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The Workingman's Paper -- To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Vote Their Own Emancipation

NO. 317--SEVENTH YEAR

This is where the Union Label would be if there was a Union in Caldwell

CALDWELL, IDAHO, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1906

PRICE TWO CENTS

Begin the Campaign of 1908 Now--Some Suggestions--Our Great Offer to the Boosters--Begin Work at Once

The election just past has been one of varying success at the polls but with, nevertheless, a quite perceptible and general increase for the Socialist party. This is a matter for congratulation and pride, considering the great obstacles we were compelled to contend with and overcome in order even to hold our vote of two years ago. The Hearst movement and the various local "independent" movements had the effect of distracting the attention of the workers from the main issue of the class struggle and caused them to again wander after false gods and cast their ballots for something they did not want. . . . Now we are face to face with the proposition of educating these Hearst voters and "independent" to the point of really knowing what they want and how to get it. . . . And now we come to the best way of accomplishing this result. . . . The answer is obvious. . . . The Socialist press has many times demonstrated its fitness for this work and it is the Socialist press we must rely on now. . . . But it is a different kind of paper from the ordinary run that is wanted—a paper that lays particular emphasis on the necessity for party organization—that enters into party discussion—that outlines International Revolutionary Socialist tactics. . . . Such a paper is "The Socialist." And this leads us to our proposition to the Boosters. . . . We have recently perfected a system by which the work of each Booster can be determined in an instant. Our purpose in this is to properly reward those who have been of the greatest assistance to us. . . . Beginning with December 1 we will credit each Booster with one point for each 25c sent in, either for subscriptions or as a donation. And for each 100 points we will give Five Dollars worth of Socialist books at list price from any Socialist publishing house in the country. . . . The list of those working will be published from time to time. . . . Get busy; boost!

SOME ELECTION RESULTS

Election returns have come in with tantalizing reluctance and we are not able to give any more complete account of the returns from the state and country at large this week than last. Enough is gleaned, however, to show that the total vote in this state is somewhere in the neighborhood of 6000, an increase over something less than 5000 two years ago. This is a particularly good gain when the fight that was made on us is taken into account and when we consider that many thought they were doing the best thing for our comrades in prison by voting the Democrat ticket. We can safely consider all those who voted the Socialist ticket in Idaho this year to be clear-cut, and uncompromising, and votes that can be depended upon. And this is a magnificent vote in other ways—in the promise it gives for the future. Ten years ago the Republican party had less votes than we have now in this state, and now they are absolute masters. All we need to reach the same position is more thorough organization, continued agitation. The latter work can safely be trusted to take care of itself, almost, for we secure efficient organization agitation follows as a matter of course. And it will be effective agitation that will reach the workers and hold their attention. The thing to do now is to find out those who voted the Socialist ticket and get them to take their proper part in the work of the party. Show them the necessity of the dues paying system, explain to them the workings of our national organization, and tell them their assistance is just as necessary and just as effective as that of the best man in the party. This is the work that party officials cannot do. It is the work that must be done by the individual party member. Following are the additional returns received up to the time of going to press:

Additional Idaho Results.
 Official returns from Ada county give the Socialist vote for governor as 266 against 271 for the same officer two years ago. The rest of the ticket held up the Debs vote, polling an average of 318 votes. Returns from 17 out of 30 precincts in Bingham county give the Socialist vote as 288, while only 359 Socialist votes were cast in the entire county two years ago. It has not as yet been possible to secure any further returns from Canyon county, but it is thought that the vote remained about stationary. Oneida county reports eight Socialist votes at Malad, 17 at St. John, 15 in Samaria and two in Cherry Creek. There are several precincts to hear from and the total Socialist vote in the county two years ago was but 72. Two years ago the total Socialist vote in Nez Perce county was 445. This year Lewiston alone cast 109 votes—an increase from 59. Comrade John Senter reports 17 votes at Mohler, 15 at Central Ridge and 12 at Peck. He does not state whether these are increases or not. The prospects are for a good increase in Nez Perce. We want comrades in county seats all over the state to secure the official count just as soon as it is out, which will be in a few days, and send it to this office immediately as we wish to

compile an accurate table of the vote in the state as soon as possible. Do not forget this. Act at once.
Reported By the National Secretary
 In the 13th ward of Minneapolis, B. E. Roberts polled \$11 votes out of 1,642; his only competitor (Republican) winning out by 20 votes. A recount will be called for.
 In Two Harbors a coroner was elected.
 Brainerd elected two aldermen and gave an 80 per cent increase over the Socialist vote of two years ago.
 M. A. Bratland was elected County Auditor of Norman County.
 Sleepy Eye gives promise of better things than her name would indicate. 6 votes for Debs in 1904, and 23 votes for Socialism this year. The greatest gain recorded in the state.
 J. E. NASH, State Secretary, Minn.
 We elected one Delegate in Oklahoma so it is reported. George Patterson of Elk City, Okla. The count is pretty close. The Democrats however report him elected.
 J. E. SNYDER, State Sec'y of Okla.
 4th Congressional District of Maryland—587 votes. Had no candidate in 1904.
 Omaha, Nebraska—580 votes. In the city election last May—410.
 Tullahoma, Tennessee—12 votes. 3 in 1904.
 State Secretary Bule of Colorado, estimates from 12 to 15 thousand Socialist votes. 4300 in 1904.
 93 Districts in Indian Territory for delegates to the Constitutional Convention shows Democrats 1,317; Socialists 387; Republicans 235.
 4 Precincts Tyler, Texas—25 votes. 20 in 1904.
 5th Congressional District of Pennsylvania—781; 1904—753.
 24th Congressional District, Pennsylvania—502; no candidate in 1904.
 2nd Congressional District of Maryland—400. No candidate in 1904.
 11th Congressional District, Pennsylvania, Wm. Dettrey received 4800 votes. The vote in this district in 1904 was 953.
 Tie Siding, Wyoming, Republicans—14; Democrats—8; Socialists—16.
 Wood County, West Virginia—352 votes. 48 in 1904.
 Allegany County, Maryland, eight districts out of twenty-eight—313 votes. Entire county in 1904 cast 137 Socialist votes.
 Vale Summit, Maryland: Socialists—42; Republicans—36; Democrats—35.
 2nd Congressional District of Pennsylvania—327. No candidate in 1904.
 Dayton, Ohio—1,845; 1,060 in 1904.
 Evansville, Indiana—630 votes; last year—551.
 Socialist vote shows losses 20 per cent. Total vote will probably be 8,000. Trade Unionists voted for Yellow rainbow chaser Moran and met Waterloo. In sections where Socialists Trade Unionists fought reformers gains made.
 J. C. CUTTING, State Secretary, Mass.
 Lawrence County, South Dakota—1,080 votes; in 1904—819 votes. The total vote cast fell off about 25 per cent.
 Indianapolis, Indiana, doubled the Socialist vote of 1904.
 The four Socialist members of the

