

Thanksgiving Thoughts.

By Frances M. Traver.

Editor Scott's Socialist.
Observing Stronous Teddy's and "Honest Hank" Meltride's Thanksgiving proclamations, I've been casting about for an excuse of that kind on my own hook.

"Honest Hank can well afford to be the thankful that the great wage slave army, struggling, struggling here and there, are not yet educated to the point of striking at the ballot box and assuming the ownership of the planet, that their toll has made to blossom as the rose.

While Socialists have had five life's luxuries to be terribly tickled about—especially when oncoming winter stares a jobless slave with a large family in the face yet I am informed by some of those workers with the capitalist mind that we ought to be.

"Thankful That It Ain't No Worse." I've had my eye on you and your paper since its inception, with its uncompromising stand for the working class; its large simple cartoons, that educate at a glance; how it has been a deal of muddy sentimentalism and dissipated "deadlocks" of fox from fog-laden workers. Hence I'm thankful that, with all your opportunist opposition, that you are still looking down upon the dainties, instead of up at the stars.

And I'm thankful that you have a few paragraphs from an extended experience. I have often been asked in the past, "why do I support that rabid Seattle Socialist" that is always and selfishly reads its every issue carefully, afraid its circulation as widely as possible consistent with my well-kept petter plunkers purse for the identical reason that I ravenously devour gooseberry pie—"like your mother used to make" whenever I can get it.

IT'S GOOD AND I LIKE IT. I make no attempt at denying that the editor has often "thrown in" with the aforesaid gooseberries (for a reasonable amount of "roughness" I presume), many blossom ends and stems, together with an occasional bunch of briars that "stuck in my crop" for indefinite periods, but as my digestion is robust, I have "toughed it out" and find my mental assimilating apparatus has become all the stronger of late years for the strenuous tests set for.

There have been numerous occasions, too, when the sardonic matter was "aby" and it seemed that "the Doc" had dumped, instead of "concocted" the salt-cake in my face, a few pieces of pastry. On some of these occasions I have indignantly sat down and

Give Him Hell-unhushed.

He said nothing but went right on his intellectual rat killing, or mental microbe extermination, and I sat there. At other times when this would occur, and my mental mouth and maw would feel like the South Sea for a spell, I'd write him a long, pleading letter, explaining how he was injuring the chances of the paper, and I'd be incidentally hurting himself by such "narrow tactics," etc.

To my unfeigned surprise, "He just kept right on sayin' nuttin'" or if he deigned reply it was begrudgingly and to this effect: "This paper has a mission: To build a firm foundation for our movement that will stand the test of time. To stand firmly for fundamental, four square to every breeze that blows. To give free and fearless utterance to that truth exactly as we see it, neither fawning nor flinching. If it cannot be supported in this resolute stand for a scientific in lieu of a sentimental basis for the work of the editorial department on this score, I'll drop the truth without 'trimmings.' Its skeleton will soon jostle other cadavers in the newspaper boneyard!" that's all.

It was a trifle difficult to answer those terrific, fierce statements, and I finally concluded that the "double dose" of salt might be essential to neutralize.

A Superabundance of Too Freshness that ever and anon afflicts the Redding Socialist, and quit annoying the editorial department on this score. At still other times I would be "dead sure" he had "cornered" the lemon and lime market—had "mouided them into berry form and had prepared this price of pie herewith, and that too apparently after the "midnight oil" was exhausted, (for at these times the "shortening" seemed to me to be invariably put in lentiginous).

That in groping around for the sugar he had "run amok" and as a result supply of undiluted cream tartar, or acetic acid, and I'd be

"All Puckered Up" Again.

I'd spit and spatter to "beat the band," twist the offending paper into a "mangled mess," and as a man, cat or canine hove in sight we

Even then I could not realize the intrinsic value of "The Socialist" for propaganda and fell "begs over head" in love with the "Coming Nation," which for a time did splendidly, but which I have since put out with "MILK," whose odorous record at Omaha, Price and Spokane in our own state compels me at times to

Hold My Nose With Both Hands.

I observe that the last mentioned paper wishes to give us a "Van" if the Washington comrades will "sough" enough to get behind two or three that "W-I" it went direct.

This giving us a Van reminds me a trifle of the theosophical wage system; you work for me and produce so many plunks, and I will return part of it to you in the form of a State Van.

Let Us Make Our Own Vans, Comrades.

I've got a "V" to start it with. I may be first or second party to a divorce suit from above paper soon. I've tried many papers, and on looking over your initial issue I find you campaigning for the "narrow crafts" of fundamentals from start to finish.

