

# THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

## THE SOCIALIST

Tenth Year—No. 466

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### PHILADELPHIA NEWS

#### Latest

Capitalist "despatches" today (Friday) announce the strike is settled, the men all taken back and the case of the 14 discharged men to be arbitrated. This may all be a lie.

The carmen's strike in Philadelphia is still on. There is practically no change as far as the general situation is concerned. The men are standing out firmly, all newspaper reports to the contrary notwithstanding.

#### Newspapers Lie

Sunday, April third, a meeting of the carmen was held and it was voted unanimously to remain on strike. The following morning some of the papers published wild stories of dissension and disruption of the union. That these stories were deliberate lies of the most vicious sort may be seen from a statement which was published in the "Philadelphia Record," Tuesday morning, signed by the officers of the union. The statement follows:

#### 3500 Vote Unanimously

At least 3,500 of the striking carmen were present at this meeting, and, inasmuch as it has been repeatedly claimed that the men were desirous of returning to work and that our international officer, C. O. Pratt, was the stumbling block that stood in the way, it was decided best to give the men another opportunity to accept the Mayor's proposition, together with the additional verbal assurances that were given to C. O. Pratt on Saturday. Mr. Pratt made a lengthy talk explaining all the advantages that could be gained through an adjustment of this kind and then read the proposition of President C. O. Kruger as submitted to us by Mayor Reyrburn. This put the matter clearly up to the

men themselves, so that if there was any desire on the part of anyone to accept these conditions they were given an opportunity to express themselves.

There was an immediate storm of opposition to the proposition, and not one voice was raised in favor of accepting the same. On the contrary, a unanimous standing vote was taken against the acceptance of any proposition that would not restore the locked-out men to their former positions in the company's service. Every man raised his right hand and renewed his obligation to continue in this fight, not one man to return until every man should return under an honorable adjustment. The only argument advanced by the individual members was to the effect that they would never surrender their rights, even if they never work for the company another day; that they would carry this fight to the June primaries and on down to the November election, if need be.

#### Politicians Denounced

We fully realize that it is no longer a fight against the Traction Company itself, but that the political interests are the ones that are preventing a settlement of the controversy, and we denounce the political interests who guaranteed that our agreements of last June would be faithfully kept, but who have now shown their utter inability or unwillingness to enforce the same or bring about any other equitable adjustment that will protect the men in their rights of employment or permit them their legal rights of perfection.

We further condemn the high-handed and unconstitutional and illegal action of the administrative powers that have been and are being used against us, and denounce the same as being the most unrighteous, brutal and inhuman that have ever been chronicled in the annals of history.

We have been informed that the political interests who have been posing as using their influence to bring about a settlement have in reality been the very men who are obstructing and preventing an honorable settlement and are giving the carmen and the people the double cross. The carmen will remain in this fight regardless of unscrupulous newspaper statements, and there will be no settlement that does not carry with it the restoration of our men to their former positions. We thank the public and our many friends for what they are doing to aid us in this fight, and we renew our pledge to you that we will never falter or surrender, but rather will we suffer honorable defeat and rely upon the manhood and spirit of independence that has been exemplified by the people of this city until the corrupt political powers that are seeking our destruction are forever removed from their positions as uncrowned kings.

#### Gompers Admit Incompetence

There have been several new attempts at settlement. Dennis Hayes, fourth Vice-President A. F. of L., John Mitchell and others have been in Philadelphia offering their services. Gompers, who was in Philadelphia April 9, addressing a meeting of the Academy of Political and Social Science. In an interview, admitted his incompetence in coping with the situation.

After a brief conference with National Organizer Pratt and Vice-President Hayes he gave out the following statement:

"We talked over the situation, but that is about all that can be said for our short conversation. I see no probability of any immediate move for settlement through the American Federation of Labor and have no knowledge of impending settlement of the troubles. I am with the street carmen in their fight, and I believe they are justified in their demands. They are resisting an effort to crush their organization. I wish I could be of help in adjusting matters. I would do anything within my power, but I can see nothing at this time promising developments. Weeks before the strike I tried to avoid it by offering my offices in a telegraphic communication to President Kruger. He telegraphed me in return that the situation was then adjusting itself. We have seen with what results."

#### Business Men Want Peace

The United Business Men's Association, which in the beginning of the general strike sought to bring about an adjustment, is still at it. It appealed to the State Railroad Commission to investigate the cause of the paralyzed condition of the street car traffic and the cause of the appalling number of deaths and loss of property since the beginning of the strike, and to make recommendations for a remedy. The Commission declined to interfere, giving many significant reasons. The following extract of their letter shows plainly what side of the fence they are on:

"It might be thought if the Commission made such an order that it was intended indirectly to be a mandate to the Traction Company to re-employ the motormen who formerly were in their employ and who are now on strike, and that that would lead to the employment of these men on their own terms. Such would not be the case, however, and if it were it would be coercion of the Traction Company and so interpreted and regarded as an act of the Commission favorable to the strikers."

