

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

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Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism

Hermon F. Titus

CHAPTER IV.—THIRD PRINCIPLE OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

"The People!" The popular magazines and dailies are always charming us with the magic words, "The People!" A swarm of writers in the ten cent monthlies are fighting the battles of "The People." Stannard Baker has the "Railroads on Trial" for the benefit of "The People." Lincoln Stephens exposes "Graft" in American cities—for the benefit of "The People." Chas. Edward Russell travels over Europe to discover "Soldiers of the Common Good," that is, Soldiers for "The People." Graham Phillips will lay bare "The Treason of the Senate"—also for the benefit of "The People." While Broker Lawson labors in frenzied travail to unfold his "Remedy" for the ills which afflict "The People."

It is the word to conjure with—"The People!" Yet nobody stops to ask, Who are "The People?" In old Rome 2000 years ago, they talked about "The People," too. But they never included the Slaves in the town. Yet the slave population in Rome far outnumbered all the rest. "The People" in Rome meant the people who had property, whether Patrician or Plebeian.

A hundred or more years ago in France, there was much enthusiasm for the cause of "The People" and for "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." But the franchise was restricted to those people who had property.

It is no different in America today. "The People" of Lawson, Stephens & Co. are the taxpayers, the great middle class, the solid business men, who are supposed to constitute the backbone of the Republic. Now the Revolutionary Socialist proposes to show that "The People" of these middle class writers is a very different thing from the whole American people.

The Revolutionary Socialist always sticks to Facts. That is his first and last principle. He shows the facts are, the American people are made up of two great distinct classes, separated by the property line.

The Revolutionary Socialist will not allow these bourgeois authors to pose as advocates of "The People" without exposing their real meaning.

The Socialist will not be cheated by a popular phrase. He knows there are only two main classes in modern society, that "The People" of the capitalist press does not really include the Wage Class at all.

It is a snare and a delusion to use a word in a double sense. "The People," as used in popular literature really means the Propertied People. But the writers want us to understand it to include us, the Wage People, the Propertyless People.

These magazine writers and editorial writers in the Hearst sort of newspapers may possibly themselves believe they mean the whole people. They have been educated in a Middle Class atmosphere and naturally regard the Middle Class, which used to be the chief class in America, as "The People."

But the Middle Class is no longer "The People." The Wage Class has arisen in the last 50 years and now claims to be "The People."

It is time everybody stopped using this term, "The People," unless they tell exactly what they mean by it.

It is the object of this chapter to point out exactly who constitute the population of the United States. We shall show precisely what it is which divides all the people into two irreconcilable classes.

We shall not use the old fashioned and double-meaning phrase, "The People," but shall use modern scientific language which will deceive no one.

Third Principle Stated

MODERN SOCIETY IN ALL CIVILIZED NATIONS, IS DIVIDED INTO TWO CLASSES WITH OPPOSING INTERESTS, BASED ON THE DIVISION OF PROPERTY: THE PROPETIED CLASS, KNOWN AS THE CAPITALIST OR BOURGEOIS CLASS AND THE PROPERTYLESS CLASS, KNOWN AS THE WAGE PROLETARIAN CLASS.

President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress, December, 1905, has considerable to say against the development of Class Spirit in this country.

He says "the growth of the Class Spirit has been in the past the most direful among the influences which have brought about the downfall of Republics."

He urges every citizen to consider "the welfare of the public as a whole," not "the welfare of the particular class to which he belongs."

In all this exhorting, the President is simply fighting facts. If classes exist, Class Spirit will develop. If there were no classes in America, there would be no danger of Class Spirit. The fact the Class Spirit is growing, as the President sees, is itself proof of the existence of Classes.

Socialists, we cannot too often repeat, are not such dreamers as to seek to create facts to suit themselves. They are not such individualists as Mr. Roosevelt and the moralists generally, who think to stay human history with a precept or an exhortation. If rival classes do not really constitute present day society and if Class Consciousness or Class Spirit is really becoming clearer in these struggling classes, the Revolutionary Socialist accepts the facts in a scientific manner and proceeds to act in harmony with these facts.

Facts Which Make Classes

Nobody will deny any of the following facts. They are so well known to every intelligent person that to name them is to prove them.

Statistics could be quoted by the bookfull to substantiate every one of these facts. Yet they all come within the range of observation of every wage worker.

FACT NO. 1. Machinery now does the work of the world and produces the world's wealth.

This is so common a fact that most people do not notice it as significant.

Yet 100 years ago, the machine was almost unknown. In backward places in the world today, like Turkey, it is still practically unknown. They still cut wheat with a sickle and spin yarn by hand on a wheel.

In the most advanced countries, England, America, Germany, machinery is most fully developed. Hand processes have gradually disappeared. Machine production is the rule.

That is Fact No. 1.

FACT NO. 2. Machinery dispenses with men in the production of wealth.

A mowing machine with one man will cut as much grass as four men with scythes. Query: What became of the other three men?

A railroad train, with ten men to run it, will carry more passengers and freight across the continent than a hundred stage coaches with a hundred men to drive them. What becomes of the other ninety men?

A shoe factory, employing one hundred men, will turn out more shoes in a day than a thousand men making shoes by hand on the bench. What becomes of the other nine hundred?

A steam shovel, with three men to guide it, will keep ten teams hauling away dirt more than thirty men could do with hand shovels. What are the other 27 men doing now?

This is true of all machinery. It does the world's work with less and less men. Every new invention "saves labor," that is, dispenses with laborers.

That is Fact No. 2.

FACT NO. 3. Machinery is always accompanied by the unemployed.

hardly a capitalist paper so bold as to do him honor since a strike seems inevitable. Pat Dolan as the type of leader whom labor should listen to Mitchell may be conservative, he may have gotten the swell head, he may have posed as the whole thing, he may have been many things he should not have been, but he has never been what Dolan has been and is. The name of Pat Dolan is suggestive of everything that is rotten, repulsive and undesirable in labor fakirdom. Indeed, there never was anyone to whom the term "labor fakir" could be applied with more aptness than this bully. For years he has acted as the tool of the Pittsburgh district operators, and he is quite consistent in his present defense of their interests. He has held his place through their influence, and if the miners of the Pittsburgh district are in a bad condition it is through Dolan's action in conjunction with the operators to make the union simply a tool for their using. It looks now as if Dolan had reached the end of his rope and had gone a step too far in his masters' service. The miners of the Pittsburgh district are compelled to clear themselves before their fellowcraftsmen and the organized labor of the continent in supporting the operators in this crisis in the national miners' affairs. His resort to the courts will only hasten his downfall and we may soon hear of him being rewarded by those he has served while apparently serving the miners. As for Mitchell, it looks as if he is up against a stiff proposition this time and his future in every sense is now at stake as it never was before.

The chief complaint against Colonel Mann seems to be that he was too dashed rude about his holdup, don't you know.

As usual, the capitalist press have overdone it in their fulsome retailing of all the details of the wedding of Alice Roosevelt and Nick Longworth. Even the ordinary person who likes to have his own curiosity satisfied about the doings of the "better classes" is disgusted. These things have therefore their good sides after all. They tend to show what snob-bizness is becoming rampant in the republic among these so-called better classes, and they also provoke the question among working people why such a fuss should be made about Alice Roosevelt, the president's daughter, getting married, and nothing be said about the marriage of the workingman's daughter, to whom

marriage is as sacred a thing as it is to Alice. Phrases about all being free and equal look rather pale when the facts of modern life in the United States are contemplated.

Just what all the palaver over Morocco is about may be a little obscure to the ordinary man in the street, but he can bet his life that underneath it all there's a few capitalists plotting to grab some more of the earth's surface for the purpose of exploiting labor upon it.

The Severance-Haubold affair is another illustration of the caliber of the people who have the public schools of Toledo and other cities in charge. For some personal or political reasons, Severance makes wild and vague charges against Haubold in open meeting, and the daily papers manage to drag in the name of and besmirch the memory of an innocent woman who has only been dead a month, and who is unable to speak for herself. Haubold has not seen fit to reply to the charges, although the real story of his offense is bad enough. The worst of it is, the parties who are really injured have no means of redress, except through a public statement, which the "Toledo Press," the paper which first mentioned Mrs. Schulz's name in connection with the affair, did not see fit to print, although the other Toledo papers did. The Chicago "American," with its usual nose for filth, had to exaggerate about the matter and make it a good deal worse than what the facts warranted. And all this in the chase to get news and furnish sensation. As the case now stands, it is up to both Severance and Haubold—the former to make good on the charges he has intimated he has up his sleeve, and Haubold to clear himself of what has already been told in print about him. Haubold, be it known, is the editor of the scab "German Express" of this city. This whole affair has indicated that some of our pure and lofty citizens might possibly need purifying if some good probing was done.

A Socialist party organization is absolutely necessary for the advancement of Socialism. Join the party and make it effective.

By and by we will have to listen to the argument that the corruption incident to the government building the Panama canal proves the failure of Socialism. And the fellows who will make the argument will not realize that they are making the strongest kind of attack upon the capitalist

This is only to repeat Fact No. 2. If machinery produces the same amount of wealth with less men, then less men are employed. This is true even if more wealth is produced, for the increase in wealth production never keeps pace with the increased productivity of machinery.

That is the reason we asked after each illustration under Fact No. 2, What becomes of the men who used to work at hand trades, but who are not needed now that machinery has displaced them?

When we talk so glibly of the "advantages of labor saving machinery," we are apt to forget the disadvantages. The invariable shadow of the Modern Machine is the Modern Army of the Unemployed.

We wonder why there are so many men tramping around the country. The old people tell us it was not so when they were young. In the good old days, there were no tramps and hoboes. Machinery is the explanation. Since its advent, there has always been a Surplus of Labor, men not needed looking for something to do to keep them alive.

Hence every occupation and profession is overcrowded. Too many carpenters, too many doctors, too many real estate agents, too many printers, too many saloon keepers, too many brokers, gamblers, insurance agents, clerks, solicitors, promoters, lawyers, preachers, editors, tradesmen and workers of all sorts, including prostitutes and politicians.