Wisconsin legislature were each re-elected with increased majorities, and Comrade Carl D. Thompson, was also elected. This will make the Socialist representation in the Wisconsin legislature five in the Lower House and one in the Senate. In the four-cornered fight for District Attorney, Comrade Thiel received 15,468 votes, being defeated by 163 votes. Comrade Glaser was elected County Surveyor of Milwaukee County.
Ohio News
 Beaverdam—1905, 6 votes. 1906 6 votes.
 Cleveland (Cuyahoga Co.) 1905, 1833 votes for Governor. 1906, Nenslee for Sec'y of State 1894. S. L. P. 510.
 Hamilton (Dubois County) 1905, 285 votes. 1906, 517 votes.
 Portsmouth (Scioto County) 249 votes.
 Fremont (Sandusky County) 116. S. L. P. 12.
 Springfield (Clark County) City, 388. In the county, 446.
 Fostoria—101 straight votes. 100 per cent gain.
 Wapakoneta city, 1905, 18 votes; 1906, 30 votes.
 New Waterford, 25 votes.
 Dayton—1904, for Debs, 1064; this year, 1350; in county, 1500.
 Ashtabula—355 votes.
 Akron—352; in county of Summit, 523 votes.
 Columbus—In 1905, 420 votes; this year 1003 votes.
 Martins Ferry—135 votes.
 Lorain—Rep. 1064; Dem. 694; Soc. 250.
 Lake County—Last year 79; this year 95.
 Shreve—8 votes; gain of 5 over last year.
 Toledo—1400 votes for head of ticket.
 Bethel—J. H. Sims for Congress 31 votes; last year 14.
 Wadsworth—46 votes.
 Findlay—1905, 203 votes; County same year, 215; this year, city 326; county of Hancock 405 votes. Agitation is the cause.
 Wyandot County—45 votes, S. L. P. 2 votes.
 Columbus, Ohio, and Findlay made the largest increase on account of tent meetings in the former and Hall lectures in the latter place.
From "Montana News."
 The returns, still incomplete, show that the Socialist vote has made a great gain throughout Montana. . . . From various sources, however, there is sufficient evidence to show that we have polled at least 15 per cent of the vote. . . . At the present writing it looks as though the Montana vote will be in the neighborhood of 8000. Two years ago it was about 6000. The best results have been obtained in the best organized territory.
Erie, Pennsylvania
 Comrade J. E. Perry reports that unofficial returns give us 386 votes in the city and 74 additional in the county of Erie, making a total of 470 votes.
Chicago's Big Increase
 Revised police returns give the Socialist candidate for State Treasurer 28,169. As the vote has invariably gained at least 10 per cent on the official count, our vote will pass the 30,000 mark.

The first report that four Socialists had been elected to the legislature is found to be false, and this year there will be no Socialists in the Illinois house of representatives.

New York
 The vote for the head of the ticket in New York City this year is 7,994, a gain of 622 votes over last year. Brooklyn gives 3,840, a gain of 453, so it is seen that we are slowly retrieving the losses of last year. Hillquit had 3,616 out of a total of 13,614. Two years ago the Socialist vote was 3,167 out of a total of 15,051. We have gained several hundred votes and greatly in percentage. Returns from "Up state" show a falling off from 1904.
Missouri
 Returns from over the state show a steady but small increase over 1904. St. Louis shows an increase of about 300 votes in 8000.

To Appear December 1

The second half of the series of articles entitled "Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism" by Hermon F. Titus, has been promised many times, but other things have always come up which made it impossible to give space to them. We are able to announce, however, that the first article of the second half of the series, to deal with the tactics of Revolutionary Socialism, will appear in the first issue in December. This comes at the beginning of our new contest, and should be an added inducement to new subscribers. Those of you who have read the first chapters of the series will be able to appreciate the importance of the rest of the book, and will want to spread it as much as possible. To new readers, who have never seen the first part of the series we will say that if enough orders are received to justify it the articles will be issued in pamphlet form immediately after the last one appears serially. This is the first attempt to present the tactics of Modern Revolutionary Socialism in an easily accessible form as applied particularly to American conditions. In Comrade Titus' hands the subject receives able treatment, and no mistake will be made in subscribing for "The Socialist" now long enough to carry you through the series. Beginning December 1 the articles will appear each alternate week for about three months. Get out and rustle a club of five for three months for a dollar and see them all become Socialist party members at the end of that time.
 H. F. Titus, Caldwell, Idaho.
 Dear Comrade: I desire to commend you in your watchfulness and courage to make it known—others may think you have made a mistake in coming out at this time. If it was not for the unflinching truth our party would not be in existence today. Fraternally,
 F. A. WEBSTER.
 Des Moines, Iowa, 10-30-06.
 Classes and class rule and their attendant progress and poverty, money and misery, turmoil and strife, are inherent in the capitalist system. Why? Simply because one set of men owns the tools with which wealth is produced, while another set uses them, and there is an irrepressible conflict over the division of the product.—Eugene V. Debs.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP NO BENEFIT TO WORKERS

If the public ownership of public utilities has anything in it that tends to reduce the number of unemployed, or to benefit the financial condition of those who have employment by reducing the cost of living, Great Britain's experience ought to show it. Great Britain has been experimenting with public ownership for forty years. With what result, so far as the objects that we expect public ownership to achieve are concerned? John Burns, a member of the present Liberal ministry, says that there were never before so many unemployed persons in England as there are today, and never before was their condition so miserable. And in saying this much, he gives expression to a fact that is only too apparent to all who have observed the miseries of the English poor. Nor is the failure of public ownership to relieve their sufferings hard to find. These men want an opportunity to work. It matters not to them if public ownership has reduced the price of oysters if they have not the price. They want work. And public ownership quite naturally has nothing to offer them that private ownership did not offer. Public ownership, in well governed cities like the English cities, is directed toward economical production, and if the public owner should require more men to do a given amount of work than could work to advantage, production would become wasteful instead of economical.
Does it Help the Employed?
 Has it improved the financial condition of those who have employment? Has the reduction in the cost of their living which public ownership has brought about left a greater part of their wages to be expended for current luxuries, or to be laid away for old age? We want to know about this, because the workmen who are voting for public ownership in this country believe it will help them by reducing the cost of living. We may go to a report of the United States Commissioner of Labor for an answer. And we find that public ownership in Great Britain has not accomplished what American wage-workers expect it to do in this country if adopted. Professor E. L. R. Gould made an exhaustive study of the wages and family expenditures of the various classes of British wage workers in 1891, after the public ownership of many utilities had been in effect for more than twenty years. He found the workers in eight representative trades working for wages that represented only the reduced cost of living and the barest margin for the savings bank or for luxuries. Here is what he found and reported in the Seventh Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor:
 The first column gives industries. The second column gives average annual income from all sources per family.
 The third column gives average annual cost of living per family.

Pig Iron	\$456.86	\$435.31
Bar Iron	519.99	480.67
Steel	589.13	530.82
Bituminous Coal	495.25	457.32
Coke	379.09	359.27
Cotton	556.14	502.13
Woolen	515.64	481.04
Glass	501.69	460.44

So it is apparent that while public ownership has done in Great Britain what the business men who advocated it to do, that is, reduced their taxes and current expenses, it has not done what the wage workers in America who voted for it or who stand ready to vote for it, expect it to do here if tried.—Allan L. Benson in October "Appletons."

A Million Votes In Two Years

Sidney Brooks writes in Harper's Weekly:
 "The politicians are always the last people to see what is going on under their noses. They will jeer at me when I prophesy with the utmost confidence, that at the next presidential election the Socialists will poll over a million votes. They (the politicians) do not realize that the masses have sickened of the buncomb and insincerities of the old parties or that they are coming to realize that politics as played in the United States is no more than a game between two sets of sharp-headed people. The public I believe, is growing less and less muddle-headed. It is having a pretty severe training in actualities; it is getting to see things as they really are. It sees, for instance, that in America the scale dips down on the side of capital more heavily and wantonly than in any other country in the world; it believes—is it wrong in believing?—that the millionaire and the boss rule and own this land and everything that there is above and beneath it; that together they control all the functions of government; that the courts and the ballot box are merely instruments of their power; and the constitution a hand-maid of their iniquities; that all legislation is conceived in their interests, drafted and voted for by their henchmen; that there is one-law for the rich and another for the poor; ten thousand dollars for the protection of property and only twenty dollars for the protection of human life; that under the forms of democracy the American system and the American ideas have been warped and perverted into a conspiracy of plutocrats and professional politicians against the common weal; that justice and equality—not only social equality but economic equality, equality of opportunity—have vanished from the American soil; and that many millions of Americans, women and children as well as men, fatuously calling themselves free, are held in the grip of a wage slavery more horrible and more remorseless than that of the new Congo or the old South."
"THE ARMED NATION" AND STRIKERS
 Socialist defenders of the armed nation would do well to study the record of Switzerland in the matter of strikes. It was declared at a recent extraordinary meeting of Socialists in the Canton of Zurich, at which 200 delegates were present, that in no country in Europe, not even in Russia, were troops so constantly sent to put down strikes and suppress picketing. "Military outrages against unarmed peaceful strikers are becoming almost a daily protest were passed unanimously—"Labor Leader," London, Eng.

