

socialism means that all those things upon which the people's common demand shall be placed in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their masters and that all production shall be for the direct use of the workers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men."

THE SOCIALIST

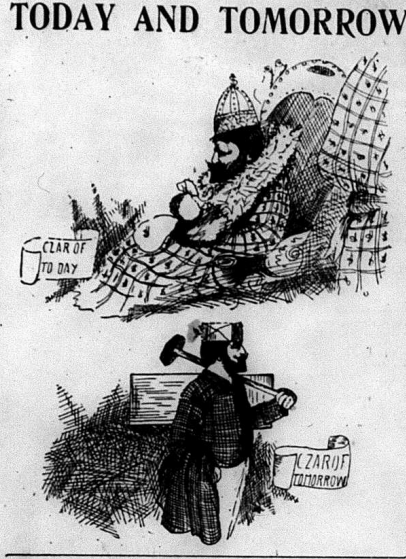
For the Socialist Party.

NO. 251—FIFTH YEAR.

TOLEDO, OHIO, JULY 15, 1905.

PRICE THREE CENTS.

END OF RUSSIAN AUTOCRACY IS NEAR TODAY AND TOMORROW



POLITICAL FREEDOM SIGHT

Socialists Leading the Fight—Though the Revolutionary Battleship Has Surrendered the Struggle Goes On.

Though the news from Russia is fragrant with the rigid censorship upon the sources of information cannot hide the fact that a terrific struggle for liberty is going on in the land of the Czar. And not all the forces of the autocracy can prevent that struggle from reaching its consummation.

Back to the land of their birth, from which tyranny drove them, are hurrying thousands of young and old men and women, stealing over the frontiers, leading the merciless serenity of the Czar's minions, taking their lives into their hands and meeting death with a smile, that their country may be free, and their countrymen taste the sweets of liberty.

A most exciting spectacle has never been presented in human history. How tame does our struggle in this country appear by comparison! And yet that struggle and ours are part of the one movement for the emancipation of the

working class from wage slavery. That fact alone should inspire every class-conscious worker man and woman to continued effort in the cause which means so much for the human race. And Socialists especially should rejoice that in this hour their comrades are in the forefront, deserting the heroic hosts of Russia, marching irresistibly toward the climax of a great drama.

It is well to direct our attention, in the meanwhile, to the fact that the Russian revolutionaries are fighting to obtain, as their immediate aim, the political franchise, which the workers of the United States have had, but which is now being limited and restricted in insidious ways by the various capitalist and imperialist interests. We have no need of it, but we do not forget that here at home the workers are in danger of being deprived of what our Russian brothers are willing to give their lives to achieve.

Every time a workingman votes an old party ticket, he assists in bringing about his own disfranchisement.

The surrender of the battleship Kiaz Potemkin by the mutineers does not mean a surrender of the revolutionary forces. As well say that a lost strike or a defeated Socialist candidate in this country means the complete annihilation of the working class movement. The brave rebels accomplished all that was necessary. They hoisted into imperishable fame the red flag as the insignia of the world-wide revolution, and the blood of the world's rulers turned to water at the sight. Dipped in the blood of Russia's martyrs that flag flashed a message of courage and inspiration to the Social Revolutionists of every land. It will never be hauled down so long as one Socialist remains to keep the memory of that message warm in his heart.

PROCLAMATION OF SOCIALIST SAILORS.

"The Worker," of New York, prints the following translation of one of the revolutionary leaflets distributed among the sailors at Odessa, Sebastopol and other ports shortly before the mutiny on the Kiaz Potemkin. This particular manifesto was the reply to a speech made by one Captain Baranovsky, commander of the drill steamer Pravt, warning his crew against listening to the revolutionists. The manifesto shows that while the rising in the navy came as a great surprise to the outside world, it was the result of a well-conducted propaganda, which has been going on under the very noses of the officers for a long time. The sailors reply to their captain's speech as follows:

"You say that we have been attending secret meetings in the suburbs of Sevastopol. You are quite right. We do indeed attend such meetings. You say that this is a crime. That we deny. We say that these meetings are not criminal, but that it is our duty to attend them. It is right and necessary that we should come together and discuss the questions that affect our common interests, that we should hear the voice of justice and liberty, that in these gatherings of comrades we should be able to live at

least escape from the oppression and outrages that the Tsar and you, his lackeys, and lickspittles, inflict upon us. "All you tools of the Tsar, and he himself, are contemptible in our eyes. We despise you, do you understand? We have no need of you. We hate you—you who lie and steal and squander the people's money."

"You tell us that it is the Jews that are spreading discontent and sedition among us. It is false; it is one of your lies. We perfectly well know and understand that you and the like of you are deliberately trying to incite hatred against the Jews, the most oppressed of the people. But they are working men, just as we are. No traders, you will not succeed in setting us against the Jews. We know too well who are our real enemies. You are our enemies, you embezzlers, you murderers, you tyrants. And the oppressed Jews are our comrades and brothers, do you understand?"

"You pretend to be not our master, but our friend! You, a friend! We know better. You, all of you—admirals, commanders, officials—all of you—are robbing the people, sucking the people's blood, torturing us. Ye are our sworn enemies."

"Yet you say that your hand would not quiver in signing the death warrant for any of us who attend those meetings. There you spoke truly. Of course, you are a hangman!"

"But beware! The hour is near when, in turn our hands will not quiver in tightening the noose around your neck—yours, Baranovsky, Chocnerst, Apyonastef, and others like you. Remember that the hour of reckoning is at hand. And it will be a terrible hour for you."

"You pretend that the proclamations are written by the Jews. But you do not yourself believe it. This proclamation, for instance, is written by real Russian sailors—sailors who belong to the Social Democratic party."

"Comrades, do not believe the commanders. Do not listen to them. Attend the meetings, boldly, fearlessly. Read the proclamations. Resist your enemies!"

"Comrades, the power lies with ourselves, with our class. Let us join hands and work together, and we shall soon be freed from our oppressors and their master—who is red with the people's blood—the Tsar!"

"Down with masters!"

"Hail to the Republic!"

"Hail to Socialism!"

