

# The Socialist

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

NO. 311--SEVENTH YEAR.

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

CALDWELL, IDAHO, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1906.

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# WHAT LIFE MEANS TO ME

## BY UPTON SINCLAIR

(From "The Cosmopolitan Magazine," October, 1906).

I was born in what is called the upper middle-class; my parents were members of the ruined aristocracy of the South. I was brought up in a very secluded way, with high traditions and delicate sensibilities, and then turned loose in our modern commercial inferno to shift for myself. I went to college but I did not take many degrees, because I did not fit into the molds. But I loved the libraries, and I would begin all the courses, find out what the professors had to give me and then quit. I did this for nine years, in the meantime reading the world's literature and practicing the violin sometimes fourteen hours a day.

I was enabled to do this because of a happy knack which I possessed—that of composing (and marketing) boys' adventure stories. For a considerable period I used to talk these off to a stenographer, grinding them out at the rate of six or eight thousand words a day; in which manner I took care of myself from the age of sixteen. I have frequently walked all the way around Central Park, in New York, "thinking story." It was just after the Spanish War, and the scenes of my heroes' adventures were laid in Cuba; so I used to call the work of composition "killing Spaniards." In those days I wrote under the name of "Ensign Clark Fitch," and "Lieutenant Frederick Garrison"; and my productions appeared in brilliant red-, blue-, green-, and yellow-colored periodicals, known as the "True Blue Library" and the "Starry Flag Weekly."

During all this time, I lived with three intimate friends who loved me very dearly, had the molding of my character, and are responsible for my fundamentally revolutionary attitude toward the world. Their names are Jesus, Hamlet, and Shelley.

### Would Write the Great American Novel

At the age of twenty, I received a conviction of inspiration, and went away into the woods to write the "great American novel." I was so anxious to begin that I went in the month of April. I was in a tent, and the second night the thermometer dropped to seventeen; in trying to get warm I set fire to my tent, and nearly ended my adventure then and there. A little later in the summer I was storm-bound for three days (I was on an island), and lived on fried crow. Toward the end I went short on money, and then I lived entirely on fish and moldy soda-biscuit.

At the conclusion of the summer, having finished the novel, and considering that I had secured myself a place in literature, and was assured of an income thereby, I was married—my earthly possessions at that moment amounting to eight dollars. I soon made the appalling discovery that my novel was not wanted, that my inspiration was not believed in, and that I was out of touch with the entire civilized world—an outcast and a tramp. I could no longer write entertaining dime-novels—the effort to do so simply tore me to pieces, and the publishers of the dime-novels soon found out that something was wrong, and passed me by. I had all the burden and the travail of the future humanity in my soul, but I was powerless to express my vision; I had only incoherent protests and cries of despair. I had no friends; I had no one to advise me or help me or guide me to the light. My rich relations did no more than send me their old clothes occasionally, and offer me a position in the family banking-establishment.

### Lived in Tents and Shanties and Discovers Socialism

Not caring for this, I had no alternative but to go away into the woods,

and live in tents and shanties, and wash the dishes, and tend the baby, and nurse an invalid wife, and write literature. Some of the rage and bitterness of this experience I put into a book called "The Journal of Arthur Stirling," which was the diary of a young poet who starved in a garret, and finally committed suicide. It created something of a sensation in England, as well as in America; but it was a book about my own soul—and the world has not yet time to pay any attention to individual souls. My nightmare experience had to continue until I discovered the Socialist movement, until I had learned to identify my own struggle for life with the struggle for life of humanity.

That was not a thing which I could learn in the literature of the world, it was only beginning to get into literature; it was not a thing which I could learn in colleges, for the colleges have never heard of it; it is a thing which the working-class is learning through the discipline of grim and merciless experience. Of course I had known of Utopian socialism, of socialism as a theory of government, as a dream of a perfect society; but of socialism as an act of will I was ignorant—of socialism as the world-wide rebellion of the proletariat against the rule of organized and predatory capital.

It was a wonderful discovery when I made it, for it gave me the key to all my problems. I discovered that I did not have to carry the whole burden of the world's woe upon my own shoulders; that I had comrades and allies in the fight. I was no longer obliged to think of civilization as a place where wild beasts fought and tore one another without purpose and without end; I saw the anguish of the hour as the first pang of the great world-birth that is coming.

### Found His Work.

And at the same time I discovered my own place in the world, and the purpose and meaning of my experience. Down in the bottom of the social pit were millions of human beings, rotting in squalor and vice, and spreading a slow contagion that was infecting the whole of civilization. But these wretches were ignorant; they did not know what was the matter with them. They were also voiceless, and could not have told even had they known. On the other hand those who had voices—they did not know! They were sitting at ease and speculating about it; they had been born to success themselves, and were prattling that the individual was to blame for failure. I, alone of all men who had education and a voice, had been down into the social pit, and had lived the life of the proletarian; so that I, a boy of twenty-five or six, knew, of my own experience, things of which all the doctors and wise men, the scholars and statesmen of the world, were ignorant. I had tested upon my own person the effects of cold and hunger, of misery and disease and despair. I had tried to the full the power of the individual will, and had found its impotence; I had watched the beginning and the swift progress of degeneration—in body and mind and soul—in myself, and more horrible yet, in those I loved; I had "fronted the blood-red eyes of the old primeval terror of life." And so I knew, with a knowledge that no man could impeach, the cause and the meaning of all the evils that are raging in modern society—of neurasthenia, melancholia, and hysteria; of drunkenness, insanity, and suicide; of prostitution, war, and crime.

### How "The Jungle" was Written.

I began to plan a novel which should portray modern industrial conditions, and show how they were driving the working-man into socialism. It was just after the big strike in Packingtown, and the newspapers had contained some account of the

situation, which had attracted my attention to it. I knew that this was a place where modern commercial forces held complete sway, and had the making of the entire environment. I went out there and lived among the people for seven weeks; I being a socialist, they took me in and told me all they knew. I would sit in their homes at night, and talk with them, and then in the daytime they would lay off their work, and take me around, and show me whatever I wished to see. I studied every detail of their lives, and took notes enough to fill a volume. I talked, not merely with workmen and their families, but with bosses and superintendents, with night-watchmen and saloon-keepers and policemen, with doctors and lawyers and merchants, with politicians and clergymen and settlement-workers. I spared no pains to get every detail exact, and I know that in this respect "The Jungle" will stand the severest test—it is as authoritative as if it were a statistical compilation.

