels was called by them a Communist manifesto. For years Anarchists and Socialists worked together in the International Workingmen's Association. Gradually under the Socialist Marx and the Anarchist Bakounin the forces divided, one resorting to individualism and force, one to Socialism and politics.

No intelligent person now confounds Socialists with Anarchists. Both indeed have a common end, the emancipation of the slaves of capital. But one waves the red flag of murder, the other chooses the red flag as the sign of blood brotherhood. The Socialist above all other men is an advocate of peace, even calling upon his comrades to refuse to bear arms and denouncing all wars as fratricidal.

### SOCIALISM REVOLUTIONARY.

Not a revolution by blood, but by universal suffrage. Is not that possible? Unless the capitalist class, like the slaveholding class, shall resist by force of arms, a peaceful revolution is wholly possible.

But the Socialist end is no less a revolution, though it be also a process of evolution, or the culmination of such process. The butterfly as compared with the caterpillar is a product of evolution, though the final process was a revolution.

The point is this: There must be a complete change whereby capital in the Marxian sense of unpaid labor used to exploit other labor, shall be abolished; just as completely as feudal serfdom is now abolished.

This is why a Socialist is not and cannot be a Reformer. No one is a Socialist who does not clearly apprehend this distinction between revolution and reform. Capital as Marx defined it, is the strategic point of attack. A political party based upon the revolutionary demand, Capital Must Go, will be coherent and invincible. This has been the secret of the growth and power of German Socialism, the most numerous political party in Germany today. This is the point of attack of our enemies, to divert attention from the main issue, and get us to be content with "immediate demands," like public ownership of various things.

No doubt Socialists locally in power, as in Haverhill, will promote alleviating measures like a 2-cent fare, but nationally and internationally Socialists will stand as a giant unappeasable till capitalism, the use of the means of production to rob the producer, shall be immoral, unlawful and impossible.

### SOCIALIST PAPERS.

They are appearing everywhere like dandelions in spring. Sure sign of life. New Light, of Port Angeles, is oldest. The two colony papers, Industrial Freedom, at Equality, and Co-operator, at Burley, are vigorous as ever. And now comes Common People, at Fairhaven, the same age as The Socialist. Room for us all, boys; the more the merrier for us, and the sadder for the doomed capitalists.

If subscribers fail to receive their paper, don't fail to notify us. Mistakes are easy to beginners.

A Social Democrat said recently: "Getting subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST is the easiest work I ever did."

### THOUGHTS BY YOUR UNCLE

THE wool growers of the south are holding back their product for a big advance in prices. To a man up a tree it is hard to comprehend why farmers expect workmen to rush to their support, in the old pop. party. The wageworkers of the country fail to see the difference it makes to them whether they pay big money to a mill owner as profit or pay it as a bigger profit to the farm owner. To the class-conscious worker all capitalists look alike.

News dispatches say that the Philippine commissioners contemplate sending natives of the islands to the United States to study. It is hoped they will not be allowed to take back with them copies of the plans of the new large addition to the Stellacoom asylum, nor of the large new wing to the Walla Walla penitentiary. The natives over in those islands might get a correct idea as to what our "civilization" really consists of.

No, JOHN; Socialists don't intend to change human nature. Human nature is like anything else on this poor old world of ours—it takes the path of the least resistance; in other words, everything does that which is the easiest for it to do. There may be exceptions, of course. For instance, we occasionally hear of some desperate girl starving to death or committing suicide rather than take that path of vice which is more alluring and pays better than virtue. But there are thousands who choose otherwise and the more holy, the more upright, condemn them and would punish them for taking that path which we ourselves have paved and made easy. All the Socialist wants to do or intends to do is to simply make the conditions for living good easier than the conditions for living wrong. That's all, John. Anything wrong with that? When we make industrial conditions so that honest work pays better than dishonest schemes, thievery, etc., people will all be honest, and without any compulsory laws to make them so. But we can not change industrial conditions without first owning the industries. See?

THIS is such free country, you know, industrially and politically, that many workmen dare not wear a Socialist button for fear of losing the chance to earn bread for their wives and babies. Some of these truckling foremen who discharge men for such reasons are proving their fitness for being chief night-soil removers under Socialism.

PIERCE county real estate valuations show a decrease of over \$2,000,000 from the figures of a year ago. Gas seems to be leaking out of the McKinley prosperity bag even out here where army supplies and the Klondike boom promised to keep it floating indefinitely.

SEATTLE papers have been full of pictures lately describing the beautiful scenic location of the army post at Magnolia Bluff. Under Socialism there would be descriptions of beautiful places, too, and more of them. But it would be happy homes that would dot the landscape, and not army barracks. With a people busy erecting necessities and luxuries for their own enjoyment, and minding their own business, there will be no reason for maintaining a trained body of men to kill human beings, either here or abroad.

UNCLE SAM.