CALL FOR SOCIALIST CITY CONVENTION

To the Socialists of Toledo.
Comrades—Local Toledo will hold its convention for the nomination of municipal officers next Sunday, July 16, at Swiss Hall, Monroe street. Meeting will be called to order at precisely 2:30 p. m.

Now, comrades, I wish to impress upon your mind that it is your duty to be present at this meeting and assist in this work. If you have any choice—or objections—to offer as to who shall be your candidates, then attend this meeting and take an active part in the work. Do not let us leave the work to a few who have ever been faithful. Give them your support. Feel the pleasure of having taken an active part yourself.

Let us make this a banner meeting. There is much work to be done now and in the future. Do you feel that you have done your share in the past on that you are doing your share at present? If not, then begin by attending this meeting Sunday, July 16, at 2:30 p. m. By assisting in the nominations, by permitting your own name to be placed on the ballot, and by working for the general benefit of the Socialist Party of which you are a part.

Fraternally yours,
THOS. C. DEVINE,
Secretary City Central Committee.

GOOD MAN FOR GOVERNOR

Well, the "good man" twaddle has begun again. In interviews many of the leading Democrats admitted that they knew absolutely nothing about Mr. Pattison, their gubernatorial candidate, and had never heard of him before he was nominated. Still his "good man" title. The politicians on the other side are just as vociferously proclaiming the fact that Herrick is a "good man." But just what those "good men" have done to entitle either to sit in the governor's chair, it were a mere matter of rewarding an individual, their partisans do not pretend to say. While the Citizen is by no means a party organ, yet the editor does not hesitate to make the

announcement, since it is a question of good man or bad man or bogie man, that Isaac Cowen's record will compare pretty favorably with that of any other candidate for governor. Cowen has done some practical good for society. While Mr. Herrick was engaged in the sordid occupation of piling up millions as a banker, and Mr. Pattison was working the insurance graft to accumulate a fortune, Cowen stood in a blacksmith's shop and swung the hammer—the same tool that destroyed and the implement that opened the door of civilization—or he went forth and organized the men and women who toil that they might better resist the encroachments of the "good men" who have their long fingers out to grab the wealth that labor produces. No, Cowen did not spend his life in selfish fortune hunting; he lived for others; he followed Higg's advice and sacrificed for the mob. Who is the best man for governor of Ohio?—The Cleveland Citizen.

IS IT LUCKY TO BE BORN POOR?

"A young man can be born poorer than luck than to be born poor."

That was said in a lecture delivered in San Francisco by David Starr Jordan, the head of the faculty of Stanford university.

Is his statement true? Is it luck for any young man to be born poor? Will his statement bear any decent analysis? It may be that when President Jordan made this statement he had in his mind the sad ending of the lives of two or three young men of the Pacific slope, sons of millionaires, whose wealth came from the rich lodes of the Comstock. These young men were born in the purple of unlimited riches, their lives were failures; certainly not, however, because a dollar is either virtuous or vicious in itself. He may have been thinking of David Livingstone, a cotton factory boy at 10; or at whose death the world sorrowed; or Hugh Miller, a stone breaker at 16, a great man at 40. Will President Jordan say that these two or others in similar circumstances would not have made still more of their lives if the restrictions imposed by poverty and not been their heritage?

No Virtue in Poverty.

Certainly there is no virtue in poverty. If there is, David Starr Jordan is the Columbus of its discovery. No sane man can be an admirer of poverty. Every man strives against it with might and main; fights it off as he would the plague.

Poverty implies lack. It implies restricted opportunities. It implies all the disadvantages of a severely limited education, and, ordinarily, associations that are morally weakening. If the young man born poor achieves, and acquires, and rises superior to these immoral influences, he does both these things at a very great cost to himself and the world than does the young man born well to do.

Poverty implies insufficient nourishment and clothing. It implies a constant conflict; a struggle for bare existence. Economists put poverty at the bottom of four-fifths of the drunkenness and two-thirds of the crime in the world. It is the strongest sometimes organize ruin and disaster for their selfish ends; the poverty weakened drift into crime to combat it, and lose.

President Jordan knows that such poverty as one finds in the tenement districts and the slums means an impoverishment of the blood; that the boy born to it and reared in it is feeble, sickly, incapable, compared to the boy in that comfortable condition known as "being well to do." He knows that the thin, impoverished soil of Vermont yields a scant crop—fight as the farmer may, and does a meager crop as compared to the crop from his rich California soil. He knows that butchers get their

fresh beef and mutton, not from the sparse pastures of New Hampshire, but from the rich grazing lands of Wyoming, Texas and Oklahoma. And yet, by some strange mental juggle, he insists that, when it comes to humanity, poverty, with all its ills, is a good thing for a boy or young man; that it is going to work good for him and the country.

How the Theory Works Out.

Call him John. He comes into life in a clean home. His father is a fairly well to do man; a middle class bread winner. John has good food, good clothing. He has fresh air, good associations. At 8 he begins his school life, and continues it until he graduates from the high school at 16. He is a healthy, strong, clear minded, well dressed boy, where he applies for a position among the bread winners. These, with his record at school, make up his credentials. They secure him a place.

Call him Billy. He comes into life in a home of squalor and human wretchedness. His father does odd jobs, as a laborer, and seldom earns more than \$5 a week. He is sickly. The mother is frail and weak from overwork, want of good food, and fresh air. Billy shares all this with his mother. He is sorrow, peaked and listless. After awhile he has the advantage of his mother; for he can go out and play in the dirt; there nature gives him a lift in health. He, too, goes to school at 8. Poverty in the home, the want of the commonest food, takes Billy out of school at 10 years of age, and makes him a worker. His mother does her best to make him presentable, but poverty is written all over him as he stands before the man who has sent out "A Boy Wanted." Billy is clean, but he is shabby in his clothing, shabby in his mental belongings, dull looking. He is dismissed. He is dismissed fifty times a year.

Difference Shown in Results.