It is the ever-rising tide of machine displaced labor fighting for a chance to exist.

That is Fact No. 3.

FACT NO. 4. There are always at least two for every job. Every advertisement for a stenographer or bookkeeper or machinist or street car conductor, is answered by a long line of applicants.

Of course, this Fact No. 4 follows inevitably from our Facts Nos. 2 and 3.

The Surplus Army of Labor, not needed by machine production, are always hunting for "jobs." The working class in all capitalist countries, like America, have become practically disinherited. They are always on the move. From New York to St. Louis, from Seattle to Los Angeles, back and forth, often "beating their way," this pathetic horde of "free laborers" hunt, like hungry animals, for some machine to work on long enough to keep them alive.

The result is, every job has at least two applicants. That is Fact No. 4.

FACT NO. 5. Wages are kept at the subsistence level. How would it be otherwise?

With two men after every job, both of them must live, both of them must have a job to live, one of them is bound to take that job for just enough to keep him alive.

There you have the Law of Wages over again, deduced from the simplest facts of every day life.

Taking modern society as a whole, in which Machinery is the dominant factor, where there is always a surplus body of the Unemployed, competing eagerly for the places to be filled, wages cannot possibly rise permanently much above what is needed to keep the worker alive.

That is Fact No. 5.

FACT NO. 6. All the rest of the vast Wealth produced in the Machine Age goes to the employer, the owner of the Machine.

That must be so, since the worker in the machine gets only his wages, a bare living.

Yet machinery is capable of turning out miraculous amounts of wealth. That is why this Modern Age is so rich, beyond the most extravagant dreams of the ancients. Without machinery, a Carnegie or a Rockefeller would have been an impossibility.

Of this enormous quantity of goods, known as wealth or property, made possible by modern inventions, the worker for

wages, the man who runs the machine, gets only the merest subsistence, the Capitalist or Machine Owner, gets all the rest.

That is Fact No. 6.

FACT NO. 7. Modern Society is therefore divided by the property line into two classes, the Wage Class who get a bare living and the Capitalist Class who get all the rest.

No amount of pretty rhetoric about "The People" will alter these facts. The time has long gone by when the American people were homogenous, consisting in the main of the independent farmer class, when the term, "The People" would express some degree of truth to facts.

No official declamation by even so strenuous a president as Roosevelt against the growth of Class Spirit as dangerous to American institutions, will alter the facts. The two classes are here, have grown up coincident with the growth of Machinery and because of it. It is these classes which are dangerous to American institutions, which threaten the stability of the Republic. The Class Spirit is the incident of the class fact.

United States Census Deficient

The census statistics are not compiled by the Wage Class. The census superintendent is appointed by a capitalist government. Hence, this division of the population into classes is ignored.

We find in the census the number and value of "Domestic Animals," but no computation of the total number of Wage Workers in the United States. But by comparing and selecting and grouping figures from various reports, it is reasonably safe to assert that of people over 10 years of age the Wage Class in the U. S. numbers some Twenty Millions, men women and children, while the Capitalist Class amounts to about half that number, some Ten Millions.

Natural Antagonism of Classes

These two great bodies of people cannot agree. They are not partners, but antagonists, just as slaves and masters were antagonists not partners.

The Wage Class of 20 millions does the work, produces the property. The Capitalist Class of 10 millions owns the Machinery, owns the jobs, and therefore appropriates the property produced by the workers on the Machines.

It is Twenty Millions against Ten Millions. On the right hand Twenty Million people capable of producing wealth enough for all to be rich, and actually producing enough for all to be well off.

On the left hand, Ten Million other people, appropriating to themselves what the Twenty Million create by their labor, allowing the 20 million only a bare subsistence, just enough to keep on working and producing.

A Question of Power

These 20 million are more powerful than those 10 million. There is no doubt about that. 20 million able bodied persons are stronger than 10 million.

This is the fact which is dangerous to the Republic. The Revolutionary Socialist does not deny it.

How will Mr. Roosevelt deal with this Revolutionary Fact? Preaching at it will not change it. Even shooting at it will not change it.

The Terrible Thing is there. Nothing will change it, till the 20 Million master the Ten Million, as the Capitalist Class did the Feudal Class a hundred and more years ago.

The next chapter will continue this subject of Classes, outlining their subdivisions and explaining their relation to existing governments.

(This series of papers was begun in No. 276 of The Socialist, issue of January 7, 1906. It will continue for several months, covering all the more important aspects of politics, both Socialist and Capitalistic, in America today.)

"Get Out or Get in Line" is one of Elbert Hubbard's precious precepts—"done into booklet form."

Its character can be estimated by the fact that Jim Hill's Great Northern Railway has sent a copy to each one of its employees with the "compliments" of the railroad.

Stop criticizing, fault finding and disparaging the "Old Man" (Jim Hill) and the institution you work for. Just take what's coming to you and speak well of your employer, stand by him and stand by the institution he represents—that's what the tract amounts to.

It's good capitalist sophistry, only administered in a new form, that's all. Ever since the New York Central circulated several hundred thousand copies of Hubbard's "Message to Garcia" the Roycrofters have cultivated the rich strata of graft therein revealed by spouting "open shop" for corporations. Just lately, Hubbard spoke to the Post convention in St. Louis and roasted the labor unions and walking delegates for fair. Hubbard has to do this now because his monthly Philistine has begun to pull upon the general public. But Hubbard is not to be blamed for writing such stuff and prostituting his brains for the money that's in it. Nor Jim Hill criticized for using Hubbard. But the workingman who would accept Hubbard's advice, as a rule of conduct, who would make of himself a cringing, silent serf, who would thankfully lick the boots of his boss after every insult, who would be satisfied with whatever wages or number of hours, or other conditions, the boss sees fit to impose upon him, such a workingman deserves to be fed on Hubbard's dope—and we cannot think of a worse punishment.

The following interesting item is floating around the country press:

"Every railroad train in the country will be a mail train in a short time. Postmaster General Cortelyou has announced that gaggetages on trains not carrying mail may carry packages of morning papers to any destination on the line, and that such papers will be considered regular mail matter. This will enable many people to receive their dailies in time for breakfast, whereas, heretofore, they were delayed several hours waiting for the regular mail trains. But the greatest benefit will probably be that sustained by the railroads. The government never allows strikes to interfere with the United States mail or any other train carrying it, and when it is remembered that each train in the country will practically be a mail train, the far-reaching effect of

the order is readily apparent. The ruling will hardly be relished by the over zealous labor leader."

Of course it won't, nor by the average union man, either. But what are they going to do about it? Cortelyou's ruling was probably sanctioned by President Roosevelt, who is an honorary member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, and a bitter enemy of the railroad corporations to boot.

It is natural that a ruling class should safeguard its interests in every way possible, and as the capitalist class is the ruling class, it uses its instrument, the government, accordingly. The working class can use the same instrument to its interests if it only will, but it will have to gain control of every department of government to accomplish that. The Socialist Party is the only party in the field that proposes that the working class—the producing class, shall control.

It cannot be reiterated too often that graft exists because there are spoils to divide, and there are spoils because the workers are robbed of their product. Stop the robbery of the workers of their product and there will be no graft over which thieves, in and out of office, can quarrel.

The boast of Toledo's citizens of their independence sounds rather ridiculous in view of their submitting to the Sunday closing of theaters without a protest against the meddling interference of the Pastors' union. It is admitted that the vast majority of the people in Toledo want the theaters open on Sunday, and there isn't any good reason why they shouldn't be open on that day, but so far the pastors have succeeded in bulldozing their prejudices upon the community. The working people are doing enough complaining, for their one source of recreation on the winter Sundays is taken from them, but complaining is all they do. However, the Socialists of Toledo are going to be heard on the matter next Sunday night in Central Labor Union hall, and everybody is invited to be present and protest if they don't like the new order of things.

Pat Dolan is the newest hero of the bourgeois press. And all because he is opposing a strike which John Mitchell has been compelled by the sentiment of the rank and file of the miners to favor. A few months ago John Mitchell was the hero and was held up as a model of the conservative labor leader, but now there is

government ownership which the Socialists disclaim and refuse to stand for. Wherever there is capitalist ownership there is bound to be corruption, because capitalist ownership is the cause of corruption, and the capitalists own the government of the United States without any question.

Read what The Socialist Boosters are doing and get in line and boost.

"The Square Deal," Parasite Post's organ of his Citizens Industrial Association says of the recent chorus girls' strike at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York: "It was decided upon apparently more to see how it would feel than anything else, as the chorus girls had no real grievance and at its end the singers got precisely what had been agreed upon before their union was organized."

As against this statement of the unsquare Mr. Post can be placed the following from The Theater: "In February, the leading theatrical monthly, an authority on such matters and not a 'labor organ.'"

"The chief grievance of the choristers was that they were underpaid. They received \$15.00 a week; and this sum, they declared, was insufficient to support themselves and their families. Mr. Conried admitted the truth of all this, but said he was paying what he agreed to pay, and he insisted on the choristers carrying out their contracts. Mr. Conried admitted, also, that the other grievances formulated by the striking choristers were well founded, such as too long hours at rehearsal, no sleeping accommodation and insufficient extra pay when visiting other cities. The fact that the extra allowance when they were taken to Philadelphia was only 50 cents may give some idea of the munificent monetary arrangements that until recently regulated the chorus at New York's wealthy opera house. These are not ordinary chorus people, it must be remembered. They are all artists and they have to know German, Italian and French.

"American sentiment is usually with the under-dog. A marked characteristic of our people is a love for the square deal. It is not a square deal to pay starvation wages to the humble yet useful and in fact indispensable chorus when the principal singers the director and the stockholders are fattening their own bank accounts with prosperity's surplus. During the past two seasons the opera has showed large profits over all expenses. This year it is equally prosperous. The public demand for seats is so great that often one cannot buy

tickets. The box office, at times, is literally flooded with money. Caruso and Semich and the minor stars receive fabulous sums each time they sing. Why should the humble, useful, indispensable chorister be inadequately paid? From this point of view, we welcome the publicity this matter has received. It will be a lesson to the management not to try to run cheap opera behind the curtain (among helpless subordinates) and expensive opera in front of the house. Let the stockholders and the director make a few thousand dollars less, but let us hear no more of hungry choristers. The self-satisfied overfed millionaire, yawning over Wagner in his box would not feel exactly comfortable if he quite realized that the cadaverous looking noble dames and seigneurs on the stage were singing so blithely on empty stomachs."