Undaunted by their failure, the United Business men sent letters to President Kruger of the Traction Company and Attorney Daly, representing the unions, urging them to arbitrate their differences.

In these letters they state that the loss to Philadelphia business men has been \$10,000,000 and that the loss of life and property caused by incompetent car crews is appalling.

But there was no arbitration. That the Transit Company is hard pressed financially may be judged by the fact that it is attempting to float a loan of two and a half millions. On the day following the announcement of this step Rapid Transit stock dropped two points.

#### Judge Overrules Jury

That public sentiment is very much against the company is shown by the fact that it has been found practically

impossible to secure a grand jury that will indict strikers for alleged offenses. Judge Carr of the Quarter Sessions Court, however, compels these alleged offenders to enter bail amounting to \$800—\$1,500 to keep the peace, in spite of the action of the grand jury.

The brutal "justice" meted out by this Judge Carr was shown when he sentenced an Austrian by the name of Godda to five years in the penitentiary for placing a torpedo on the car track.

When the case against Godda was called in the morning the policeman produced the torpedo, which he had found on the car track, but he was unable to say what the little tin box contained. It was sent to the City Laboratory, and, while Dr. Robbison, the city chemist, did not care about experimenting with it, he placed it on the tracks of a steam railroad and allowed a locomotive to run over it. He made a written report to the court that the torpedo made a loud report, and, to show the danger in such explosives, he cited a case where a steam railroad employe, while standing near a track when a signal cap of the kind produced in court was exploded, received a fragment of the tin covering in one of his legs, as a result of which the limb had to be amputated.

On such flimsy testimony Godda was sentenced.

#### "The Record" Speaks

That the assertion of the Transit Company, that the strike is over, is false may be judged by an editorial in "The Philadelphia Record" of April 7. Bear in mind that "The Record" is by no means the strikers' friends. Following is the editorial:

"The Pennsylvania State Railroad

Commission some weeks ago assumed the position that it had no authority to investigate and report upon the street railway strike situation in his city with a view to bringing about a settlement. This is no reason, however, why it should refuse the request of the Committee of Thirty-five of the United Business Men's Association for an inquiry into the unsatisfactory car service now being furnished to the people of Philadelphia.

"Our transit conditions, after forty-six days of dispute between the street railway monopoly and its old employes, are still unbearable. An insufficient number of cars is being operated. The schedules, particularly at night, are ill-maintained. The lives of passengers are menaced by intrusting them to the care of a large number of unskilled motormen, and breakdowns and collisions are frequent. Pedestrians are endangered not only by the reckless running of greenhorns, but by the use of broken and unserviceable fenders, contrary to law. There has been an appalling list of killings.

"Philadelphia has put up with these things long enough. 'The Record' does not propose as a remedy that the Rapid Transit Company shall surrender to its striking employes as the sole means of bringing about improvement, but it does insist that it is the duty of the State Railroad Commission to institute the inquiry which has been requested and officially determine just how the intolerable demoralization of our car service is to be repaired. Ample authority exists in law for the steps the Railroad Commission has been asked to take, and it can perform a signal service to the distressed people of this city by coming to their rescue."

#### MILWAUKEE ELECTION NOTES

##### By Arthur Jensen

The city of Milwaukee, the metropolis of Wisconsin, the fourteenth city in the United States, has been "swept" by the Socialists. It is the first large American City with a Socialist Mayor and Council.

Emil Seidel was elected Mayor by a plurality of over 7,000 over the Democratic candidate, who in turn received about 9,000 more than the Republican candidate. The Social Democratic Party elected the comptroller, the treasurer and the city attorney, besides all of the seven aldermen-at-large. Fourteen of the twenty-three wards elected Social Democratic aldermen. Twenty-one of the thirty-five aldermen are Social Democrats. Eleven of the sixteen County supervisors are Social Democrats. In short, it is a "clean sweep."

This was, in short, the news which was flashed around the world from Milwaukee on the night of the election, April 5th.

The question which is being asked by all is: "What does it mean?" "What are the coming events which are now casting their shadows before them?"

The question is being answered in the press throughout the country from many different viewpoints.

The Socialist press, or the greater portion of it, views the Milwaukee victory as the forerunner of other Socialist victories, victories which will continue until the co-operative commonwealth is an established fact.