Now Let Us Organize

In the November number of "The International Socialist Review" (Chicago), just received, Comrade Simons calls attention to the need for more effective organization of the Socialist Party. We reproduce the article in full in the hope that it will have some effect in gathering together our scattered forces, so that we may at least decide on a plan for the campaign of organization. Comrade Simons offers few suggestions as to how the organization can be improved, but these suggestions will no doubt be forthcoming in the discussion to follow in the next few weeks.

In looking over the field of the Socialist press it is pleasing to note that this need for organization is emphasized in every possible manner, and there certainly should be some fruit from so much agitation. One of the greatest drawbacks in our organization which occurs to us at this time is the lack of political knowledge on the part of our membership. The lack of a grasp of the commonest essentials to the proper conduct of an election for instance, is evidenced every year. The incapacity of our members to perceive the errors or misdeeds of the capitalist politicians and call a halt to them is pitiable. We should devote a certain part of our time to a study of the election laws of the state of which we are citizens, for if we are to accomplish appreciable results we must be the best politicians in the country as well as the most honest.

The Need of Organization.

The one lesson which has been most emphatically preached by the campaign which has just ended was the need of better organization of the socialist forces.

The work of education, or at least of agitation has run for ahead of the organization of the Socialist Party. The whole country has been "going to school to socialism" during the past year. Socialism has become the "lively" topic for lecturers, writers and all those who are seeking to attract public attention. We have been longing for this stage for many years. Now it is here, it is for us to use it.

The reason for this condition is found largely in the fact that the forces of agitation, and to some extent those of education, are to a great degree inherent in the progress of capitalism. Socialists have always recognized this since Marx first observed that the capitalists are their own grave diggers. So it is that the propaganda of socialism has become an almost automatic reaction from capitalism. The process of concentration and exploitation carries with it a course of elementary lessons in socialist philosophy which he who lives within the scope of that process must read.

As every other avenue of reaction is closed the literature of revolt is forced to rest more and more upon the basis of socialist philosophy. So it has come about that great masses of the population are beginning to think in a crude way with the premises of socialism as a part of their psychology.

Sentiment in Our Favor Increasing

Newspaper and magazine writers speak glibly of a "government by interests," all unconscious, in a majority of cases that they are using the very language of the classics of socialism. The presses of the world have poured forth hundreds of volumes during the last few years based upon a crude conception of the materialistic interpretation of history. Yet many of their writers never heard the name of the philosophy which they unconsciously use—and often abuse. Fewer still have risen to a recognition of the fact that a logical consequence of the acceptance of that philosophy is the recognition of the proletariat, and consequently the whole socialist program.

With many of these persons this failure to proceed to the logical conclusions is due to their own ignorance. For that ignorance the socialists of this country are partially to blame. It indicates some loop hole in their work of education and agitation that these who are seeking for light have not perceived it.

Wherever there is ignorance there are always those who seek to fatten upon it. Nowhere is this more true than in the field of political action. With such a tremendous stake to be played for as the surplus value produced by a world of wage-slaves it is certain that every advantage will be sought for and played to the utmost. It is, of course, upon this blind unconscious revolt, and partial understanding of socialism that Hearst and his like are trading. Another outgrowth of the same forces

is the Gompersonian political tactics. Millions of laborers have proceeded to the point where they understand the necessity of working-class political action. They have not yet learned that to be effective, working-class politics must be based upon working class principles. Hence they can still be forced to turn the political mills of their oppressors if they are only blinded with a triflingly different bandage.

Party Grows Only Through Intelligent Effort.

While all this growth of sentiment has been to a certain extent an automatic reflex from capitalism, the Socialist Party grows only through conscious intelligent effort. It does not come of itself. Yet by just so far as that organization falls behind the growth of Socialist sentiment will that sentiment express itself, as undirected sentiment has always done, in wild vagaries, and to be used to grind the grist of capitalism. Unorganized Socialist sentiment is like steam while it is still in the boiler—liable either to escape uselessly into the atmosphere or even blow the whole works up with an explosion. The Socialist Party organization is the engine that puts the sentimental steam at work and compels it to perform the task of freeing the workers.

The ineffectiveness of this organization has been seen during the past campaign not only in the various freak movements that have exploited forces that belonged to right to Socialism, but also, to a certain extent by the ineffective application of what forces were at the disposal of the party. The improvement in the management of the campaign has presented a great advantage over previous years. It was impossible to focus efforts where they were needed in any such thoroughly effective way as a better organization would have made possible. Literature and speakers were constantly handicapped by a lack of the organized machinery which would have multiplied their effect many fold.

The Unions Not Yet With Us.

One of the handicaps under which the Socialists of this country labor which is not suffered by the Socialists of other countries, is that the trade union movement is largely dominated by capitalism. In Belgium, Germany, Denmark, and indeed a majority of the other countries of the world, to say trade unionist is to say Socialist, and it goes without saying that wherever the economic organization can be used to further the interest of the political movement, it can and will be used. Just how long this condition will continue here, and when the members of the organiza-

tions of laborers will insist that the machinery of their organization shall not be used to injure the political interests of those members, cannot be foretold with any certainty at the present moment. There are signs of change that promise much for the future, but the future like the past is not with us now, and we must deal with what we have—the present.

These facts render the burdens, responsibilities and duties of the political organization of even greater importance in the United States than in countries where a portion of the work which the party must do is performed by the economic organizations.

The next two years will make peculiarly pressing demands upon the machinery of the Socialist Party. The way in which it meets those demands will decide its entire future. It may decide much of the whole course of future evolution in the next decade of United States history.

Hearst Powerful Only When Party Is Weak.

A confused Hearst movement can side-track the revolutionary energy of the nation only in case the Socialist Party proves to be incapable of meeting the emergency of the next twelve months. At present Hearst possesses no national organization. He is little more than a howl. It is difficult for him to crystallize that howl into an organization outside of the few weeks of a campaign, because he must depend upon workers who expect a reward in solid currency or in the immediate prospect of the spoils of office.

It is the boast of the Socialist Party that it keeps up a continuous campaign. If it makes good on that boast during the next year the Hearst ghost will be laid, and it is within the bounds of possibility that the Socialist Party will move up to second place in the line of political parties struggling for power.

To accomplish this will require strenuous efforts. Organization is a business proposition and not sentimental enthusiasm. A definite plan of campaign for organizing work must be elaborated by national, state and local organizations. Special funds must be raised for this one purpose. Special literature must be prepared of a distinctly different character from that suited for the work of agitation.

Men must be secured who are not agitators but organizers, and who can carry out a definite plan of work. They must not be sent on one-night soap box stands throughout the country, but must proceed steadily from definite centers, and remain in each locality until they have accomplished the work assigned them.

be restricted by a five-minute rule, and by the hour of 9:30 they will be ready to do business. An hour's business session will suffice for the transaction of business in a speedy and efficient manner.

Your committee should purchase a hektograph, a box of envelopes and suitable size letter paper. Compile a directory of all known Socialists in your town. About the first of each month get out a circular letter containing a program of meetings for the ensuing month and an invitation to attend and participate therein. Other printed matter, such as leaflets, blank applications for membership, etc., may be enclosed.

"If your Local has suffered from apathy, non-attendance at business meetings, etc., try the above plan. Let each member take an active part, and your Local will grow."

"J. E. PERRY".

Eating Hasheesh

The editor of the Walla Walla, Wash., "Union" had a great pipe dream the other day. We present an extract of an editorial written by him immediately after the experience:

"In Chicago the other day a remarkable demonstration was held. It was under the patronage of Eugene V. Debs and purported to be a gathering of Socialists, although not a word of Socialist doctrine was uttered by the leader, who talked anarchy and treason for two hours. Every vilifying climax and every bloodthirsty suggestion was greeted with cheers. Each man at the meeting carried a cane, upon which was tied a piece of blue ribbon. Violence was the keynote of the meeting and Debs was the master spirit to whom all bowed."