Am going to "cast my lot" with you until they can at least point to a single divergence from fundamental facts—or find some fault with your Socialist. The "narrow crafts" cry will no longer go down with "yours truly."

Hence you can see my scientific, class-conscious basis for Thanksgiving in this

Year of our Lord Almighty Dollar.

Insure your "origin of Teddy's Wunsht" to wit:

That we have in a movement so great and grand as ours, one paper that will call a halt on the least "side-pick" from fundamentalists, a "Marxist" from fundamentalists, a "working overtime" if you choose—in short,

A Bold, Stern, Unrelenting Watch Dog, that never sleeps with both eyes shut; that will not call a spade "an axe" and a hammer "a mallet"; that will be detaching and transporting surface or substratum soil from its original locality to a new situation more or less remote.

Being a plain, blunt wage slave, I like plain, pointed words that no one can mistake.

A Socialist true to his class should be the last to use those double words that might be useful in retreat. He believes that silence about the truth is not even the remotest relative to civilization.

He knows that if he lets a ray of light into a rat hole it spouts it forever for rat purposes.

He knows the scientific genuineness class-conscious Socialist stands on his hind feet, his face to the future.

He is not hunting authority for truth, but is ever willing to accept truth for authority.

His distinguishing characteristic is his serenity of mind. No wave of trouble rolls across his peaceful breast. Neither a fire for the past nor fear for the future wrinkles his brow. He leaves to the dead past the burial of the dead and the future the management of its own fearful obsequies.

It's None of His Funeral.

The shades of departed splendor do not satisfy his longing for the beautiful nor has the music of the "WHOLE people" any music for his soul. He stands in the sun. With eye touched by living light, he sees today the substance of tomorrow's glory; with ear attuned to all the harmonies of the human heart he hears already the laughter of the children of the morning.

Realizing this he yet feels to the full those ringing words of an eloquent writer in that sterling monthly, "The Comrade":

"It is Time for the Workingman to be and those who CAN think don't ACT, the time is not far distant when those of us who DON'T THINK WILL ACT; and in such a time, we will be the benefactors of the WHOLE people."

Another troublefyme, "think" and "I'm all in." You can possibly recall, perchance, if you practice that healthful habit of taking a cold bath of a morning, how for the first few months of the year the colds will come and will slip up and down your spine and "play hob" with your anatomy generally. And yet when you recovered from the momentary shock, and realize that you are all right, you feel that invigorating glow of a cold that a rough towel can give when properly applied; how by persisting in such "heretic treatment" you soon set to like it, found it a grand, good thing!

Well, comrades mine, this has been my experience with

"THE SOCIALIST"

Oftimes have I felt that "smithereens" was a small word to describe the wreckage that the cause of criticism had wrought of the movement, have passed with bated breath for

The Coming Collapse That Never Came.

Affairs seemed to pursue the regular tenor of their way, and instead of a woe-wel, promptly based on the membership in the "Evergreen State" are the clearest in the nation. "Alla well" that ends well.

History of Socialism in U. S.

By Morris Hillquit.

INTRODUCTION TO PART II.

The Development of Modern Socialism in the United States. In wading through the history of modern Socialism in the United States, we light occasionally on what seems to be a connecting link between that movement and its earlier utopian phases.

These the fratric utopians maintained close relations with the Working Men's League of the cities of the last century; later they took an active part in the works of the International, and their maxims, La Rève leantenne and La Jeune learie, were listed as official organs of the Socialist Labor Party as late as 1879.

Alexander Longley, who was prominently connected with almost every phase of the utopian movements, reappeared in 1880 as a member of "Section St. Louis" of the Socialist Labor Party, vigorously advocating the principles of that party in his Communist. Many Fourierists manifested a sympathetic interest in the development of the later-day Socialism, and at least one Brook Farmer, Dr. J. Homer Doucet, of Philadelphia, is still actively connected with the Socialist movement.

But these instances, however numerous, are few in the general scale. As a whole, it is safe to say that the early utopian theories and utopianistic colonies had but little influence on the formation of the modern Socialistic movement in the United States.

The two movements are entirely different in nature and origin. Utopian Socialism was built on purely moral conceptions, and derived its inspiration from the teachings of Christ or other codes of ethics; its existence was equally justified in the nineteenth century as in the sixteenth, and its history as well as on the old continent.

Modern Socialism, on the other hand, is primarily economic in character, and can not take root in any country before its social and industrial conditions have made it ripe for the movement.

The present Socialist movement depends for its support upon the existence of a large class of working men divorced from the soil and other means of production, and dependent upon the range of wage labor. It also requires a system of industry developed at a point where it becomes onerous upon the working men, breeds dissatisfaction, and impels them to organize resistance. In other words, the movement presupposes the existence of the modern factory system in a high state of development, and all the social contrasts and economic struggles incidental to such a system.

