

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

The Socialist

For the Socialist Party

The Workingman's Pa-
per -- One Dollar a Year
Six Months, Fifty Cents

NO. 280 — SIXTH YEAR

TOLEDO, OHIO, FEBRUARY 27, 1906

PRICE THREE CENTS

AN ILLUMINATING BIT OF CORRESPONDENCE

Professor Goldwin Smith, Capitalist Historian, In the Wrong but Refuses to Admit It

Early in January the Toronto "Tele-gram" and Toronto "World" published an open letter to School Trustee J. Simpson, representing the Socialist Party, from Prof. Goldwin Smith, the noted Canadian historian, criticizing the Socialist party manifesto issued in the municipal election. The following answer was written and refused publication by the papers mentioned. The reading public is left to judge as to the fairness of this action:

Mr. Goldwin Smith:—Sir—It is somewhat difficult to believe that the open letter to Comrade James Simpson in which you criticize the Socialist manifesto, is written by one who is reputedly the foremost scholar in Canada. Surely it is apparent to you that the Socialists are not trying to divide society into two classes, but pointing out a fact that already exists and showing the cause of division, namely, the ownership by the few of the means whereby all must live. By what process of reasoning do you arrive at the conclusion that pointing out the causes of an effect is a proclamation of enmity? The class-conscious Socialist has no enmity to the capitalist class. We realize that they being content to live on the results of the labor of the class beneath them is quite natural, that they honestly believe it to be right to do so, and that it is right judged by capitalist ethics.

The Socialist Duty.
Our duty is plain, to continually proclaim the fact that the material interests of the class which owns the means of wealth production and distribution, and the material interests of the class which by virtue of that ownership has to ask their permission to work, are diametrically opposed and irreconcilable. Did you not notice the advice emphasized by repetition, not to accept our manifesto without careful study? At any rate you ignored that portion of the manifesto in your letter, but to be fair, it is not a proof that it was written calmly and not in passion? We must decline to accept your dic-

tion that there is great danger in stating facts.

Labor's Only Friend.
With regard to your remarks on your sympathy with labor, friend of labor and labor leaders, ad nauseam, our reply is that the only possible real friend of labor is labor itself when it wakes up to its true interests, that we have no leaders, nor need of any, our only authority being a majority vote of the party. We accept your admission that your failure to grasp our aims is the result of advancing age and the ingrained ideas of a less advanced industrialism.

You ask if we would not find it difficult to draw the line between the capitalist class and the working class. There is no need of our trying to do it. It is being done without our help. By the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, it is becoming more sharply defined day by day. An admission which you make in the last sentence of the first paragraph of your letter. The middle class is fast disappearing, notwithstanding the efforts of petty patchwork reformers to preserve its social life, and sooner or later the owning class and the disowned class will stand face to face for the final struggle.

A Definition of Capital.
Your definition of capital is very far from the truth. The means of production and distribution are capital when privately owned and used in the production of wealth for profit. In short, under the present system capital is the part of wealth used to produce more wealth, through the exploitation of labor. Your definition of labor is also inaccurate.

With regard to your question as to the master of the factory. Is it not a fact that in these days of great industries, the owners of large plants have seldom anything to do with their management? Do they not as a rule leave their management to high salaried managers?

Socialists for a Higher Civilization.
The author of the manifesto and the members of the party which approved it, are not opposed to civilization. They stand for a higher civilization, a civilization under which in this world of ours, plenty all will have plenty, where in this age of the machine, all will have leisure, under which the workers will

be also the owners; every worker receive the full social product of his labor, and every new born child the fullest opportunities this earth affords.

A Wage Slave Class Unnecessary.

In your comparison of labor and capital you are thoroughly at sea. You speak as if capital existed before labor, whereas the opposite is the fact. You speak of the necessity of great thinkers having leisure to work on their theories. Granted. In former epochs it was probably necessary that a slave class should exist in order that the other class should have leisure for thought. Hence, for example, the literature and sculptures of ancient Greece handed down to us, but the necessity for a slave class exists no longer, though we have the machine to make a slave of and leave all sufficient leisure to develop the best that is in them, physically and morally.

Government Under Socialism.

Your idea of the object of Socialism being the making of the government the sole capitalist, is erroneous. We hold that the proper function of government is administrative; that with the advent of the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution the necessity of government as we know it, government of man by man—would disappear. All governments up to and including those existing today being founded upon class rule; that with the workers also the owners, classes having ceased to exist class rule will naturally also disappear.

The manifesto in question was devoted chiefly to pointing out the conflicting interests of the ruling and subject classes. When a majority of the working class are convinced of the necessity of owning the tools of production they will doubtless take their own means of bringing it about. Necessity knows no law. Your statement that the owning class would fight desperately for the continuance of its present privileges may or may not be true.

What the Workers Must Do.

To us it is not a question of what the workers will do, but what they must do. The continually growing army of unemployed will be the chief factor in bringing home to them the truth of the Socialist philosophy. It is doing so

now, notably in England, a country in which the Socialist movement has been far from clear, but is fast becoming so, not because the workers are taking it up from any altruistic motive, but because their material necessities compel them to do so. But kindly do not mix us up with the "followers" of Henry George.

Is your remark, however, as to the likelihood of many of them getting six feet of land, in good taste? Many of the oppressed workers in Russia, struggling for civil and industrial liberty have got that share. Do you rejoice in the fact?

You invite us to preach to you. Life is too short for us to waste any time in preaching or protesting to the capitalist class or their apologetas. Ours to devote ourselves to the task of dispelling the economic ignorance of the class to which we belong and with whom we have to sink or rise.

Socialists Are Revolutionary.

We are not inflaming class passions, we are only recognizing the existing class struggle, which we have not caused and cannot prevent nor end so long as classes exist. We are only endeavoring to change it from a blind struggle on the part of the working class to an intelligent one. If you think we are a reform party, kindly disabuse yourself of that idea. We are frankly revolutionary, realizing that an industrial revolution having already taken place, a social revolution must necessarily follow sooner or later. Hence our utmost efforts are devoted to educating our class to that point that when the great need comes, the revolution we predict will take place without the shedding of a drop of blood. If it is violent, our hands will be clean; where we have the ballot, that is the only weapon we advocate, however we may be misrepresented.

The Economic Factor Dominates.

To conclude, Socialism is founded upon the economic interpretation of history and goes to show how the method of production has always determined the social order with its institutions, ethics and everything pertaining to it. Bear in mind we do not claim the economic to be the only factor, but the main factor on which all others are based. This letter must necessarily be too short to deal with the subject, but let us again emphasize that we have no bitterness towards the capitalist class. We cannot, recognizing the part capitalism has played in social evolution, and we realize that they find no pleasure in the suffering of the working class, but those sufferings are a natural result of capitalist

privileges and to end the sufferings the oppressed have to be cut off.

We give you credit for the brave way in which you have taken the unpopular side on former occasions, notably on the South African War, and are willing to believe that you, together with us would welcome the time when we are endeavoring to hasten, that Tennyson dimly foresaw, when he wrote, "When the war drum throbs no longer, And the battle flag is furled, In the Parliament of man The Federation of the World."

Very sincerely yours,
TORONTO SOCIALIST PARTY
OF CANADA
WILFRID G. GRIBBLE,
Organizer.

PROF. SMITH'S REPLY.

This letter was sent Professor Smith, whose only reply was as follows:
The Grange, Toronto.
Dear Sir—I am much obliged to you

for your long letter. An attempt to answer it, would, I fear, lead me into an almost interminable discussion.

You say that you are not a reform party but frankly revolutionary. At the same time you say that you have no bitterness against the capitalist class. It was in the belief, gathered from the language of the Manifesto, that you did feel bitterness against capitalist class and bitterness which might in the end lead to violent collision, that my letter to Mr. Simpson was written. If as you tell me, no such bitterness exists, all is well. Nobody can be less inclined than I am to oppose or discourage peaceful progress, while it is in peaceful progress only that I have faith.

Yours truly,
GOLDWIN SMITH.

This is hardly the sort of reply to expect from one who had, through the public press, criticized and attacked the Socialist position. If Professor Smith

objects to further discussion, why did he start it? He should be prepared to defend his opinions when once voluntarily given. The Socialist Party is not afraid to make its opponent's side public.

In future the Toronto Socialists will answer any criticism appearing in the daily press of that city through the medium of *The Socialist* of Toledo, since they are denied fair play at home.

The working man who expects his employer to increase wages because the employer has the interests of the workers at heart is not a whit less foolish than the workingman who expects the capitalist politician to keep his promises after election.

If your friend is stubborn and won't listen to Socialism, try a *Socialist Picture Postal Card* on him. He can't dodge it.

STOCKHOLDERS' MEETING OF SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE CO.

The first meeting of the stockholders of the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Company was held at 819 Jefferson avenue, Toledo, Ohio, on Wednesday, January 24. The following stockholders were present when President Devine called the meeting to order:

Thos. Devine, Frank Badstuber, John Freudenthal, Thomas Haley, Wm. Maily, Erwin B. Ault, Victor Lambour, Claus Sass, Wm. Cizek, Wm. Sebrell, Wm. Patterson, Louis Steuer, F. Haubensack, George Schulz, and Th. Zimmerman, German Branch, of Local Toledo.

Proxies were reported for Hermon F. Titus, W. B. Slusser, M. Hillquit, Geo. Seiferlein, J. F. Mabie, J. C. Howell, Isaac Cowen, Harry T. Smith, L. W. Longmire, Robert Bandlow, Sophia Taylor, Henry Schulz, Socialistic Liedertafel, R. C. Kesler.

Thomas C. Devine was elected chairman and George Schulz secretary of the meeting. Secretary Schulz then read the minutes of the meetings of incorporators and same were approved as read. President Devine then read a circular from the secretary of state giving information how to proceed in organization of companies, after which, upon motion of Maily, it was

voted to elect a committee of three to draw up a code of regulations for the company.

Maily, Steuer and Haley were elected the committee on code of regulations.

A recess was then taken, at the conclusion of which the committee made a report. After discussion it was moved that the report of the committee be accepted as a partial report and the committee be continued with instructions to complete their work with assistance of attorney. Adopted.

Motion by Ault that this meeting of stockholders recommend that committee on code of regulations insert in their report a provision that stockholders be limited to one vote each regardless of how many shares of stock they may hold, and to ascertain how to proceed to have this provision made part of original charter. Adopted.

Secretary Schulz then made the following financial report:

Receipts.

Shares of stock paid for in full: Louis Steuer, 1 share, \$10; Geo. Seiferlein, 1 share, \$10; William Patterson, 1 share, \$10; Socialistic Liedertafel, Cleveland, 1 share, \$10; Calvin H. Reed, 5 shares, \$50; Harry T.