Now this editorial is true, except in some minor details. First, Debs has not held a meeting in Chicago for some months. Second, there

never was a Socialist—or even Anarchist—meeting at which each man present carried a cane with a blue ribbon attached. Third, Debs does not, and never has, talked either anarchy or treason. Otherwise, as I said, the editorial is entirely true.

We do not know the purpose of the "Union" editor in printing such a downright falsehood, but suppose the movement is growing so in his balltwick that he is getting desperate. We must expect such attacks as this, in fact, the whole capitalist campaign against us is made up of such attacks. But we would like to know why the editor of the "Union" made it blue ribbon. If it had just been red, now—

More Anarchy

And, speaking of anarchy, what do you think of this?

"If it becomes necessary to fight for the right to cast a freeman's ballot the citizen MUST FIGHT."

"The man who will not fight in defense of his life and liberty does not deserve to be called an American citizen."

"The right to ballot is the first and basic principle upon which the republic rests."

"Let every man who is a qualified elector according to the laws of Idaho GO TO THE POLLS and vote."

"The ballot is the freeman's decree. The man who attempts to get it aside will take his life in his own hands—and the responsibility for the outcome upon his own head."

"The constitution grants to citizens the right to carry arms."

"Let the citizens of Idaho carry arms on election day, in sections where it may be necessary to defend the rights of citizenship—and let them use such means to protect the ballot as the occasion may demand."

This is an extract from an editorial which appeared in the "World," the issue before election. The "World" is edited by Avery C. Moore who supported Gooding in his every act. The occasion for the editorial was the announced intention of the Democrats to exercise their constitutional right of challenging the voters in the Mormon counties and compelling them to take the "test" oath which is a part of the constitution of this state.

If I remember rightly Avery C. Moore said harsh things about Debs because he advised the workers to fight if Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were denied a fair trial! Who is the anarchist now?

But this merely shows to what lengths the capitalist class will go to maintain their control of the governmental power. Those Democrats who were courageous enough or foolish enough to challenge the Mormon's right to vote were hustled to jail and kept there without bail all day. This was without the sanction of any law but it was advised by Governor Gooding. "The State? I am the State!"

Reward of Merit

Just about the limit of capitalist insolence is reached in the following notice of the death of the murderer of the so-called Chicago "anarchists" which appeared in the "Seattle Times" November 8:

"The sudden death of Judge Joseph E. Gary, in Chicago, recalls the trial of the Haymarket Anarchists in 1886 over which he presided fearlessly, indifferent to the threats made against the bench. For forty-three years continuously he served as one of the judges of the Superior Court of Cook County. The value to the country of the services of such an upright and able judge throughout a long life is beyond computation."

The exact truth of this monstrous conspiracy against the working class will probably never be known but enough has developed to show that the trial was the veriest farce; the jury packed to convict and the judge the abject tool of the interests which were interested in the conviction of the leaders of the great eight-hour movement of the early eighties. It may be such men as Gary act as horrible examples of what we should not be, and thus serve a good purpose, but one cannot suppress a sigh of relief on learning that the world is so well rid of another rogue.

The principal tools of production and distribution in the United States—mammoth machines, complex social instruments, made and used cooperatively by millions of workingmen, their lives, their wives and babes being dependent upon them—are the private property of a few hundred capitalists, and are operated purely to make profits for these capitalists, regardless of the poverty and wretchedness that ensue to the masses.—Eugene V. Debs.

Seattle Ads.

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—"Chicago Socialist."

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Oneal Moves to Investigate Utah

New York, Nov. 8, 1906. J. Mahlon Barber, Nat'l Sec'y, Chicago, Ill.

Conrad—A week is call your attention to a communication appearing in "The Crisis," of Salt Lake City (issue of November 2nd) in which a number of candidates and officials of the Socialist Party of Utah endorse the candidacy of one A. J. Weber, for County Attorney, on the American ticket. The endorsement also has the signature of the State Secretary H. P. Hart. The same issue states that the Socialist Party made no nomination for County Attorney. If the failure to nominate a candidate for that office, and the endorsement of Weber is true, then Section 3, of Article XII, of the National Constitution has been violated by members of the Socialist Party of Utah.

Therefore, I trust the usual procedure in a matter of this kind will be taken to ascertain the facts, so that action can be taken if necessary.

Fraternally,
JAMES ONEAL,
National Committeeman, Indiana.

Nomination Call

For National Executive Committee and National Secretary—Extracts from the National Constitution of the Socialist Party

Section 1, of Article VI, and Section 1, of Article VII. "The members of the Executive Committee (7 members) and the National Secretary shall be elected by referendum vote. The call for nominations shall be issued on the 15th day of November. EACH LOCAL SHALL BE ENTITLED TO NOMINATE SEVEN CANDIDATES FOR THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, AND ONE CANDIDATE FOR NATIONAL SECRETARY. TWENTY DAYS SHALL BE ALLOWED FOR NOMINATION, and for acceptance and distribution of party lists for the referendum. The seven candidates receiving the highest vote, and the one candidate receiving the highest vote shall be elected members of the National Executive Committee and National Secretary, respectively.

Be sure and give complete address of each candidate, other wise they may not receive notice of his nomination within the prescribed time.

Nominations must be signed by Chairman of Local meeting and the Secretary of Local, and MUST BE MAILED BY THE LOCAL SECRETARY TO "NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, THE SOCIALIST PARTY," 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. ALL NOMINATIONS MUST REACH THE NATIONAL OFFICE ON OR BEFORE DEC. 5th.

DATES FOR NATIONAL LECTURERS AND ORGANIZERS FOR THE COMING WEEK

J. L. Fitts—West Virginia, under the direction of the State Committee.
George H. Goebel—Washington, headquarters at Spokane.
M. W. Wilkins—New Hampshire, under the direction of the State Committee.

Washington Notes

Seattle Socialists Get Back at "Labor Mayor" and the "Little Bismarck"—State Committee Issues Call for Organization Fund—Other Washington News.

One of the amusing incidents in the fight for free speech which the Seattle Socialists are carrying on occurred November 1 when a meeting was held on Pioneer Square. Emil Herman was the speaker and he took a position midway between the stands of the Salvation Army and The Volunteers of America. Several policemen passed but all seemed to see the humor of the situation for Comrade Herman was not disturbed.

At its last session the State Executive Committee instructed the State Secretary to appeal to the locals for funds to keep the State Organizer in the field. There is a great demand all over the state for the services of the organizer but there are no funds in hand to keep him in the field. But a small amount is needed and with the large membership of the party in Washington the \$100.00 or so needed should be secured with but little difficulty. Shell out, comrades, and help to make Washington the best organized state in the union.

At the latest meeting of the State Executive Committee charters were granted to three new locals: Tiger, Larson and Bismarck. The State Secretary was instructed to explain to the National Secretary the nature of the "Propaganda Club" and its methods and to request the withdrawal from the state of National Organizer Goebel. Comrade Cloak was asked to give his authority for the statement that Comrade Titus was employed by the masters at Seattle to fight public ownership. The State Secretary was also instructed to correspond with Irene Smith with the view of getting her to fill some better engagements.

The National Secretary has submitted to the National Executive Committee the question of the party being represented at the Italian Socialist Federation Convention to be held at Boston November 29th, Dec. 2nd, 1906.

IS MARXISM PLAYED OUT?

Editor of "The Socialist," Caldwell, Idaho.

Dear Comrade: In your issue of Oct. 27 you get after J. Ramsey MacDonald for saying that Marxism is a played-out theory, as out of date as the book of Genesis, and you add that this throws an interesting side-light on the caliber and character of the Socialists in the British Parliament. To be fair you should extend your criticism to several other European Socialist parties, for there are a good many Socialist representatives in Europe who have about the same ideas as MacDonald though they express them more diplomatically.