### Uncle Tom's Cabin His Model

In many respects I had "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in mind as a model of what I wished to do. First of all I was an artist, and I wished to write a piece of literature; but I wished also if possible to make a popular book, one that would be read by the people and would shake the country out of its slumber. In this I am afraid that I failed. I might have succeeded if I had had as good an opportunity as Mrs. Stowe had; but my task was so much harder—the life of the modern wage-slave is so much more mechanical and so much less picturesque than that of the chattel-slave of fifty years ago. The black slave was a scarce article; he was worth three hundred dollars the day he was born, and if he were taken care of he would be worth five times as much when he had attained his full growth. As a consequence he had a bright and happy childhood. On the other hand, there is a superfluity of unskilled labor all over the world, and it is nobody's business whether the child of the modern industrial slum ever attains to its full growth or not. Also the black slave generally lived in the country, and might be loved by his master; while the wage-slave knows nothing but a tenement-room and a factory, and his master is a machine.

All of which made it infinitely harder for a novelist; it gave him so much less opportunity for color and brightness, for humor and adventure, such as a popular book must have. I was warned by my friends that the sheer horror of "The Jungle" would kill it; but I could only answer that I had to make it true. I had spent seven weeks in Packingtown, and had been able to find no ray of sunshine in the lives of the people, save such as they were able to get out of drunkenness.

### Failed of His Purpose

Perhaps you will be surprised to be told that I failed in my purpose, when you know of all the uproar that "The Jungle" has been creating. But then that uproar is all accidental, and was due to an entirely different cause. I wished to frighten the country by a picture of what its industrial masters were doing to their victims; entirely by chance I had stumbled on another discovery—what they were doing to the meat-supply of the civilized world. In other words, I aimed at the public's heart, and by accident I hit it in the stomach.

I smile whenever I think of it now; I was so unpractical that I did not realize the bearing of this discovery. I really paid very little attention to the meat-question while I was in Chicago. When I had once studied out the universal system of graft which prevails in the place, the meat-graft

seemed to me simply a natural and obvious part of it. I saw a great deal of it, of course; but I did not see half as much as I might have seen had I tried harder. I do not eat much meat myself, and my general attitude toward the matter was one of indifference; I was of the opinion (and I am still of the opinion) that any man who takes into his stomach food which has been prepared under the direction of unscrupulous commercial pirates such as the Chicago packers, deserves all the poisoning he gets.

### A Proletarian Literature Coming

Now there is a stirring of life within the masses themselves. The proletarian writer is beginning to find a voice, and also an audience and a means of support. And he does not find the life of his fellows a fascinating opportunity for feats of artistry; he finds it a nightmare inferno, a thing whose one conceivable excellence is that it drives men to rebellion and to mutual aid in escaping. The proletarian writer is a writer with a purpose; he thinks no more of "art for art's sake" than a man on a sinking ship thinks of painting a beautiful picture of the cabin; he thinks of getting ashore, and of getting his brothers and comrades ashore—and then there will be time enough for art.

And that is what life means to me. So far as I myself am concerned, the well-springs of joy and beauty have been dried up in me—the flowers no longer sing to me as they used to, nor the sunrise, nor the stars; I have become like a soldier upon a hard campaign—I am thinking only of the enemy. The experiences of my life have been such that I cannot think of them without turning sick; there is no way that I can face the thought of them at all, save as being practice for the writing of "The Jungle." I see that it was necessary that some one should have had such experiences, in order that it might become impossible for any man to have them again.

People say to me, "You won't be quite such a vigorous socialist now that you have made some money." I do not try to tell them what I think of such a remark; I simply answer that I do not happen to be that sort of person. It is true that I am what the world calls famous, and shall also perhaps be rich; and I might go over to England if I chose, and meet with duchesses and lords, and be a "personality." But is there any place in the world where I could escape from the memory of my nights of fire and anguish? of the tears that I shed, and the vows that I took? Is there any way that I could escape from the memory of the men and women and children whom I left behind me, down there in the social pit—from their wan and hungry faces, from their tears and cries of despair? It is upon the faces of these people that I climbed out; they made themselves into a ladder for me. It was their pennies which kept me alive while I wrote my book; it was their words which cheered me on; when it was a question of allowing a publisher to mutilate it, they came forward—literally by the thousands—and saw me through. And now life means to me a chance to prove to them that they were not mistaken.

### The Most Wonderful Adventure the World Has Ever Seen

It means to me a chance to be a trusty leader in the most wonderful adventure that the world has ever seen. If you do not understand it, take my advice and find out about it, for otherwise life is hardly worth living just now. The curtain is going up on a world-drama the like of which history has never shown before; and it is your privilege to be a

# SEATTLE FREE SPEECH FIGHT GOES MERRILY ON

Special to "The Socialist"

SEATTLE, Wash., October 5.—A packed indignation meeting was held in Christensen's hall, Sunday, September 30, for the purpose of securing free speech on Seattle streets. The meeting was addressed by two non-Socialist lawyers and Judge Winsor and Vincent Harper amid tremendous enthusiasm.

Public sentiment is strongly for the Socialists, and the police campaign of suppression is the best propaganda ever had in the city. "Labor Mayor" Moore and Chief of Police Wappenstein make Socialists the champions of free speech and human liberty.

In the coming election there are only Republican and Socialist nominees for School Superintendent and County Judge. The Democrats were unable to secure anyone to run for these positions, the candidates they put up declining by the dozens. The Socialists have re-organized as the coming party. The Municipal Ownership party has proven a dead failure.

The Socialists have engaged all the vacant halls in the city during October. Among those secured is Christensen's hall, Second avenue, between Union and University, where Sunday night meetings will be held during October. Vincent Harper will deliver a series of four Sunday night lectures in this hall during the month.