Smith, 1 share, \$10; Robert Bandlow, 1 share, \$10; Local Lake Como, Montana, 1 share, \$10; Wm. Sebrell, 1 share, \$10; J. F. Mabie, 1 share, \$10; M. Hillquit, 1 share, \$10; Clarence Clowe, 1 share, \$10; Jos. D. Ely, 1 share, \$10; Geo. Stadelmann, 2 shares, \$20; Geo. Flummerfeldt, 1 share, \$10; O. E. Samuelson, 1 share, \$10; L. W. Longmire, 1 share, \$10; J. C. Howell, 1 share, \$10; F. Haubensack, 1 share, \$10; W. B. Slusser, 1 share, \$10; Leo Hotz, 5 shares, \$50; N. Vorheis, 1 share, \$10; H. Meyer, 1 share, \$10. Total paid in full, 32 shares, \$320. Partial payments on shares: Victor Lambour, \$1; E. W. Owens, \$2; Chas. Harris, \$2; Jos. N. Jacobs, \$2; Geo. Schulz, \$1; Thos. Haley, \$3; R. C. Kesler, \$2; A. B. Hollenbaugh, \$3; Harry Kuhn, \$1; Local Crestline, O.; Isaac Cowen, \$4; Henry Schulz, \$1; A. B. Callahan, \$1; E. T. Allison, \$1; Hortense Wagenknecht, \$1; E. E. Martin, \$1; Thos. Long, \$1; Sophia Taylor, \$2; J. H. Steele, \$1; Alex. Burns, \$1; Wm. Maily, \$1; H. F. Titus, \$1; E. B. Ault, \$1; Thos. Devine, \$1; F. Badstuber, \$5. Total of part payments, \$49.

Donation, Nic Neiner, \$5.

Twenty-one shares of stock have been applied for but nothing paid on them.

Total receipts, \$374.

Expenditures.
One set of books, \$2.65; typewriter service, \$50; corrugated board, 35c; car fare, 30c; stamped envelopes, 53c.

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Revolutionary Socialism and Reform Socialism

Hermon F. Titus

CHAPTER III.—SECOND PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

Remember always the First Principle of Revolutionary Socialism: What are the facts about any subject under discussion? That is the sole question the Socialist asks.

But some kinds of facts are very hard to discover. It is easy for anyone to perceive that Malaria Fever is associated with swamps. But it required skilled investigators, who knew how to use chemical reagents and compound microscopes, to discover that the mosquito is the fatal channel of malarial infection.

Social facts, that is, facts about Society, are particularly difficult to discover. If it is hard to locate the source of one such common disease as Malaria, it is a thousand times harder to trace the essential facts underlying the ills that afflict Society.

It therefore becomes every student of the great organism known as human society to be very modest and slow in reaching his conclusions.

He cannot use the microscope or telescope nor bring his materials into any physical laboratory. To ascertain his facts he must first study institutions, customs, religions, governments, laws, tribes, nations, classes, above all or rather beneath all, methods of production in all ages, agriculture, manufacture, and the Great Industry of modern times with its multitudinous statistics.

Having by patient, exhaustive study ascertained his facts, the Socialist must possess an unusual power of insight and generalization, to deduce therefrom the laws which have controlled human development.

The facts and conclusions stated in this chapter, forming the most important principle of Revolutionary Socialism, are based upon the observations of two great Scientists of the 19th century, Karl Marx and Lewis H. Morgan.

Both were born in the year 1818, Marx in Prussia, Morgan in New York. Both studied and investigated for thirty years before publishing their matured conclusions. The whole scientific world now recognizes both as masters in their respective fields.

Marx studied Modern Society in London, the leading capitalist city of the world. Morgan studied Ancient Society first among the Iroquois tribes of Central New York and afterwards wherever relics of ancient social forms still lingered on the earth.

These two monumental works, to which the Revolutionary Socialist refers for his facts and challenges dispute, are the following:

"CAPITAL, A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION," BY KARL MARX.

"ANCIENT SOCIETY, OR RESEARCHES IN THE LINES OF HUMAN PROGRESS FROM SAVAGERY THROUGH BARBARISM TO CIVILIZATION," BY LEWIS H. MORGAN.

Both these works can be found in all public libraries or purchased of the booksellers. Morgan's book is summarized and supplemented in "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," by Friedrich Engels.

The central facts stated in this and the following chapters on Revolutionary Socialism are those established by Marx and Morgan.

The Facts of Property, Not "The Rights of Property."

Capitalists concern themselves about the "Rights of Property." Socialists say the rights will take care of themselves, if we know the facts about property.

you ask, "Has he any property?" meaning, "Is he worth anything; does he own any of this world's goods?"

In this sense, the Socialist says, the history of property is the history of the world. Tell us how any age has produced and owned its wealth, and you have told us all we need to know about that age.

In a word, the Relations of Property constitute about all there is to life. The human race is quite like any individual in that his chief concern is to be fed and clad, to live and be prosperous.

The world is a vast beehive. Its swarms of men and women in all ages clamber over each other in pursuit of food and shelter and all that they imply.

What is a whole cityful of people doing, in office, store and factory? It is one mighty struggle for wealth, for property. Your churches, your courts, your clubs, all revolve around the one center of Property.

It was always so since men ceased to be savages, since they learned how to produce food and clothes and houses and all those varied riches which constitute the world's Property.

Prejudices Must Yield To Facts

This common sense view of history is offensive to many people who have been taught that history was made by ideas, rather than that ideas are made by history. But the modern scientific view of history has dissipated the old superstitious view that great men and great ideas control the progress of the race.

We know now that the controlling factor in the development of man on the earth is the way he makes his living. When he made his living by agriculture, as in America a hundred years ago, his thoughts, his ideals, his ambitions, his habits, even his religion and his government, were entirely different from those of the present day, when he makes his living chiefly by machinery and the factory.

This view of things, making all history dependent on the production of property, is known as "The Materialistic Conception of History" or "The Economic Interpretation of History." It was first definitely propounded by Marx and Engels in 1848 and is now pretty generally recognized as the scientific view.

In accord with this view of history, difficult and distressing as it may seem to the reverent holder of old theories, it must be said that the discovery of the steam engine and power loom and all the related modern machinery, has done far more to change the face of the world than the birth of Jesus or the campaigns of Napoleon.

If we hold to the scientific method, which is the first principle of Revolutionary Socialism, our theories, however dear and cherished, must yield to the facts.

The New Law of History

We repeat, the history of the world is the history of property. This may be termed the Law of History and is frequently named as one of the main principles of Socialism.

It is true it was first formulated by those twin Socialist investigators, Marx and Engels. But it is capable of a non-revolutionary application, as Prof. Seligman has applied it in his recent book on the subject.

Besides, the Revolutionary Socialist can confine himself to the naked, concrete facts of life, which nobody can deny or misapply.

It is the property relations of the present day with which we of the present day are chiefly concerned. We illustrate and fortify our observations by reference to the past out of which the present has been born. But the economic conditions of the nations in

In all this great modern society, there is one stupendous fact, towering like a mountain peak above the multitude of ordinary facts. This Fact of Facts constitutes the Second Principle of Revolutionary Socialism.

Second Principle Stated

IN OUR AGE, AS IN ALL AGES SINCE THE EARLIEST, PROPERTY IS NOT HELD BY THE WORKERS WHO CREATED IT.

That is the second great principle of Revolutionary Socialism. This seems a very simple fact. It is very simple. So is a man's cerebro-spinal column. But it is central and when you understand it, you understand about all there is to a man.

Let us state again this second principle, in different words. THE WEALTH OF THE WORLD IS NOT POSSESSED BY THOSE WHO MADE IT.

This was not always so. Assuming human beings to have lived on the earth for one hundred thousand years, a moderate estimate, then for ninety-five thousand of those years, the men and women who produced the property possessed the property. It is only during the last five thousand years, more or less, that property has passed out of the hands of those whose work created it.

All races of men that survive pass through certain stages, Savagery, Barbarism, Civilization, the latter itself including three stages, Slavery Labor, Serf Labor, Wage Labor. Japan is just emerging from Serf Labor to Wage Labor. So is Russia. But England passed out of Serf Labor two centuries ago, the transition to Wage Labor being almost a century earlier in England than anywhere else. That is why Marx studied Wage Labor and its counterpart, Capital, in London.

Slave Labor, Serf Labor, Wage Labor

It is evident to everybody that Slave Labor did not possess its own product. The slave produced food and armor and palaces and luxuries for his masters, but never had any surplus of his own. All the slave got was his "keep."

So with Serf Labor in the age of Feudalism. The serf was bound to the soil on which he labored for himself a certain number of days and the balance of the time for his lord. All the serf got was his living, like the slave. The lord got the balance of the product and was thus the only property holder.

It is no different with Wage Labor in the present day. The wage worker gets his living, no more, like the slave and the serf. The balance of his product goes to his employer, the capitalist, who, thus, and thus only, becomes the holder of property, wealth which he did not himself create.

What of the Farmer?

It will be said we have taken no account of the farmer in this sketch of history.

But the independent farmer, owning his farm and producing wealth for his family, who has himself been the greatest product of the vast landed domain thrown open to the old world by the discovery of America, this noble race of independent farmers form an exception, a sporadic offshoot, in the world's history.

He was due to special conditions and he is now no longer the dominant factor in American life. Already in 1900, the U. S. census showed the agricultural products to be only about one-third the manufactured products.

America has now become a land of wage labor, even the farmers themselves employing an increasing number of wage workers year by year.

The Principle Stated Again

More definitely let us now state our Revolutionary Fact.

THE PRODUCT OF WAGE LABOR PASSES IMMEDIATELY INTO THE HANDS OF CAPITAL.

The wage worker never gets the product of his own toil. In the very act of producing property, he delivers it all to his employer—save only his wages, barely enough to support him.

MODERN PROPERTY IS THEREFORE UNPAID LABOR.

The Socialist asserts, this is the most stupendous fact of modern times. It explains all other social facts. Without it, no other social fact can be explained.

With this fact as guide and key, you will understand municipal ownership, you will understand "Graft," you will understand Trusts and Rockefeller and Lawson and even Hearst and Tammany and the "Red Light District."

The True "Frenzied Finances"

Thos. W. Lawson is easy to explain in the light of this central fact. He is a stock broker and his famous exposures of the methods of Wall street, showing up what he calls "The System," by which "Standard Oil" and Rogers and Clark and Lawson made millions in a day, have roused the American public to indignant protest against such methods of "making wealth."

But nobody claims that Rogers or Lawson or Wall street create the millions of value they gamble with.

It is "Made Wealth" indeed, to use Lawson's expression. But these brokers did not make it.

Who did make it?

The men who do the world's work, of course. LABOR CREATES ALL WEALTH, BUT DOES NOT GET IT. That is our Revolutionary Fact.

These colossal struggles in the business world, by which the enormous fortunes of America have been piled up, are struggles among Property holders for the mass of Property which its creators have never had a chance to possess.

You, the workers, made all the millions these business men fight over, while you get, what? Your living, your wages. That and that only.

This is the "System" Lawson says nothing about. This is the "Made Wealth" you never read of in all the Magazines and Dailies. This is the Revolutionary Fact the whole capitalist world is hiding from the workers.