Lucky John is at work, steadily climbing. Lucky Bill is idle, and in the hap-hazard life of the streets is drifting away from the moralities. John is like the colt in training for a year or two; the colt has had a full allowance of food, well roomed well housed. Billy is like the colt that was indifferently taken in home and sinew, spending energy in keeping warm and scrambling for provisions to eat out that which is provided. This colt takes care of himself, the first two years, out in a pasture. The other colt has had the better chance; is stronger, harder, in better condition. The difference in their colts is the difference between John and Billy. Nothing is truer than that lack of means with the inventor, lack of time and opportunity with the student, lack of strength in the poor

"Between the capitalist and working classes there can be no possible compromise or identification of interests; any such compromise can be made in the midst of war or light in the midst of darkness. A society is required to clear division of labor in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace for individuals, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be."

BLIND MAN'S BUFF



ANGEL OF PEACE—"Czar, where are you?"
CZAR—"I'm playing with the Polish children."
From "Der Wahre Jacob," Stuttgart, Germany.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

Socialism is a theory of a system of human society, based on the common ownership of the means of production and the carrying on of the work of production for all for the benefit of all. In other words, Socialism means that the land, the railways, the shipping, the mines, the factories and all such things as are necessary for the production of the necessities and comforts of life should be public property; just as our public roads, our public parks, and our public libraries are public property today, so that all these things should be used by the whole people to produce the goods that the whole of the people require.

Socialists say that this is no utopian dream, but the necessary natural outcome of the development of society. It is used to be supposed that anything like the collective carrying on of any enterprise was impossible because it was thought that the personal supervision and control of the owner was absolutely necessary to the success of any such enterprise. But we see today that the greatest undertakings are those which are carried on by joint stock companies, in which the personal supervision of the proprietors is quite impossible, and in which the whole business is managed and carried on by paid officials, who might just as well be paid by the community to carry on the enterprise in the interest of the general class of the people as be paid by a few wealthy men to carry it on for their profit.

Today goods are not produced to satisfy human needs; they are simply produced to provide profit for the class which owns the means of production. It is only for the sake of this profit that the property-owning class owns these means of production. As a consequence, we have shoddy and adulterated goods produced. Also, as this profit is simply the difference between the value of the work which the working people do and the amount they receive in wages, the actual producers never receive the equivalent of what they produce, and therefore are never able to buy back again. It happens, therefore, that as the machinery of production increases and workmen are able to turn out more goods, they are thrown out of work, and they, with their wives and children, are in want and misery, not because there is any scarcity of the things they need, but because there is more of them than those who have produced them can buy.

Under the present system, therefore, the very increase of wealth is too often a curse to the wealth producers, simply because those who produce have no ownership in the means of production, and no control over the things produced.

Under Socialism, as the means of production would belong to the whole people, the whole people would have

control of the things produced. Every increase of wealth then would benefit the whole community. Under the present system increased wealth means increased luxury for the few and increased penury and suffering for the many. In a Socialist community increased production would mean more leisure, more wealth, more means of organized life, more opportunity for recreation for everybody.

By the discoveries of science, the inventions of genius, and their application to industry, man has acquired such power over nature that he can now produce wealth of all kinds as plentifully as water. There is no sound reason why poverty and want should exist anywhere on this earth. All that is needed is to establish a more equitable method of distributing the wealth already produced in such a profession. That is what Socialism proposes to do. The work of production is organized, socialized, it is necessary to socialize distribution as well.

What is to be done to supplant the present system by Socialism; to substitute mutual co-operation for the cut-throat competition of today? The first thing necessary is to organize the workers into a class-conscious party; that is, a party recognizing that as a class the workers are enslaved through the possession of the means of production by another class; recognizing, too, that between these two classes there is an antagonism of interest, a perpetual struggle, a constant class war, which must go on until the workers become possessed of political power, and use that power to become masters of the whole material means of production. When that has been achieved, the war of classes will be at an end, because the division of mankind into classes will have disappeared, the emancipation of the working-class will have been accomplished, and Socialism will be here—"Justice," London, England.

When Mr. Rockefeller donates \$10,000,000 to "higher education" he probably realizes the need for the increasing number of strike breakers required under the present system.

Pope Pius may warn Catholic workmen against voting for Socialism but he can't stop them from thinking out why he should warn them.

Paul Morton's reform of the Equitable Life Insurance Co., has begun where capitalist reforms usually begin. The office boy's wages in New York have been reduced \$2 a week.

The Independents elected in Toledo are so independent that they have forgotten all about the independent working class voters who elected them.

THE INDUSTRIAL UNION CONVENTION

The proceedings of the last three days of the industrial union convention, given below, were marked by a decided change in the attitude of the members of the movement toward the element represented by DeLeon. Up to that point there had been tolerance displayed toward that element with the result that the convention was in serious danger of being discredited by the delegates' dissatisfaction and disgust this attitude among the delegates representing bona fide trade unions with a large membership because so general and apparent that the industrial union leaders were led to the seriousness of the situation and took steps to at least relieve the movement to some extent of the incubus that was being fastened upon it.

This change of policy was occasioned no less by the dissatisfaction spoken of than by the actions of the DeLeon and Hagerty delegates themselves. Their attitude of intolerance toward delegates who disagreed with them and their anarchistic intemperance did as much as anything else to arouse resentment against them. As a consequence they were denied any representation on the General Executive Board, although DeLeon pleaded to it.

The tolerance of DeLeon shown at first by the western delegates can only be explained on the ground that they did not realize just what DeLeonism meant. It appeared to them that the opposition to DeLeon arose from personal reasons and they believed that all that was necessary was for Debs, Simons and DeLeon to "get together" in convention and all would be well. They were not aware that the opposition to DeLeonism extends deeper than that and that DeLeon is only the exponent of a policy which spells ruin to any movement which tolerates it. If the leaders of the new union have not learned that already they will soon do so.

The election of Charles O. Sherman as President was a surprise to many, but the leaders decided it would be wise to have a less well known man than Debs or Haywood fill the position during the days when the organization is in process of formation. It was realized that it will take some time to cement the unions already installed into a working body and a stronger leader will be reserved for the time when the real fight will begin. Sherman has had plenty of experience in organization work. Trautman is energetic and will work hard as Secretary. The Executive Board is made up of workmen of practical experience in union affairs.