Comrade Titus was arrested for the sixth time last Tuesday night. Bail was refused and Comrade Titus had to remain in jail. He was fined \$100.00 for the fourth offense by Police Judge Alexander. The case has been appealed.

Edwin J. Brown, Socialist Candidate for Prosecuting Attorney, was arrested for obstructing an impassable street. He has brought suit for \$20,000.00 damages against the Mayor, the Chief of Police and two policemen. Other suits are on foot for false imprisonment and petitions are being circulated for a referendum to call off the "labor Mayor."

Seven thousand of this issue of "The Socialist" will be distributed in Seattle. It is a great fight, and the Socialists are leading.

spectator—it is a privilege that I would not exchange for a ticket of admission to all that has gone before since the human race began. And alas for you if you are one of those unfortunates who sit cold and inattentive, because they do not understand the language in which the great drama is played!

The name of the language is Socialism. It is a world-language; it is spoken in Russia and Japan, in Germany and Argentina, in America and Australia. It is spoken wherever men are herded together in masses, and made the slaves of machines; it is a language of brotherhood and comradeship, of mutual service and of mutual escape, of liberty and justice and humanity.

### A Captain in the Fight.

Perhaps you are one of those unfortunates who live shut up in a little class of their own, and do not think that there is anything interesting in the world outside of it. You think that men who tend machines are dirty and stupid and all alike, and that what they suffer does not matter, nor whether they live or die. And just now they are dreaming the mightiest dream and fighting the mightiest battle that history has ever told; and you know and care nothing about it! But I have been down into the workshop where the swords are being forged; I have seen the troops being marshaled, and heard the trumpets calling—and I am a captain in the fight!

What, for instance, does the great Russian upheaval mean to you, if you do not understand the Socialist movement? What can you do but watch it in perplexity and dismay, and marvel that men should be so perverse as to do something which you had declared they could not do? And when the same birth-pangs seize upon France and Germany, when the same crisis comes to England and America—what will you do but run about, crying out in fright like children in a burning house? And this when you might have played the part of thinking men, and have understood and guided the change; and all for lack of taking the trouble to look into the social pit, and realize that they down there are men like yourself, and that the life they live is not to be endured by men, and that it is only a question of the time it takes them to find out the way of deliverance!

### REGISTER! REGISTER!

Remember that you cannot vote this fall unless you register. No matter how many times you have voted before, or whether you have

moved or not since the last election, you must register. Every Socialist will register immediately unless he has already done so, and he will see to it that all sympathizers register, also. You have a chance to register next Saturday. See that you do not neglect to take advantage of it.

## Adams Held Over

As was foreshadowed last week, Steve Adams was bound over for trial in the District Court, October term, on the testimony of Detective Thiele. Glover and Mason, who were incriminated to as great an extent as Adams by Thiele's testimony, were both released, the evidence against them being declared insufficient for holding them.

This latest act of the prosecution shows to what desperate straits they are reduced. Such open defiance of all decency could only occur in a country absolutely owned and a state controlled by the corporations which are most desirous of the death of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

## Fusion In Utah?

W. S. Dalton, Editor "The Crisis," Salt Lake City, Utah, and Candidate for Supreme Judge in That State Will Support American Party.

Wm. S. Dalton, long known as an impossibilist of impossibilists, once national organizer of the S. L. P. and at that time the bitterest opponent of the Socialist party because of its alleged reform tendencies, the man who for a time led the fight on our present national platform, has left the Socialist party, declined the nomination for supreme judge on our ticket, and will support the "American" party this fall.

Dalton, in this action, merely expresses the conviction of a great many "Socialists" in Utah and lays bare what seems an inherent tendency of the party in that state to fuse.

In his letter declining to accept the nomination for supreme judge, written, it seems, after the time for filing the ticket has passed, or at any rate such a short time before that there is not time to name anyone for the place, Mr. Dalton takes up the cry made famous by Dubois, "Damn the Mormons." His plea in joining the American party is "anything to beat the church." We trust his action will not be upheld by the Utah Socialist party and that they will name some one to occupy the place on the ticket made vacant by Mr. Dalton if they yet have time.

# REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM AND REFORM SOCIALISM

## BY HERMON F. TITUS

THIS SERIES OF ARTICLES WAS BEGUN IN THE ISSUE OF SEPTEMBER 8 AND WILL CONTINUE ABOUT THREE MONTHS. THEY WILL BE PUBLISHED IN A TEN CENT PAMPHLET IF ENOUGH ORDERS ARE RECEIVED. ORDERS SHOULD BE SENT IN AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

### CHAPTER IV.—THIRD PRINCIPLE OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

"The People!" The popular magazines and dailies are always charming us with the magic words, "The People!"

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

It is the word to conjure with—"The People!"

Yet nobody stops to ask, Who are "The People"?

In old Rome 2000 years ago, they talked about "The People," too. But they never included the slaves in the term. Yet the slave population in Rome far outnumbered all the rest. "The People" in Rome meant the people who had property, whether Patrician or Plebeian.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Third Principle Stated

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

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

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

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

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

Socialists, we cannot too often repeat, are not such dreamers as to seek to create facts to suit themselves. They are not such individualists as Mr. Roosevelt and the moralists generally, who

think to stay human history with a precept or an exhortation. If rival classes do really constitute present day society and if Class Consciousness or Class Spirit is really becoming clearer in these struggling classes, the Revolutionary Socialist accepts the facts in a scientific manner and proceeds to act in harmony with these facts.

### Facts Which Make Classes

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

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

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

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

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

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

That is Fact No. 1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

That is Fact No. 2.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That is Fact No. 3.

**FACT NO. 4. There are always at least two for every job.**

Every advertisement for a stenographer or bookkeeper or machinist or street car conductor, is answered by a long line of applicants.

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

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

The result is, every job has at least two applicants.

That is Fact No. 4.

**FACT NO. 5. Wages are kept at the subsistence level.**

How could it be otherwise?

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

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

Taking modern society as a whole, in which Machinery is the dominant factor, where there is always a surplus body of the Unemployed, competing eagerly for the places to be filled, wages

cannot possibly rise permanently much above what is needed to keep the worker alive.