State it in still another form:—WHILE WAGE LABOR LASTS, THE WORKERS CAN NEVER GET ANY MORE OF THE PROPERTY THEY CREATE THAN A BARE LIVING. CAPITAL GETS ALL THE REST.

A Simple Sum in Arithmetic

Compute what this means for the U. S. Steel Corporation, for example.

Suppose they employ a hundred thousand workers at one dollar a day wages, a total of One Hundred Thousand Dollars a day paid in wages. These workers create a value of two dollars a day, that is, Property enough to be worth in the market an average of two dollars a day for every worker, or Two Hundred Thousand Dollars a day.

These workers for the Steel Corporation therefore create Property to the amount of Two Hundred Thousand Dollars per day, but receive only One Hundred Thousand Dollars per day for themselves, leaving the Second Hundred Thousand Dollars' worth of the wealth they created in the hands of the Steel Corporation.

(Continued on Page Four.)

AWAKENING OF LABOR

Rewriting the Interesting and Instructive Phases of the British Elections

(The importance of the elections in Great Britain from the Socialist and Labor standpoint justifies, in our opinion, the somewhat lengthy report which follows. It is well that the Socialists of the United States should know and study the election results, which are bound to have a far reaching effect upon the labor movement of the world.)

The significant feature of the elections so far is the big vote polled by Socialist and Labor candidates who were run independent of both capitalist factions. This is the more remarkable with the present tremendous wave of Liberal reaction. With the Liberal party in the ascendant the chances for any independent workers' party, or its candidates, are ordinarily not nearly so good as when the Tories are winning. That is because the Liberals are the more hypocritical; they make more profuse professions of their friendship for labor; they are the real friends of the working man and the interests of the working class are their first and chief concern. These are the specious professions by which the Liberal press appeals for unity between the Liberal party and labor, and which enable the Liberals to carry so large a proportion of working class votes at a time like the present when Chamberlain's Protectionist proposals have afforded them a much needed popular "cry," and the people generally have become tired of the misdoings of the Tory government. The Liberals win working class votes by false pretences; by professing to be the party of the working class. It is the more remarkable, therefore, that with the Liberals sweeping the country, Socialist and Labor candidates should have done better than ever before.

The "Labor" Vote.

That is the one gratifying feature of the present electoral contest, with its orgy of shoddy politics and partisan platitudes, that out of the welter of the petty bourgeois political sham fight there should have at last emerged, in the constituencies, a working class party—not yet definitely Socialist, nor yet able to win against both capitalist parties, but possessed of Socialist aspirations and tendencies, and capable of sustaining reverses in the consciousness of ultimate victory.

It cannot be claimed, however, that the many successes which labor has actually achieved at the polls are really representative of the new party. In but one instance, that of West Bradford, has a Labor candidate—and he a Socialist—won in a clear three-cornered fight against both Liberal and Tory. In every other victory for the workers' candidate the Liberals have, either from friendship or fear, stood aside. It is true that Bowerman beat both Liberal and Tory at Deptford, but his Liberal opponent was a mere crank whom nobody took seriously and whom even the Liberal press opposed. At Blackburn, too, we are glad to see, that in spite of the wily efforts of the hypocritical Liberals to get Philip Snowden to run in double harness with their man, Snowden got in on a straight independent fight, while the Liberal is at the bottom of the poll. It is a notable victory for the Socialists of Blackburn. In Dundee, too, the victory of Alexander Wilkie, who, although not a Socialist, ran on independent lines, and beat the second Liberal by the handsome majority of 711, was a notable achievement.

Great Achievements.

Of our nine candidates six have been defeated, one has been successful, and two are still engaged in the fight. Fought on a straightforward issue, in a straightforward fashion, with an unequivocal Socialist pro-

gram, Thorne's splendid victory is a veritable triumph, and shows what can be done in a proletarian constituency, when the confusing issues imported into the contest by bourgeois politicians are absent. But Hyndman's poll at Burnley, although Hyndman was not successful, has been so far our greatest achievement in this contest. Recognized and fought by all parties as the head and front of the Socialist movement, with no suggestion of being at all a "Labor man" in any of the many senses in which that much-abused term is used, assailed on all hands by all that Liberal rancor, Tory desperation and the venom of a despicable renegade to labor could suggest, Hyndman fought a good fight as an out-and-out revolutionary—Social Democrat without any qualifying adjectives or phrases, and only just failed to defeat both his opponents. Deeply as we regret that he could not have been elected to the new Parliament, we cannot but exult over the good fight he made and congratulate both him and the Burnley comrades on the magnificent vote recorded.

The S. D. F. Candidates.

Taking them all round, our S. D. F. candidates show most encouraging improvement on all previous records. In 1895 we put up three candidates—Jones at Northampton, Lansbury at Walworth, and Hyndman at Burnley. Hyndman then polled 1498 votes against 5454 for his Liberal opponent, Philip Stanhope, and 5133 secured by the Tory. That was a year of Tory victory, yet the Liberals held Burnley by a substantial majority, but on this present occasion with the tremendous Liberal wave sweeping the country Hyndman trebles his vote and only by the most unscrupulous tactics are the Liberals able to retain the seat.

In 1895 Jones polled 1,216 at Northampton; on the present occasion Comrades Williams and Gribble double that vote. In Walworth Lansbury polled 203 votes. On this occasion we have not contested Walworth, and we think Lansbury was very ill-advised to go to Middlesbrough. We are not concerned to defend Mr. J. H. Wilson, and the I. L. P. at Middlesbrough had doubtless every justification in opposing him; but a man like Lansbury could have done so much better nearer home.

In 1900 we contented ourselves with putting up only one candidate—Thorne at South West Ham—and supporting all the anti-war candidates. The latter were not all successful, and Thorne was defeated by over a thousand votes, although there was no Liberal candidate. This year he wins by a majority bigger than his total vote of five years ago.

The Future for Labor.

The moral of it all is that labor is waking up. Scarcely yet conscious of its power or its mission it is beginning to exercise its political rights on its own behalf. Too long the mere dupes and slaves of Liberal and Tory charlatans it has not yet shaken itself free of the fetters with which they have bound it. For that reason Labor is still almost invariably defeated in a three-cornered fight. Where, however, the most seductive and friendly, and therefore the most dangerous of labor's enemies—the Liberal—is driven from the field, as at South West Ham, the victory of labor is almost assured. In a little while, however, if only the labor representatives now elected do their duty, labor will be strong enough to do battle successfully against both enemies. When that time comes Liberals and Tories will sink their superficial differences and combine against labor; but then it will be too late—for them; labor will be awake and, inspired by Socialism, marching to certain victory.—From London "Justice," organ Social Democratic Federation.

THE S. D. F. AT THE POLLS.

We reprint from London "Justice" the actual votes polled by seven Social Democratic candidates, in order to show what a splendid increase was secured by the straight Socialist candidates:

BRADFORD (EAST).	
(15,136 electors.)	
W. E. P. Priestley (L.)	6,185
Sir V. Caillard (C.)	4,277
E. R. Hartley (S. D. F.)	3,090
By-election, 1896: J. Keir Hardie, 1,953.	
Socialist Increase—1,137.	
BURNLEY.	
(15,983 electors.)	
F. Maddison (L.)	5,288
G. A. Arbutnot (C.)	4,964
H. M. Hyndman (S. D. F.)	4,932
1895 election: H. M. Hyndman, 1,498.	
Socialist Increase—3,534.	
NORTHAMPTON.	
(11,954 electors.)	
H. Paul (L.)	4,472
J. G. Shipman (L.)	4,235
R. B. Orlebar (C.)	4,061
F. G. Barnes (C.)	3,987
J. E. Williams (S. D. F.)	2,537
J. Gribble (S. D. F.)	2,361
1895 election: F. G. Jones, 1,216.	
Socialist Increase—1,321.	
SOUTHAMPTON (2).	
(17,613 electors.)	
Col. J. Phillips (L.)	7,032
W. D. Ward (L.)	6,255
T. Chamberlayne (C.)	5,754
J. Aird (C.)	5,535
H. Quelch (S. D. F.)	2,146
By-election 1896: C. A. Gibson, 257.	
Socialist Increase—1,889.	
ROCHDALE.	
(13,831 electors.)	
A. G. C. Harvey (L.)	5,912
Col. C. M. Roysd (C.)	4,449
S. G. Hobson (I. L. P. and S. D. F.)	2,506
1900 election: A. Clarke (Soc.), 909.	
Socialist Increase—1,507.	
ABERDEEN (NORTH).	
(10,531 electors.)	
D. V. Pirie (L.)	4,848
T. Kennedy (S. D. F.)	1,934
M. Barrie (C.)	931
SOUTH WEST HAM.	
(22,753 electors.)	
Will Thorne (S. and L.)	10,210
Sir J. G. Nutting (C.)	4,973
Great Socialist and Labor Victory! 1900 election: Will Thorne, 4,439.	
Socialist Increase—5,771.	

HYNDMAN'S DEFEAT.

The keenest disappointment is manifested by British Socialists at the defeat of Comrade H. M. Hyndman for election to Parliament from the Burnley division. Comrade Fred Colebrook, who took an active part in Hyndman's candidacy, wrote upon the result:

"The man who was the chief founder of the Social Democratic Federation, the man who three times was the main force in its restoration after wounds which might well have been unto death, the man whose outstanding personality is the express image of British Socialism to the onlooking, wondering, mystified, impatient Socialists of two hemispheres; the man who never turned his back, but marched breast forward; Never doubted clouds would break; this man asking of Burnley the means to be of greater service yet, has been rudely driven from her borders—'while all the world wondered.'"

The Great Refusal.

"Telegraph the verdict to us," Bebel and Paul Longuet and others had desired. They could not understand, and could not reconcile themselves to England's longer keeping back the Socialist movement of the world. "Had the weavers, sodden with the damp of the 'steamed' factories, cared to ward off pneumonia and live their own lives; had they been fain to 'mak' a happy fireside clime, for weans and wife; had the town grasped Tom Paine's concept of the world-mid-country, mankind-my-brethren, and to do-good-my-religion, had it even' with dispassionate perception noted the swift trend to monopoly, and decided to anticipate and prevent

the evil, why the news of that awakening, expressed in Hyndman elected, had taken the wings of the morning and flown to the uttermost parts of the earth. But Burnley, tragic bitter Burnley, intrigued against its own salvation; it laid wait for its own blood; it lurked privily for its own life. The duty remains; and the fight will still be fought. But nothing can recall that refusal."

Shaw Open Up. Colebrook goes on to relate the story of the campaign, of the successful meetings, the enthusiasm, the hope and confidence of the hardy workers. He speaks of Bernard Shaw's support of Hyndman, as the act of a man of cool, calculating, reflective mind, and of Shaw's candid acknowledgement on a Burnley platform, that "through all these years Hyndman had been right in his uncompromising course, and the tactical error had lain with the Fabians pursuing a penetration which did not permeate."