I do not know whether you call Jaures a Marxist, but I do not think Jaures would. Jaures first became prominent in connection with "International Socialism," a movement on the lines of English Fabianism, led by August Mably, and opposed on various points to orthodox Marxism. I do not think Jaures has changed his views. As for Bernstein, his book on "The Assumptions of Socialism and the Tasks of Social Democracy" is more polite in words to Marx than McDonald is, but hardly more in substance. Yet Bernstein is prominent enough in the German Socialist party. After Bernstein published his book, an enthusiastic disciple, R. E. May of Hamburg, cried, "The theoretic edifice reared by Marx and others lies in ruins."

I carefully followed the Bernstein controversy, and it seems to me that on one point at least Marx was knocked to pieces. That point was the concentration of wealth, the theory that the capitalist class is a diminishing percentage of the community. Bernstein and his friends proved that in every industrially developed country which keeps statistics of income, the capitalist class is an increasing percentage of the population. For instance Vandevelde on page 14 of "Collectivism" gives the following figures in Saxony:

Persons having an income of	1879	Per Ct. of increase
\$200	828,686	972,257 17.3
\$200 to \$499	165,362	357,974 116.4
\$499 to \$825	61,810	106,136 71.6
\$825 to \$1000	24,972	41,890 74.0
\$1000 to \$1599	4,638	10,518 154.4
More than \$15,000	238	886 272.0

During the above period the population only increased 26 per cent, so that the middle class increased three times as fast as the population, the well-to-do class six times as fast, and the rich class ten times as fast. Saxony is the most rapidly developing industrial state in Europe.

Bernstein shows that in England in 1857 300,000 families had \$750 to \$999 a year, in 1881 930,000. That was an increase of 233 1-3 per cent, while the population increased only 30 per cent.

Bernstein says: "In Prussia there were, as Lassalle's readers know, in 1854 in a population of 16.3 millions only 44,907 persons with an income of over \$750. In the year 1894-5 in a total population of about 33 millions 321,296 persons paid taxes on an income of over \$750. In 1897-8 the number had risen to 347,328. While the population doubled itself, the layer of the better situated classes was multiplied more than seven-fold."

The above estimates of income were given by the parties themselves as the basis of income tax. It is hardly likely they would be exaggerated.

Bernstein, Tcherkesoff, and others have given any quantity of similar figures, but I will not bore you with them.

Marx's mistake was that he jumped to the conclusion that, because industry was concentrating wealth must be concentrating. But the two things are very different. When two railways combine, it does not mean that the one has beggared the other, and bought it in at sheriff's sale. It only means that the railways have voluntarily combined so as to fleece the public better, and there are as many shareholders as ever with bigger incomes than ever. When there were a number of separate oil dealers, some of them were always failing, but now that they are all in the Standard Oil Co. together, none of them can burst unless they all burst. Thus concentration of industry, far from promoting concentration of wealth, prevents it.

Yours fraternally,
R. B. KERR,
Victoria, B. C., 11-10-06.

In referring to Mr. McDonald I had in mind his activity as a disrupter of the Socialist forces in England and cited his sneer at Marxism as additional evidence of his unreliability as a Socialist, though indeed it has long been his pose to declare Marxism dead and himself the only sinner-pure, dyed-in-the-wool, "practical" Socialist.

But to the issue. Comrade Jaures certainly should be considered a Marxist at the present time, no matter how he came into the movement. At the unity congress of the French Socialist parties he accepted the Marxist contention in its entirety, acknowledging the superiority of Guesde's position over his own. For further proof of this we point to the continuation of the unity of the party in France and the activity of Guesde as one of the editors of "L'Humanite," Jaures' paper.

The influence of Bernstein on the Socialist party in Germany can best be shown by the fact that he has been ahead of for three years, his policy of revision having been signally defeated in national congress and himself severely criticized for using the capitalist press to attain his ends in the party. It is true he is retained as editor of one of the party papers and is a member of the Reichstag, but his influence in party councils is nil. His last foothold, the editorial board of "Vorwaerts," was recently dismissed because of its leaning toward opportunism.

As to Bernstein's book, it is made up of a slight portion of truth as a foundation for some very extrava-

gant assumptions. His contention of the growth of the middle class is increasing is backed up by a bewildering array of figures. In the figures quoted from "Collectivism" by Comrade Kerr nothing is said of the increase in the wealth of the state during the 15 years from 1879 to 1894. If there had been it would be found that while the number of the smaller and small capitalists increased to some extent, their power in proportion to the great capitalists decreased measurably.

It is a fact that the number of the small capitalists is increasing but this fact is easily explained. Many wage workers, thrown out of employment by improved machinery and the concentration of wealth are forced into the class of small dealers in order to secure a livelihood. Of course, they soon lose their savings in this field and are forced back to the lowest level of the proletarian class. This shows that the increase in the numbers of the middle class is, in fact, a sign of its degeneracy instead of an indication of its prosperity.

It is a well-known fact that in the United States 90 per cent of those engaging in business fail. The ability of the middle class to perpetuate itself by investment in industrial securities is only transitory, for when the period of contraction comes the large capitalist is compelled to "take profits" and the little fellow pays the bill. Surely that was sufficiently demonstrated by Lawson.

Railways do not as a rule combine as a matter of mutual interest. Such combinations are the result of the manipulation of the stock market—the forcing down of the price of stock of any certain road, compelling the timid middle class to dispose of its stock at a low price and the final absorption of the road by the successful manipulator. Witness the Burlington deal and the Louisville & Nashville deal. Do you think there were more stockholders, or as many stockholders, after as before the raids on the stock market by Hill and by Gates?

No, Comrade Kerr. "Capital" is verified by each new development in the capitalist world and Marxism comes forth from every encounter fresher than before.—E. B. A.

B. C. Unionists Will Support Socialist Party

The recent congress of Canadian Trades Unions held at Victoria, B. C., recommended the formation of a labor party to represent the working class on the political field—or rather, it recommended the participation of trades unionists in politics to further their own interests.

In carrying out this recommendation the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress of Canada called a convention of trades unionists to meet at Vancouver, B. C., October 29. On the day set the convention was called to order and 50 delegates representing about 6,000 members found to be present.

Of course, it was the intention of the labor skates to found a new labor party on the "sane and practical" lines laid down by J. Ramsey McDonald, who judged the Canadian Socialist movement from Pullman car windows and pink teas given him by capitalist flunkies and pronounced it not good. But "the best laid plans of mice and men gang aft a-gley" and this was no exception. When it came to a show-down it was found that the delegates representing about 5,100 members thought the Socialist party as already organized a good enough party for the wage workers to support. When this decision was reached a few of the delegates, representing less than 1,500 members, bolted and proceeded to organize a "labor party" on their own hook. This political infant is likely, however, to have a short and unhappy life for the wage workers of Canada, and British Columbia in particular, have had enough of capitalist "reform" under whatever name and are out after Socialist revolution. Following are the resolutions adopted by the convention:

"Whereas—The Dominion Trades and Labor Congress at its 22nd annual convention held in Victoria, B. C., September 17 to 21, 1906, took steps to organize a Labor Party in the province, and this convention has been called in compliance with that action; and

"Whereas—no political party can correctly express the labor movement unless it stands for the abolition of capitalist exploitation, and the wage system under which it is effected; and

"Whereas—A Labor Party is already in existence which does stand for that change, and which has received the most emphatic endorsement possible from the different labor organizations throughout the province, inasmuch as, nearly every labor organization in the province has written to the representatives of that party in the local Legislature requesting them to take up their grievances, and endeavor to get legislation passed for the betterment of their conditions, thereby showing their confidence in the said party as a labor party.

"Therefore be it resolved

"That in the opinion of this convention it is unwise to organize another Labor Party, as it would cause confusion among the working class, thus dividing their vote, and rendering it ineffective; and be it further resolved,

"That we recommend to the working class throughout the province, the careful study and investigation of the principles and platform of the Socialist Party of Canada, and

"That we further recommend the earnest study of the principles and programme of Socialism as we believe that in the accomplishment of its aims, lies the only true and per-

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manent solution of the labor problem."