That is Fact No. 5.

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

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

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

Of this enormous quantity of goods, known as wealth or property, made possible by modern inventions, the worker for wages, the man who runs the machine, gets only the merest subsistence, the Capitalist or Machine Owner, gets all the rest.

That is Fact No. 6.

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

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

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

### United States Census Deficient.

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

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

### Natural Antagonism of Classes

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

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

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

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

### A Question of Power

These 20 million are more powerful than those 10 million.

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

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

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

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

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

10c stamps will bring the first three articles of this series

# How Surplus Value Is Created

## State Platform of the Socialist Party of Idaho Lays Bare the Exploitation of the Wage Worker

### THREE PARAMOUNT ISSUES

Events create issues. These issues must be decided on the political field.

There are three great issues created by recent events which must be decided sometime at the ballot box. They are before the American people and before the people of Idaho.

First: The Trust Issue.

Second: The Poverty Issue.

Third: The Crime Issue.

The Trusts are strangling the business man and the farmer. The independent middle class are in process of disappearing from modern life and are being forced into the wage class. But they are desperately alarmed and fast arraying themselves for a Waterloo battle of self preservation.

That ten million people in the United States live on the verge of starvation as shown by the latest statistics, forms the second great issue before the American people.

That graft and crime was never so prevalent as now is testified to by every daily paper and every magazine.

What has the Socialist Party to say to these three issues which come home to every citizen:

First: To the despairing business man and farmer, we point out where the trust has made its money and exactly where the source of its power still lies.

Second: To the ten millions who are only a month away from starvation, we point out where and how a secure competence can be obtained.

Third: To those who are alarmed at the wide prevalence of corruption and the decay of moral standards, we point out the economic causes of crime and the way of their removal.

### ONE GREAT MODERN FACT

Socialism is based on one great modern fact which the voters must know before they can meet the Trust issue, the Poverty issue or the Crime issue. That one central fact which will explain all our political questions, is the fact of Unpaid Labor.

Let us be specific.

Ten million wage workers of this country work on the average for two dollars a day or less. That is all they can possibly get, because the millions of unemployed, not needed by modern machinery, stand ready to take their places for even less. The result is, the owners of machinery, the employers of wage labor, get all the machinery produces over and above two dollars a day.

### SIX BILLIONS OF UNPAID LABOR

But the vast modern machine easily produces \$4.00 or even \$6.00 per day for every laborer. So that the Capitalist class, the owners of the railroads, packing houses, mines and shops, get at least two dollars a day of Unpaid Labor from every one of their ten million Wage Workers.

This in one year of 300 days, amounts to no less than Six Thousand Millions of Unpaid Labor. This sum is entirely independent of the exploitation of the working farmer, who is spoiled of Billions more.

The Socialist Party points out to the business man and farmer that this one stupendous exploitation of the Wage Class by the Trust Class forms a perennial source of revenue for the trusts which must be abolished before there is any hope for the farmer or the business man.

So long as the South had its slaves to draw wealth from, the North was powerless. So long as the trusts have their wage slaves to furnish them six billions of wealth annually for nothing the small Capitalist class is helpless. Their only hope of salvation is to join the Wage Workers' Party, the Socialist Party.

The Wage Workers form the great and increasing section of the Modern world. With their emancipation is bound up the emancipation of all other slaves of Capital.

### THE SOCIALIST PRACTICAL PROPOSAL

The Socialist practical proposal is that these Wage Workers, Five to Ten Million voters of them in the United States, together with all other slaves of Capital, shall unite at the polls and capture all governmental powers. With these powers, legally and peaceably obtained, they will legally take possession of the vast modern machinery of producing wealth, now held chiefly by the trusts, and produce and use that wealth for the common good. The So-

cialists are the only soldiers of the common good.

We show to the millions in poverty that modern machinery is capable of producing wealth enough for every man, woman and child to have plenty of this world's goods without robbing any one.

We show to the reformers who decry crime and graft, that, as Frances Willard came to see before her death, to abolish poverty is to abolish crime.

To all the citizens of Idaho at this critical time in her political history, we point out that the atrocious crime committed within her borders, no matter who is guilty of it, is only an incident in the aggressive war of the capitalist mine owners on their wage employes, to prevent them from securing a larger portion of their product.

### THE FOUNDATION OF THE CLASS WAR

All over the United States this Class War goes on for the possession of that six Billions of wealth, six Billions of Unpaid Labor, of "Surplus Value" now taken possession of by the Capitalist Class because they hold the powers of government in their hands. The Legislatures, the Executives, the Courts, the Army, the Police, are all held by that six Billions of Unpaid Labor, and enable the Capitalist Class to maintain their control of the sources of wealth.

### THE CAPTURE OF CAPITAL

The Socialist Party claims that Capital, that is, the vast machinery of producing wealth, now used by the Capitalist Class to exploit billions of wealth annually from the Wage Class must be captured by Labor at the BALLOT BOX and used henceforth to benefit mankind.

Nothing but the abolition of wage labor will accomplish this benign result.

No ownership by a Capitalist Class government, whether Republican or Democratic, of Railroads, Telegraphs, Meat or Oil Trusts, which continues the wage laborer in slavery, will accomplish any permanent or substantial benefit.

### WARNING AGAINST IMITATORS

The Socialist Party warns the Working Class, including especially the small farmer, against the delusion of supposing that Capitalist Public Ownership which retains the wage system and its Unpaid Labor, can do any more for the worker in America than it does in Russia, Germany, Austria, Japan, or the other countries which now have Capitalist Public Ownership.

We conclude our appeal to the voters of this State with a re-affirmation of our adherence to the principles of International Socialism and the platform of the Socialist Party of the United States and again call attention to the immortal words of Karl Marx: "Workers of the World, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains—you have a World to gain."

## Resolutions that Have Been Borne Out By Recent Events

The Socialist party is the political organization of the working class, pledged to all its struggles and working ceaselessly for its emancipation. It declares itself against the brutality of capitalistic rule and suppression of popular rights and liberties which attends it, and calls upon the workers of the country to unite with it in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalist domination and the establishment of economic equality and freedom.