Michael Davitt's services are acknowledged also and Colebrook reports in detail how the Catholic priesthood and the Salvation Army both worked against Hyndman and issued lying posters about him. Then the Liberals charged Hyndman with owning stock in a South African gold mine, and therefore was interested in Chinese slavery, although Hyndman "has never posed as a labor candidate, but as a capitalist, a money-market man who has consistently placed at the disposal of labor all the commercial and financial knowledge these positions have secured." As it happens, Hyndman does not own shares in South African mines, but in a mine in West Africa, but the difference in location was carefully obscured by his enemies.

At a gathering after the election result was known, Hyndman is reported as responding "to the warm reception by a deeply interesting and withal a moving story, despite the dispassionate note, of how the whole position was presented to his mind. He was sixty-four; he was less robust than might appear; and he had always felt that this must be his last contested election. It was best to face the facts. There might have been in electoral exchanges some little things one might have said differently, but to attach much influence to any such slips implied that there was no strong convinced class-conscious Socialism animating the whole town. Else these little things would hardly count. He felt that the election had been splendidly worked. He did not think anything could have been done more than had been done. Irving and his helpers had done wonders, and he appreciated it all. Further, to his wife, who was ill, and to himself defeat was personally a more convenient thing than would have been a victory. None the less he had keenly desired to win, so that full avail might be taken by British Socialism of this conjuncture of events; that his own experience and faculties, whatever they were, might be used to fullest effect and fruitfulness, that India might have him for a Commons spokesman, and that Socialists the world over might feel that Britain was no longer keeping back the wide-world movement.

What makes the defeat of Hyndman more bitter to our British comrades is the fact that F. Maddison, the "labor leader" elected on the Liberal ticket, thus securing the defeat of Hyndman, is the lowest type of labor political scab. That the workers of Burnley should turn down Hyndman after twenty years of work among them, for such a character is one of the phenomena which only the working class seems capable of producing.

THE LABOR MEMBERS.

The "Labor Leader," organ of the Independent Labor Party, gives a lengthy report of election returns up to January 17. A summary of these returns show the following candidates elected:

Labor Representation Committee. Barrow-in-Furness, Duncan (Engineers' Union); Blackburn, Snowden, (I. L. P.); Bolton, Harwood; Bradford, West, Jowett (I. L. P.); Chatham, Jenkins (Shipwrights' Union); Deptford, Bowerman (Printers); Dundee, Wilkie (Shipwrights' Union); Leeds, O'Grady (I. L. P. and Furnishing Trades Union); Leicester, MacDonald; Manchester, N. E. Cline (I. L. P. and Gasworkers' Union); Manchester, S. W. Kelley (Lithographers); New Castle-on-Tyne, Hudson (Railway Men's Union); Norwich, Roberts (I. L. P.); Preston, Macpherson (I. L. P. and Steel Smelters); St. Helens, Glover (Miners' Union); Stockport, Wardle (I. L. P. and Railway Men's Union); Wolverhampton, West, Richards (I. L. P. and Shoemakers' Union). It appears that while Keir Hardie has been re-elected, a Liberal candidate was put up against him. There is general comment upon the dirty tactics resorted to by the Liberals to defeat labor candidates. John Burns made himself particularly obnoxious by writing letters of support to capitalists, ship owners and the like, who were opposing labor candidates, thus widening the breach between him and his former friends.

The "Clarion," edited by Robert Blatchford, predicts that the victory of Liberalism will actually mean its overthrow, because of the conflicting interests in its own ranks which all the strategy of its leaders cannot satisfy. On the other hand there is the solid Socialist and Labor group acting as a wedge to penetrate the Liberal ranks and split them asunder.

The "Clarion" concludes: "In any case, the future is ours, and the Labor candidates with the best chance of success at the next general election are those who have most uncompromisingly identified themselves in the interim with Socialist principles."

A Toledo comrade who has tried it suggests that when comrades hand around copies of The Socialist among their shop mates and friends they mark the articles which they think are the most telling and interesting. This is a good idea, and deserves carrying out.

All the anti-trust agitation in the world cannot stop the forces that produce the trust from operating. The trust is the result of economic development and we can only benefit by the trust by taking possession of it and running it for the benefit of all.

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The Socialist Toledo, Ohio

GOODBYE, COMRADE!

Good-bye, Comrade—Shopmate—Brother.

To say we shall meet again is shallow and would be mocking you—you who died so nobly, so heroically—true to yourself—to all your utterances—no regrets save that of giving up the fight for freedom—no cowardice—what you had done you did for right—full grown and blossomed, sweet as a rose, sturdy as the oak. As you lived, thus have you died.

We do know that we have met and though we part, much still is left of you, your many sayings—your scathing words—your sweet words—your nature misunderstood by some, so well understood by us, your comrades. And though we will never see you again; yet, comrade, that coffin lid, nor the mass of earth, nor distance, can hide you from us.

I see you smile as lying calmly awaiting the fast ebbing life to leave you; you spoke until the last, spoke words of cheer, of love, of advice, even of jest. Can we forget?

Never can I forget when as with victorious smile and stoical effect you raised your tapering waxen fingers supported by a slender, fragile arm and a weak body, and waved me a joyous welcome, how feebly grasping my extended hand—my healthy, my red hand—you said, with breast rising and falling as oft I have seen the mighty ocean rise and fall: "Comrade, now learn the Marseillaise. You know why."

Can I forget those eyes, as I saw them through my own tear dimmed eyes, those eyes which said, and those lips as they smiled the words: "I know you understand."

Oh, my Comrade, could I have spoken the words to you that with which my heart was filled! But my tongue refused to speak. Though dying and conscious of your approaching death, yet you were braver than I—much braver, Comrade. No fear, no pain, no sorrow, as sentence after sentence, full of the revolutionary spirit, fell from your smiling lips—conscious of it all, ever conscious to the last.

Even when the sight had grown dim you smilingly told the comrades at your side: "You are constantly moving, comrades—biograph—moving—moving—constantly moving." Sight gone—still conscious—a last loving thought, the last thought—as with hand again extended, and Comrade Cowley gave you his—a gentle pressure—one more hand, one more thought of—Earl. "Bring Earl." Then Father and Son, with clasped hands and lips together—a farewell kiss—and all is over.

Good bye, Comrade, Good bye, Brother, Good bye, Shopmate, fear not to be forgotten. When flowers have faded, withered, died—Aye, when thoughts of my own flowers are in the minds of others—I'll still remember you.

Comrade at work—Comrade at play—Comrade of the Revolution—I bid you Good day, Good day.

James Devine

PARTY NEWS

Call for Joint Session

Comrades—Sunday, Feb. 4, the regular joint session will be held at Swiss Hall, 410 Monroe street. Meeting will be called at precisely 2 p. m. The constitution will be the first thing taken up. Come prepared to assist in this work. Nominations will be in order for the third member of the National Committee. Arrangements should begin at this time for the committee on May Day celebration, delays are dangerous. Did you ask your financial secretary if he sent in his monthly report for December? Just remind him that the January report is due now. Of course your due book is stamped up for 1905 is it not?

Bring your wives and sweethearts with you Sunday and have supper which will be prepared and served in the dining room by the entertainment committee. An entertainment will follow the supper, so show your appreciation of the work of your committee by coming early and staying late.

A short time will be devoted to obligating new members, be sure to bring at least one or as many more as possible, don't put this off, start now and stay with your man till Sunday afternoon.

Owing to the numerous inquiries will see the Cedar Point Excursion and Picnic will be the second Sunday in August.

THOMAS C. DEVINE,
Secretary.

Toledo, O., Jan. 20, 1906.

In each month, 2:30 p. m.
Branch 6—Swiss hall, 410 Monroe street; second and fourth Tuesdays in each month, 8 p. m.
Branch 7—Siek's hall, corner Delaware and Blaine; second and fourth Wednesdays in each month, 8 p. m.
Branch 8—Residence, 1422 Bell avenue; second and fourth Tuesdays in each month, 8 p. m.
Branch 11—Broer's hall, S. St. Clair street; second and fourth Thursdays in each month, 8 p. m.
Branch 12—Bippus hall, corner Oak and Fasset; first and third Wednesdays in each month, 8 p. m.
German Branch—Germania hall, Washington street; first and third Saturday in each month, 8 p. m.

Local Warren.
The Study Chapter meeting was one of the best meetings we have yet had. The subject proved interesting, and the way in which the members discussed it proved that they had given it thought. Rev. Boughton of the Baptist church was present and at the close of the meeting gave us a short but profitable talk. The Warren Local is pleased to have the ministers of the Warren churches attend their meetings and learn what is being done there.

The Local has the use of a piano in their meetings and music will be a feature of the meetings in the future. There is some good musical talent in the Local. There is to be a treat next Sunday along this line. Everybody make it a point to bring someone with them.

WASHINGTON

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

State Organizer Burgess has issued a letter to the comrades of the state outlining a plan of active propaganda and organization and asking the active co-operation of the locals. The plan is to divide the state into routes or circuits and have these circuits work together in securing a speaker as often as possible.

Local Lake Washington has passed resolutions condemning and denouncing the attempt of Local Seattle to abolish the county organization in King county. It seems the county organization has a good deal of money on hand and the Central Branch gang want to get their hands on it to pay up their back debts.

The National Bulletin for November shows Washington to stand as follows: Sixth in number of new members admitted; fourth in members paid up to date; members on the rolls, and number of locals reporting; second in number of members in arrears—led by Wisconsin; and second in literature sold—led by Massachusetts alone; third in number of business meetings; sixth in the number of dues stamps bought and sold, also in the literature bought; eighth in free literature distributed; fifth in cash on hand. December totals show that we gain 55 new members; raised \$10,150 in dues, and \$17,000 in literature; 153 extra sold; \$92.06 additional literature bought; \$25.67 more sold; a gain of 14 in business meetings; all in special meetings; \$84.31 more cash received and \$71.86 more paid; with a small balance more on hand.

Several new locals are in prospect: At Coville, Yakima county; Kosmos, Lewis county; Centerville, Klickitat county; and probably at Richmond Beach, King county. Locals Roy, Weber, Tacoma and others are squaring up on arrears and the outlook is most hopeful for a rousing 1906 campaign.

The Local Quorum met in regular session January 14. Local South Bay presented a resolution calling for information as to why Local Seattle and other large locals in the state did not pay their part of the deficit of the state office when they were chiefly responsible for such deficits existing. State Committeeman Ada Gatchell also wrote stating that the members of Local North Yakima were asking similar questions. The resolutions were referred to Local Seattle for answer. Relative to letter received from National Committeeman Lund regarding length of his stay in Canada it was decided that in case Comrade Lund calculates to remain outside the jurisdiction of Washington for the full term of his office or permanently, that he tender his resignation. A communication was submitted by Committeeman Waggenknecht containing copy of "Bellingham Reveille" for December 6, 1905, charging that members of Local Bellingham had "openly traded votes," etc., to elect their candidate for councilman-at-large. After discussion it was decided to ask Local Bellingham for an explanation of the charges and also for a copy of the unionists platform. It was also decided that Local Northport be asked for the vote which elected a city attorney at that point and for a copy of their recent platform. The Washington National Committeemen were requested to ascertain from the National Executive Committee the duties of each employe of the national office; also, if the entire time of each is absolutely essential in conducting the work of the national office.