In this connection it is interesting to note the comment of the "Labor Leader," of London, organ of the Independent Labor Party of England, which party is responsible for J. Ramsey McDonald, agent the action of the Trades Congress in declaring for the formation of a "Labor Party."

"The Canadian Trades Congress at its recent session in Victoria, B. C., has followed the example of Great Britain. The initial steps for the inauguration of the Canadian Labour Party—a party that shall work positively for the interests of Labour independent of all other political parties—have been taken.

Although the Socialists from the first tried to force their dogmatic program on the new party, they were defeated by a vote of 62 to 7. So does history repeat itself, and we rejoice to learn * * * that the impossibilists are not a numerous section, and that the majority of the Socialists of Canada will be found as part and parcel of the Labour Party, even as they are here, without sacrificing any part of their principles."

It is indeed sad that the "Labor Leader" has been disappointed but we can score one more for international solidarity and give the Canadian Trades unionists a front seat for sticking to the straight and narrow road which means working class emancipation.

To Reach Soldiers

Comrades Frank Chester Pease and Andrew J. Saunders of Oakland, Calif., announce the launching of a new Socialist periodical in a circular letter the text of which is too lengthy to be given in full. The new journal will be devoted exclusively to the propaganda of Socialism in the army and navy of the United States.

The circular points out the obvious advantage of having the army and navy on the side of the proletariat in any struggle. It points out the fact that the rank and file of the army and navy is made up of members of the working class, most of them discontented when they enlist. That this discontent grows is certain and that it can be intelligently directed by Socialists is the firm belief of the comrades interested in the new enterprise.

The proposed price of the new paper is \$1.00 a year, 50c six months. The circular does not state whether it is to be a monthly or a weekly. Probably, however, it will be the former. Subscriptions are solicited, also articles in harmony with the policy outlined. The publishers can be addressed at 528 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, Calif.

Three new locals have recently been organized in Ohio: Gillespieville, Beloit and New England; and Comrade Blakeslee of Ashtabula is trying to organize an Italian branch at that place.

The Vancouver, B. C. "Province" in a recent issue contains editorial commenting on a recent church congress held at Newcastle, England, in which several clergymen proclaimed themselves Socialists. To be sure the preachers declared for a very harmless and innocuous kind of "Socialism" but they no doubt believed themselves very revolutionary and their action shows the immense influence Socialism is exercising in old England.

The International Socialist Bureau has issued an appeal to all affiliated bodies to begin a propaganda showing up the unstable condition of the Russian government with the purpose of scaring the middle class out of furnishing any more money to combat the revolution. Various plans of procedure are suggested, such as parliamentary questioning of the government in places where we have representatives in parliament, the publication of the facts in the party press, and the holding of

monster meetings protesting the granting of assistance to the Russian government.

"The Cleveland Citizen" is informed by a student that a majority of the 5,000 students in the College of the City of New York are Socialists. Ninety-seven per cent of the scholars are Jews and foreign-born and the one live topic among them is Socialism. There are a number of clubs in existence and books, papers and pamphlets are widely circulated. Many of the most active workers in the movement in New York have been students in this college.

We are in receipt of a clipping from the "Peking and Teintsin Times" (China), being an article by Comrade Clarence Clowe on the matter of the murder of the natives in Natal by the British authorities. Comrade Clowe gives a history of the trouble and includes the manifesto of I. L. P. of Great Britain on the subject. The letter was called forth by an editorial appearing in the paper named commending the English authorities in their actions. It is indeed pleasing the find Comrade Clowe so sturdily holding up the banner of International Socialism in far away China. But it is only another proof of the international character of the movement.

A Socialist of Washington, D. C. proposes what appears to be a new remedy for the trusts. He says, as is perfectly true, that public ownership in itself is no remedy at all, but he proposes that the government acquire the roads and then transport freight and passengers free. Comrade Nosbit asks, not illogically, "Why should not the railroads, the great arteries of commercial communication throughout the country, be made as free to every citizen as the street, the river, the lake of the country road?" While the proposition appears difficult on its face, it is worthy of consideration as an immediate demand, for the cost of maintaining a railroad after all would not be such a great deal more than the cost of caring for a city street.

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Anarchy

No, Socialism is not anarchy. Capitalism is essentially anarchistic. The capitalists themselves are anarchists in their actions. Industrially, they are anarchists in their opinions also. Politically, they may or may not be.

The capitalists are the most lawless citizens we have.

Who corrupted the senate with sugar trust stock?

The capitalists.

Who fixes the congressmen?

The capitalists.

Who bribed the post-office officials to let fraudulent contracts?

The capitalists.

Who purchased the Massachusetts legislature?

The capitalists.

Who purchased the Illinois legislature?

The capitalists.

Who purchased the Missouri legislature?

The capitalists.

Who purchased the Colorado legislature?

The capitalists.

Who bought the St. Louis aldermen?

The capitalists.

Who influenced the president to send troops to Chicago in violation of law?

The capitalists.

Who deported innocent working men from Colorado in violation of law?

The capitalists.

Who hires thugs to stir up riots during strikes?

The capitalists.

Who violates the railway safety appliance law?

The capitalists.

Who gives illegal rebates?

The capitalists.

Who fixes the assessor?

The capitalists.

Who commits perjury to escape taxes?

The capitalists.

Who murdered one thousand and twenty human beings by equipping the General Slocum with rotten life preservers, flimsy hose and inefficient crew?

The capitalists.

Who fired the inspectors?

The capitalists.

Who murders ten thousand people per year on the railroads of the United States by shoddy equipment and overwork of employes?

The capitalists.

Who murders and maims one hundred thousand people per year in the factories of the United States by lack of safeguards and overwork of employes?

The capitalists.

Who murders millions of people with adulterated food and drugs?

The capitalists.

Who corrupts the legislators by presenting them with railroad passes?

The capitalists.

Who bribes the aldermen to grant franchises?

The capitalists.

Who puts up the money to buy votes for the republican and democratic parties?

The capitalists.

Who insists upon having the cities run wide open in order to stimulate business?

The capitalists.

Who violates the child labor law?

The capitalists.

Who are persistently and brazenly lawless?

The capitalists.

What is the essence of anarchy? Lawlessness.

The capitalists are therefore anarchists, in their actions.

Industrially, they are anarchists, in their opinions also. That is to say, they believe in the present planless system, capitalism. They believe in letting everybody run amuck industrially. They believe in letting every man corner all of the means of production and distribution he can, and keep all he can. They believe in letting all individuals and corporations produce whatever they please, in whatever quantity they please, regardless of whether there is great or little need of the articles. They believe in shipping goods crisscross and helter-skelter over the country without any plan or system. They believe in the millionaire and the tramp. They believe in condemning the majority of the people to waste their time in useless work, because of the unnecessary duplication of tasks occasioned by the planlessness of the system.

The capitalist system is planless, chaotic and anarchistic.

To call it a system is really a contradiction of terms. It is not a system. It is a lack of system.

The capitalists believe in this lack of system.

Industrially, they are therefore anarchists.

Every person who does not believe

In Socialism is an industrial anarchist. He believes in the present anarchistic lack of system.

Capitalism also drives men to political anarchy.

Capitalism is the fruitful mother of exploitation, military oppression, injunctions, lockouts, poverty, child labor, starvation, prostitution, suicide, insanity, crime, graft, wretchedness, and a long retinue of other horrors.

It is the knowledge and contemplation of this fact that causes men to become anarchists.

Capitalism is the cause of the existence of anarchists.

Remove capitalism, and presto! the anarchists are gone.

No, Socialism is not anarchy.

One reason why it has been confused with anarchy is because the word Socialism used to be generic instead of specific. It used to mean about what the word radicalism does now. At that time it was therefore just as appropriate to call an anarchist a Socialist as it is now to call an anarchist a radical. But the word Socialism long since lost that meaning and took on its present meaning, which is the opposite of anarchy.