Time after time the workers have been imprisoned and otherwise maltreated for no other reason than that they were struggling for some measure of that comfort and leisure of existence to which as the producers of wealth they are entitled.

The Masses class has, in various states and cities, organized Citizens' Alliances, Manufacturers' Associations, and the like, which in order to disrupt and crush out the industrial organizations of the workers, have assailed all fundamental principles and most cherished institutions of personal and collective freedom. The startling revelations and disclosures made during the past three years in financial circles, show the utter unreliability of the Capitalist class and that they will not hesitate to consummate the most heinous crimes where they conceive such to be to their interests.

Whereas, the great fight between capital and labor as illustrated by the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case is today centered in the state of Idaho, where capitalist rule, through the republican party, has defied the United States constitution and the laws of the state in the arrest of these comrades and in pronouncing them guilty before trial; and

Whereas, the governor of this state has again and again declared Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone guilty of the murder of Governor Stuenkel and thereby violated the law of the state which he has taken his official oath to uphold, which says "a defendant in criminal action is presumed innocent until the contrary is proved;" and

Whereas, the judge of the Seventh judicial district has refused to try the case at a second term of court, which is contrary to the law which allows the defendants "speedy trial"; and

Whereas, bail has been refused these comrades though the law holds that persons accused of capital offenses may be released on bail unless the presumption as to their guilt is great; and

Whereas, the evidence in this case is that of self-confessed criminals, which no right minded man should consider, and is therefore insufficient to make the presumption of guilt great; and

Whereas, the Republican party has stood for this condition of lawless-

ness and anarchy through its officials and its press; and

Whereas, the Democratic party by silence in one of the greatest struggles between capital and labor in the country's history, has allied itself with the capitalist class and against the working class; and

Whereas, while greatly deploring the assassination of ex-Governor Jenenber, and declaring it one of the most heinous crimes of the present day, and desiring that the man or men who perpetrated it should suffer for their crime; yet, the Socialist party is the only party that has stood by the working class and has insisted that the laws of the state and of the United States should be obeyed; therefore be it

Resolved, that the Socialist party of the state of Idaho in convention assembled, reaffirms the principles of the international Socialist movement; that the supreme issue is the conquest by the working class, the wealth producers, of all the powers of government, which alone can abolish class rule and emancipate the producing class, and be it further

Resolved, that in view of the fact that the Socialist party confronts a campaign, the results of which will be significant all over the world, that we call upon the working class to unite at the ballot box and cast a vote which will give their own emancipation and give economic and individual freedom to all.

### State Ticket

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For Judge of Supreme Court  
HERMON F. TITUS, Editor.  
Caldwell, Canyon Co.

For Secretary of State,  
JOSEPH F. HUTCHINSON, Miner.  
Burke, Shoshone Co.

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For Judge in Seventh Judicial District,

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Dale, Washington Co.

CHIEF OF POLICE HEARS

HIS MASTER'S VOICE.

Gets Orders to Stop Socialist Street Meetings at Wallace But His Bluff Did Not Work—Comrades Cowen and Goebel Stand Their Ground and Come Off Victorious.

Comrade Cowen writes from Wallace: "I arrived here Wednesday the 26th and met Comrade Goebel. We exchanged notes, looked on at the farce where Adams was being examined for the murder of a claim-jumper named Tyler, and then rested for the night.

"On the 27th we had a good street meeting. I led with the trust problem and Goebel followed, scoring the county officials for the manner in which they are handling the Adams' case.

"On the 28th Comrade Goebel and I agreed to go to Wardner but we decided at the last minute to stay in Wallace and I held a meeting on the street. I had proceeded about 15 minutes when the chief of police came up and stated I must quit and go into a hall. I asked him for his reasons for stopping me and he said, 'Never mind, but stop and go into a hall.' I told him I had no money for halls and insisted on knowing why I was called off the street. He finally stated they were not going to have their officials abused and gave me five minutes to close up. I replied that I had abused no one and he departed.

"The crowd gathered from all sides and one of the comrades had hustled and notified every friend and sympathizer. Comrade Goebel had heard and was on the scene by this time and said, 'Don't stop, go on.' I talked for nearly an hour unmolested. Comrade Goebel followed for 20 minutes, announced my meeting for the 29th and closed up:

"We were informed later that the buggy and everything were ready to run us out of town, but the applause that greeted us from the crowd when we decided to stand, surprised the capitalist tools so they decided to keep their hands off.

"On the 29th I had a splendid meeting, no interference from anyone. The old gang is getting worked up, and they don't feel so safe as they did. Men are more out-spoken and Socialism is being discussed as never before in this canyon.

"Held a small meeting at Burke on the 30th. The advertising was not done till after I arrived. However the boys are making things move. The Republicans and Democrats have ignored the Socialists and refused them places on the election boards. They will try to keep them from seeing the count this year. This should be looked after immediately.

"I like to live. They made me a stant foreman once, but I was no good at it. It seemed to me they got a small enough part of what they earned, no matter how little they worked. Did you ever think, it takes one of us only about a day to make enough barrels to pay his week's wages, and that he has to donate the other five days' work, for the privilege of being allowed to live? If I rose, I'd be living off those five days of stolen labor. Somehow I don't fancy doing it. So, I do my ten hours a day and have evenings and Sundays for the things I

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### LATEST Socialist Books

The Positive School of Criminology, by Enrico Ferri. Cloth, 90c.  
The World's Evolutions, by Ernest Untermann. Cloth, 50c.  
The Socialists, Who They Are and What they Stand For, by John Spargo. Cloth, 50c.  
Some of the Philosophical Essays of Joseph Dietzgen. Cloth, \$1.00.  
Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History, by Antonio Labriola. Second Edition. Cloth, \$1.00.  
Love's Coming-of-Age, by Edward Carpenter. Fifth Edition. Cloth, \$1.00.

Any of these books mailed promptly on receipt of price. What to Read on Socialism, a 64-page book which is a good deal more than a catalog, will be mailed free to any one who requests it.