Local Toledo.
The C. C. C. meeting Sunday was well attended, there being 20 members of the committee present. The branches all reported increased activity. Four applications for membership were received. Comrade Mailed resigned as member of the Speakers' Committee and Comrade Bragg was elected to fill the vacancy. A committee, consisting of Devine, Mailed and Haley, was selected to draw up memorial resolutions for Comrade Cavanghugh. It was decided that hereafter in the case of the death of any member the regular officers of the party constitute a committee to notify members of the time and place of funeral and take such other action as may be deemed necessary by them. After some discussion a resolution to select some day as a special memorial day on which we can commemorate the death of all martyrs of the working class was referred to the Joint Session with the recommendation of prompt action.

Last week's paper was in error in stating Branch 6's meeting for the discussion of anarchy and Socialism was to have been held Tuesday. The meeting will be held in Swiss Hall on Tuesday next, February 6, and all party members are invited. It is hoped that some well-informed anarchist of the city may be present to keep up his end.

Branch 7 will give a house card party every alternate week for some time to come for the purpose of raising funds. The first of the series will be held at the home of Comrade Cornell, next Tuesday, February 6. Admission is 10 cents. Refreshments will be served and prizes for the winners. Branch 8 has also decided that hereafter at every regular business meeting the names of all members more than three months in arrears will be read and the names notified and requested to pay up and attend meetings. It is hoped to secure greater attendance and more interest in this manner.

Next Sunday, the first in February, the Joint Session will be held, and the first order of business will be the discussion of the new constitution. After the business of the day is over the ladies of the local will serve supper, which will be followed by a literary and musical entertainment. One feature of the program will be the obligation of new members, of whom it is hoped there will be a large number present. Party members should all be present and sympathizers and friends are invited. Let us make it a big thing.

On Thursday evening the usual wrapping and folding of samples will be done at The Socialist and we will provide room for all comrades who attend.

The quarterly meeting of the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Society was held Sunday, January 28. The principal business was the election of officers, and practically all the old officers were re-elected. Dr. Pyle was elected as physician for the society. A motion to send The Socialist one month to all members of the society who are not already subscribers was carried. The case of Otto Born, who is "scabbing" on the Typographical Union of this city, was considered and while it was not possible to take action owing to the state laws, the general opinion was that Mr. Born would be thrown out if it were possible.

Local Toledo Branch Meetings.
Branch 1—Krase's hall, corner Michigan and Buffalo; second Sunday

Correspondence

AN OPINION OF KNIGHT.

To The Socialist:
I notice a criticism of The Socialist by one E. R. Knight in your issue of January 14, that made me think I ought to reply to him, but as I am not a party member it may not be thought proper. He is evidently a modern political boss and doesn't have any comprehension of Socialism and wants the party run on the same lines as the old parties. If he had his way the party would not amount to any more than the Hearst movement, nor accomplish any more good, and if the policy indicated by him was to rule, the sooner the party goes where he consigns you the better. He is evidently an agent of the "Appeal to Reason" and your articles are hurting his business. Such men will never bluff you off the track, only they need to be hunted out and exposed.

J. C. HOWELL.
Sarasota, Fla., Jan. 24, 1906.

AGAINST A NATIONAL CONVENTION.

To The Socialist:
The referendum for a national convention of the Socialist Party in 1906 is now before the membership for action. It is worthy of remark in this connection that with one exception, all referendums from the national office in the last few years, even when they have contradicted each other, have been approved by the party membership. The exception was when the Wisconsin vote defeated a referendum dealing with Wisconsin matters. Therefore, it appears that the sending out of a referendum is ordinarily tantamount to its approval and acceptance by the members. So much depends on the result of the pending referendum that it is to be hoped that the arguments will be thoroughly discussed in the party press and by the rank and file before it is passed.

Unless it can be plainly shown that it is absolutely necessary for the present and future welfare of the party to meet this summer in a national gathering, the convention should not take place. The "Socialist Review" of New Jersey has pointed out editorially that a convention is not a necessity to warn the people against "fake" reform, Dunne, Hearst, Johnson and such movements, when the party press is fulfilling that function right along. Party difficulties and disputes have arisen within states, but as conventions will be held in nearly every state this year, it is more than likely that compromises will be arrived at where strife exists and at any rate the National Committee will be in a much better condition to assist in settling internal troubles if it seems desirable. If there seems urgent need of revising the National Constitution, that instrument provides a way without the intervention of a national convention.

It is likely that enough solid work would be accomplished by such a convention to make it worth the expenditure of money and time, in view of the 1908 convention now far off. It has been estimated that the cost would be not far from \$10,000, to pay the transportation expenses alone. Only about five thousand voted on the last referendum and they largely represent the active membership of the party who can be depended on to meet an assessment for convention expenses. It would be preposterous to expect that all dues-paying members would pay the heavy burden of the tax for the state campaigns this year, which would naturally make the burden all the heavier for those who had to pay for the delinquencies. Not long ago the National Office published a financial statement, showing the office to be something like a thousand dollars in debt, if I remember correctly.

The old adage about fools rushing in, etc., occurs to the conservative member who is not so enthusiastic for a mere talkfest or junketing trip at the party's expense as to be blind

to the possibility of a heavy additional debt saddled onto a slender party treasury. Several state organizations, for example, Ohio, Washington and Connecticut, are now struggling either with an empty treasury or what is worse, with a deficit, which is not exactly an exhilarating outlook at the opening of state campaigns. Germany and other European countries have annual party conventions, but the difference in the numerical and financial strength of the movement in Germany and in the United States must be considered, and moreover, Germany is not so large as our single state of Texas, obviously a tremendously important point in transportation expense.

It will be far more advantageous to the Socialist Party to expend the money which would be raised for national convention expenses for freeing the National Office of debt, for agitation, for building up the party press and for carrying on more energetic campaigns in every state where an election is to be held this year.

Fraternally,
EDWARD PERKINS CLARKE,
2108 Amsterdam Ave., New York,
Jan. 19, 1906.

WHY A SPECIAL NATIONAL CONVENTION?

The membership of the Socialist Party is called upon to vote on the question of holding a special national convention in 1906. In my opinion such a convention will not only do no good for our party movement, but it will do considerable harm for our congressional, state and municipal campaigns of the present year. It is said that it will cost over \$4,000 to defray the expenses; this would not be the main objection to be raised against holding the convention. Don't believe for a moment that any convention can settle your many local troubles; on the contrary, the membership will be more divided after the special convention on a number of questions than before. Instead of giving their time and attention to their campaign work the comrades will waste their energy on the convention "issue."

Now everybody hopes that a national convention will settle everybody's troubles, and that everything would run smoothly the moment the representative wise men of the party will have adjourned. Let the Socialist Party spend \$4,000 for national organization and propaganda work and we shall see better results.

Why, a national committee meeting would cost as much as a national convention, we hear some comrades argue. To this I wish to reply with a question: Is there nothing else to do for us but jumping from the fire into the frying pan, and from the frying pan into the fire? In my opinion a national committee meeting at this time is just as useless and superfluous as a special national convention. Neither a convention nor a national committee meeting can in any way help the comrades in Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin or any other state to do their campaign work.

G. A. HOEHN.
St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 27, 1906.

ORGANIZERS, ATTENTION!

Editor Socialist:
Comrade Breckon's article on organization calls to mind the idea which I wish to offer as a suggestion. Why not open an organizer's column in The Socialist and invite organizers who have had experience in building up successful locals to tell us just how they did it. What is your system? For system is necessary to success in any undertaking. How do you get the membership interested? Local Grand Rapids has attempted a house to house distribution of literature but we find it difficult to get enough of the members interested to accomplish what we desire. Our membership is not increasing as fast as we should like. Let us hear from the organizers of locals making rapid growth.

ARTHUR F. ROGERS.
Grand Rapids, Mich., Jan. 26, 1906.

The matter of the standing of Local Tacoma was gone over and the report of the State Organizer heard. It was found that an honest mis-undervaluing had existed and it was decided that by the payment of \$200 arrears Local Tacoma be credited as squared up to January 1.

CALIFORNIA

State Secretary, H. C. Tuck, 405 Eighth street, Oakland.

Local Los Angeles.
The Socialist Party, The Bund, I. W. W. and The Socialist Labor Party, held a joint celebration of "Red Sunday." Frank I. Wheat presided and made an opening speech. He then introduced C. Bluementhal, who represented The Bund. Miss Anna R. Alex recited an appropriate selection.

Then came the principal speaker of the evening, Arthur Morrow Lewis, who was given unlimited time. His speech of forty minutes was one of the finest ever delivered in this city. In concluding his speech Comrade Lewis made an appeal for funds for our Russian comrades that stirred the audience to the core. Although the collection was only \$650 the collection was \$109.00. This will leave about \$700 clear of all expenses.

Claude Riddle spoke as representative of the Socialist Labor Party. Dr. Houghton got the consent of the audience to make a few remarks and concluded by announcing a meeting of the Schmitz-Ruef Union Labor Party. Then Comrade Lewis offered a public challenge to Dr. Houghton or Job Harriman or anyone else of standing, who believed in the Schmitz movement, to debate the proposition.

"Resolved, That the man who casts a ballot for the Schmitz-Ruef et al Union Labor Party, betrays the real cause of the working class."

BARTEL.

MAINE

The Socialists of Knox county met in convention at Rockland Court House, January 23rd and elected Dan Sobel of Camden, delegate to the State Convention, to be held at Augusta in February; L. J. Hills of Warren alternate; placed in nomination

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NATIONAL CONVENTION PROGRAM

The official stenographic report of the proceedings of the National Convention, May 1-6, 1904, makes a book of 317 pages 6x9 inches, which every Socialist should possess. Besides the full report of speeches and debates the book contains an appendix full of information for every student and live Socialist, among which may be mentioned: List of Socialist papers and periodicals in the United States both in English and foreign languages; list of all delegates, with mail addresses; report of Committee on State and Municipal Program; National Platform and Constitution; Socialist vote, etc., with complete index so that ready reference can be made to remarks of any speaker or subject. In fine red cloth binding the price is \$1.00; in paper cover, 50 cents. Carefully packed and postage paid. Order from National Secretary, 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

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dacy for the office of City Treasurer on the Republican ticket, thereby violating one of the cardinal principles of our organization.

Therefore, be it resolved, That said Arthur St. Dennis, be and is hereby expelled from the Socialist party clubs, and that he be denounced as a traitor to the movement of the working class.

And, be it further resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the National Secretary and State Secretary of the Socialist party organization and the Socialist Press.

By Order of Local Flint.

Better-World

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EROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

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

Comrade Mother Jones will speak, February 4, Norfolk, Va.; 5, 6, Henderson, N. C.; 7, 8, Greensboro; 9, 10, Winston-Salem.