We suppose if the chorus girls lowered their level of subsistence by living entirely on Post's products he would even then consider they were getting more than they were entitled to.

Socialists are partisans because political parties represent economic interests and the economic interests of the working class are reflected in the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party members of the provincial legislature of British Columbia are making the best kind of records for the party and themselves. They are fighting consistently for working class measures without yielding their positions as revolutionary Socialists. The daily papers have been compelled to give lengthy reports of the Socialist members' speeches in the debates, which were invariably of a warm character. The latest of which we have received a report was upon Comrade Hawthornthwaite's bill to extend the franchise to women. The daily press reports remind us of what used to take place in the Massachusetts legislature when Carey and MacCartney were there representing the Socialist Party. Comrade Hawthornthwaite gave a long review of women's position in the economic world through-out history and his elucidation of economic determinism jarred the speaker of the house so badly that he called Hawthornthwaite to order for "expressing religious views in the house," to which the Socialist replied that no subject should be above discussion in the halls of legislature. He then proceeded to show how women were crowded, by force of economic necessity, into industrial pursuits and

were handicapped by being compelled to submit to conditions and laws in the making of which they had no voice. Socialist member Williams ably supported his colleague's arguments, and it is significant that while the bill was defeated by a vote of 24 to 12, there was no member of the house who attempted to reply to the Socialist argument for woman suffrage. We regret that limited space will not permit us to give complete reports of the work being done by the British Columbia Socialist legislators, but it is encouraging to know that they are upholding without equivocation the standard of working class revolt among their bourgeois fellow-members.

The potentates of all nations can afford to be liberal with presents to Alice Roosevelt. They get them without working for them. The workers who produce the good things and refuse to enjoy them are the liberal ones. The workers are certainly easy.

"The modern criminal wears immaculate linen, carries a silk hat and a lighted cigar, and sins with a calm countenance and a serene soul, leagues or months from the evil he causes. Upon his gentlemanly presence the eventual blood and tears do not obtrude themselves. Briber and boodler and grafter are often 'good men'—judged by the old standards. Among the chiefest sinners are now enrolled men who are pure and kind-hearted, loving to their families, faithful to their friends and generous to the needy."

"How decent are the pale slayings of the quack, the adulterator and the purveyor of polluted waters compared with the red slayings of the bandit or assassin. What an abyss between the knife play of the brawler and the law-defying neglect to fence dangerous machinery in a mill, or to furnish cars with safety couplers. The providing of unsuspecting passengers with 'cork' life preservers secretly loaded with bars of iron to make up for their deficiency in weight of cork, is only spiritually akin to the treachery of Joab. The current methods of annexing the property of others are characterized by an indirectness and refinement very grateful to the natural feelings."—Prof. Ross, Nebraska University, in address at Chicago University.

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A REPLY TO COMRADE WILSHIRE

By E. B. Ault

Perhaps it would be better to give in the first place a summary of the remarks made by Comrade Wilshire in the February number of his magazine to which reply is to be made. The matter turns upon a report which appeared in *The Socialist* of an address delivered by Comrade Wilshire in Toledo some weeks ago. In this report it was stated that Comrade (by the way, "comrade" seems to be no part of Wilshire's vocabulary) Wilshire had spoken of the Hearst vote as a Socialist vote and he was criticized for so saying. Comrade Wilshire takes exception to the report and claims he was misquoted. The article in "Wilshire's" is headed, "Hearst No Socialist But Socialist—A Reply to Mr. Maily," and the first paragraph of the article points out the fact that Comrade Maily was not present at the meeting and was therefore not qualified to criticize the speech.

of him in Wilshire's article has no bearing on the question. I am the author of the report and am fully prepared to substantiate any statement I made therein. To get back to Comrade Wilshire. He says, in the first place, that the report of his speech was not correct, but was a garbled portion of an editorial in the December number of his magazine. As a matter of fact, I did turn to the December "Wilshire's" to find confirmation of what I had heard in Comrade Wilshire's speech, and his editorial was used as a framework for the report; and while the wording may not be exactly the same as he used in his speech, Comrade Wilshire has himself admitted that the thought was the same, and no injustice has been done him in this instance. Comrade Wilshire complains that he was reported as saying the Hearst vote was a Socialist vote instead of a socialist vote and points out the difference between Socialist and socialist; but in the speech made in Toledo, and in the editorial in the December number of his magazine, he did not clearly point out this difference. On the contrary, he confused his hearers when he said, "Socialists should always remember the aim is Socialism and not the Socialist Party," and "the only reason we vote for Debs is instead of for Hearst is because we think we can get Socialism

quicker through a Debs Socialist party than through a Hearst Municipal Ownership party." Why is such a matter obtruded into the discussion at all when as Socialists we know that we cannot get Socialism through a Hearst Municipal Ownership party—that the only known way to secure Socialism is through the Socialist party. And we must also remember that it is not a Debs Socialist party, either, but a revolutionary working class Socialist Party. Why does Wilshire go out of his way to contend that the Hearst vote is a socialist vote, even? What have we to do with Hearst but fight him? And it is the rankest nonsense for Comrade Wilshire to declare that if he saw a chance of having Socialism by dyeing his hair green or by voting for the Prohibition party he would do so when he knows that he could not secure Socialism in either way, or any other way than through class conscious political action on the part of the working class. It is sophistry to declare that we lose sight of the end in our devotion to the means when we tell the workers to vote for the Socialist party and to shun all other political parties, for the means are inseparable from the end, and unless the means we use are the correct means the end we gain will not be the right end. Comrade Wilshire well knows that

through the Socialist party is not only the logical way to secure Socialism, but the only way we know. And we cannot too strongly insist upon this fact that only through the Socialist party can we accomplish Socialism. If we lose sight of this, we lay ourselves open to all forms of opportunism and made possible the growth of reform movements through drawing from the Socialist ranks. And it was because of this that I criticized Comrade Wilshire. It was because many of those present at the Wilshire meeting, who voted for "something now" via the Independent ticket in Toledo, went away feeling justified in their action. It was because Comrade Wilshire not only failed to point out the danger of such capitalist reform movements as the Hearst movement, but actually gave the impression that the great Hearst vote was in reality a victory for Socialism. Comrade Wilshire criticizes Comrade Titus' use of the word "reform" in connection with Socialism. Comrade Titus is amply able to defend his use of any word, but I wish to point out right here that while Comrade Wilshire may not make of Mr. Hearst's "reform capitalism" a very desirable thing, Comrade Titus makes of the same Mr. Hearst's "reform Socialism" an eminently undesirable thing for the workers. And that's some difference.

Light In Dark Corners

By D. Burgess.

The contract is only sacred when its enforcement brings profit to the master. When enforcement of a contract threatens loss to the master his courts intervene on the score of public policy. Thus we see that the master's judges are inventive cusses, but, unlike the inventors of useful articles, the judges who invent technicalities which enable the masters to escape loss never die in poverty. C. W. Post's hatred of unions is confined to unions that have a tendency to embrace Socialism. All other unions are tolerable—that's all. Post sings of the glories of the home, all unconscious of the fact that these are departed glories to a vast majority of workingmen. Great men, heroes, gods are a necessity to all forms of exploitation. There are never more great men, heroes or gods than the necessities of the exploiters require. Just now the necessities are very pressing, judging from their mad, almost frantic, efforts to make gods out of almost any old strutting peacock of a politician. And the workers are catching on to this little trick. The workers are beginning to smile at the solemn efforts of the editors and priests in their god factory. The Cuban exploiters, as represented in the Cuban senate, have given \$25,000 to Princess Alice Roosevelt, and some of the little middle class guardians of the working class are howling about this. It can make no difference to the working class in either country. I do not care if the Cubans give the frisky Alice \$25,000,000 or ten times that sum. It can make no difference in our wages. These gifts are paid out of what we do not get.

TOLEDO ADS.

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GORKY WRITES OF THE REVOLUTION

Noted Russian Author Gives Views in a Letter to English Socialists—Proletariat Still Struggling

Monday, January 22, "Bloody Sunday" was celebrated in London by a monster mass meeting at which many prominent Socialists made addresses. Comrade Hyndman read the letter from Maxim Gorky which is printed below, and using it as a text made a speech which was applauded to the echo. We quote from "Justice."

be true, I am very sorry. I have a very high opinion of the intelligence and penetration of the bourgeoisie in the West, and I find it hard to understand how anyone can see a statesman's talent and intellect in a man who has brought his country to ruin and is now selling it by retail; for his proposal to mortgage the Russian railways to foreign capitalists can only be called a case of Turkish policy, which in Russia is not regarded as intelligent even by retins.

The following is the letter from Maxim Gorky:
Comrades:—The conflict against the mean oppression of poverty is a conflict for the liberation of the world from that net of coarse contradictions in which all men are fiercely and impotently struggling.

Provoking the People to Anarchy.
Ever since October 30, Witte's government has been frankly and openly provoking the Russian people and attempting to give an anarchic character to the Russian revolution by setting nationality against nationality, class against class, country against town, and village against village. In some such phrase as this will the honest and impartial historian in time summarize the experience through which our country has passed and is still passing.

You are manfully trying to break this net; your enemies are making determined efforts to entangle you still more securely in its meshes; your weapon is the sharp sword of truth, that of your enemies the crooked needle of falsehood. Dazzled by the glitter of gold, they slavishly trust in its might, and do not perceive with that steadily increasing brightness burns the great ideal of the union of all men in one comrade-fellow of free workers. Socialism, the religion of liberty, equality and fraternity, is as unintelligible to them as is music to a man who is deaf and dumb, or poetry to an idiot. When they see the mighty march of the masses of the people toward freedom and light, dreading a disturbance of their peace, trembling for their position as lords of life, they hide the truth even from one another and console themselves with the spectral hope of defeating justice. They slanderously describe the proletariat as a dark mass of hungry beasts whose one desire is to gorge large quantities of food and who are ready for the sake of a good bunk of bread to destroy everything with which they cannot fill their maw.