The next question is: What success will the new union have in drawing from the Federation of Labor? At present it is made up of little more than the same unions that composed the American Labor Union, with the exception of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The delegates attending from unions like the coal miners of Illinois (numbering 48,000), were dissatisfied both with the prominence of DeLeon and the constitution adopted. These two things hampered the industrial union and will make its preliminary work more difficult than might have otherwise been the case.

It was acknowledged that the qualifications for delegates in the call for the convention had been too broad, and it was through this that delegates from "industrial workers' clubs" and certain individual delegates obtained seats and undue prominence in the convention, to the exclusion of representatives from bona fide unions. It is a mistake to believe that the delegates represent all sorts of subjects, but it impaired the character of the convention. This must be said, however: The delegates from the Western Federation of Miners, American Labor Union, United Brotherhood of Railway Employees and International Metal Workers, which constitute the main body of the new union, were of the best class of workmen. Their sincerity cannot be questioned and they have ability and determination. They are therefore entitled to some credit and respect. The tendency to sneer at them is neither just to them nor creditable to some of their opponents. They undoubtedly represent a progressive sentiment, although some of them are inclined to over-emphasize the importance of industrial unionism as a factor in overthrowing capitalism.

The hope is again expressed that the leaders of the new union will discontinue any attempt to admit the Socialist Party in any way upon the differences existing between the economic organizations of labor. If our information is correct we are justified in believing that this will be the policy favored by those in control of the Industrial Workers and in that event, the Socialist Party will be left free to follow its present policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the trade union movement.

Eight Day-Continued.

Last week's report practically concluded with the morning session, with section two of the constitution committee's report and Delegate Coates' remarks thereon. The afternoon session began with a speech by A. M. Simons in support of Coates' amendment, the gist of his argument being as follows:

"Whatever organization is formed here must reflect industrial conditions. It must not reflect those of the past. It will be torn to pieces by them. The plan of the committee is not an organization by industries, but an organization by departments. These departments were not discovered by the industrial revolution, but were evolved from the inner consciousness. They run arbitrarily through industry as existing at present. Again, the committee plan does not adjust itself to the time element as expressed in the evolution of industry. At the present time there are very few industries are ready to come into this organization. If in the future there should prove to be so large a number of industrial divisions as to render administration cumbersome, there will be the time for grouping, and that grouping will not be the arbitrary decisions of a committee, but will arise naturally from the inter-relationships which will develop.

"Finally, the departmental plan affords the possibility of the capture of a department by a handful of individuals. There will be but a handful of individuals organized, yet this handful can constitute itself the department, elect its members to the executive board, and by methods easily understood prevent the introduction of any strength

into that department, and thus for many years exercise a wholly disproportionate influence in the executive council."

Hagerty is Humorous.

T. J. Hagerty, who had called the opponents to the chart were falling into line with Gompers, who called it a "zodiac." There was a difference between the United Mitchell Workers and the Western Federation of Miners. The first was industrial and the latter was not industrial. Hagerty read the report himself. Coates remarked that he never saw a man that feared discussion but that he had something to hide. He then proceeded to analyze the committee's report and to explain the difference between "industrial unionism" and the division plan as depicted in the "wheel of fortune."

Coates was continually interrupted by questions from opponents, chief among the questioners being the Socialist Party delegates. Hagerty replied to contain themselves. The questions only seemed to give Coates a chance to strengthen his position, and as he disposed of each opponent, one after another (DeLeon among them), they became more hostile and objectionable. One DeLeon delegate, who listened Coates did not have sense enough to be in the organization. Coates retorted that he had almost as much sense as the delegate. Then he added, "I don't think that that is proper form of the organization means success or failure. A DeLeonite said he had come 1,000 miles to help form an organization and Coates couldn't stop him. Coates replied that he had come 2,000 miles to organize it and he would travel several times more to organize it right and not to organize it wrong. In reply also to a taunt that his economics were unsound he said he was "willing to match my soundness on economics with any one, even Mr. DeLeon himself." Of course this was looked upon as a highly sacrilegious remark by the astounded DeLeonites.

When the time for adjournment came Coates still had the floor. He said the first half hour of the morning session was occupied by Coates in concluding his argument, after which his amendment was put to a vote. A roll call resulted in the amendment's defeat by 29,540 votes to 11,524.

The Western Federation of Miners and Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance voted solidly against, and the International Metal Workers and American Labor Union were divided.

organizations that would specialize and be devoted to their particular industries.

Very Near a Wrangle.

Dan McDonald supported Coates' amendment and quoted the manifesto as his authority. This was followed by a general debate which lasted throughout the entire afternoon, and which came perilously near a wrangle. The discussion was interrupted by Labor Alliance delegates opposed Coates' amendment, vehemently charging that it would mean organization along craft lines and not class lines.

Alex. Fairgrieve, Montana, said the committee's report intended to concentrate authority into few hands. He would return and lay before his constituents what the delegates were trying to force down their throats. He was sick and tired of listening to the rag chewing; Murtough, St. Louis, said that the committee was not strong enough to say that there was nothing in the long discussion that would not apply to either side. Several delegates reiterated that they had come to form an organization that would save the working class.

W. D. Haywood, International Laborers' Union, opposed the committee report and chart and said he did not know what was coming or he would not have come at all.

W. D. Haywood left the chair long enough to introduce a motion to refer the report back to the committee and to declare that he was opposed to Coates' substitute but not altogether favorable to the chart, although he was in accord with the latter as a general proposition. The constitution committee introduced a motion for autonomy for every industry. He favored central administration for the general labor movement, but absolute autonomy for every industry. T. J. Hagerty opposed Haywood's motion and Coates urged action upon the committee's amendment, as conventional thought to decide whether it wanted industrial unionism or departmental unionism.

Haywood withdrew his motion and Coates was then called upon to close the debate, in support of his amendment. From the beginning Coates had a hot time and he got through his speech under difficulties that would have phased a less capable debater. However, Coates had so far shown himself the ablest parliamentarian on the floor and the closing speech proved to be a triumph as a match for any or all of his opponents.

Coates Has Hot Time.