### SOCIALIST SNAP SHOTS

Socialism is a scheme of government that looks to the taking back to themselves by the people of all our natural sources of wealth, the right to which is forever and inalienably vested in the people, and to the future operation by the people of all industries and enterprises now carried on by private capitalists for their individual profit.

Socialism discriminates between useful, useless and positively pernicious Labor. "Mr. Rockefeller works, works hard, you Socialists are mistaken," says the apologist for capitalism. Certainly he "works"—works us. Works the great silly American public for all there is in it.

Man may be defined as a self-conscious being who thinks and feels. The normally evolved man or woman not only perceives intellectual truth but also thrills in sympathy with the sufferings, the aims and aspirations of Humanity at large or in particular. To such natures Socialism makes a double appeal. It satisfies the sense of Reason and Justice and appeals to the finest, purest and noblest sentiments of which we are capable.

There is no public service performed by private enterprise that could not be, and more satisfactorily, performed by the people's lieutenants or deputies, acting as a National Board of Directors and serving only during worthy and competent behavior. (See Article XI. of the National Platform S. D. P.).

Socialism is the soul of Democracy. The actual substance of self government—of popular sovereignty. Its basis is Justice. Its motto: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." It cuts the Gordian knot of all social evils by recognizing the economic right of both men and women, and absolutely guarantees this right.

"Now that we own the Philippines." Just so. "We" do, of course. Every day you hear that kind of talk and from men who don't "own," perhaps never did, a decent coat. Who don't "own," and never will, until Socialism is successful, the simple right to earn a living by their labor. It will do then to talk of what "we" own, for "we" will own everything in sight—except another man or his country.

And then "we," too, are supposed to be "running" our new possessions. No, son, "we" are not "running" anything. Not even a street car service—it takes a capitalist to do that. You don't need to worry. The capitalistic highbinders who "run" this country for their private profit will attend to the Philippines and "lay on the brown man's burden, for there's dollars in the job."

How familiar to us all, how often we meet him—the man who perceives that Socialism is a grand thing, "but will never come about in our time." Fancy a man feeling and speaking like this and voting a capitalistic ticket right along. Fancy his son doing the same thing, paying to Socialism the tribute of a sigh while still voting to fasten the fetters of wage and class slavery on his children! Could anything be more utterly illogical? Changes are brought about by the ballot in this country, friend. Come over and help us.

ELEANOR SHELL.

# THIS PAGE FOR STUDENTS

We propose to give on this page something each week to be studied. You can read it ten times and find it better the tenth time than the ninth. It will furnish good stuff to discuss in weekly meetings of Socialists. One can read aloud and the others ask questions. Socialism requires study and discussion just because it is scientific, as scientific as chemistry or astronomy.

Last week this page was devoted to Job Harriman's great book, "The Class War in Idaho" (price 5 cents). In this issue follows the preface and last chapter of Rev. Chas. H. Vall's "Principles of Scientific Socialism" (35 cents). We will supply these books or any others recommended on this page on receipt of price.

## SOCIALISM SCIENTIFIC.

The Socialism of to-day is distinguished from the Utopian theories of the past by the fact that it is scientific. All great movements inevitably pass through a Utopian phase and Socialism is no exception to the general rule.

Socialism is evolutionary in character. There have been the John the Baptists of the new order, proclaiming the way of peace in the industrial wilderness. As alchemy and astrology preceded chemistry and astronomy, so the Utopias of Owenism, Fourierism and Simonism had to precede the full development of Scientific Socialism.

These precursors of social democracy aimed to run society into a special mould. In the absence of a thorough knowledge of economic laws they conceived that an industrial system was something society could put on, as a man puts on a suit of clothes, ready made. They thought a perfect system could be invented and superimposed upon society through propaganda. Their crude theories corresponded, as Frederick Engels has pointed out to the crude state of capitalist production and to the crude state of the classes. Nevertheless these men had a far-sighted historic penetration and sagacity. They were admirable critics of capitalist methods, depicting with keenness and satire the evils inherent in capitalist society, but they had not the data to enable them to clearly perceive the genesis of capitalist exploitation. The Utopians did well, but it was left for Karl Marx to clearly point out the source of surplus-value and the evolutionary tendency in economics. Marx did of economics what Darwin did of biology. The discoveries of Marx placed Socialism upon solid ground and reduced it to a science.

Modern Socialism, then, is scientific and rests upon a historical, economic and scientific basis. It points out with accuracy the laws of social and economic evolution.

Socialism is the only solution of modern problems, and a clear understanding of its principles and purposes is the one great need of the world to-day.

## PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM.

The growth of Socialism has been phenomenal. It has swept with amazing rapidity over the civilized countries of the globe. It is a world-wide economy, based upon universal principles, and destined to usher in a higher state of civilization.

The consummation is sure of attainment, but it may be hindered by measures designed to resuscitate the old order out of which we have evolved. While we are ever ready to give our support to any movement which is a step in advance, we refuse to be a party to any effort to bring back the past. Our

work is progressive—the bringing in of the new order by helping forward the economic evolution.