Patrick O'Hare, 706 St. Anna street, New Orleans, La., was re-elected state secretary; Wilbur Putnam, Evangeline, was elected state organizer.

Comrade W. J. Bell, 125 E. Front street, Tyler, Texas, was re-elected state secretary-treasurer and Comrade Word H. Mills, Box 694, Dallas, National committeeman for the year 1906.

Comrade J. M. McMillan, of Leavenworth, Kans., was elected state organizer and Comrade George D. Brewer, of Girard, National Committeeman for the term ending December 31st, 1906.

The National office is in receipt of many resolutions, too numerous to print, passed by locals throughout the country expressing sympathy and pledging material aid and moral support for our Russian comrades in their struggle for freedom.

Comrade Chas. Pergler, Bohemian Lecturer and Organizer, gives notice of his inability to serve the party as National Lecturer and Organizer, because of his manifold duties as editor of the Socialist organ, "Sprawednost", except during the summer when he will be at the service of the party.

Comrade John Hagel, secretary of local Oklahoma City, writes: "As a result of the splendid aid given us by our Woman's Auxiliary we are enabled herewith to send you as our effort for the support of the Russian Revolutionists, the enclosed money order for \$45.35, the result of the meeting held here on Sunday, Jan. 21st, in accordance with the international and National Proclamation."

Organizing and Lecture Tours are now being arranged as follows:

James H. Brower.—Illinois, Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma.

John Collins.—Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota and Montana.

Arthur Morrow Lewis.—Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio.

Dates for National Lecturers and Organizers for the coming week are:

Guy E. Miller.—February 4, Henderson, Ky.; 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, Central City.

Teofilo Petriella (Italian).—February 4, 5, 6, Collinsville, Ill.; 7, 8, 9, St. Louis, Mo.; 10, Glen Carbon, Ill.

John W. Slayton.—Under the direction of the State Committee: February 1, Anderson, California; 2, Sacramento; 3, Placerville; 4, Dixon; 6, Oakland; 7, San Jose; 9, Santa Paula; 10, Fillmore.

Contributions to Russian Social Democratic Labor Party from January 20th to 26th, Inclusive:

Local Newport, Ky., \$ 7.00
Geo. Badley, Selkirk, Ont., 5.00
German Socialists, Chicago, Ill. 83.54
Local Kingfisher, Okla., 5.00
Local Salem, Ohio, 1.00
Local Calumet, Texas, 2.25
31st Ward Br. Chicago, Ill., 5.65
Br. 1, Washington, Ind., 4.00
Nestor Dondoglis, Louisville, Ky., 1.00
Local Union City, Ind., 3.50
Local Parkersburg, W. Va., 3.50
Local Portsmouth, O., 10.00
Local Joliet, Ill., 8.20
Br. 1, Alexandria, Ind., 2.75
Local Clinton, Ia., 5.40
Local Akron, O., 8.29
M. Ritchie, New Castle, Pa., .80
Local Wilkesbarre, Pa., 6.30
Local Creston, Tenn., .50
Local Elgin, Ill., 2.10
Br. Bellevue, Ill., 5.00
Local Elmhurst, Ill., 10.00
A. L. Nourse, per Appeal to Reason, 2.00
Local New Orleans, La., 21.00
Local Pana, Ill., 40.00
Local Malden, Mass., 2.50
Local Dayton, O., 17.60
Local Ft. Worth, Tex., 4.20
Local Evansville, Ind., 1.80
Br. Chicago Heights, Ill., 3.40
Proceeds of Lecture given by Thos. H. Lucas, Minneapolis, Minn., 7.87
Local Oklahoma City, Okla., 45.55
Local Montgomery, Ala., 3.50
Local Portland, Me., 11.16
Local Cheyenne, Wyo., 4.00
Local Kings County, N. Y., 34.12
Local Butler, Mont., 58.00
J. B. Sigger, Sealy, Tex., 1.50
Local Webb City, Mo., 4.00
Local Bisbee, Ariz., 3.50
Wm. Clark, Augusta, Me., .50
Local Neffs, O., 13.50
W. O. H. Knoxville, Tenn., 2.00
Local Spirit Mound, S. D., 2.50
Local Patchogue, N. Y., 2.00
Local Gainesville, Tex., 1.50
Bohemian Central Committee, Chicago, Ill., 13.00
Bohemian Br. 4th Ward, Chicago, Ill., 5.00

OHIO

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

Local Cleveland.
The headwriter of the "Plain Dealer" must have had a vision of how to exterminate Socialism when he placed his copy on the hook bearing on Comrade London's lecture at Yale College, to-wit: "Yale Shocked by Jack London." "Socialist Waves Red Flag of Anarchy in a Lecture at Woolsey Hall," "Declares That The Grip of Socialism is Tightening on the World." The encouraging feature in the announcement in the telegram is that 3,000 Yale men and their friends were present when Comrade London gave his views that "were so radical that they even exceeded the fears of the Yale faculty, which only consented reluctantly to London's appearance before the student audience." It is quite pleasing to note that the mossback sponsors for capitalists in our universities find themselves forced to consent that the students may listen to lectures on the social revolution. The leaves is working admirably and the ignorant penny liners or designing public misleaders will find little comfort in try-

SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

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Special Bundles.—40 to 50 copies, 3 cents apiece; 50 to 100 copies, 2 cents apiece; 100 to 500 copies, 1 1/2 cents apiece; 500 to 1,000 copies, 1 cent apiece.

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 so 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.

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

Entered at Toledo Post Office, as second class mail matter, March 17, 1905.



TO CELEBRATE TWO ANNIVERSARIES

During the week beginning March 18, the Socialists of the world will celebrate the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Paris Commune. By a coincidence the first anniversary of the publication of *The Socialist* in Toledo falls upon March 17, the issue being No. 285. The publishers of *The Socialist* will celebrate this double event by making No. 285 a notable issue. Special preparations will be made to make it one of six or eight pages, according to orders received in advance.

Articles suitable for the occasion have been requested from Comrades Eugene V. Debs, George D. Herron, Ben Hanford, Arthur Morrow Lewis, Algernon Lee, John Spargo, Ida Crouch Hazlett, Franklin H. Wentworth, W. J. Ghent, Upton Sinclair, Jack London, and other well known Socialist writers. Besides this there will be a special contribution from Comrade Hermon F. Titus and a review of the work of *The Socialist* during its first year in Toledo, by William Mailly. At least one special cartoon will be a feature. Full particulars will be given later.

We have never disappointed our readers with our special editions. We have always filled every promise, no matter what the cost. The anniversary issue will be no exception and comrades can place orders for it with full assurance that it will be worthy of the widest distribution.

On account of the additional number of pages it will not be possible to make a reduced rate for this issue and the usual rate will prevail, viz: 10 to 50 copies, 3 cents apiece; 50 to 100 copies, 2 cents apiece; 100 to 500 copies, 1 1/2 cents apiece; 500 to 1,000 copies, 1 cent apiece. Orders should reach *The Socialist* office not later than March 12, so that we can decide how many copies to have printed. The issue will be printed a day earlier and mailed to reach all points in the United States and Canada on Saturday, March 17, in time for Commune celebrations.

Party News

Continued from Page Three.

excellent, but in spite of that fact there was a fair attendance. The occasion was utilized also as a formal opening of our new hall, and an enjoyable program of music and recitations was carried out.

A collection of \$7.75 was taken and has been sent to Dr. Maxim Romm in New York. Two new applications for membership were received which if favorably acted on will bring present membership to 99. A pleasant feature of the evening was the presence of a number of Hollanders who rendered the "Marseillaise" and one or two other stirring selections in their native tongue.

To reach the foreign population the Local has invested in a quantity of pamphlets in Dutch and in Polish and has started distributing same where it will do the most good.

The Local has just installed at their street entrance a large white translucent globe, with street number in front and the inscription, "Socialist Hall," on either side, which makes it easier for seekers after economic truth to find the location of the fountain.

The Local has sent to State Secretary the nomination of Comrade Philip Engle of Detroit, as National Committeeman and would ask for his endorsement at the hands of other Locals. Have received no notice from State Headquarters regarding the nomination, but acted on the published announcement by National Secretary that Michigan is entitled to another member on committee. We ought to get busy and have one elected, as it is said that Wisconsin has already done so.

PENNSYLVANIA

State Secretary, Robert B. Ringler, 347 Spruce street, Reading.

Two new applications for charters are reported this week—one from New Castle and one from Sharsburg. As a result of the Wanhope meeting the local at Butler is likely to be revived.

The Philadelphia "Bloody Sunday" meeting was a great success. A collection of \$93.97 was taken, the expenses were about \$30.00, so more than \$60.00 will be realized for the revolutionists. Howard H. Caldwell acted as chairman and the speakers were Ed. Moore and Sam Clark in

English, Louis Werner in German, G. Sylvestro in Italian, Dr. Schiupaz in Lithuanian, and Jos. Novak in Bohemian.

Owing to the fact that Old City Hall, Pittsburgh, was destroyed by fire the Socialists of that city could not hold their "Bloody Sunday" commemorative meeting on January 21 as planned. The meeting was postponed to last Sunday, when a good meeting was held in Turner hall, on Forbes street, with speakers in English, German and Jewish.

GENERAL

The Socialists of Nashville, Tenn., have secured a new hall for their Sunday night meetings. At the Russian demonstration held January 21, the collection for the revolutionists amounted to \$10.47.

A vast audience filled Grand Central Palace, New York City, at Jack London's lecture under the auspices of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, and enthusiastically applauded his revolutionary sentiments, which J. G. Phelps Stokes, who presided, thought it necessary to make a preliminary apology for.—"The Worker."

Aprpos the Socialism of B. Fay Mills we may mention that he quotes and commends the editorial by Louis F. Post criticizing the Socialists for denouncing John Burns as a traitor to his class when he sold out to the Liberals in England. Our comrades must be careful whom they quote as being Socialists when "great men" are in question.

February 4 has been fixed as the day when the Socialists and unionists throughout Spain will hold public mass meetings at which the speakers will discuss the problem, "Bread and Work!" The government and local authorities will be called upon to provide the necessary means for relieving the pitiable condition of the Spanish wage workers.

Secretary J. J. Friedland and Treasurer Dr. Maxim Romm report receipts for the Russian Revolutionary Fund for the week ending January 27 as follows: Previously acknowledged, \$6,946.13; Local Pawtucket, R. I., per Boudreau, \$5; M. Eismann, 175 Henry street, N. Y., \$5; Erie Socialists, per T. E. Perry, \$5; a friend, Zoar Station, O., \$2.25; Fifth Ward Branch, Local Rochester, \$10; Socialist Society, Hamilton, Ont., Can., \$6; Local Richmond County, per Ernest Engelbrecht (demonstration meeting), \$11.84; per Strade, 25c; per Groes-

trum, \$9.25; \$21.34; T. J. Lloyd, Bloomingburg, N. Y., \$5; citizens of Springfield, O., \$5; J. Eckhard, St. Louis, Mo., \$1; Local St. Louis, per Kaemmerer, \$10; Workmen's Educational Association, \$15; S. Sosse- loff, per E. Feigenbaum, \$5; Section Socialista del Turber, Texas, \$28.50; B. F. Swenson, Dixon, Cal., \$1; Dan Shovin, Butte, Mont., \$1; Local Clinton, Mass., per H. Burke, \$5.25; G. H. Thompson, Mansfield, S. D., \$1; Local Grand Rapids, Mich., per E. Ruthven, \$7.75; per "Volkszeitung," \$84.30. Total, \$7,268.52.