And these conditions did not exist in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century, for America has long held an exceptional position among the nations of the earth. At a time when the countries of Europe had almost exhausted every square foot of ground and all of their natural resources, the western hemisphere had boundless stretches of fertile soil waiting for the first comer to occupy. Agriculture was a comparatively easy and lucrative occupation, and the greater part of the American population consisted of independent farmers, at a time when manufacture and industry were the dominant factors in Europe. The abundance of land, in drawing the greater part of able-bodied men to the fields and pastures, furthermore left the supply of labor for the young industries far below the demand, and kept up an exceptionally high standard of wages.

Wage labor was, under these circumstances, altogether more of a temporary condition than a permanent institution; as a rule it took the working man a short time to save up sufficient money to settle on a farm, or to purchase the very simple and inexpensive tools of his trade, and to establish himself in business on his own account.

Nor were the blessings of American life confined to mere economic advantages. The great struggles and triumphs of the Revolutionary War were still fresh in the memory of the nation; the inspiring doctrines of the independence of the colonies, the rights of the Americans; the "inalienable right" of men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness was a living truth to them; they were proud of their political sovereignty, of their freedom of conscience, and of their liberty of speech and press. The young republic was prosperous, its future was brilliant; it had no political privileges and hardly any economic classes, and it was but natural that it should have developed an unusual national optimism and complacency which caused it to forego upon any movement based on dissatisfaction with the existing order of things.

But gradually a change was working in the economic conditions of the country. The unprecedented increase of population diminished the area of public lands from year to year; the more fertile soil was rapidly occupied, and what remained was mostly forest or barren country. Land became a source of competition and strife in price and growing more and more inaccessible to the poor, who were, in consequence, compelled to turn from agriculture to industry. The foundation for a permanent class of wage-workers was thus laid.

At the same time, and as part of the same movement, modern industry made its appearance in the United States, and soon assumed marvellous dimensions. The inventions of the cotton gin, the reaper, the mowing machine, the steam engine and the telegraph, soon conquered for it at front rank among the industrial nations. Commercial cities, factory towns, and mining camps sprang up in all parts of the continent; railroad lines and telegraph wires covered it with a veritable network, and from a peaceful and contented agricultural community, the United States turned into a puffing, hustling, and noisy workshop.

The industrial revolution brought in its wake a very radical change in the social relations of men. A new era was introduced in the national life of America—the era of multi-millionaires and money kings, of unprecedented luxury and splendor, but also the era of abject poverty and dire distress.

Overt struggles between capital and labor, in the shape of strikes, lock-outs, and boycotts, became more and more frequent, and were oftentimes attended by acts of violence.

At the same time, the flow of working men to the industrial centers caused a congestion of population in some cases comparable only to that of China; slums and tenement houses became as much a feature of our principal cities as their magnificent avenues and mansions.

In short, the United States, so recent in the ideal republic of equal and independent citizens, became the theater of the most embittered class wars and most glaring social contrasts ever witnessed in modern times.

And all these astounding social and economic changes were accomplished with incredible rapidity. In 1850 the population of the United States was but little over 23,000,000; half a century later it rose to over 75,000,000. In 1850 the wealth of the country amounted to little over \$7,000,000,000, and in 1890 it exceeded \$45,000,000,000, and more than one-half of it was concentrated in the hands of but 40,000 families, or one-third of one per cent. of the population. In 1850 fifty-five per cent. of the wealth of the United States consisted of farms; in 1890 the farms made up less than twenty-four per cent. of the wealth of the country. In 1850 about 14,000,000 acres of capital and labor in the United States were employed in industry, and in 1890 the number of working men participated.

In 1870 the supply of labor was too inadequate for the demand; three decades later there was a standing army of over 1,000,000 idle working men. In 1870 strikes and lockouts were hardly known in America; between 1881 and 1894 the country witnessed over 14,000 contests between capital and labor, in which about 400,000 of working men participated.

The progress of development sketched in the preceding pages thus prepared the ground for the Socialist movement of the modern type, but a

variety of circumstances rooted in the economic and political conditions and historical features peculiar to this country operated to retard the progress of the movement.

In the first place, the American working men still enjoyed some actual advantages over their brethren on the other side of the ocean. The marvelous variety of industries and the constant opening of new fields of enterprise made the United States a comparatively favorable market for labor, and notwithstanding the temporary industrial depressions, the wages of American working men were, on the whole, better, and their standard of life higher, than those of the European wage workers. In the next place, there was a great difference between the disposition and mental attitude of the working classes of America and Europe, which is to be accounted for by the difference of their origin and history.