Coates began his argument by reading section two of the committee's report. He was almost immediately interrupted by T. J. Hagerty, who demanded that Coates read the section as it was written and stop interpolating. Coates replied that he was reading the section correctly, but Hagerty repeated his statement, whereupon Coates thrust the paper under Hagerty's nose and said that he had read the report himself. Hagerty read the report himself. Coates remarked that he never saw a man that feared discussion but that he had something to hide. He then proceeded to analyze the committee's report and to explain the difference between "industrial unionism" and the division plan as depicted in the "wheel of fortune."

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two of article one was not yet adopted.

A parliamentary mishap occurred during the afternoon session and caused further delay. The session was interrupted by a motion to ask the committee on constitution to add a clause to Paragraph A, Section 2, which would read as follows: "This organization shall be composed of thirteen international industrial divisions, subdivided in industrial unions of closely kindred industries in the appropriate organization." The motion was carried by a large majority.

Trautman talked for his motion and stated this would give the Executive Board power to adjust industrial divisions in their proper divisions, according to the needs of the industry.

Coates offered a motion "that the present constitutional committee be discharged and the report and Trautman's amendment be referred to a committee selected in the same manner as the present constitutional committee, with instructions to report a constitution complying with the manifesto, declaring for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity to cut knot."

Haywood said, in support of his motion, that the report of the constitution committee would carry out the sense of the manifesto. One delegate (Crichlow) had stated that the union he represented with 23,000 members would be unable to join the industrial union under the grouping plan. The Western Federation of Miners convention had endorsed the manifesto but not the departmental plan set forth. He was opposed to centralization of administration, only in so far as it affects the working class as a whole. Did not believe there was a small number of men who should have the right to elect a representative to their committee, that must be left to its membership. The chart plan was a Roosevelt form of organization which would give the president power to invade any industry.

Moyer took exception to the last statement, saying that the power to the General Executive Board. Haywood replied that this was practically the same thing. Moyer again took exception; the General Executive Board had a voice. Haywood reiterated his statement and said the president should be the smallest part in the bunch—under the group plan he would be the biggest. He would have favored Coates' amendment if it had not provided for wiping out the group plan entirely, and yet he hoped the group plan would be the smallest part. It is not well to emulate capitalism in everything. He proceeded to show that the capitalists operate industries through men who understand each industry—the railroad, the street car, the mine, the mill, the factory, and so on. He wanted the same way. He came into the convention with the Western Federation of Miners' endorsement of all parts of the manifesto—not any particular part. The motion to refer should receive the support of all delegates.

Hall, United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, favored referring back but took exception to some of Haywood's statements. The workers should emulate the capitalist class, in everything that has given the capitalist class the power to control the class. The same elements were in this convention as in the American Labor Union, and that was not organized along correct lines or it would be in a different position than it is. Coates said he would like to see the mind of a divisional industrial organization no different than the American Labor Union.

DeLeon Gets Personal.

Kiehn, New Jersey; C. O. Sherman; and Veal, S. T. L. A., opposed referring. Coates said he had considered every minute so used was wasted. He said the committee knew it had not reported something perfect, nor would it have done so in a month; the work was the result of circumstances and the committee had in mind a provisional industrial organization. If the report was referred back to the committee, then the convention would adjourn without a motion of organization being formed. He objected to the latter part of Haywood's motion, for if the motion carried it would mean the committee had not fulfilled the manifesto. That would establish a standard he did not understand.

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had been caught in the net they had been fighting for years.

Fairgrieve compared the representation in conventions for the new industrial union. L. L. former delegate from international unions had one vote for each 100 members. Under this rule the coal miners' delegates controlled the Boston convention with 2,175 votes. DeLeon's delegates had one vote for each 100 members, so that 117 delegates at the Boston convention had cast only 162 votes. At the same time 191 delegates from national and international unions cast 14,900 votes. DeLeon's delegates had one vote for each 100 members paying \$30.00 to the Federation, while the 117 delegates from unions with the membership of 2,175 paid only \$20.00.

In the Industrial Workers' convention delegates from national and international unions had one vote for each 50 members and local unions had one vote for each 200 or major fraction thereof. \$2.00 paid to the union. 1/4 cents per capita per month, while 1/2 cents per capita chartered direct will pay 1/2 cents per month and be denied the right of representation on the National Executive Board.

The sections of the constitution adopted at this session included that the organization should have universal labels, free interchange of cards between all unions in the organization, that all unions should recognize and accept such cards. Further consideration of the constitution was postponed until the committee had further time to report. Adjournment was taken at 10:40 a. m.

When the convention re-assembled the auditing committee reported the action of the committee on the arrangements for the convention in charge to be as follows: Receipts, \$1,845; expenses, \$1,844; net, \$1.00. The report was adopted by a roll call of 1,845 yeas and 1,844 nays.

The report of the temporary executive committee was also read and adopted. The convention adjourned at 11:00 a. m. A roll call was taken at 11:00 a. m. and resulted in 1,845 yeas and 1,844 nays.

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GRAPE APPLING

Sunday, Aug. 13

Special rates on all railroads. Be there with your families.



FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S FINANCIAL REPORT FOR MONTH OF JUNE, 1905.

Table with columns for National dues from State Committees and National dues from individuals across various states.

Table with columns for National dues from individuals across various states, including Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York.

Table with columns for National dues from individuals across various states, including Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois.

Table with columns for National dues from individuals across various states, including Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Missouri.

Table with columns for National dues from individuals across various states, including Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska.

Table with columns for National dues from individuals across various states, including Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas.

Table with columns for National dues from individuals across various states, including Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama.

Table with columns for National dues from individuals across various states, including Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina.

Table with columns for National dues from individuals across various states, including North Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Table with columns for National dues from individuals across various states, including Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi.

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Table with columns for National dues from individuals across various states, including Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York.

Table with columns for National dues from individuals across various states, including New Jersey, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

Table with columns for National dues from individuals across various states, including Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia.

Table with columns for National dues from individuals across various states, including Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and Quebec.

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that will astonish the natives. We will not be surprised if other comrades follow suit.

Richard County Convention. Ohio County Socialists met in Shelby July 4 and nominated a county ticket and adopted a platform.

Eric County Convention. Ohio County Socialists met in Sandusky Wednesday evening, July 5, to adopt a platform for the city and county, and nominated a full city and county ticket.

National Committee Motion No. 18. That the party bulletin hereafter contain the business of the National Executive Committee taken by the National Committee on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday.