The Progressive Stage Society will give a performance on February 5th for the benefit of Local New York, at the Berkeley Lyceum theatre, 19 W. Forty-fourth street. The plays to be given are "The Escape," by Villiers de l'Isle Adam; "The Scab," by Elsa Barker, and two scenes from Henrik Ibsen's "Peer Gynt." Admission \$10 cents. Tickets can be had at "The Worker" office.

The second meeting of the Unity Committees of the S. P. and the S. L. P. of New Jersey met December 31 and continued their discussion of the A. F. of L. vs. the I. W. W. No definite decision was reached, but the consensus of opinion seemed to be that the Socialist Party should endorse the I. W. W. even if it did not endorse political action through the Socialist Party.

A SOCIALIST FUNERAL

The funeral of Comrade J. J. Cavanaugh on Thursday, January 24, was as he had wished it—a Socialist funeral. He had requested on his death bed that instead of the usual ceremonies his Socialist comrades join the "Marseillaise" and that Comrade Thomas W. Rowe, President of the American Flint Glass Workers, speak a few farewell words. He selected as his pallbearers, Comrades Fred Shane, Thomas C. Devine, W. C. Guntrup, Joseph Quill, Henry Bowers, Sr., and William Mailly. He also asked that the arrangements for his funeral be left entirely in the hands of Comrade J. S. Cowley. His wishes were fulfilled to the letter.

The funeral took place from the home of Comrade Cowley, 2027 Ontario street. The house was filled with friends and Socialist comrades, besides Comrade Cavanaugh's seventy-year-old son, Earl, his sister, Mrs. Frank Rash, his brother, Timothy Cavanaugh of Corning, N. Y., his mother-in-law, Mrs. H. C. Adams, and other relatives. There were flowers from Local Union, No. 81, American Flint Glass Workers, the Socialists of Toledo, (party emblem), and relatives and friends.

After the Socialist comrades had sung the "Marseillaise," Comrade Rowe, who had hurried from Elwood, Ind., to be present, spoke briefly, and the funeral party then left on a special electric car for Findlay. Before interment a short service took place in the vault in the cemetery. The comrades again sang the "Marseillaise" and Comrade Rowe again spoke more at length. The speech was full of feeling and eloquent of meaning to those present.

Comrade Rowe pointed out that within the past two years this was the third Socialist, all glass workers, who had been carried off in what should have been the prime of their lives, because they could not secure the necessary treatment in time to save them from premature death. Their deaths had been caused primarily by the conditions which existed in the factories where they worked and which made for the spread of tuberculosis and other diseases, and while they suffered and died for want of the necessities of life their masters were able to bask in the beautiful climate of California and to go to foreign lands, far from where the wage slaves created wealth for them.

Comrade Cavanaugh and the other comrades who had preceded him were not like the ordinary working-men who believe their only and proper function in life is to slave for the capitalist class. Our comrades had thought enough and studied enough to know why it was that the workers and their wives and children died like flies in summer and suffered unspeakable tortures through the diseases which came to them in the struggle to live, and like Socialist workingmen everywhere, they had tried to awaken their class to the injustice of such conditions.

Comrade Cavanaugh had worked hard to awaken workmen to the cause of their sufferings. He had pointed out again and again that while the capitalist class owned the tools by which labor earned its livelihood, oppressed, condemned to misery and killed by inches. We know that Cavanaugh had made enemies among the workers of his own class, but it was only because his fearless tongue could not help denouncing capitalist conditions and upbraiding his fellow workers who accepted those conditions without protest. His mind was keen to the hypocrisy and ignorance which kept his brothers in slavery and his every heart beat was a protest against the existing system. Those who had misunderstood him the most were those whom he had given of his best to save from the living hell of industrial slavery. We who knew him and had felt his glorious impulses and shared in his ambition for his class were the ones who would feel his going the most and would hold his memory as an inspiration to work as he had worked for the greatest of causes.

The one lesson those who were now present should draw from this untimely death was that so long as the existing social system was permitted to continue by the consent of the workers, then the workers should be prepared to accept the conditions which the system produced and to sacrifice all that they held dear to the exactions of the system and the demands of the ruling class. These should not weep when their beloved ones are taken from them, murdered often by degrees, but they should accept their losses as that which was their due. But if instead the workers would not accept this system as the only right and proper one and they wished to see a better,

system established they would join the army of class-conscious workers of whom Comrade Cavanaugh was one and never rest until capitalism was overturned and the Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth took its place. And that was the one thing which Comrade Cavanaugh desired above everything else in life.

After Comrade Rowe's address the coffin was laid in the grave beside that of Comrade Cavanaugh's wife, who died nearly a year ago.

Space will not permit us to give a complete list of those who were present at the funeral. Besides those already mentioned above, were the following: Mrs. J. S. Cowley, Mrs. J. Quill, Mrs. F. Shane, Mr. and Mrs. Milady, Wm. Cizek, Otto Schreiner, J. Sloan, R. McCorrison, J. McCarthy, M. Dillon, A. Humphrey, J. Grindle, Wm. R. Neal, Raymond Covey, M. Fisher, V. Gomst, J. K. O'Connell, of Toledo; Mr. J. C. Adams, John Adams, Mr. and Mrs. Geo. Krouse and others of Findlay; Mr. and Mrs. Ed. Boyle, Mrs. L. Shane, Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Doyle, Charles Harris, S. Simpson and John Lyons of Fostoria.

Local Union, No. 81, American Flint Glass Workers, provided all arrangements for the funeral.

Comrade Thomas C. Devine's farewell words to Comrade Cavanaugh are printed on the second page of this issue.

The Publishing Co.

Continued from Page One.

postage, \$2.27; secretary of state, certificate of stock subscription, \$2; seal, \$2.25; Barnhardt Bros. & Spindler, type, etc., \$199.37; expressage, 45c; secretary of state, articles of incorporation, \$10; expressage on type, 70c. Total, \$221.37.
Receipts, \$374.00; expenditures, \$221.37. Balance, cash on hand, \$152.63.

Liabilities.

Heyman & Kraus, printing, \$5; Kerwin Brothers, stock certificates, \$5. Total, \$10.
The financial report was accepted. After general discussion, a motion

"OVERLOOKED"

The letter printed below was solicited from Eugene V. Debs in behalf of the "Christian Herald" of New York for its special Thanksgiving issue in which a large number of prominent persons were asked what special reason the world in general and the United States in particular had for thanksgiving. Some days after the issue appeared Debs was informed that the article had reached the "Herald" too late to be inserted and that it would appear in the special New Year's issue. As the article did not then appear, inquiry was made regarding it and within a few days it was returned with the information that it had been "overlooked."

The truth is that the article was neither "too late" nor "overlooked." It arrived at the "Herald" office in ample time, but it was evidently not the kind of stuff that was wanted and so it was found convenient to "overlook" it, and this notwithstanding it was solicited by the "Herald" and written and sent primarily as an accommodation to that paper. It is evident that the publishers of the "Christian Herald" do not view the tendencies of which Comrade Debs speaks, as something for them to be thankful about.

Terre Haute, Ind., Oct. 18th, 1905.

MR. GILSON WILLETS,
Christian Herald,
New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR SIR:—Answering your inquiry of recent date I have to say that from my point of view the world in general and American people in particular have cause to be thankful in large and ever-increasing measure because of the rapid march of events toward the Universal Republic.

All the tendencies, conscious and otherwise, are toward world-wide emancipation from the animalism of past ages, and our own country is foremost of all in the conquest and nearest of all to the goal.

The centralization of capital, the organization of industry and the elimination of competition are the means of reconstructing the economic basis of society, and the new foundations, are being laid as wide as the universe.

The wide-spread dispossession of the people and the reign of greed and graft incident to the process are precedent to the dispossession of the dispossessors by the people.

Each passing day brings nearer the end of capitalist misrule and nearer the reign of freedom and righteousness.

The International Socialist Movement with its more than eight millions of loyal adherents, joining hands around the globe, all unite in anthems of praise and thanksgiving that the night of capitalism is nearly gone and that the glad new day of "Peace on Earth and Good Will to Men" is soon to dawn.

Yours faithfully,

to adjourn subject to the call of the chairman was adopted.
GEORGE SCHULZ,
Secretary.

In connection with the above it may be stated that it was thought wise to allow the committee on code of regulations sufficient time to consult the attorney whose services were available free to the company, so that the regulations be drawn up within the legal requirements before being submitted to the stockholders. The law requires that the code of requirements (the legal term used in Ohio for rules and by-laws) be approved by two-thirds' vote of the stockholders before they can be adopted. As there was not two-thirds represented at the first meeting it was decided that the next meeting be an adjourned meeting and that efforts be made to have two-thirds represented either personally or by proxy at that time so that the regulations can be adopted without delay. Stockholders are therefore requested to take note of this and be represented accordingly.

The prospects for the company are bright indeed. It was the opinion of the members at the first meeting that the fullest publicity be given to the company's acts, reports of meetings, etc. A Socialist company should not be afraid to let the movement know what it is doing.

There is a growing demand in Toledo for a plant that will print papers and periodicals, as there is nothing of the kind here, and the sooner a press is installed the more assured will success be. All that is needed is the money and the press will be put in and *The Socialist* be printed without dependence upon machinery owned by capitalists.

COMRADES OF THE REVOLUTION.

By Kate Brownlee Sherwood.

Comrades of the Revolution,
In the pangs of persecution;
Comrades bound by ties fraternal,
By the rights of man supernatural;
Rights of life and high ambition
Right to rise from low condition;
Comrades, justice is eternal.

Comrades, brotherhood is risen,
From the travail of the prison;
Russ and Saxon, Jew, or other,
Red the blood that binds them
brother;

Red the ensign calling ever,
To the mounts of great endeavor;
Trode by lord and master never.

Comrades, freedom sends you greet-
ing,
Lips and eyes and heart repeating;
Comrades, where the knouts are fly-
ing,

Comrades, where the babes are dying,
Freedom from the czars and zealots,
From the potentates and prelates
From the tyrant-armoured helots.

Comrades, we the vovs have taken,
All the world shall yet awaken;
Fawning fools and cringing vassals,
Holding up the crumbling castles,
Brotherhood at last shall glory
Over greed and tyrants hoary,
Make for MAN a place in story.