The European industry was developed from the small manufacture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the master of the workshop of old Europe grew into the capitalist of today, and the apprentice and helper into the modern wage worker. The process was a slow and gradual one, and both classes had ample time to crystallize. The European working men had several generations behind them; they had their class traditions and sentiments; they were "class conscious."

Not so with the American working men. Their existence as a class was of too recent date to have developed decided class feelings in them; they had yet before them the example of too many men who before their very eyes rose from the ranks of labor to the highest pinnacles of wealth and power; they were still inclined to consider wage labor as a mere transitory condition.

Another check on the progress of the Socialist movement in the United States is to be found in the political institutions of the country; the working classes of the European countries were, as a rule, deprived of some political rights enjoyed by other classes of citizens, and the common struggle for the acquisition of those rights was frequently the first cause to draw them together into a distinct political union. Universal Suffrage was the battle-cry of the German working men when they gathered around Lassalle in the early sixties, and founded the nucleus of the now powerful Social Democratic Party. "The repeal of all laws curtailing individual liberty, freedom of press, education, coalition, and association" was one of the first demands of the French Socialists upon the revival of the movement a short time after the fall of the Commune; and similarly the first struggles of the Austrian and Italian Socialists were for universal suffrage, for freedom of meeting and association, and for the right of coalition of the working class.

Furthermore, the periodical appearance of radical reform parties on the political arena of the country often had the effect of side-tracking the Socialist movement into different channels.

All these and many more obstacles of minor import contributed to make the progress of socialism in this country a much slower and more laborious process than in most countries of Europe.

The first beginnings of modern Socialism appeared on this continent before the close of the first half of the last century, but it took another half a century before the movement could be said to have become acclimatized on American soil.

The history of this period of the Socialist movement in the United States is, for the sake of convenience, also somewhat arbitrarily, divided into the following four periods:

1. The Ante-Bellum Period, from about 1848 to the beginning of the civil war. The movement of that period was confined almost exclusively to Germany and France, and was principally the work of a few individuals, principally the working class, and was almost entirely swept away by the excitement of the civil war.

2. The Period of Organization, covering the decade between 1867 and 1877, and marked by a succession of Socialist societies and parties, first on a local, then on a national scale, culminating finally in the formation of the Socialist Labor Party.

3. The Period of the Socialist Labor Party, extending over twenty years, and marked by a series of internal and external struggles over the question of the policy of alliances of the movement.

4. Present-Day Socialism, which embraces the period of the last few years, and is marked by the acclimatization of the movement and the advent of the Socialist Party.—From "History of Socialism in the United States," by Morris Hillquit. For sale by The Comrade Co-op. Co., New York; \$1.67 post paid. Every Socialist should get it.

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News and Correspondence

IMPORTANT WORK DONE.

Report of the National Quorum Meeting held at National Headquarters, Omaha, Neb., Nov. 21-23, 1932.

FIRST SESSION.

The second meeting of the present National Quorum was held at National Headquarters, Omaha, Neb., Nov. 21, 1932, with Quorum Members present, Reynolds, Work and Berger present, Dobbs absent. The first session was called to order at 10:30 a. m. by the National Secretary, C. M. Berger, by which a different chairman was elected for each session. Carried.

SECOND SESSION.

Second session was called to order at 10:45 a. m. Sunday morning by the National Secretary, C. M. Berger, who acted as chairman for the session. Minutes of the previous session read and approved.

THIRD SESSION.

Third session was called to order at 10:45 a. m. Monday morning by the National Secretary, C. M. Berger, who acted as chairman for the session. Minutes of the previous session read and approved.

FOURTH SESSION.

Fourth session was called to order at 10:45 a. m. Tuesday morning by the National Secretary, C. M. Berger, who acted as chairman for the session. Minutes of the previous session read and approved.

FIFTH SESSION.

Fifth session was called to order at 10:45 a. m. Wednesday morning by the National Secretary, C. M. Berger, who acted as chairman for the session. Minutes of the previous session read and approved.

Local Committees in Kerrigan, Texas, containing motion picture of the fact that the National Committee on Negotiations with Comrades Hagood and Strickland, a view to securing their services as national organizers.

Work was done by Reynolds that the National Secretary be instructed to communicate with all well known speakers in the United States who are willing to act as lecturers and organizers under the direction of the national committee.

Communication was read from "I Protest" relative to the National Quorum sessions regarding the Socialist Party, and by common consent was referred to the next meeting.

being done under the direction and supervision of the National Secretary, Mally and Assistant Secretary Clark Carried.

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