National Committee Motion No. 19. That the National Committee proceed to nominate and elect from their own number two members who, acting in conjunction with the National Secretary, shall consider the matter of our present method of voting, and prepare a new method to be adopted by the committee in voting. Such rules shall be submitted to the committee for approval.

National Committee Motion No. 20. That the National Committee proceed to nominate and elect from their own number two members who, acting in conjunction with the National Secretary, shall consider the matter of our present method of voting, and prepare a new method to be adopted by the committee in voting.

National Committee Motion No. 21. That the National Committee proceed to nominate and elect from their own number two members who, acting in conjunction with the National Secretary, shall consider the matter of our present method of voting, and prepare a new method to be adopted by the committee in voting.

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National Committee Motion No. 25. That the National Committee proceed to nominate and elect from their own number two members who, acting in conjunction with the National Secretary, shall consider the matter of our present method of voting, and prepare a new method to be adopted by the committee in voting.

Secretary he paid \$100 per month, beginning with July. Owing to the lateness of the hour, the Quorum failed to convene until 9 o'clock Sunday, July 16.

State Secretary Jacobson reports that by a vote of 165 to 54 the Iowa organization has decided against holding a State Convention in Iowa.

A Local has been instituted at Nevada, and at the time of organization funds were raised to the amount of \$100. The party provided with a first-class speaker for a week.

Perpetual Campaign Condon Books have been purchased by Local 25, Minneapolis and Newton.

Local Waterbury added fifty-eight members to the roll during the month of June, and reports 120 members in good standing.

It is now too late to secure the services of Conrad Kirkpatrick, as far as the southwestern part of the State is concerned. He is, however, still available and has an opportunity if applications are sent immediately.

The SOCIALIST of July 8th prints an article from Local Minneapolis, July 11th, which is commented upon.

It states that Conrad William N. Rogers was deposited from a State Executive Committee to the State Executive Committee for failure to vote and act in accord with the sentiment of the Local.

Local Toledo. City Central Committee met Sunday, July 9, and elected new members. Thomas C. Devine was elected Secretary.

A number of Labor Day speakers are available, and plenty of desks speaking are urgently required to write the Labor Day program for the city.

Do not forget to be on hand at the city convention, Sunday, July 16, to adopt a municipal ticket and nominate candidates for city offices.

Local Toledo. City Central Committee met Sunday, July 9, and elected new members. Thomas C. Devine was elected Secretary.

The Picnic Committee was continued and instructed to hold the picnic Sunday, July 30. Keep that date open and on hand with your family and friends.

Do not forget to be on hand at the city convention, Sunday, July 16, to adopt a municipal ticket and nominate candidates for city offices.

Local Akron. Mass convention of Socialists of the 24th and 26th Congressional Districts was held at Akron, July 4.

Dates for National Lecturers and Organizers for the coming week are as follows: July 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

Local Cleveland. Fourteen new members were reported to the City Central Committee last week.

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FOR THE SOCIALIST THE RED FLAG

Our good worker in Waltham, Mass., celebrates the Fourth by writing to us and sending for \$2 worth of half years. He thinks THE SOCIALIST is all right. It has got the principles that a Socialist party should have.

All dates in the State for Ida Conrad Harlet have been cancelled. Conrad Harlet is suffering from an affection of the vocal organs, and has been ordered by a physician to cease speaking for the present and rest, to run the risk of permanently injuring his voice.

The State Secretary issues a call for funds to assist in organizing unorganized places. Arrangements are being made to put a speaker in Ferguson county for two weeks. The expense will be about \$75.

The "Carbon County Gazette," of 1861 Lodge, Mont., a local paper, has announced that hereafter it will support the Socialist party.

The Seattle police has attempted to suppress street meetings, the chief instigator being a Standard Oil representative. Arthur M. Brown, secretary of the Seattle Socialist party, has written to the Standard Oil representative, asking him to stop such a course.

Local Waterbury added fifty-eight members to the roll during the month of June, and reports 120 members in good standing.

It is now too late to secure the services of Conrad Kirkpatrick, as far as the southwestern part of the State is concerned. He is, however, still available and has an opportunity if applications are sent immediately.

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MEET ME FACE TO FACE FOR HOSIERY AND UNDERWEAR DIRECT FROM THE MILL... THE UNDERWEAR STORE... DeShetler & Ayling... 611 Summit St.

OHIO State Secretary Gardner reports that owing to the increased cost of the convention proceedings over last year, he will be compelled to charge 10 cents for each of the existing copies of the book. The report this year contains 16 or 17 pages more than last year, amounting for the increased cost.

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PENNSYLVANIA Allegheny County. County Organizer Schwartz, in his monthly bulletin for July, gives good advice to Local Socialists as to the importance of answering all letters immediately, being present at all meetings, and of making no objection to any communications received.

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FOREIGN Socialists of the Argentine Republic have gone up against a policy of repression in the German Chancellor and his newspapers suppressed. The president of the republic promised to bring in many labor reforms as soon as seated, but he has proved to be the worst foe the Socialists have had to contend with.

Brewery Workers' Union Label Always Look for This Label When Buying Beer, Ale or Porter The Evolution of Man

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THE SOCIALIST

For the Socialist Party.

Published Weekly, by Mailly and Titus, 409 Meredith Building, Corner Michigan Street and Jefferson Avenue, Toledo, Ohio.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

United States and Canada—One year, \$1.00; six months, 50¢; three months, 30¢; single copies, 3¢. Foreign—One year, \$2.00; six months, \$1.00. Weekly Bundles—For one year—5 copies per week, \$4.50; 10 copies per week, \$8.00; 20 copies per week, \$15.00. Special Bundles—10 to 50 copies, 1 cent apiece; 100 to 200 copies, 2 cents apiece; 300 to 500 copies, 3 cents apiece; 1,000 copies, 4 cents apiece.

All remittances should be made payable to "THE SOCIALIST," Toledo, Ohio. All business communications should be addressed to "THE SOCIALIST," Toledo, Ohio. Communications intended for the Editor should be addressed. Rejected manuscripts will not be returned unless stamps are enclosed. Communications intended for publication should be mailed in time to reach "The Socialist" office not later than Monday. Editor HERMON E. TITUS. Manager WILLIAM MAILLY. Associate Editor ERWIN B. AULT. Entered at Toledo Post Office as second class mail matter, March 17, 1905.