The historian who should say that the government has been attempting to pacify a country aroused to fury by its misfortune would lie. All the acts of the government in October, November and December, right down to this very day, have been an open infraction of the rights won by the people and recognized as belonging to it; and there is ample reason to believe that this infraction was intentional, its object being to irritate the people, to drive it into insurrection, and to crush its strength by the strength of the army. A certain measure of success attended this effort of the highly-placed anarchists of St. Petersburg to dissipate the forces of the proletariat before it had had time to organize for open conflict. The insurrections in Moscow and in other towns were a direct outcome of the provocative acts of authorities who openly scoffed at the law.

Religion Used to Oppress.
Admiral Dubassoff, on taking up his duties as governor-general of Moscow, openly declared that he considered it his task to restore the autocracy, which had been limited by the act of October 30, and in this declaration lay the origin of the Moscow insurrection.

Rulers Make Mistakes.
But the government made a sad mistake and the fruits of its error will be bitter. It set to work to destroy Moscow by cannon-fire, but as a matter of fact, the proletariat does not own any real property, and the man who suffered was the bourgeois. Valuing his property more highly than honor and life, and seeing it given over by the government, together with his life, into the hands of soldiers who were half drunk and who were irritated by hard service, he suddenly grew wroth and began to build barricades.

The Russian proletariat is struggling consciously for the political freedom it urgently needs, and that it wrung the manifesto of October 30 from the government by its own strength. They tell you this manifesto was an act of the emperor's free will; the truth is, it was a trophy of the people's victory.
If the interests of the nation had really been dear to the government it would assuredly have seen to it that the manifesto of October 30 should secure in every corner of the empire the force of unalterable law. But our government is stamped with the habit of arbitrary rule; it denies all laws and is filled with the one great care of securing its own position, which, finding it most profitable, it has naturally no desire to abandon.

It was he, the bourgeois, who built the barricades, and not the revolutionary militia, which was physically incapable of coping with the task. When, in good time, the number of the armed insurgents becomes generally known the whole world will ask in amazement how this little and could fight for fifteen whole days and nights against thousands of artillerymen, cavalry and infantry. And seeing that miracles are out of the question in our day, all reasonable people will at once understand the significance of the part played by the little bourgeois in the Moscow revolution, all will realize of what heroism the Russian people is capable. On the streets of Moscow the instinct of self-preservation strove alongside with an awakened consciousness; the first struggled brutally like a wounded animal, while the second embodied in the persons of the revolutionaries, strove heroically like a man inspired by the great fire of the ideal.

The Rulers Plot.
And so, immediately after the publication of the manifesto in St. Petersburg, governors and other high officials concocted a plot against the people, a plot of which the object was to show that the Russian people was not yet capable of appreciating the blessings of political liberty or of using them in a fitting way. The plot was afterwards exposed in the press by one of the conspirators. The results of this plot were the brutal attacks on these great sufferers, the Jews, of the revolutionary intellectuals and on the working men.
You have read of those wise acts of Russian administrators. These men committed a crime, the like of which has never been known in human history—a crime for the baseness of which it is impossible to find a name. There is, perhaps, no need for me to explain that the source of the state of anarchy existing in Russia must be sought in the Russian government, and in the head of the government, the weak-willed, double-minded Sergius Witte. It is said that this man is regarded by the bour-

The proletariat is not beaten. "The proletariat is beaten," shrieks our reactionary press in malignant delight. Such delight is premature. The proletariat is not beaten. Although it has suffered loss. The revolution is strengthened with new hopes and during these days its ranks have been immensely increased. The revolution has gained a great moral victory over the bourgeoisie, which now perceives most clearly who it is that is creating anarchy in Russia and with what object it is created, who is struggling against anarchy and with what end—the bourgeoisie perceives that freedom which it also needs, that freedom which the people has bought with its blood, and of which the government would now rob it.
The Russian government has, as a result of its tactlessness, gained a victory over the bourgeoisie, which is a Pyrrhic victory; by its impotence and

The Revolution a Constructive Movement

I declare that the Russian revolution is a cultural and constructive movement, the only movement capable of saving Russia from political dissolution. I declare that the bourgeoisie is impotent and incapable of constructive political work, and I further declare that the anarchy in my country is the work of a government occupied solely with the defense of its own interests, which have nothing in common with those of the nation.

All that I have here set down is truth, and will in due time be confirmed by history, if that is the hand of the historian be an honest hand and justice be his religion. Long live, then, the proletariat as it goes forth to renew the whole world. Long live the working men of all lands who by the strength of their hands have built up the wealth of nations and are now laboring to create a new life! Long live Socialism, the religion of the future!

Greetings to the fighters, greetings to the workers of all lands, and may they ever have faith in the victory of truth, the victory of justice! Long live humanity fraternally united in the great ideals of equality and freedom!

M. GORKY.
January 1, 1906.

"THE CHANGING ORDER"

(By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph. D.)
If it is possible to obtain a large circulation for "The Changing Order" among the school teachers of the country, it will do a great work. It is the first book in this country treating directly of American conditions and touching on the questions which should be of the most vital interest to the men and women who have the most important social work of the world intrusted to their generally indifferent keeping, that is, the education of the children.

the greatest in history. For in it are wrapped up the possibilities of a unitarian art. It is not possible that the interests of men can be for very long confined to the development of the mechanical energies alone.
Of great educational interest is the essay on "Philosophy of Play." It was read before a teachers' convention and must have made a sensation. No wonder Mr. Triggs is no longer in the University of Chicago. It is all good, but perhaps the gist of the essay is contained in the following: "Industrial liberty does not mean freedom from labor, but freedom in labor. For this right of self-directive labor, or in the terms of this paper, for the right to play, the modern world is battling." Submit that how to make a freeman at play out of a slave at work, is the problem of history, the problem of democracy, the problem of to-day.

Mr. Triggs speaks from a scholar's resources, with an artist's insight and a constructive critic's point of view, the book deserves careful reading and is a valuable contribution to the list of American books on social and industrial subjects. It is a series of essays, treating mainly of art and education in their largest sense in relation to the social structure.
The first essay, on "Democratic Art," is instructive as well as suggestive to him who asks, "How will Socialism promote the higher development of life?" He analyzes carefully the distinction between aristocratic and democratic art; the prevailing characteristics of the former, the employment of typeforms, exclusion and satisfaction with things as they are, as opposed to the individualism, equality and hope of realization in the future of the latter. He gives briefly the history of the democratization of art successively through first, architecture, beginning in the Gothic forms of the middle ages, when, for a few centuries, the workman had comparative freedom of labor; second, music, the most democratic expression of which is found in Wagner; third, painting, typified in Millet; fourth, poetry, in Burns and Whitman; and lastly, prose literature as seen in Dickens, George Eliot, Thackeray, Hugo, etc.

We are sorry that Mr. Triggs minimizes the importance and value of organized political action and we believe that the influence of the book will be less for that reason. But notwithstanding this, we commend it to every student of social problems and know that it will do great good in presenting new aspects of the modern problem. (Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill. \$1.00 postpaid. Can be ordered through The Socialist.)
BERTHA HOWELL MAILLY.

Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism

Answers to Critics by the Author
Tacoma, Wash. 1-23-06.
Comrade Titus:
The Socialist of January 20th just at hand. You say: "Revolutionary Socialism means more than this, as we shall explain later. But it has no meaning at all if it does not mean the overthrow of the present government and the substitution of another government in its place."
I contend that the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth will remove every reason for the existence of government, that government is due to the necessities of the owning class in a society that is divided into economic classes.
In all the history of the world there was not government until society was divided into economic classes.
If it be true that the division of society into classes gives rise to the necessity for government, then when economic classes are eliminated there will be no further necessity for government. Hence government must cease to be, just as all organs disappear when they cease to function. Am I right?
Fraternally,
D. BURGESS.
Answer By Author.
Comrade Burgess is right and so am I. My later chapters will explain how both of us are right. The chap-

will be one of the most important and Burgess will agree with it, I think.
Just now I may say that Burgess' position, as stated above, without any further explanation is substantially the anarchist position as differentiated from the Socialist position, Bakunin's position rather than Marx's position. The natural inference from this position is that the political triumph of the working class is of little account, the exact inference of Gilbert of Utah in a recent issue of his paper and of all those infected with the latest De Leonist fad.
The Socialist position is that Capitalist Class Government is in existence and the most practical way to overthrow it is by means of the proletarian class government instituting and organizing the Co-operative Commonwealth in which Class Government will disappear.
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PART NEWS

FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

National Secretary, J. Mahlon Barnes, 269 Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S FINANCIAL REPORT FOR MONTH OF JANUARY, 1906.

Receipts.