BOOSTING SOME

The Socialist Boosters of Toledo have organized. On Monday night last a number of the active party workers met and formed themselves into **The Socialist Boosters' League of Toledo**. Thomas Haley was elected president and Louis Kopelin secretary. This organization was afterwards made permanent. The necessity of boosting *The Socialist* in every possible way was discussed. Every one present took a hand and the expression of opinion was inspiring and most encouraging. Everybody admitted the necessity of sustaining *The Socialist*, of keeping it in Toledo, and of advancing its circulation among Socialists and non-Socialists alike. *The Socialist* is needed in Toledo and Ohio and it had to stay here, was the consensus of opinion. A most interesting letter from Mrs. Titus, which had arrived that day, giving details of how the Boosters in Seattle work, was read and received with enthusiasm. Secretary Kopelin was instructed to prepare and issue a circular to the friends of *The Socialist* in Ohio calling upon them to **Boost** and to form **Boosters' Clubs** in their different localities. Comrade Neuber reported the entertainment to be held by the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund on March 19 in commemoration of the Paris Commune of 1871 and for the benefit of the Socialist press. It was voted that the **Toledo Boosters' League** unite with the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund and help make the celebration a success. It was decided to make the entrance fee to the **Toledo Boosters' League** 25 cents in order to meet expenses of printing, etc. Each member is pledged to turn in 25 cents a week and each receives in return a three months' subscription card to *The Socialist*. It was the unanimous sentiment that the Boosters also **Boost** the advertising in *The Socialist* and get new advertisers, as well as support those now in the paper. After adopting a motion setting every Monday night as the regular meeting night, the League adjourned.

Here are the members of **The Socialist Boosters' League of Toledo**: Thomas Haley, Geo. Schulz, Louis Kopelin, William Cizek, C. H. Reed, M. C. Wolfe, R. C. Spohn, A. Neuber, Herman Schubert, Thomas C. Devine, J. D. Ely, Otto Schreiner, Wm. Patterson, Alfred Allen, Louis Steuer, Bert Mulnix, E. B. Ault, Otto N. Clemens, Bertha H. Maily, Wm. Maily.

Now that the Toledo Boosters have got to work, the Seattle Boosters will have to hustle some more.

The Socialist, Toledo, Ohio.

Seattle, Wash., Jan. 21, 1906.

Dear Comrades:—Twenty of the "Boosters" of Washington boost to the extent of \$15.20 this week. Our membership is nearly fifty now, though we have started only two weeks ago. **THIS SHOWS WHAT CAN BE DONE**. Instead of sending in cash contributions we intend to send in subscriptions after this.

Had a meeting last night. Eighteen "Boosters" present. President J. A. McCorkle presided. Communications and pledges from Comrades S. Roeder, D. Sanford, S. G. Rouleau, A. Roeder, W. E. Tibbits and A. O. Haugen of Everett, J. Wright of Coupeville, W. Hogan of Orcas, Pt. Angel, W. Lohrenz of South Bend, D. Burgess of Tacoma, Wm. Thorbeck of Pt. Townsend, and E. S. Reinert of Curlew, read and acted upon. Bills for postage ordered paid. Secretary's report accepted. Committee of three selected to segregate Washington mailing list and put "Boosters" throughout state to work getting renewals and new subscribers. Action taken toward getting two new advertisers. Request made *The Socialist* keep us posted on financial condition of paper. A. B. Callahan gave synopsis of letter he sent *The Socialist*. Adjourned to meet Saturday, January 27, 8 p. m., at Room 40, 2003 Second avenue.

After adjournment Comrades Kemp, Koch and Harrison rendered some beautiful selections on mandolins. D. Burgess told a story of his travels. Mrs. Steele's coffee and Mrs. White's doughnuts were enjoyed. The next meeting of the "Boosters" will be entertained by the Liebknecht Society.

Business (itemized) of last week follows:	
S. Roeder, Everett, subs every two weeks.....	\$.50
A. Roeder, Everett, subs every week.....	.25
S. G. Rouleau, Everett, subs every week.....	.25
W. E. Tibbits, Everett, subs every four weeks.....	1.00
A. O. Haugen, Everett, subs every week.....	.25
D. Sanford, Everett, subs every week.....	.25
J. Wright, Coupeville, subs.....	1.00
W. Hogan, Orcas, subs.....	1.10
H. Meyer, Olympia, subs.....	1.00
E. S. Reinert, Curlew, subs.....	1.00
A. and H. Wagenknecht, subs.....	.50
H. F. Titus, Seattle, subs.....	.25
Eleanor Maurer, Hillman, subs.....	1.00
H. W. Titus, Seattle, subs and contribution.....	2.00
O. Halvorsen, Seattle, sub and contribution.....	3.10
Leo Hotz, Seattle, sub and contribution.....	1.50
A. B. Callahan, Seattle, sub.....	.25
	\$15.20

Fifty "Boosters" at a sub a week means 200 subs a month or 2,400 a year. Any other state or city going to follow suit?

Yours for the Revolution,
A. WAGENKNECHT, Sec'y,
J. A. McCORKLE, Pres.

Note:—In *The Socialist* of January 20, \$3.00 cash credited to Callahan, McCorkle and Wagenknecht should have been credited to J. J. Fraser, Charleston.

The Socialist acknowledges with thanks the receipt of many good letters from the Washington League of "Boosters," both direct and through Comrade Wagenknecht. Lack of space prevents printing all of these this week, but we give one from our old friend and comrade, S. G. Rouleau, of Everett:

"We have organized a league of Socialist "Boosters" here on the 13th inst. I am the financial secretary. Same plan as at Seattle. We propose to paint the town red. Will send in at least 25 new subs per month.

Party papers are more essential now

than at any other time. Order a bundle of five of *The Socialist* for next year and distribute judiciously. Only \$3.25.

Don't let a few men do all the work. Join "The Boosters."

"We are satisfied that subscriptions for three months instead of cash alone will react in favor of the paper as it will give us all a chance to hustle for renewals from people who already know what the paper stands for. Yours for the Revolution,"—S. G. Rouleau.

The comrades of Vallejo, Cal., must have joined the "Boosters," as the following letter indicates: "I enclose fifty addresses to which please send *The Socialist* for three months. I would like to have them begin with Comrade Fowler's article. Yours for the Revolution."—Sam Murray, Vallejo, Cal.

"Enclosed find \$1.00 for first month's dues in the L. of S. B. Fraternally yours, Emil Herman."

Cleveland has started! Three "Boosters" with more to follow! Report for the week:	
Robert Bandlow, subs.....	\$.75
W. B. Slusser, subs.....	.25
Max Hayes, subs.....	.25
	\$1.25

Will Cleveland find another ten to make up the lucky thirteen? We offer your friend and reader of *The Socialist* whose subscription expires with No. 285, the issue of March 17, begin to watch out for his expiration notice now? Be a "booster" to the extent that you do not fail to renew before that date arrives. It is just one year from the date of first issue of *The Socialist* in Toledo and hundreds of subscriptions will expire with that number. One comrade in California whose subscription expires on that date writes us this week to renew his with a bundle of five instead of one. Watch for it and boost to the extent of your own sub and try to send in another subscription with it.

"I enclose \$5.00 for two yearlies and five half yearly subscription cards. The other dollar is for postal cards, 'The Man Who Will Never Be a Socialist,' etc. Yours fraternally, Wilfrid G. Gribble."

From Mrs. H. Roeder, Everett, Wash.: "Enclosed find \$1.05 for my last sub. card. The 5 cents is for postage on Poverty, which please send me as premium. Local Everett has selected 'The Long Day,' as their premium for subs. Best wishes for a Happy New Year to the 'staff' and a prosperous New Year for *The Socialist*."

"A happy and successful New Year to you, Comrades, and a big sub. list for *The Socialist*. Trying to boom it in the Local.—W. C. Edwards, Portsmouth, Ohio."

Enclosed find P. O. order for one dollar, for which please send me *The Socialist* for one year and oblige.—Jonas Soberg, Bonanza, Yukon Territory, Canada.

"Enclosed please find money order for one dollar. Kindly enter my subscription to *The Socialist* for one year beginning with your issue of Jan 6, inst. Also send to my address 'Mass and Class,' by Ghent, as advertised. With best wishes to all our comrades on *The Socialist* for a prosperous and happy New Year, I am fraternally yours, Eugene Toomey, New Haven, Conn."

"Find herewith one dollar which please place to my credit on account 1906 subscription. Wishing you a happy and successful year in the noble work you have voluntarily assigned yourselves. I am fraternally, D. A. Hastings, Cheyenne, Wyo."

It's "The Boosters" who make *The Socialist* go. Are you one?

Reform Socialism and Revolutionary Socialism

(Continued from Page One.)

That means, in a year's time of 300 days, the U. S. Steel Corporation receives Property which the workers created, and for which they were paid nothing, to the vast amount of Thirty Millions.

This is on the basis of one dollar a day. If the wages are two dollars a day, the Unpaid Labor will be 60 millions a year.

Both these estimates are on the basis of the unpaid labor being exactly equal to the paid labor. If the unpaid labor is twice the paid labor, or five times the paid labor, as under improved machinery is often the case, then the Unpaid Labor of the U. S. Steel Corporation in every year will amount to sums ranging from 60 millions to 300 millions.

This is the perennial source of the fabulous accumulations of Property in the 19th and 20th centuries. This is where the capitalists get their wealth to fight over in Wall St.

the past systems of Slave Labor and Serf Labor, the creators of wealth never possess that wealth. All the surplus above their own subsistence belongs to the class of Property Holders.

Questions of rent, questions of prices, questions of taxes do not affect this question of Property. The Law of Wages goes on working whether rents or taxes or street car fares be high or low. These questions concern the propertyed man, but not the wage man.

THE WAGE MAN WILL GET NO PROPERTY SO LONG AS THE WAGE SYSTEM CONTINUES.

Of course, we speak of the Wage Man as a class. Individuals may, with utmost frugality and sacrifice, secure a "modest competence," though even that is increasingly difficult. But the class of Wage Earners can never become possessed of Property. The Law of Wages gives them only a bare living. The Capitalist Class get all the rest.

Here is the Proof

You ask for proof of these startling assertions? We refer you to the scientific works we named at the beginning of this chapter, especially to Marx's "Capital."

There you will find that the Wage Worker creates first his own value, that is, his wages, which he gets, and then a surplus

way whatever. This "Surplus Value" or "Unpaid Labor" constitutes his "profit."

Here again we speak of the Capitalist Class as a class. This class as a whole gets the "Profit" or "Unpaid Labor," making, because of the enormous productive capacity of modern machinery, a teeming worldful of wealth to fight for among themselves, the very battle-ground of "Frenzied Finance."

In Marx's "Capital," you will find it proved by the most rigid and scientific examination of Modern Capitalist production, that a wage-worker sells his "Labor Power" to a capitalist for a given time at a given price, his wages, say 8 hours for 4 dollars. That in a portion of that time, it may be 4 hours or 2 hours, the worker produces value enough to pay his own wages. That for the rest of the time, 4 hours or 6 hours, he produces "Surplus Value" for his employer, for which he receives nothing at all.</