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like, without any other responsibilities."—From "The Second Generation," by David Graham Phillips, now running in "Success Magazine," New York.

"Pa, what is the 'dead line'?"

"An invisible cordon formed by the police to keep crooks out of places where they might ply their trade."

"Well, then, why do the police put a dead line around Wall Street?"

"That, my son, is to keep out competition."—"Life."

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# PARTY NEWS.

## From National Headquarters

Andrew McDonald of Bismark, N. D., was arrested on Sept. 23d, for street speaking, but undaunted, tried it again on Sept. 25th, and was not molested.

The International Union of Brewery workmen in Convention assembled at Toronto, Ontario, Sept. 29th, after passing a scorching resolution of condemnation upon the conspirators in the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone kidnaping outrage, voted \$500, as a donation to the National Campaign Fund of the Socialist Party.

State Organizer, A. E. Welch, of Kansas, during the last 60 days has organized locals at the following places with a total membership of 250: McPherson, Canton, Enterprise, Herrington, Dwight, Lost Springs, Dighton, Leoti, Tribune, Nickerson, Lyons, Ness City, Brownell, Pollard, Hotsington and Salina.

At Dietz, Wyo., the weather being unfavorable for a street meeting, Lena Morris Lewis secured permission from a hotel keeper to use a billiard parlor. The games being abandoned, the street box was placed, and at the end of an address lasting an hour and a half, a \$7.40 literature sale was made and \$4.60 collection.

National Organizer J. H. Caldwell reports a good meeting and the revolutionary spirit strong at Sturgis, Ky., where the miners have been on strike against insufferable conditions for more than a year. The miners are being fed by a commissary store maintained by the National union. The operations of the bosses are confined principally to managing a search light, bossing an army of guards, keeping galling guns in working order and training their large kennel of blood hounds.

The National Secretary has submitted to the National Executive Committee the question of the advisability of issuing a semi-monthly bulletin containing exclusively information on the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone kidnaping outrage as provided by National Committee motion No. 9.

[The National Secretary rightly questions the wisdom of going to the expense of issuing such a bulletin as is contemplated, which would be but a rehash of news which is receiving a much wider circulation than the Bulletin could possibly have through the party and labor press and the party speakers.—Ed.]

## WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS DEFENSE FUND

From September 1st to Sept. 29th, inclusive: Local Essex Co., N. J., \$27.05; Helen C. Karl, Dannville, O., \$1.00; Local Cincinnati, Ohio, \$25; total, \$53.00; previously reported, \$3904.24; total, \$3957.29.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NATIONAL AGITATION FUND

From September 1st to September 29th, inclusive: Local Rhyolite, Nev., \$10.00; Mother Jones, gathered afield, \$180.00; John Relche, James River, Va., \$1.00; Local Portland, No. 1, Ore., \$10.00; L. Roberts, Zoar Sta., Ohio, 50c; Local Waterloo, Ia., \$10.00; I. W. Sebrose, Mansfield, S. D., \$3.10; O. H. Thompson, Mansfield, S. D., \$1.50; Dr. and Mrs. Dennis, Cincinnati, O., per Eugene V. Debs, \$5.00; International Union of Brewery Workers of America, \$500; Wm. Hogan, Orcas, Wash., \$2.50; G. W. Meyer, Orcas, Wash., \$2.50; Chas. M. Hohen, Washington, D. C., \$2.00; Wm. Mutton, Flushing, Mich., \$5.00; W. T. Aydelott, Bradford, Tenn., \$10.00.

## SCHWARTZ AGAINST MISUSE OF BULLETIN

Allegheny, Pa., Sept. 24, 1904. J. Mahlon Barnes, Dear Comrade:

As a National Committeeman of Pennsylvania, I desire to protest against the use of the Weekly Bulletin, for such unwarranted attacks upon our comrades, as the "r-r-revolutionary" Smith of Louisiana makes.

Right here I might suggest that perhaps we might send Smith to Colorado, as he seems to be the only one competent to tell the working class of that state what Socialism is.

As a rule we find these "r-r-revolutionary Socialists," so called, come from some little two by four local and like to see their names in Socialist papers. Please publish in Bulletin.

Yours fraternally, FRED L. SCHWARTZ.

## NOMINEES FOR PLATE MATTER COMMITTEE

The following have been placed in nomination for members of the National Plate Matter Committee:

- J. Mahlon Barnes, Chicago, Ill.; Victor L. Berger, Milwaukee, Wis.; Allan L. Benson, Milwaukee, Wis.; James F. Carey, Haverhill, Mass.; Chas. Dobbs, Louisville, Ky.; Eugene V. Debs, Terre Haute, Ind.; Max Hayes, Cleveland, Ohio; Frederick Heath, Milwaukee, Wis.; Morris Hillquit, New York City, N. Y.; G. A. Hoehn, St. Louis, Mo.; S. M. Holman, Minneapolis, Minn.; Chas. Kerr, Chicago, Ill.; J. A. LaRue, Bessemer, Ala.; Algernon Lee, New York City, N. Y.; L. W. Lowry, Little Rock, Ark.; Wm. Mally, New York City, N. Y.; Hugo Miller, Indianapolis, Ill.; T. J. Morgan, Chicago, Ill.; Jas. Oneal, Terre Haute, Ind.; Joseph Medill Patterson, Chicago, Ill.; May Ind.; Walter Thomas Mills, Chicago, Wood Simons, Chicago, Ill.; A. M. Simons, Chicago, Ill.; Seymour Stedman, Chicago, Ill.; Carl D. Thomp-

son, Milwaukee, Wis.; Ernest Untermyer, Orlando, Fla.; J. A. Wayland, Girard, Kan.

Comrades J. Mahlon Barnes and Seymour Stedman have declined. Nominations will close October 3rd, and acceptances and declinations will be received until October 13th.

## SEND IN YOUR AMENDMENTS

National Committee Motion No. 13, which provides that the various officers of the National and State Organizations, and locals in unorganized states, suggested amendments to the National Constitution, the same to be filed pending the election of a Committee on constitution, by the National Executive Committee, upon which the vote closed Sept. 25th, was adopted, vote being as follows: In the affirmative, 31; negative, 4; not voting, 21.