NEBRASKA CONVENTION

Large Gathering of Active Socialists in Omaha July 4.

Convention called to order July 4, 1905, by J. P. Roe, State Secretary. Com. Frank S. Condit elected temporary chairman. Com. John Huba elected temporary secretary. Secretary Roe read the call. The following committees were then elected: Credentials—Comrades N. Guter, E. D. Whalen, L. L. McVaine, C. M. Sterns and J. P. Roe. Platform and Resolutions—A. Guter, W. W. Blackford, C. M. Sterns and J. A. Jacobson. Resolved, That all members in good standing shall have a voice and vote in the convention.

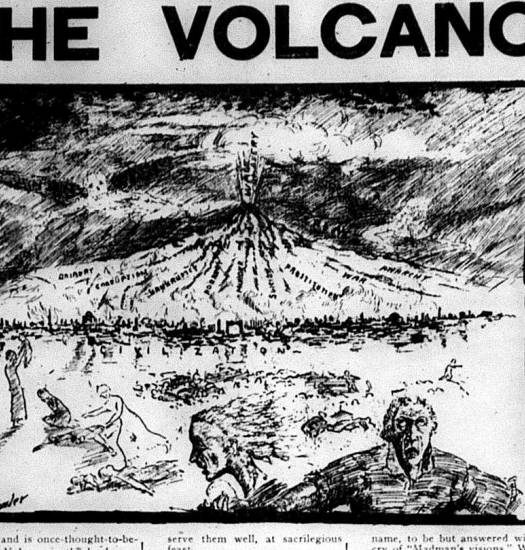
In accordance with this principle the Socialist Party of Nebraska pledged itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in the hands in such manner as to promote the interests of the working class. Resolutions. Whereas, Public attention has been called to the fact which has been recognized by the highest officials of the government that the private ownership of the means of production and production is mainly responsible for the evils arising at the present time, therefore, Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of Nebraska, appeal to the voters of the State to elect delegates to remedy such evils as long as the government and the means of distribution and production are controlled by the capitalist class. The only way to rid yourselves of the burdens you now bear is to abolish the capitalist wage system and inaugurate to co-operative commonwealth by voting the Socialist ticket. Resolved, That we, as Socialists, recognize that the individual can only secure the means of life for himself and his interests and welfare by securing such conditions equally for all. Therefore, be it Resolved, That in order to attain this end we use every reasonable effort ourselves for working class qualification as voters and intelligently that we desire to see in others.

ADOLPH GUTER, President. Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of Nebraska in convention assembled, consider the following resolution was introduced by L. L. K. Schiemeyer, of Lincoln, and adopted: "Whereas, Our state legislature proposes a law which is intended to destroy the Socialist Party and prevent our legal proceedings to test the constitutionality of the Primary Election Law, therefore, Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of Nebraska in convention assembled, do hereby appeal to all the voters of Nebraska for their co-operation in having it repealed."

Whereas, The Socialist Party of Nebraska in convention assembled, considered said law a menace to political freedom, and in direct conflict with the Americanism as it is plain undiscriminated discrimination, therefore, be it Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of Nebraska in convention assembled, do hereby appeal to all the voters of Nebraska for their co-operation in having it repealed. Moved and seconded that the State Executive Committee be authorized to fill any vacancy that may occur upon the platform and transaction of the convention that properly comes before the party of the state. Carried. Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of Nebraska in convention assembled, do hereby appeal to all the voters of Nebraska for their co-operation in having it repealed.

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There was and is once-thought-to-be extinct Volcano in the land. I live in daily sight of it. I spend the days and years in close companionship with it. I know its every mood and move. I feel its throes suppress. Deep, deep within I have explored; The volcanic scars and sulphurous fumes are there, and are accumulating fast. Built high above massive plain upon its upward reaching heaves; The long pent-up forces internal cavers full. I gaze at them: From base to summit they have loomed; Its mighty and majestic career yielding pathlessness they have filled; It looms and looms, sweet and on the surface level of that park by day and night dispute themselves I gaze at them: The scorching mass boils hot. The long pent-up forces internal cavers full. The molten gas, suppress, is still e'er it vents out. The ill-stored vent—on holiday of rich, perpetual holiday—fire eaten from beneath, drops hundred feet, and scalds almost a score of rich, and those who

serve them well, at sacrilegious feast. I hear their shrieks and groans and curses vial at this Volcano's soliloquy. I gaze and note their stern resolve: Have workers while we watch their feats of strength, which pleasure us—by thousand fold of folk; rock within the chasm and pack it tight—commencing with hot lava sweat from their own starved skins. The pleasure-park's rebuilt and beautified anew. The ball goes gently on. How peaceful all the slumberous years upon the old Volcano's top! How beautiful the brilliant trees displayed on ladies fair, disporting mid the flowers blooming lavishly on soft supported by that lofty rock foundation, blood-entreated light. How beautifully fair their face and form! How tender their little hands! How soft their jeweled hands! How tender hands of rich men there! Deep, deep within I still explore, and listen close in silence of the old Volcano's forced digesting; The old Volcano's forced digesting; The old Volcano's forced digesting; The old Volcano's forced digesting.

name, to be but answered with a cry of "Madman's visions." Why still I must pity them; must pity all cry aloud. I cry aloud in parable, to note of sorrow's chant. As I stand gazing at these intermingled days, when the sense of the voice of rich in praise of poverty's estate. Love, when, in that packed crowd of impious quack, in full cry. "Don't you hear, change with us? 'Tis I am saluted with the cry for peace! I send no glance that's not conferring, with preparation for the struggle here and soon, per chance, to be—AND CLOSURE EAR AND EYE AND PRAY FOR SLEEP'S OBLIVION. Still standing with the soul agaze, emerging from the intermediate state of starvation men and freedom's mutilated corpse—burst forth from this office at that desolate with blood.

The poet above is especially applicable to the present situation in Russia and would seem as though written with that aim in an eye as Comrade Edwin Arnold Brethren's new book, "The Voice of the Proletariat," in which we find sentiments. It is published by Richard G. Blaker in Boston, and can be procured at this office at the established price of \$1.25 in cloth—E.D.