National Dues from State Committees:	
Alabama	15 00
Arizona	15 00
California	15 00
Colorado	15 00
Connecticut	15 00
Florida	15 00
Idaho	15 00
Illinois	115 00
Iowa	15 00
Kansas	15 00
Louisiana	15 00
Maine	15 00
Massachusetts	102 50
Michigan	15 00
Minnesota	15 00
Missouri	15 00
Montana	15 00
New Hampshire	15 00
New York	150 00
Ohio	15 00
Oklahoma	15 00
Oregon	15 00
Pennsylvania	15 00
South Dakota	15 00
Texas	15 00
Washington	15 00
West Virginia	15 00
Wisconsin	15 00
Wyoming	15 00
Unorganized States:	
Washington, D. C.	5 00
North Carolina	11 40
Maryland	6 00
Nevada	6 00
North Carolina	2 00
Tennessee	16 00
Virginia	3 00
Members at large	40
Total for dues	\$1,154 50
Miscellaneous:	
Subscriptions	94 05
Literature	56 15
Buttons	40 10
Amalgam Fund	10 00
Russian S. D. L. H. Fund	146 26
Russian Bloody Sunday Fund	1,043 82
Miscellaneous	5 08
Total receipts	\$2,576 56

Expenditures:	
General Expense	4 02
Express and freight	7 76
Postage	20 51
Telegrams and telephone	90 30
Wages:	
J. Mahlon Barnes	\$108 38
W. H. Bihl	72 00
Chas. Drexler	72 00
E. L. Baldwin	52 00
M. Flaherty	42 00
F. R. Slick	72 00
Total	\$420 36
Printing Bulletin on account	104 25
Printing Literature and supplies	111 00
Literature	3 00
Speakers:	
Geo. E. Bigelow	\$25 00
J. H. Brower	50 00
John Collins	75 00
G. H. Goebel	75 00
W. R. Gaylord	30 00
W. H. Miller	40 00
Teofilo Petrella	55 00
M. W. Wilkins	50 00
Total	\$425 00
Rent, December	90 00
Lighting	21 60
Press Clippings	12 00
Printing to typists	8 70
Mimeo supplies	5 00
Party Buttons	50 50
Russian S. D. L. Party	146 26
Russian Soc. Bureau	1,043 82
Bloody Sunday Collections	1,043 82
Total expenditures	\$2,507 49
Bal. on hand, Jan. 1, 1906	\$ 69 07
Receipts for month	2,576 56
Expenditures for month	\$2,507 49
Bal. on hand Feb. 1, 1906	\$ 122 10

Fraternally submitted, J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

Second Ballot for National Executive Committee.

Bandlow-Lowry, Ark.; Edmiston and L. M. Lewis, Calif.; White, Conn.; Berlyn, Ill.; Kelley and Reynolds, Ind.; Brewer, Kans.; Townner, Ky.; Wentworth and Carey, Mass.; McHugh, Mont.; Kearns, N. J.; Hanford and Hillquit, N. Y.; Prevey, Ohio; Bentley, Okla.; Schwartz and Adams, Pa.; Hastings, Wyo.; total, 20.

Floaten-LaRue, Ala.; Barnette, Ariz.; Lowry, Ark.; Woodside, Colo.; Healey, Fla.; Berlyn and Simons, Ill.; Work, Iowa; Brewer, Kans.; Wentworth, Mass.; Menton, Mich.; Hoehn and Behrens, Mo.; McHugh, Mont.; Headley, N. J.; Bandlow, Ohio; Bentley, Okla.; Schwartz and Adams, Pa.; Hastings, Wyo.; total, 20.

Gibbs-Stedman, Ill.; Holman, Minn.; Little, N. H.; Hillquit, N. Y.; Berger, Thompson and Heath, Wis.; total, 7.

Goebel-LaRue, Ala.; Barnette, Ariz.; Lowry, Ark.; Rigg, Idaho; Helman, Minn.; Headley, N. J.; Adams, Pa.; Berger, Heath and Thompson, Wis.; total, 10.

Heath-LaRue, Ala.; Woodside, Colo.; Healey, Fla.; Rigg, Idaho; Stedman, Ill.; Jacobs and Work, Iowa; Fox, Me.; Wentworth and Carey, Mass.; Peach and Holman, Minn.; Hoehn and Behrens, Mo.; Headley, N. J.; Lampman, N. D.; Hagel, Okla.; Berger and Thompson, Wis.; Hastings, Wyo.; total, 20.

Hoehn-Healey, Fla.; Rigg, Idaho; Stedman and Simons, Ill.; Menton, Mich.; Behrens, Mo.; Hanford, N. Y.; Berger, Thompson and Heath, Wis.; total, 10.

Kerr-Barnette, Ariz.; Lowry, Ark.; Edmiston and L. M. Lewis, Calif.; Woodside, Colo.; Berlyn and Simons, Ill.; Work, Iowa; Peach, Minn.; Hoehn, N. H.; Little, N. H.; Kearns, N. J.; Lampman, N. D.; Bandlow and Prevey, Ohio; Hagel, Okla.; Sullivan, Vt.; total, 17.

Lamb-Rigg, Idaho; Peach, Minn.; Lampman, N. D.; Bentley, Okla.; Sullivan, Vt.; Little, N. H.; total, 6.

Lemon-Edmiston and L. M. Lewis, Calif.; Berlyn, Ill.; Reynolds, Ind.; Work, Iowa; Townner, Ky.; Fox, Me.; Hanford and Hillquit, N. Y.; Bandlow and Prevey, Ohio; Bentley, Okla.; Floyd, R. J.; total, 13.

Morgan-Rigg, Idaho; Stedman, Ill.; Holman, Minn.; Hoehn and Behrens, Mo.; Hanford, N. Y.; Heath, Wis.; total, 7.

Reynolds-Woodside, Colo.; White, Conn.; Kelley, Ind.; Jacobs and Work, Iowa; Townner, Ky.; Wentworth and Carey, Mass.; Menton, Mich.; Hillquit, N. Y.; Prevey, Ohio; Hagel, Okla.; Schwartz, Pa.; Sullivan, Vt.; Hastings, Wyo.; total, 15.

Simons-LaRue, Ala.; Barnette, Ariz.; Edmiston and L. M. Lewis, Calif.; Healey, Fla.; Stedman, Ill.; Kelley, Ind.; Jacobs, Iowa; Brewer, Kans.; Fox, Me.; Peach, Minn.; McHugh, Mont.; Little, N. H.; Hillquit, N. Y.; Lampman, N. D.; Bentley and Adams, Pa.; Sullivan, Vt.; total, 21.

Reynolds, Ind.; Jacobs, Iowa; ...

Towner, Ky.; Carey, Mass.; Menton, Mich.; total, 7.

Stedman-Kelley and Reynolds, Ind.; Simons, Ill.; Wentworth, Mass.; Holman, Minn.; Hoehn, Mo.; Lampman, N. D.; Berger, Heath and Thompson, Wis.; Hastings, Wyo.; total, 11.

Towner-LaRue, Ala.; Lowry, Ark.; Edmiston and L. M. Lewis, Calif.; White, Conn.; Healey, Fla.; Berlyn, Ill.; Kelley and Reynolds, Ind.; Brewer, Kans.; Fox, Me.; Carey, Mass.; Menton, Mich.; Behrens, Mo.; McHugh, Mont.; Bandlow and Prevey, Ohio; Schwartz, Pa.; Floyd, R. J.; total, 19.

Ufern-White, Conn.; Kearns and Headley, N. J.; Hanford, N. Y.; Towner, Ky.; total, 5.

Untermann-Barnette, Ariz.; Jacobs, Iowa; Brewer, Kans.; Fox, Me.; Peach, Minn.; McHugh, Mont.; Little, N. H.; Kearns and Headley, N. J.; Hagel, Okla.; Adams, Pa.; Sullivan, Vt.; Woodside, Colo.; total, 13.

Total number of votes cast, 45; necessary to a choice, 23. No election.

Not voting: Putnam, La.; Ray, Neb.; Spargo, N. Y.; Cochran, S. D.; Farmer, Tex.; Lund and Kennedy, Wash.; Zimmerman, W. Va.; total, 8. Kennedy's vote for Lemon, Towner, Untermann, Kerr and Ufern was received too late to be counted.

According to rule 10 of the national committee, but one more candidate than the total number to be elected must be submitted on the third ballot, therefore the six having the highest number of votes are now before the national committee for action as follows: Robert Bandlow, A. H. Floaten, Frederick Heath, Charles H. Kerr, A. M. Simons and Chas. G. Towner. Vote will close February 21.

Contributions in response to "Bloody Sunday" proclamation from February 3rd to 9th, inclusive:

Local Manchester, N. H., \$1.65; Local Adams Co., Ill., \$2.50; Local North Bend, Ore., \$2.25; Local Seattle joint meeting S. P. S. L. P. and Finnish Club, Polish Club and I. W. U., \$100.22; Wm. Baer, Ferndale, Wash., \$1; Local Safford, Ariz., \$1.80; Sausg Club, Cliftondale, Mass., \$1.80; Local Philadelphia, Pa., \$67.47; joint meeting, Women's Socialist Union and Local Omaha, Neb., \$10.50; Finnish Socialist Club, Hancock, Mich., \$16; Local Albuquerque, N. Mex., \$6.70; Local Emmett, Idaho, \$3.25; Local Wauegan, Ill., \$8; Local New Orleans, La., \$5; Local Baltimore, Md., \$25.28; Bohemian ex. com., Cleveland, O., \$16.70; Robert Neill, Cleveland, O., \$1; Local Minneapolis, Minn., \$17.25; Local Birmingham, Ala., \$3.25; Local St. Hilare, Minn., \$5.62; Local Knox County, Me., \$16.65; joint meeting, Local Washington, D. C., Workmen's Circle Br. 92, Italian Soc. Stud. Club, locals 208 and 238 of I. W. U., \$25.18; Caseyville Br., Ill., \$3.25; Local Neodaha, Kans., \$1.65; Local Boston, Mass., \$69.47; Finnish Young People of Boston, Mass., \$9.01; Local Nashville, Tenn., \$10.48; Local Merritt, Okla., \$2.

Letter from the International Socialist Bureau.

Brussels, Jan. 23, 1906. To secretaries of parties affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau:

Dear Comrade Secretary: We should be particularly glad to obtain through your intercession one or two copies of every document published in your country relative to the commemoration of January 22, the first anniversary of the St. Petersburg massacre. By documents we mean appeals, manifestos, special numbers, reports of processions and of speeches delivered at these meetings, etc. We should like to make up at this office a complete file of this world demonstration, and eventually to publish it, using the material in the documents transmitted to us.

We thank you in advance, dear comrades, with fraternal greetings. CAMILLE HUYSMANS, Sec. E. ANSELE, E. VANDERVELDE, Executive Committee.

Anticipating the above request, on January 21, I requested the state secretaries to return as far as possible, detailed reports of the manner and extent of the observance of "Bloody Sunday." Those who have not complied are requested to do so. I would suggest to local comrades everywhere that documents, manifestos and clippings from local papers might be sent direct to Camille Huysmans, Maison du Peuple, Brussels, Belgium, for the purposes set forth in the letter.