To-day the forces of retrogression are battling with the forces of progress. It is a question every man should ask himself. Which side am I upon? The situation is becoming more and more serious every day and the signs of evolution are manifest to the careful observer. Whether the coming revolution shall be by ballots or bullets depends upon the education of the masses on the social question.

## BALLOTS, NOT BULLETS.

Socialists have a great responsibility resting upon them. Into their hands has been committed the new gospel. By faithful and diligent effort they may avert the danger which threatens the twentieth century. This danger lies in an unintelligent resentment of wrongs that are not distinctly understood. If men resent social wrongs without thoroughly comprehending their nature, it may result in civil war and the re-establishment of society, but without any marked improvement.

Socialists, and Socialists alone, have correctly diagnosed the cause of the present evils and prescribed the true remedy. It is their mission to carry the gospel of emancipation to others—to be missionaries of progress and civilization. It is chiefly into the hands of the proletariat that this commission is entrusted. The proletariat includes all who do not possess property in the instruments of production. While individual members of the proprietor class here and there may apprehend the truths of Socialism and lend themselves to the cause, still, as a class, we need not expect them to take the initiative or aid in carrying forward the movement for the abolition of the present system of industry.

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

The economic struggle is necessarily a class struggle, a struggle between the proprietor class and the non-proprietor class. The subjection of the working class is due to the fact that the instruments of production and distribution are the private property of another class. The interests of these two classes being diametrically opposed, a class struggle is inevitable. The proletariat must work out its own salvation and the triumph of the proletariat means the triumph of Socialism. The proletariat is bound to put an end to its own exploitation and the only way by which this can be accomplished is by the abolition of the private ownership of the instruments of production and distribution. The emancipation of labor can only be wrought by a united effort of wage-earners along the line of their class interests, assisted by such members of the other classes as understand the economic question and possess sufficient moral courage to be true to their convictions.

## CLASS POLITICS ALSO.

That this struggle for freedom should express itself in political action is inevitable. Class interests always express themselves in class politics. As the laborer seeks to better his condition he comes in contact with the governing power which is in possession of the capitalist class. The ruling class of all ages has always determined the form and administration of government, as well as the fashions and customs, codes of ethics, etc., and always in its own interest. The capitalist class is to-day the ruling class, having wrested the governing power from the old landed nobility, and, wherever labor

seeks its rights it finds itself thwarted by this class under the disguise of government. To-day, the courts, the laws, the press, the legislatures, the police, the state and national troops, and often the pulpit, are dominated and controlled by this ruling class. This condition makes it necessary for the proletariat to master the governing power. An intelligent use of the ballot on the part of the working class would gain for them the control of the political power. In the effort to achieve this end, accept no political palliative. Any measure which does not tend to the abolition of the wage system is unworthy of support. The laboring class must learn that it need expect nothing from any political party that does not stand squarely upon the Socialist demand to wrench from the exploiting class the political and economic weapons of exploitation.

## NO CAPITALIST POLITICS.

No such uncompromising demand as this will ever be made by any of the political divisions of the capitalist class. If the laborers are to achieve their end they must stand united in the political field on a platform of their own, demanding the complete abolition of the exploiting system. There are thousands upon thousands of workers who to-day, are thus standing, conscious of their class interests and endeavoring to bring about the fulfillment of the mission which the economic evolution has assigned to them. Today we see the manual and mental laborers of the world, uniting in mighty class-conscious bodies, preparing themselves for the duties and responsibilities of the final work in economic and social evolution. Have you joined this great army in the universal struggle for freedom? If not, why not? Why longer waste your efforts in the old political parties which are but handmaids of the capitalist class? Their chief object is to divide laborers into different factions, fighting against each other, and so prevent the laborers from uniting to secure their freedom. The petty political issues which such parties raise are only for the purpose of fleecing the laborers on the one hand and throwing dust into their eyes on the other lest they see the only real question at issue—Socialism vs. Capitalism.

## VICTORY CERTAIN.

Be not deceived! Laborers, you have no interest in the success or failure of parties composed of classes whose interests are antagonistic to your own. Do not throw away your ballot then by voting for that which you do not want. As has been well said, "You had better vote for what you want and not get it, than vote for what you don't want and get it." But, friends, we shall get what we want. Socialism is the outcome of industrial evolution. That Socialism will follow capitalism is as certain as that light will follow darkness. Its speedy realization depends upon the faithfulness and devotion of those who have seen the light. Its advent, however, is not so far distant as often thought. The rapid growth of the Socialist vote evidences that salvation is nigh. We are blessed, in that the opportunity is ours to help usher in the brighter day. No people ever had a nobler cause, or one that should inspire greater enthusiasm.

## NEXT ISSUE IS LABOR DAY NUMBER.

Best yet. Portraits of Socialist Leaders. Chock full of stuff for workingmen. Send in orders quick, that we may know how many to print. Bundle rate reduced to 1-2 cent a copy.