In accord with the above motion, suggestions for amendments to the National Constitution are solicited from the parties named. The National Executive Committee, either by correspondence or at its next session will elect the committee provided for. All suggestions for amendments should be transmitted in separate communications disassociated from other subjects.

## CONTRIBUTIONS ONE DAY WAGE FUND.

From September 8th to September 28th, inclusive: Washington State Committee, \$54.21; Colorado State Committee, \$36.15; New Jersey State Committee, \$67.90; Iowa State Committee, \$2.17; New Hampshire State Committee, \$1.50; Indiana State Committee, \$24.50; Ohio State Committee, \$53.64; Pennsylvania State Committee, \$217.95; Oklahoma State Committee, \$6.60; Idaho State Committee, \$4.35; Texas State Committee, 67c; Kentucky State Committee, \$8.49; Michigan State Committee, \$5.16; Minnesota State Committee, \$2.00; Tennessee State Committee, \$16.33; Arizona State Committee, \$14.15; A. G. Ketchum, Petersburg, Alaska, \$4.00; F. A. Reichlein, Dufur, Ore., \$1.00; Frank Leiblein, Kingsley, Ore., \$1.00; Martin H. Connor, Waycross, Ga., \$1.00; Local Portsmouth, N. H., \$9.00; Local Greensboro, N. C., \$5.60; Local Washington, D. C., \$10.00; Local Goldfield, Nev., \$50.50; Local Reno, Nev., \$22.00; Local Kings County, N. Y., \$25.00. Total, \$647.87; previously reported, \$800.79; total \$1448.66.

## CARPENTERS FOR JUSTICE

National Convention Denounces Illegal and Despicable Acts of State Officers of Idaho and Colorado in Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone Case.

The following resolution, introduced by Fred C. Wheeler, of Los Angeles, Calif., and signed by the delegates of 43 unions, was unanimously adopted by the National Convention of the Carpenters' union, now in session in Niagara Falls, N. Y.:

Whereas, the anarchy of the Governor and civil authorities of Colorado and Idaho in the kidnaping and imprisonment of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and the keeping of them in prison without a speedy trial as guaranteed by our Constitution, and the disreputable methods used to secure false witnesses against them has aroused the humane sentiments of all true liberty-loving citizens, regardless of creed, sex or religious opinions, and

Whereas, Liberty cannot long endure where such unbridled lawlessness prevails, and

Whereas, The Workers of our country have banded themselves together to obtain better conditions are in great danger of losing what they have gained unless they rise in protest against these outrages committed on the miners of Colorado, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention send this protest to the Governors of Colorado and Idaho against such attacks on the representatives of the working people, and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Convention communicate with the above Governors and also Judge Frank Smith of Idaho, asking that these men be given a speedy and impartial trial.

## Idaho

### ADDITIONAL KING DATES.

October 13, Meridian; 14, Star; 15 & 16, Boise, State Fair; 17, Idaho City; 18, Placerville; 19, Horse-shoe Bend; 20, Sweet; 21, Pearl; 22, Middleton; 23, Parma; 24, Roswell; 25, Weiser; 26, Midvale; 27, Council; 28, Payette; 29, New Plymouth; 30, Emmett; 31, Silver City.

### LINCOLN COUNTY NOMINATES.

The Socialists of Lincoln county held their county convention on October 1st, and placed in nomination a full county ticket. The comrades of Scherrer are sure of carrying their precinct. The Republican Committeeman admits that there will be only 34 Republican votes in the Scherrer precinct.

The Democrats seem very anxious to help us. They wanted us to leave certain places on our ticket vacant, and they would leave the others vacant on theirs. Am glad to be able to say that all fusion propositions of what ever sort were declined by every comrade without the least hesitation.

The old parties can not understand the Socialists' position on fusion. The goal with them is to get elected to office and get the spoils, while we care nothing about getting a few individuals into fat offices, what we

are after is the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth. While a few Socialists in office here and there may wrest an occasional concession from the capitalist parties for the workers, yet we cannot give the workers the full product of their toil until we have control of all departments of the government.

The only fusion the Socialists want is that of the old parties among themselves. They are united now in maintaining the present fleecing system. The thing we want is to force them to sail under the same banner. We have done that in a few places, and will do it every where before long. E. L. RIGG.

## Washington

Many counties in this state have put up full tickets, and the prospects seem good that the Socialist vote will be greatly increased in all parts of the State.

Local Seattle has sent an emphatic protest to the National office, asserting that Walter Thomas Mills has violated the spirit of the organization in accepting offers to speak for expelled members when he could have spoken for the regular party organization.

As a result of the arrest of street speakers in Seattle, a dozen or more applications have been received for membership in the Seattle Local.

In October, Vincent Harper will give a series of lectures in Christensen's hall, in Seattle. Professor Harper has also consented to fill other dates for the State organization. Locals that desire to secure the services of this vigorous writer and speaker would do well to file their applications at once.

The effect of the illegal arrest and unlawful imprisonment of Socialist speakers, seems to have been a great surprise to the little fellows that have strutted in police uniforms. That prominent men in the professional and commercial world would espouse the cause of the despised Socialists, has been a revelation to the petty grafters of all classes. Some of these fellows begin to see that the methods they have used are antiquated. It is seen by the more progressive part of the master class that Socialism is not to be combated by a resort to petty tyrannies. Force is no match for argument. B.

## Ohio

There are three National Committeemen to be elected. Send your nominations to the state office at once.

Cleveland Local is the best in the state in the point of payment of dues and admission of new members.

The state office is receiving orders for state literature from Arizona and Montana. Place your order at once and flood Ohio with literature.

Dayton, Cincinnati, and Massillon have already signified their intentions of holding a lecture course this winter.

The Special campaign due stamps are now ready. Get them from the state office at 15c each. They should be on every member's card. This is entirely voluntary.

Make your county and Congressional nominations at once and file them before it is too late to do so. Secure nomination blanks, etc., from your state office free.