Dates for national lecturers and organizers for the coming week are:

James H. Brower: Feb. 18, Spring Valley, Ill.; 19, LaSalle, 20, Peoria; 21, 22, 23, Fulton; 24, Havana.

John Collins: Feb. 18, 19, Taylorville, Ill.; 20, 21, Litchfield; 22, 23, 24, Macon, Ga.

Guy E. Miller: Feb. 18, Bessemer, Ala.; then a few weeks in South Carolina with Comrade Mother, without assignment, with headquarters at Columbia. Communications addressed general delivery, Columbia, S. C., will reach them.

Teofilo Petrella (Italian): Feb. 18, Novinger, Mo.; 19, en route; 20, 21, Oglesby, Ill.

John W. Slayton: Feb. 18, 19, 20, 21, Yuma, Ariz.; 22, en route; 23, 24, Prescott.

M. W. Wilkins: Under the direction of Maine state committee. Dates will be announced later.

A charter has been granted by the national office to Local Tonopah, Nevada; 25 charter members.

National Organizer Teofilo Petrella (Italian) organized a local at Clinton, Ind., with 32 charter members.

The Monthly Official Bulletin for January, containing the national secretary's annual report, has been shipped to state secretaries and locals.

R. A. Miller, 510 Overton street, Newport, Ky., has been elected a member of the national committee.

Frank H. Streine has been re-elected state secretary.

Upon the suggestion of Comrade Stedman, national committeeman of Illinois, the state and local organizations are requested to collect and forward to the national office drafts of any ordinances or bills presented by Socialists who have occupied representative political positions. All such documents should be on file in the national office both for their historical value and for future reference.

A. K. Gifford, 1119 Iowa street, Davenport, Ia., has been elected a member of the national committee, and Comrade John M. Work has been re-elected to the same position.

The state and municipal program will be submitted as a national party referendum under date of February 20, 1906, in accord with the national committee motion adopted September 11, 1905.

Owing to the National Secretary's annual report not being received at this office up to time of going to press, The Socialist cannot present it to its readers this week.

E. E. Carr will start from Danville, Ill., March 1, on a tour eastward as far as Boston, Mass. A few dates through Indiana and Ohio may yet be secured if application is filed at once.

A referendum is being taken in the state of Idaho on the question of raising a state campaign fund by monthly assessments upon the members. Two propositions are submitted—one for 5 cents and one for 10 cents per month.

Attention has been called by National Organizer M. W. Wilkins to a clerical error in the tabulated report of organizers and lecturers for the year 1904. Correction: States visited, 18; days out, 289; towns visited, 170; meetings held, 226; locals organized, 27; miles traveled, 12,859.

OHIO State Secretary, Edward Gardner, 1109 Dayton street, Cincinnati.

Nominations for national committeeman have been received as follows: Wm. R. Fox, of Cincinnati, by Locals Cincinnati, Akron, Portsmouth and Cuyahoga Falls; Victor King, by Ashtabula. Comrade Mailly has also been nominated by Local Toledo.

State Secretary Gardner calls attention of the Ohio comrades to the necessity for preparing for the coming campaign. Now is the best time to discuss the advisability of joining the state circuit of speakers that will be arranged by the state office the same as in previous campaigns.

Speakers are now being engaged for the campaign of 1906, and some indications of the desires of the locals along that line would be very much appreciated by the state secretary. It is expected that the first circuit speaker will be put on the road by the first of May, and if the demand is large enough two may be started at once. Bring it up at your next meeting.

Advertisers using our columns are all satisfied—they'll tell you so. Readers patronizing our advertisers are satisfied—they tell us so. We would like to contribute more to the general satisfaction. Take this tip

ing and instruct your secretary to inform the state secretary that you will join the circuit beginning with May or June first, as the case may be, and then all guesswork will be eliminated. The terms will be just as in the past: \$2 per day, collection, entertainment and sale of literature.

Local Cleveland. Boosting in this neck of the woods is far from satisfactory, so far as results are concerned. Yet we keep at it, and eventually the ice will be broken. Enclosed find one dollar: Bandlow, 75c; Krueger, sub, 25c.

The injunction issued by Judge Tilden emphasized, to my mind, the fact that workmen who permit themselves to be embodied as chattel possessions of the employing class hardly have a claim to be classed as intelligent human beings. When a boss, or a number of bosses, as in this case, try through a judicial mandate to prevent workers from discussing with fellow-workers questions affecting their material well-being, do they not admit that their cause is a lost one? And does not a worker who accepts a job in such a "protected establishment" thereby acknowledge his moral and economic bankruptcy. But what surprises me most is the fact that these class-conscious organized workers, who are denied the right to approach a fellow-worker and ask him to join their ranks, still uphold the system that makes such conditions possible.

Where does intelligent conception of material interests come in, I wonder, when trades unionists continue to pull on the same political string with the boss who uses the machinery of the state to reinforce his economic advantage? And there will be no change until the unions control the giving out of the jobs, and thus become masters of the situation.

The Hungarian comrades contemplate an entertainment during the month, if it pleases the "servers" to grant a permit.

Comrade Marguerite Prevey will speak under the auspices of Branch 11 at the Goodrich house, Sunday, February 25, at 2:30 p. m. It is most unfortunate that the comrades of the branch overlooked the fact that a joint meeting has been arranged for the same Sunday, at which "Party Tactics" are to be discussed. Such little incidents as these make it so difficult to carry out successful propaganda work. Comrades of Branch 11 might have profited by attending this discussion on party tactics.

Joint meeting Sunday, February 25, at Trades Council hall, 3 p. m. Branch secretaries have not improved much during the new year, so far as getting out their reports promptly is concerned. A resolve or two on this score would not be amiss.

The second Sunday in August, do you remember? Outing of Socialists of northern Ohio at Cedar Point. B. Local Toledo.

The regular Sunday meeting of the C. C. C. was held in Swiss hall on the 11th inst. The credentials of Roland Schofield as delegate were accepted.

Correspondence

"THE JUNGLE"

The Jungle Publishing Company announces that "The Jungle" will be published and ready for delivery this week. The first edition is ten thousand copies. The book was advertised as illustrated; but the experts to whom the task of designing it was entrusted were of the opinion that the illustrations were not up to the standard, and so they were omitted. It having been found impossible to carry on the business of publishing satisfactorily in a small place, The Jungle Publishing Company has removed to New York. Letters sent to Princeton, N. J., will still reach it, but they will be attended to more promptly if addressed to P. O. Box 2064, New York City. A handsome poster for the book is now ready, and will be sent free to those who ask for it, but with the request that all copies ordered be used and not wasted, as it is expensive.

A number of correspondents have called our attention to the fact that "The Appeal to Reason" announces a paper edition of "The Jungle" which seems to be inconsistent with the statement which we have made about it. This edition consists of back numbers of one of "The Appeal's" quarterly publications in which the story appeared serially. We have of course no objection to "The Appeal's" offering these pamphlets, but it should be understood that they differ materially from the revised version of the story.

"The Jungle" can be ordered from "The Socialist" office at the publishers' rates, viz: Price \$120 net, 15 cents postage. Five copies (to one address), \$5.50; 10 copies, \$10.00; 25 copies, \$23.00; 50

Branches reported good meetings. Speakers' committee reported that they had partly arranged for Sunday night meetings, it having been decided to secure Comrade B. H. Maily to deliver a course of lectures on the "Ethics of Labor" on alternate Sunday evenings, the other evenings to be taken up with other speakers. The report was accepted and the committee instructed to continue with its work and make arrangements for a Sunday night meeting on February 18.

Comrade Thos. A. Bragg resigned from the speakers' committee, and Comrade Geo. C. Schulz was elected to fill the vacancy. Two applications for membership were accepted. The secretary reported the receipt of \$16 on the lists for Russian revolutionists. It was decided that a committee consisting of one from each branch be selected to make arrangements for a memorial meeting to be held Sunday, March 18. Comrades Devine, of Branch 18; Ault, 6; Bragg, 7; Blakely, 8; Hale, 11; Reed, 12; Freudenthal, 8; Adams, Adams township, and the secretary of Polish branch. The latter two were selected after it had been decided to invite their locals to take part in the affair, as they are not yet affiliated with Local Toledo.

After discussion it was decided to co-operate with The Socialist Boosters in arranging a May day celebration, the party to receive half the proceeds. A committee consisting of Schreiner, Schultz, A. Burooth, Schofield and Blakely was elected to meet with the Boosters and make arrangements.

The Socialist Boosters meet every Monday evening at the office of the paper. Party members are invited to be present. Party members are invited to be present. Party members are invited to be present.

Monster mass meeting to protest against the Sunday closing of the theatres at Central Labor Union hall annex next Sunday evening under the auspices of the Socialist party. You ought to be present to help swell the crowd. Sunday is the workingman's holiday, and it should not be violated.

Branch 6 will hold a business meeting Tuesday evening, February 20, at Swiss hall, 410 Monroe street. And while you are at it, Boost.

Local Warren. The subject of "The General Advantages of Socialism" was taken up in the meeting of Sunday, February 11, and the meeting was certainly a good one. The discussion was lively and instructive. Questions were asked by non-Socialists, and were ably answered. The attendance was good, and if we can have such meetings from now until the next election there will be something doing in this vicinity in the way of votes.

Comrade Fletcher, who, by the way, is a hustler for Socialism, has secured an orchestra for the meetings, and this will be an additional feature in the future. Comrade Fletcher has the thanks of the local for this assistance.

Next Sunday, Prof. G. H. St. John has promised to give us a short talk on one of the questions asked at the meeting this week. This will undoubtedly be worth coming out to hear.

The questions to be discussed next Sunday are: 1. What can you say in regard to money, under Socialism? 2. How would exchanges be carried on under Socialism? 3. How does Socialism differ from "greenbackism"? 4. Explain how the remuneration of labor in the form of a money wage obscures the fact that the laborer does not receive the full product of his labor.

WASHINGTON State Secretary, E. E. Martin, Box 717, Seattle.

On January 20 a special session of the Quorum was held for the purpose of considering a reply to the statements of Local Seattle against the present state committee.