THE INDUSTRIAL UNION CONVENTION

Continued from Page Two.

delegates that were unable to face "the tragedy of the ages," and that Haywood wanted the sublimity, quality, idealism. Haywood declined on the ground that he had just been re-elected Secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, and he thought that after the fight that had taken place it would be right for him to decline to come in that position. Subject asked if Eugene V. Debs was considered a member of the organization. Chairman Haywood replied that as Debs was not regularly installed as a member, he could not be recognized as such at this convention.

Kiernemic nominated Coates, who declined to serve as president or as any other officer of the organization. Bartlett, Chicago, nominated De Leon, who declined, saying that he had other work to do which he believed could perform better than that of an official. This left Sherman the only nominee, and upon motion he was elected president by acclamation. Sherman was called to the platform to deliver his best efforts to the organization. He said it was the greatest honor that could be conferred upon any man in the United States. After being installed, Sherman announced that if the A. F. of L. wanted to come in for the open and fight he was willing to leave the verdict to the rank and file of the organization. Sherman was nominated by W. H. Hall, and the motion was seconded by T. J. Hagerman. Powers (S. T. & A.), C. K. Spiegel, Utica, N. Y., and J. G. Hagerman, Toledo, Ohio, were also present.

There was a contest over the election of two delegates to the Executive Board. The Industrial Union movement, and it was adopted. The motion was seconded by C. J. O'Neil, Toledo, Ohio, and it was adopted. The motion was seconded by C. J. O'Neil, Toledo, Ohio, and it was adopted. The motion was seconded by C. J. O'Neil, Toledo, Ohio, and it was adopted. The motion was seconded by C. J. O'Neil, Toledo, Ohio, and it was adopted.

The attention of supporters of THE SOCIALIST is called to the advertisement of EGG-O-SEE, which appears in this issue. This is the only breakfast food made by labor. You can help yourself by calling for this cereal, and telling your grower why you do so. The Reliable is a union laundry. It deserves your patronage.

MARYLAND SOCIALISTS

Nominating Convention Held at Baltimore with Good Attendance.

The convention was called to order July 10, 1905, by George A. Bauer, Secretary of Local Baltimore, at 11 a. m. The call from National Secretary, Augustus Young, Harrisburg, Pa., that Hagerstown, Sharpsburg, Baltimore and Washington were in good standing and invited to participate in the convention, was read. The following temporary organization was organized: Chairman, Geo. H. Davis, Washington; W. O. Jones, Baltimore; Committee on Resolutions—J. C. Campbell, Washington; W. H. Dewar, Washington; J. O. Jones, Baltimore; J. Nestadt, John Hesterman, Frank Quinn, Annapolis. The convention then adjourned until 1 p. m.

Afternoon Session. The convention reconvened at 1:15 p. m. The Committee on Credentials reported the following as having proper credentials and entitled to seats at delegates and alternates: Washington—W. H. Dewar, J. H. Swerdlow; J. C. Campbell, H. Taylor; Baltimore—George H. Taylor, E. J. Crabell, Geo. A. Bauer, Moses Miller, W. O. Jones, delegates; J. Nestadt, John Hesterman, Frank Quinn, alternates. The Committee on Resolutions reported that they recommended the following: Hagerstown, S. S. Young, Secretary; Hagerstown, W. L. Dewar, Washington. The following permanent organization was effected: Chairman, S. S. Young, Baltimore; J. H. Swerdlow, Washington; W. L. Dewar, Washington.

Committee on Resolutions—W. O. Jones, Baltimore; J. L. Muth, Baltimore; W. L. Dewar, Washington. Press Committee—George H. Taylor, Baltimore; J. H. Swerdlow, Washington; S. S. Young, Hagerstown. At 2:15 the convention took a recess for 30 minutes to allow the Committee on Credentials to report. The Committee on Credentials submitted supplementary report on the effect of the National Party's platform on the Executive Board. Chairman, George H. Taylor, Baltimore, as delegates. The Platform Committee submitted a report on the minority report. After considerable discussion the majority report was accepted. The platform is as follows: "The Socialist Party of the State of Maryland, in convention assembled, hereby pledges its steadfast adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and endorses the national platform of the Socialist Party of the United States."

Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of the State of Maryland, do hereby appeal to all the voters of Maryland for their co-operation in having it repealed. Moved and seconded that the State Executive Committee be authorized to fill any vacancy that may occur upon the platform and transaction of the convention that properly comes before the party of the state. Carried. Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of the State of Maryland, do hereby appeal to all the voters of Maryland for their co-operation in having it repealed.

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all other organs and powers of the life, while the working class has been reduced to a state of unemployment. The workingmen, the great army of the wealth producers, are dependent upon their daily exertions, and their political sovereignty is lost. They have the right to vote according to the dictates of their employers. Between these two gross transgressions the nation interest or harmony. The masters and slaves of present society are the capitalist class and the oppressed struggle, and nowhere in the country has the struggle assumed more acute proportions. In this struggle in few other states has there been so much open and defiant arraying of the government against the workers, and against the workers, as in the state of Maryland. The working class can expect no relief from these intolerable conditions. The capitalist system of production and distribution of goods, the ownership of production into collective ownership by the entire people. The only way to rid yourselves of the burdens you now bear is to abolish the capitalist wage system and inaugurate to co-operative commonwealth by voting the Socialist ticket. Resolved, That we, as Socialists, recognize that the individual can only secure the means of life for himself and his interests and welfare by securing such conditions equally for all. Therefore, be it Resolved, That in order to attain this end we use every reasonable effort ourselves for working class qualification as voters and intelligently that we desire to see in others. ADOLPH GUTER, President. Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of Nebraska in convention assembled, consider the following resolution was introduced by L. L. K. Schiemeyer, of Lincoln, and adopted: "Whereas, Our state legislature proposes a law which is intended to destroy the Socialist Party and prevent our legal proceedings to test the constitutionality of the Primary Election Law, therefore, Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of Nebraska in convention assembled, do hereby appeal to all the voters of Nebraska for their co-operation in having it repealed."

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