But the chief reason why Socialism has been confused with anarchy is because the capitalists and their satellites persistently lie about it. They persistently yoke the two words together in a desperate attempt to hold on to their ill-gotten gains by prejudicing the minds of the people against the great crusade for social justice which is about to sweep their rickety system into oblivion.

Socialism is the public ownership and the popular management of the means of production and distribution which are now used to exploit the masses of the people out of the bulk of the product of their honest toil.

Anarchy means the total abolition of all laws, leaving the individual free to do as he pleases, both politically and industrially, unrestrained by law.

Socialism is therefore the opposite of anarchy.

Moreover, Socialism proposes to abolish the anarchy now existing. It proposes to bring order out of the present industrial chaos.

But, is it not true that Socialism will bring about an environment which will cause men to become better and better morally until eventually there will not be any need of criminal laws?

Yes.

But that will not be anarchy. Not even philosophical anarchy.

It will be an advanced stage of Socialism.

It will be Socialism developed in its ideal beauty.

After the laws against crime have fallen into disuse for lack of criminals, the laws regulating industry will still exist and will be entirely necessary.—John W. Work in "What's So and What Isn't."

What Socialism Is Doing

It is the Greatest Political Power on Earth Today.

The American Review of Reviews, unquestionably the leading publication of its kind in the world, has this to say of the great international question that is causing the privileged few everywhere to sit up and take notice:

"Socialism is today politically a minority party in every European country, yet what is it doing? In Austria it has brought the proud house of Hapsburg to bend the knee and compels Francis Joseph to fight side by side with the Social-Democrats to force universal suffrage from the Liberals. In Italy it has nationalized the railroads and written more than one progressive bill in the legislation of the new advanced Italy. In Switzerland it shapes the national policy and rules many cities. In Germany it has almost captured the empire, and is driving the Conservatives to a desperate effort to further limit a suffrage already unjust to the proletariat. In France it has elected 1200 municipal councillors, compels 211 national deputies to call themselves socialists of some sort, and stalks its way into cabinets and gives them ministerial portfolios. In Belgium it has compelled the Conservatives to insure the unemployed and to enact some of the most advanced legislation in the world outside of Australia and New Zealand. In these two countries it is creating, in the first a Co-operative Commonwealth, while in the latter it has almost done so. In Great Britain it enters Parliament, dominates municipal policy, makes of London, in some respects, the greatest socialistic city of the

world, puts John Burns into the cabinet, and makes King Edward say, 'We are all Socialists now.' In the United States? Senator Hanna, just before his death, declared the future to lie 'between Socialism and the Republican party. If the Democratic party wins for a while it will be by stealing the socialistic thunder.' In a wholly different line of advance, Socialism is compelling capitalists to become philanthropists, and employers to purchase a temporary truce, by introducing industrial betterment. The party of evolutionary revolution rules the world today."

In virtue of the individual ownership of the social instruments of production, one capitalist may exploit the labor of a million workmen and become a billionaire, while the million workers struggle through life in penury and want, to a bleak and barren old age, to find rest at last in the pauper asylum, the morgue and the potter's field.—Eugene V. Debs.

"Post" Makes a Great Discovery

But Editor of a Labor Paper Figures and Also Makes Discovery.

The editor of the scab "Saturday Evening Post," has made a wonderful discovery. As an inventor he will be counted with Franklin, Watt, Edison, Fulton, and other men whom we love to revere. He has discovered a solution of the strike problem—and its just too simple for anything, don'tcher know. It's a wonder some other great man did not give to the world this startling scheme. But it remained for this genius in the dark regions of the editorial sanctum of the scab "Post" to discover it, and thus bring peace where there has been nothing but war. Well, here is the plan: It is proposed that all the workmen in the United States save their money and buy the stock of the concern in which they are employed, gain a controlling interest and then tell the capitalist to go hence.

When we read it we were much elated—here was that for which we had been looking for, lo! these many years. To see how it would work out we turned to a recent report of the United States and figured a little. The report on the Standard Oil business first struck my attention and this is the result: During the year 1900 the Standard Oil Company employed 12,000 people whom it paid \$6,717,087—an average weekly for each man of about \$11. Now any man with a family of five ought to be able to live like a prince on a salary of \$6. This would leave him \$5. as a sinking fund. Twelve thousand men saving \$5.00 a week each would have, at the end of the year \$3,120,000.00. The stock of the Standard Oil Company in open market is worth something over \$800,000,000. By a simple mathematical proposition we find that it would require but 256 years for the workmen employed by the Standard Oil Company to save enough money to buy out that concern. As they would want but one-half of the stock to give them control, the time would be cut down to 128 years! Gee! How easy. We take off our hat to that Philadelphia editor—he live to see his dream of industrial peace realized.—Jacksonville, Fla., "Central Union Times."

If the "eternal principles of Jefferson" had any tendency to interfere with the eternal exploitation of the workers, its popularity as a phrase in the mouths of office-seeking politicians would be seriously impaired.—"Wilshire's", New York City.

The Mission of the Socialist

The Socialist Party as a political organization, is in the field asking for your votes for the avowed purpose of obtaining for the workers of all classes their economic independence of the capitalist class. Socialists proclaim that the working-class ever since the birth of civilization, have been held, in one way or other, as slaves to do the world's necessary labor, and that the time is now ripe for their complete independence of all classes. The Socialist movement is an anti-slavery movement, and it will not cease its work until every man is the equal in opportunity of every other man, politically and economically. Freedom for the working-class means freedom for everybody. The Socialist Party invites the aid of every one who feels with it that all mankind should be free. The working-class is especially urged to study the principles of Socialism. As a class, "you have everything to gain and nothing to lose but your chains."—"Western Clarion," Vancouver, B. C.

Wages and the Cost of Living

High prices make high wages. Low prices make low wages. Wages follow prices. That is Marxian law. Hardest thing for the ordinary workman to grasp. Yet simplest thing in the world.

The following figures tell the story. They were compiled by Allen L. Benson from several authoritative sources and published in an illuminating article, "Appleton's Magazine," October, 1906, from which we expect to make future quotations in future numbers of "The Socialist."

The one conclusion for the wage worker is, Public Ownership won't help me any, for, no matter how many "Utilities" are run by government, my wages barely cover my cost of living. England, France, Germany, Belgium, all have M. O. and P. O. But there as here wages just cover expenses. Ergo Study Socialism.

Comparison of the margins between wages and living expenses in the United States, in which few public utilities are publicly owned, and in the four European nations in which the most public utilities are publicly owned:

The first column gives industries. The second column gives average annual income from all sources per family. The third column gives average annual cost of living per family.

Country	United States	Great Britain	Germany	France	Belgium
Pig Iron	\$591 61	\$546 23	456 86	435 31	374 53
Bar Iron	\$784 11	\$671 50	519 99	480 67	282 20
Steel	\$663 56	\$563 50	589 13	530 82	250 13
Bituminous Coal	\$550 30	\$524 71	495 25	457 32	391 49
Coke	\$572 57	\$462 69	379 09	359 27	389 51
Iron Ore	\$401 65	\$390 93	348 71	365 01	257 76
Cotton	\$657 76	\$610 61	556 14	502 13	302 11
Woolen	\$663 13	\$594 09	515 64	481 04	275 99

The most striking fact in these statistics would seem that, whatever the wage of the worker, it amounts approximately only to the cost of living. And the moment the cost of living is reduced, the competition of idle laborers for employment immediately forces down wages nearly if not quite to the basis of the necessities of mere existence.

Some Socialist Great Men

Comrade A. M. Simons contributes an interesting article in the November "Wilshire's" on the great men in the Socialist movement. He says that while the Socialist movement is pre-eminently of the workers—the disinherited of the earth—still there are those who are acclaimed as great in the capitalist world, who have espoused the cause of Socialism.