Irene Smith has been accused of making the statement on the Socialist party platform at Ballard that "Hearst's platform was good enough for any Socialist," and Comrade S. Roeder, state committeeman, has initiated a state committee referendum calling on the Local Quorum to investigate. The motion is seconded by Comrade Alfred Wagenknecht.

The Local Quorum met in regular session January 28. All members were present. Several communications were read and placed on file.

Local Lake Washington reported good meetings. Speakers' committee reported that they had partly arranged for Sunday night meetings, it having been decided to secure Comrade B. H. Maily to deliver a course of lectures on the "Ethics of Labor" on alternate Sunday evenings, the other evenings to be taken up with other speakers. The report was accepted and the committee instructed to continue with its work and make arrangements for a Sunday night meeting on February 18.

copies, \$45.00; 100 copies, \$80.00. Freight or express in 11 cases to be paid by purchaser.

LATER—Owing to the rush of advance orders, the publication of "The Jungle" has been changed from February 15th to February 23d. An order for 1,000 copies has been received by cable from an Australian publishing house, and a similar one from William Heineman, a London publisher. Including the two editions, the first printing of the book will be 30,000 copies.

THE JUNGLE PUBLISHING CO. FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Editor of The Socialist: Dear Comrade: Please allow me a little space in your grand paper. The question is, should there be a national convention? Yes; there should be a convention to heal the many sores that are breaking out in our party. Strange to say, but the very comrades that are opposing this convention are the same boys that have caused the most of the trouble in our ranks. A Socialist paper of the north-west came out boldly and called the New York comrades "mud-ball throwers," because they did not welcome a municipal ownership platform.

Some tell us that this convention will cost the party a great amount of money. Admitting this, will we let our party be disrupted for the sake of a few measly dollars? No. Socialism is greater to me than all the dollars that ever came out of a mint. Comrades, the future of your children demands your attention, and you can only save them by preserving the Socialist Party, so that you may be able to usher in the co-operative commonwealth.

Yours for the Revolution. P. H. PHALEN. Lima, Ohio.

Resolutions. Whereas, "The Appeal to Reason," a paper published at Girard, Kansas, posing as a Socialist paper and an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism, persists in printing in its columns articles and editorials of a misleading character;

Whereas, in the issue of January 20, 1906, there appeared in its columns a series of editorials calling upon the workers to take advantage of the anti-trust sentiment to bring pressure to bear upon their (the working class) representatives in congress, and blankly stating that the people are ready for a leader to lead them on to victory, etc.;

Whereas, the members of Local Everett, Socialist Party, as Revolutionary Socialists, hold that to join anti-trust movements would be ABSOLUTELY REACTIONARY, and that to bring pressure to bear upon the representatives of the working class is impossible, because as yet it has none; the idea of looking for leaders shows an ignorance of the simplest rudiments of Revolutionary Socialism. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Local Everett (Wash.), Socialist Party, condemn all such stuff as the above mentioned, appearing in so-called Socialist papers, as absolutely misleading, reactionary and pernicious to the hope of the speedy emancipation of the working class. Be it

Further resolved, That a copy of the resolutions be sent to the national secretary, state secretary and to the Socialist press.

DEFOREST SANFORD, Recording Secretary. ISAAC SHORBERG, Chairman of Session.

Passed by unanimous vote of Local Everett (Wash.), Socialist Party, at a regular meeting held January 28, 1906.

Resolutions. And Official Call for a National Referendum, to Reduce the Salary of the National Secretary, by Local Lake Washington (State of Washington).

Whereas, the Socialist Party is a proletarian party, and

Whereas, the greatest need of the hour is funds to educate the working class, thus strengthening our movement; and

Whereas, the monthly balance in the national party treasury for some time past has been inadequate for this purpose, while the present salary of the national secretary is entirely disproportionate to the income of the ordinary wage-worker, whose hard-earned nickels and dimes furnish its chief source of revenue; and

Whereas, while fully realizing that executive ability and fitness are essential to efficiently conduct national office work, we are also cognizant of the fact that his work is largely supervisory, and we also believe that a comrade imbued with the proper spirit of comradeship and class solidarity should not ask or accept (FROM SOCIALISTS)—a wage more than double that of the general toiler in the ranks; therefore, be it

Resolved by Local Lake Washington, of the Socialist Party of Washington, that we hereby request a national referendum of the Socialist Party of America on the proposition of reducing the salary of the national secretary of said Socialist party from the sum of \$125 per month to a sum not exceeding \$100 per month; and that the amount thus realized be spent to educate and more thoroughly organize the working class; and we hereby ask the co-operation of locals throughout the nation toward that end.

Passed by unanimous vote of Local Lake Washington at a regular session held on the 21st day of January, 1906.

Members present and voting in favor, 6; members present and voting against, 0.

(MISS) E. A. MAURER, Sec.-Treasurer, Hillman, Wash. J. G. JUELIN, Chairman of Session.

SEATTLE ADS.

Watch These Columns—New Ads. Every Week—It Helps

DRUGS Help Us and We'll Help You DRUGS

Give us your trade - We will treat you right

BOTH PHONES 982 FREE DELIVERY

MAX RAGLEY DRUG CO.

Second Avenue and Pike Street Seattle, Wash.

Cash Credit

THE NEW STORE
"One Dollar or Two Each Week Will Do,"
To Furnish Your Home

TEALE-HILLS
Furniture and Carpet Co.
24 Avenue and Union Street.
SEATTLE, WASH.

Phone to Me at Any Time to Get the Correct Time

C. G. SUTHERLAND
Watchmaker and Jeweler
Watches, Clocks, Diamonds and Jewelry. Eye Glasses and Optical Goods.

232

Published Weekly, by Mally and Titus, 819 Jefferson Avenue, Toledo, Ohio.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES. United States and Canada—One year, \$1.00; six months, 50c; three months, 25c; single copies, 3c.

All remittances should be made payable to "THE SOCIALIST," Toledo, Ohio.

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

HERMON F. TITUS, Editor; WILLIAM MAILLY, Manager; ERWIN B. AULT, Associate.

Entered at Toledo Post Office as second class mail matter March 27, 1905.



To Celebrate Two Anniversaries

Replies are being received from many comrades to our requests for special articles for the Commune issue of THE SOCIALIST, which will also be the Toledo anniversary of the paper.

The bundle rates for the Commune and Toledo anniversary issue are the same as for regular issues, as no reduction can be made on account of increased cost.

Ten to 50 copies, 3 cents apiece; 50 to 100 copies, 2 cents apiece; 100 to 500 copies, 1 1/2 cents apiece; 500 to 1,000 copies, 1 cent apiece.

About Our Special Articles

From all parts of the country come letters commending the series of articles by Comrade Titus and Fowler appearing in THE SOCIALIST. Both series seem to have come at the right time, judging by the comment they are causing.

At this time, when the opportunists are becoming bolder and bolder in their purpose to commit the Socialist Party to their policy, the series, "Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism," by Comrade Titus, come in good stead and are performing valuable service among the newer members of the party who are liable to be most susceptible to the deceptive cry of "doing something now."

In another way, Comrade Fowler's exposition of actual conditions in the Orient perform as great a service for all who read them. When the facts given in last week's installment are considered in all their full bearing upon the working class everywhere one does not wonder that the capitalist magazines and papers refused to print the articles exactly as Fowler wrote them.

We have received so many inquiries for back numbers containing the first chapters of both these series that we have decided to make a special offer as follows: We will send WHILE THEY LAST FREE UPON REQUEST all the back numbers, beginning with No. 276, to any one sending a year's subscription to THE SOCIALIST.

No. 285

With No. 285 of The Socialist there will expire several hundred subscriptions, due to the close of the first year of the paper in Toledo. It is important to us that every one of these subscriptions be renewed.

You will want to continue reading Comrades Titus and Fowler's articles, which are arousing attention among Socialists everywhere. You will want to keep posted on party news, on party affairs and on party questions.

For every renewal for one year we will send any 25 cent Socialist book, or one dozen Socialist Picture Postal Cards. No books or cards will be sent for any renewal, unless specific mention is made.

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Isaac Cowen

Socialist Party Candidate for Governor of Ohio in 1903 and 1905; American Organizer Amalgamated Society of Engineers 1897-1905; and Socialist Lecturer and Organizer in the Field, Representing

"The Socialist" and Lecturing on "Labor and the Machine," "Socialism, the Workers' Hope," "The Workers and the Ballot," Etc., Etc.

Opening Dates In Indiana

Table with 4 columns: Location, Day, Date, Location, Day, Date. Includes Fort Wayne, Alexandria, Huntington, Elwood, etc.

Party News

Continued from Page Three.

FLORIDA

State Secretary, Herbert C. Davis, Box 50, Gary.

Secretary Davis reports receipts for the month of January of \$40.62, including a balance from December of \$3.47.

The State Auditing Committee report finding the Secretary's books are correct, showing total receipts for the time he has been in office of \$442.73 and expenditures of \$439.26.

The stamp sales for the last four months of 1905 indicate a gain in the membership of 281 over 1904.

At this time, when the opportunists are becoming bolder and bolder in their purpose to commit the Socialist Party to their policy, the series, "Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism," by Comrade Titus, come in good stead and are performing valuable service among the newer members of the party who are liable to be most susceptible to the deceptive cry of "doing something now."

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ON THE BOOST

THE TOLEDO BOOSTERS. The Toledo Boosters' League held its regular weekly meeting on Monday night last.

Comrade Patterson was elected chairman, in the absence of President Haley. Secretary Kopelin made an interesting report and showed how the Toledo Boosters were working successfully both in getting subscriptions and for advertisements.

Comrade Spohn reported getting the coal merchant's ad. from George M. Bird & Co., 1215 Dorst street, which appears this week, and Comrade Schulz reported the ad. of Comrade Bowers' barber shop, 413 Summit street, which also appears this week.

Seattle Boosters were entertained pleasantly by the Liebknecht Club. Advertising work resulting well. Two new ads this week. More to follow. What can Toledo Boosters do in this direction? Fraternally, A. WAGENKNECHT, Sec'y W. L. B.