W. J. Millard is touring the state and holding splendid meetings, his route is as follows: Toledo, Sept. 29-30, Oct. 1-2-3; Fostoria, Oct. 4-5-6-7-8-9; Fremont, Oct. 10.

For information about the Ohio movement write Nicholas Klein, Secy., Office 70 Perin Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Secretary L. B. Smith of Wapakoneta, Ohio, writes the state office: "We had Comrade W. J. Millard with us for a speech on Sept. 20th, and the working people say that he is the best speaker that they ever heard, and I agree with them. I think that Comrade Millard is a worker and I want to know if we stand any chance to get him again. We recommend him to any local and we know that they will not be disappointed in him." W. K.

## Minnesota

1315 Clinton Ave. S., flat 6, Minneapolis, Minn., Sept. 1, '06. Mr. Thomas Lucas.

Dear Comrade:—Will you not occupy the entire hour, Sept. 23rd, 3 P. M., in an address before the Minneapolis Local, on "the evolution of tools," which I myself have never heard, but heard highly spoken of so often. I can assure you a most respectful hearing and as large an audience as we can secure on that occasion. If you cannot speak then, we trust you will speak on Oct. 14th, as per the inclosed outlines. Fraternally, C. F. DIGHT.

In answer to the above from Prof. C. F. Dight, and in order that it may stimulate an inquiry into the facts relative to the expulsion of Local Minneapolis without a trial or investigation, on the mere assertion of party officials, through slander and false statements, and knowing that truth and justice alone can help the cause of Socialism, I append the following open letter to Prof. C. F. Dight. THOS. H. LUCAS.

Prof. C. F. Dight, M. D., Organizer of Local Minneapolis.

Dear Sir:—"Truth before all things"—and truth forbids me to call a person "comrade" that in any way favors fusion with any party or person outside of Socialism. Socialism, the Socialism of Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Singer and Bebel, emphatically says, "No compromise, no trading." All the trouble we have had in the "Public Ownership Party" (Socialist) of Minnesota is the result of "fusion." It commenced, as you are well aware, with a "cabal," dominated by a trusted employee of the Standard Oil Co., to foist on the Socialists of Minnesota as a National

committeeman a person holding office outside the gift of the P. O. P. (Socialist) in a town dominated by the Standard Oil interests—a cheap way to give control of the Socialist Party to capitalist interests through the National Committee, as it only requires twenty-six to give a majority the dominating power over the Socialist Party of America.

The trouble was then continued by allowing one who had been admitted to the party to run his paper in the interest of politicians connected with the old parties—a practice still continued—and finally to run on an independent ticket for alderman. And lastly, a person outside of the state was imported to organize a local that had as an applicant a Justice of the Peace, holding office outside the gift of the P. O. P. (Socialist) after our own organizer had refused to admit the proposed local with the Justice as a member.

This was the tone of contention, covered up by five members of the State Executive Committee from the eyes of the country members and their attention directed to slander of individuals by assertions, that, whether true or false had no bearing as to the right of the accused to be a member of the P. O. P. (Socialist); but these assertions were absolute falsehoods, as many as 16 of these mis-statements appearing on one page of the statement of June 13, purporting to come from the Executive Committee, but which never appeared before that body for fear that the slanders would reach Local Minneapolis.

A biennial election is at hand, and to vindicate their course by putting up votes, Not to make Socialists, the officers of the P. O. P. (Socialist) want the aid of the members so unjustly expelled and denied a trial or investigation, to vindicate their fusion and treason.

To accomplish this, letters have been sent out inviting the old members to join again, you even going so far as to invite me to speak at your meetings—one who has been the target for all the personal abuse, lies and slander the old State Executive Committee could invent, and then denied an investigation.

I shall reluctantly have to refuse to speak for an organization, calling itself Socialist, that permits fusion and denies what capitalist papers allow—an investigation and trial—until justice shall force the P. O. P. to place the old Executive Committee face to face with me and let the Comrades know the source of all the trouble.

You as a member of the last state convention know the doors were guarded against all of the expelled members of Local Minneapolis that dared to apply for admittance, lest the truth should reach the country members. But "The truth is mighty and will prevail." The comrades will find out that fusion destroys, but never builds up.

Firm and unshaken in my belief in the ultimate triumph of Socialism, and that slanders will be found out, I stand shoulder to shoulder, with brain and tongue, linked hand in hand with all who regard truth, for uncompromising Socialism, but cannot stand for fusion, nor speak to bolster it up.

THOS. H. LUCAS.

The above correspondence speaks for itself. It will be remembered that the wrongfully expelled Minneapolis comrades were never able to secure just treatment owing to the defects of our national constitution, which does not allow the officials of the National Organization to even investigate any wrong doing in a state organization. Without a doubt, the majority of the members of the party in the country at large were against the actions of the state officials of the party in Minnesota in expelling without trial the entire Minneapolis local—it is certain they so expressed themselves through the party press—but because of the extreme construction of the "state autonomy" clause of the national constitution, nothing could be done. Even at this late date an investigation of the matter should be held, and if it is found that the Minneapolis comrades were wrongfully expelled they should be re-instated and the officials guilty of the mis-conduct suspended from their positions.—E. B. A.]

### SELF-EXPLANATORY.

Publishers "Socialist," Caldwell, Ida. Dear Comrades: I am herewith enclosing a clipping from your latest issue:

"The Democrats of Washington county held a 'convention' and placed a full county ticket in the field. There were just four people present at the convention. The chairman, secretary and a man to make motions and one to second them. These are the men who are talking about winning this year. It is to laugh!"

The facts are that about a dozen went from Weiser alone to the Democratic convention, perhaps more.

Mis-statements of fact, especially when the whole point depends on the untruth, damage our cause immensely.

The "Appeal" indulged in a printed letter from Boise that was foul with mis-representations concerning Washington county.

These things damage us beyond calculation. An item like the inclosed falling into a Democrat's hands would set him against us and brand our papers and speakers as unreliable.

Of course, it was a mistake, I understand that, but we all have to suffer.

Fraternally Yours, WILL D. CANDEE, Weiser, Idaho, 9-30-'06.

[The paragraph in question was

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