He instances among those who have earned their title to greatness by the very violence of their attacks on capital the familiar names of Marx, Engels, Lasalle and Liebknecht. Alfred Russell Wallace is inseparably linked with Darwin in the history of the discovery of the law of evolution. Enrico Ferri takes rank as the man foremost in the application of scientific principles to the treatment of crime. William Morris was the founder, one might almost say, of the "Arts and Crafts" movement. In the realm of literature we have Anatole France who stands at the forefront of all living French writers; Emile Zola; Maxim Gorky; H. G. Wells; and our own Jack London and Upton Sinclair.

And these are not all. There is Constantin Meunier, the great Belgian sculptor of toil; D'Annunzio, the first among Italian poets; DeGreef, the brilliant sociologist of the "New University" of Brussels; Walter Crane, worthy successor to William Morris; and Bernard Shaw, the only English dramatist of the present day who is writing plays worthy the name of literature.

It is the workers' movement and the fact that these leaders of thought have cast their lot with the workers

is worthy of careful consideration. That there are also more than 10,000,000 workmen with the same views is also important. It will pay you to look into this matter.

HOW WE GROW IN FRANCE

The "Atlantic Monthly" remarks: "Whatever may be the cause, the agitations which the French republic has now to face have not political liberty for their object, but the regulation of private property by the state, and eventually holding as it now exists. To come down to round numbers, which are not further out of the way than round numbers usually are, one-quarter of the French people may be considered passively ripe for the Socialist gospel; 4,000,000 individuals are already more or less actively turned toward the new light; and, apart from politics and voting, at least a half million of genuine 'workmen' have come to full consciousness of socialism, have united themselves in working groups, and, as in all real religions which sweep the world progressively, have the terrible activity of first believers."

Strikebreaking In Politics

Queer things happen in the heat of election campaigns, amusing inconsistencies of opinion and action. Here is an instance: In times of labor strikes, particularly strikes that effect transportation, one James Farley, "strike breaker," is lauded as a brave man by all good conservatives, all safe and sane supporters of "law and order." He is the hero who stands up for "the right of the free man to work when and where he pleases," the "martyr who defies the tyrannous power of labor unions," and more such phrases. One might think that Mr. Farley should be rewarded for his heroism by an invitation to dinner at the White House at the very least. But in the New York campaign somebody raked up the news that Farley intended to vote for Hughes, and used it as an indication to labor voters of the kind of opposition Hearst was having. Then it was amusing indeed to see the very papers that had lauded Farley to the skies exclaim with horror at this "lie," and repudiate Farley as if he were something to be ashamed of. They printed interviews with people who knew Farley, denying his allegiance to Hughes. The New York "Herald" crowed with triumph when it asserted that Farley had been heard to say he might vote for Hearst. In short, everything was done to prove that the good people who seemed ready to invite Farley to dinner because of his bravery, regarded his political allegiance as a discreditable burden. If Farley has any sense of humor, and being an Irishman he presumably has, he must have been much amused.—"The Public," Chicago.

Socialism does not seek to place all men on the same level. If it tried to force honest workmen, for instance, to the level of a Platt or a Dewey, the workers would be perfectly justified in rejecting it.—"Wilshire's" New York City.

M. Parsons, a conspicuous member of the Propaganda Club, which is composed of expelled Socialist party members, made a motion at a recent carpenters' union meeting to donate each of the candidates on the local Democratic ticket that belonged to the Carpenters' Union, \$100.00. These expelled members seem bound to keep up their record.

AN OLD FIGHTER LOST TO US

Comrade F. A. Sorge, one time Secretary of the International Workingmen's Association and co-worker with Marx, is dead.

Comrade Sorge took part in the revolution of South Germany in 1849 and was condemned to be shot by the Prussian court-martial, but he escaped to Switzerland, and from there he left for America. He has taken a very prominent part in the working-class movement in America, and was the first to introduce the International Association into the workers' unions, and has all his life since taken the greatest interest in the modern Socialist movement.

He was delegate to the last Congress of the International at The Hague in 1872, representing the United States.

Just before his death Comrade Sorge arranged for the publication at Stuttgart, Germany, of the letters addressed to him by Marx, Engels and others, of which those by Marx are said to be particularly important to Socialists.

The National Committee vote upon the selection of a National Platform Committee, closed November 5th. Number of votes cast, 14; not voting, 41. The following having received the majority of votes cast are therefore elected: G. F. Bentley, Duncan, I. T.; Chas. Dobbs, Cr. The Insurance Field, Louisville, Ky.; Frederic Field, 344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.; J. A. LaRue, Bessemer, Ala.; George H. Strobell, 44 Hill St., Newark, N. J.

Straight Goods for Gompersites

Socialist Party Candidate for Congress in the Ninth Ohio District Gives the Union Labor "Questioning Committee" Straight Goods.

Toledo, O. Oct. 29, '06

J. P. Egan, R. P. Thompson and J. W. Keck, Legislative Committee of C. L. U. of Toledo and vicinity.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: As Candidate for Congress on the Socialist Party Ticket for this (9th) Congressional District, I will reply to you of the 24th inst. without any intent of evasion. You say that "Organized Labor is vitally interested in H. B. No. 5975, which extends the Chinese Exclusion Act to all Japanese and Koreans." You further state that this vital interest takes the form of opposition to the admission of Asiatics "because of their menace to American workmen." In saying this you have clearly defined my position as you are all, I believe, well aware of the fact that I am a member of Organized Labor. In view of your own statement that we are opposed to the admission of these races do you not think it has the appearance of inconsistency to send such a communication to me.

Further you say "we urge that all classes should favor the bill because of the inability of the Mongolian and Caucasian races to assimilate," etc.

In reply to this part of your communication I will say that the Socialist Party says to its candidates, "You must in deciding your duty upon questions of public welfare, always ask yourself this question, Is it for the best interest of the working class? If so, support it for this is the only class in which you have an interest, and which you are pledged to support and you must do your duty without the faintest shadow of compromise. Your fight is the struggle of the working-class for emancipation from the bondage of wage slavery, and this can never be obtained by fusion with any other party or by compromise, even to the smallest extent, with any other class. You fall in any way in doing your full duty, your resignation from the office to which we have elected you will be handed to the proper authority and your office will be rendered vacant, and expulsion from the party and political suicide will be your fate."

In explanation let me state that my resignation from office is already signed and fully made out, and the date, and is in the hands of the Socialist Party ready for immediate use in case I turn traitor, or seek my class.

My answer then my brother unionists is this. I am a member of Organized Labor, a member of the Socialist Party (the only political party which stands for trade unionism and the working class). My interest and the interest of my class is to support the passage of this bill, and if I am elected, I will do my duty to my Union, to my class and to my Party, and you will never be called upon to say that I was a member in political action, for I contend that one can scab upon the political field as well as the industrial field.

Fraternally yours,
W. C. GUNTRUP,
Member of L. U. 81, A. F. G. W. U.

An Armour ad informs prospective victims that the products of the store are "as good today as they were yesterday," just to reassure them the conditions in the "Jungle" remain unchanged.—"Wilshire's", New York City.

THE INQUISITION AGAIN

Comrade Guy Bowman of London, England, of international reputation as a Socialist and journalist, recently undertook a trip to Spain to inquire into the arrest and mistreatment of a certain prominent radical in that country with the intention of reporting the particulars to the Socialist press. On his arrival in Madrid on October 22 he was arrested on information furnished by the Spanish government that he was an anarchist and might be plotting another attempt on the life of King Alfonso.

Comrade Bowman gives an interesting account of his adventures in "Justice" (London) for November 1. It appears that materially he was well treated, the detectives taking a liking to him and doing all in their power to make him comfortable except to inform him why he was detained. He was permitted to communicate with no one and was kept for three days in Madrid and then escorted over the French border and handed to the French police who immediately released him.

Comrade Bowman's arrest caused a great furore in England, where they look upon such things with more concern than we do here, and had not been soon released the English government might have had to do a great deal of explaining to the Socialists of that country. As it is, the affair has caused much discussion with consequent progress for the Socialist movement.