FROM EVERETT. Dear Comrades:—I was notified at Boosters' meeting in Seattle last Saturday night that I could send money in direct, instead of sending to A. Wagenknecht. So for this week I send the following:

Table with 2 columns: Name, Amount. Includes D. Sanford, A. O. Haugen, J. H. Steele, etc.

None of the members are behind in "Boosters' dues. Comrade Wagenknecht gave me cards for all money I sent him, and I in turn gave them to members as they paid up. I send herewith seven cards filled out. Yours for the Revolution, S. G. ROULEAU.

FROM NORTH YAKIMA. "Enclosed find order for \$1.50 for one yearly and one half yearly sub. Hope soon to send more, as we have a haul now and watch us grow. Yours for the Revolution, Ada Gatchell."

FROM PILCHUCK. "Enclosed find order for two dollars and seventy-five cents for which send The Socialist to each of the following addresses. Yours for the Cause, A. N. Anderson."

FROM WETASKIWIN, ALBERTA. "A. Wagenknecht, Sec'y.—Yours of recent date at hand. Am sorry to hear that The Socialist is again in strenuous circumstances. It certainly is deserving of better treatment. Enclosed find one dollar. Hoping it may receive better support from this time on. Yours for the Revolution, O. Lund."

ANOTHER FROM CALIFORNIA. "Extend my time one year more on your clear-cut paper. Always count on me to renew. Am thankful that The Socialist is free from middle class spasms. Our membership would be clearer were all our papers emphasizing the working class interests. Will try and get some subs. Yours for the Revolution, F. B. Earnshaw."

FIRST BOOST FROM OREGON. "It is very gratifying to me to see the comrades take hold and push The Socialist. Got two subs yesterday. Start the subs with Titus' first article. It is by request. Yours for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system. Your comrade and well-wisher, D. D. Besse."

EVEN IN MEXICO. "As I don't know exactly when my subscription runs out, I guess I had better renew now to make sure, so I am sending you an international money order, for which renew my sub for a year. I receive your paper quite regularly. I am fairly well posted on conditions in the States. There are not many English speaking people down here, but I have hopes of getting you a couple of subs soon. You know it requires considerable time to get a man interested up to the subscription point. There is one very hopeful feature down here, however: the Mexican working class is not so ignorant as is generally supposed and I find among the better paid laborers considerable inclination toward organization, and Socialism eventually."

Doesn't this look as though The Socialist were finding its own at last? The splendid example of the Washington Boosters is arousing the Revolutionists in the ranks and the paper is beginning to receive a long-needed support. The only sure basis of support for The Socialist would be a Boosters' League in every state. Suppose there are only five in a whole state who have pledged themselves to send in a subscription per week, even if only a three months' one? Five men working with a definite end in view are worth more than one hundred with only a feeling of good will to prompt their actions. Such clubs are started in five different states. If you will send your name to us we will put you in touch with the first Booster in your state or you can start the club yourself.

The one joke about the present system is the firm belief of most workingmen that they could not live without the capitalists, when the only time that the capitalists go to work is when they lose the opportunity to exploit labor.

You cannot expect workingmen to know anything about Socialism and the Socialist Party so long as you leave them to get their knowledge from the capitalist press, to whose interests it is to misrepresent our case. Boost The Socialist cause by getting your fellow-workers to subscribe for The Socialist press.

A bundle of five of The Socialist every week to one address for \$3.25. It educates.

GENERAL

Sales of dues stamps in Cook county, Ill., for January, 1906, were 1575, a gain of 236 over 1905.

Chicago Socialists are engaged in an active fight against an obnoxious primary law. They have won the first round.

The first issue, under Socialist management, of "La Sentinella," of Calumet, Mich., has been received. This is the only Italian Socialist paper supporting the Socialist party.

Comrade M. W. Wilkins is making a tour of Maine under the direction of the State Committee. His dates for the coming week or so are as follows: Gardin, 13; Hallowell, 14; Augusta, 15; and Rockland, 16.

Comrade Wilkins writes that there will be a state convention of the Socialist party of Maine at Augusta, February 15. A new local was organized at Bar Harbor this week with 17 members. This makes 12 new locals organized since August 25, raising the total in the state to 27.

Comrade Wilkins has had good meetings at Portland, Old Orchard, S. Paris and Lewiston on the present tour, which is his third in the state.

Washington Special

SEATTLE, Feb. 10.—John Bailiff, Organizer, and R. S. LaBarre, Secretary of the Literature Committee of Local Seattle, were tried for party treason by the Local last Wednesday.

John Leigh, member of the Board of Trustees, was also included in the charges, but Comrade Leigh was not present, and not tried.

The charges set forth that the three members of the Local had participated in a mass convention of a municipal ownership party, that no one was admitted out of the floor of this convention without signing the following pledge:

"I am a supporter of the objects of this convention, as expressed in the call, and it is my intention to support the ticket that is to be named by it."

And that the comrades were on the floor of the convention.

Comrades Bailiff and LaBarre pleaded not guilty. State Chairman Wagenknecht and Comrade J. A. McCorkle testified that they had viewed the proceedings from the visitors' gallery.

Both comrades testified that they had seen Comrades Bailiff, LaBarre and Leigh on the floor of the convention, and that it was impossible to get onto the floor of the convention without signing the pledge.

Comrade Wagenknecht said that leaders of the municipal ownership movement had boasted to him that leading Socialists were supporting the movement; that he had found one of the pledges with John Leigh's name attached to it, while examining the cards at the labor temple, where the convention was held, some time after the convention, but that he had been forbidden to continue his examination before he had seen more than a few of the cards.

Organizer Bailiff testified that the charges were wholly untrue, and quoted a local municipal ownership paper, which enumerated a number of different classes of workers who were present, adding that many persons were present "whose names were not secured." He admitted on cross examination, however, that he had been on the floor of the convention and that he had signed the pledge, but with a fictitious name.

Both comrades said that they just went in to see what was going on. After the charges were read, before the trial, former State Committeeman Parsons obtained recognition from the chair, and asked the comrade who had preferred the charges if he had made a scaffold or a guillotine.

After the evidence was heard and the argument concluded, a motion was made to take a vote on the guilt or innocence of the comrades. Former State Committeeman Parsons moved to amend the motion by amending the charges so as to read:

"Whereas, rumors are rife that Organizer John Bailiff, R. S. LaBarre and John Leigh did NOT participate in a political convention..."

Comrade E. S. Oakes, Socialist nominee for mayor, severely criticized what he recognized as an attempt to make the proceedings a farce. He said that the comrades had clearly admitted their guilt and that the matter was grave.

National Committeeman Kennedy, State Chairman Wagenknecht and County Secretary Callahan spoke in the same strain. Former State Committeeman Parsons' motion prevailed, however, by a clear majority.

Several comrades asked to be placed on record as voting against Comrade Parsons' motion.

About Advertising

One of the best financial aids that the Boosters can give The Socialist is to get and keep advertising for the paper. Now, everybody can do that much. You can do MUCH to get advertising and you can do EVERYTHING to keep it.

To all comrades who follow out our suggestion to mention The Socialist when trading with our advertisers, we desire to express our hearty thanks. There are many in Toledo who are doing this valuable "boosting," as the following letter shows:

The Socialist, William Mally: Dear Sir:—You may please continue our ad in your paper until further notice. It is almost a daily occurrence to have customers speak of having seen our ad in The Socialist, a feature your readers seem to enjoy and I assure you, we merchants greatly appreciate, as we can seldom trace direct results as in this case. We feel we get better results for our outlay than in most mediums of advertising we use. Resp't, E. A. Hulce, To Seattle Comrades and Boosters.

NEW YORK State Secretary, John C. Chase, 64 E. Fourth street, New York City.

Local Newburgh was organized January 14 with 9 members, since which time two more have been added.

Sol. Fieldman has been having excellent meetings through the state. At Dunkirk, which is ruled by one corporation, a locomotive works, the workers were forbidden to have anything to do with this agitator who was "a menace to the country." And so to say; they obeyed their orders and at the meeting, which about 60

REPORT OF CLEVELAND BOOSTERS.

Robert Bandlow, subs., \$1.00; W. B. Slusser, literature, \$3.98; Fred R. Brooks, 4 subs., \$1.00.

Total \$5.98. "Who is next to join the Cleveland Boosters?" asks Secretary Kopelin.

Through mechanical difficulties this issue of The Socialist is delayed 48 hours.

WHY THEY CAN'T BOOST.

"The reason for a falling off of subscribers and also cannot get the comrades to a meeting is this: Some of those scoundrels of the parasite class who hide their rascality under the cloak of respectable citizenship have seen fit to discharge prominent Socialists in the movement in this locality, on trumped-up charges. And, of course, they use their influence to keep us from getting a job in the city and so run us out of town. And what I regret from the bottom of my heart is that the poor deluded wage slave cannot see he has no more freedom than a life prisoner. The wage slaves of Shelby dare not call their souls their own, for if they do they are called agitators, disturbers of the peace, anarchists and what not for daring to speak the truth. At times I get discouraged. But when I think of other comrades struggling nobly along the road toward the Co-operative Commonwealth, I take heart and, like the Irishman, I spit on my hands and go after them again. Yours for the Revolution, J. R. Crombie, Shelby, Ohio."

A BOOST THAT MEANS SOMETHING.

Sec'y Kopelin:—I have a wife and three children to support and I get \$8.00 per week, so you see it is hard for me to give 25 cents a week, but I am doing the best I can. Enclosed find 25 cents. Robert Lobb, Ulrichsville, O."

FROM STEADY BOOSTERS AT TORONTO.

"Enclosed find remittance for twenty-five three months. This is to help your Boosters' Brigade. Four of these were secured by Organizer Gribble. The Socialist's chief Booster here. The rest are scalps lifted chiefly at Debs' two successful meetings here on February 1 and 4. Have the Boosters kept on Boosting? The Socialist deserves it. Yours in the Revolution, Weston Wrigley, Toronto, Canada."

SPREADS TO TERRE HAUTE, IND.