The Labor press, the organs of Organized Labor, quite generally view it as a victory for Labor. Not that Organized Labor thinks that the Milwaukee Socialists are going to revolutionize conditions; no, on the contrary, all it expects is the introduction of certain reforms which they have been told are to their benefit, such as the application of the initiative and referendum, cheaper street car fares, cheaper meat through municipally owned slaughter houses, cheaper ice from municipal ice plants, cheaper gas from municipal gas plants, cheaper fuel from municipal fuel yards, in short, cheaper cost of living through municipal ownership. Besides, it was a ticket of Organized Labor and professionals and small business men.

The capitalist press is uncertain as to the meaning of this Socialist victory. Nearly all of the papers in our large cities have commented on the election, and through all of the editorials runs a tone of uncertainty. Nearly all of them maintain, however, that it was simply a protest against old party corruption and high prices. Some claim the victory is due to the same cause which elected a Democrat in the Fourteenth Congressional District of Massachusetts.

The Philadelphia Record (Democrat) calls the Milwaukee election "a declaration of hostility to the party of Taft, Cannon and Aldrich, though far less intelligent than the action of the Fourteenth District of Massachusetts." Mayor-Elect Emil Seidel says: "Mo-

nopoly is here, whether we like it or not. We can't divide up the tool piece by piece without destroying it. So we insist on public monopoly of it instead of private monopoly, and will begin with those monopolies that oppress us the most.

"If the city takes the part of the middleman in slaughtering its meat, this big profit will be clipped from the present prohibitive prices. It's the same way with ice and other necessities, down to the cutting of burial prices when we die."

As if cheaper living is what we want! The Working Class lives cheaply enough now. What we need is the price to live well and we will not get it by cutting prices, but by raising wages and shortening the hours. However, there is a large class in this country demanding just such things as were promised by the Milwaukee Social Democrats. This class is the "great American, independent middle class," sometimes called the "common people," the "public," etc. A great many workmen, in fact nearly all of Organized Labor, are led to believe that they should combine with the farmers and the small merchants and shopkeepers in opposition to the trusts.

In analyzing the Milwaukee election one cannot help but believe that it is a part of what the editor of "The Workingman's Paper" calls "The Rebellion of the Middle Class."

Mayor-elect Seidel in 1900 organized the Milwaukee Pattern Mfg. Co. and is now a member of that firm.

He cannot rightly claim to be of the Proletariat, but then he only claims to be of the very indefinite crowd called "the common people."

Whether the Milwaukee victory stands for progress or reaction, whether it means more strength to the Proletariat and further development of Capitalism, or curbing of the trusts and reaction, time will show.

In the meantime let us watch events.

#### MENTAL ARITHMETIC.

"Who is that man whom you greeted?"

"He is the third husband of the first wife of my second husband."—Sourire.

"The above is from 'Life' and is life. Yet they say Socialism will destroy the family."

#### TO NEW READERS.

You get this paper as a sample. On the second page you will find a declaration of our principles. If you like the paper, subscribe. If you don't like the paper, but want to keep in touch with the progress of the proletarian movement, subscribe. "The Workingman's Paper" will thoroughly cover every field of battle, and no one who pretends to be up-to-date in these matters can afford to do without it.

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### PRINCE HAGEN'S "MORALITY"

We quote here a sample from Upton Sinclair's "Prince Hagen," which we are offering on special terms as detailed below. The book abounds in such keen comments.

"Life," said Prince Hagen, "is the survival of the strong. I care not if it be in a jungle, or in a city, it is a warfare of each against all; but in the former case, the means is brute force, and in the latter it is the power of mind. And do you not see that the ingenious device which brings this about, which makes possible cities and railroads and books and beauty, the force which makes the savage animal a docile slave of the man who can outwit him, is this Morality, this absolutely sublime invention, this most daring conception that ever flashed across the mind of man?"

"Oh!" I said, taking a long breath.

"Just think of it," went on Prince Hagen, "just see it, this Society of yours! There are in this city, I suppose, one thousand rich men, and one million poor men, whose business it is to do what the rich command. And the rich men live in these palaces you see about you, and absolutely everything in the world they want they have; and for your poor you build great stacks of boxes, each big enough to hold his body, and admitting all enough to keep him alive. Because these wretches are hideous and filthy, you crowd them away from your sight into quarters where they swarm like vermin in a carcass, and there you let them feed upon what garbage they can pick up, until they die and rot in the ground. And the number of these creatures is a thousand to your one, and the best that is might be theirs if they would take it; but there is Morality! And the poorest of them would starve and die in his tracks before he would touch a bit of bread that was not his own, and he struts about and boasts of it, and calls it his 'virtue.' And so the rich man may have what he will, in perfect peace and indifference! By Heaven, if that be not a wondrous achievement, I, at least, have never seen one in my life."

I was silent in thought. "Then you believe," I asked finally, "that this Morality was invented by the rich for their own advantage?"

"I don't know how it came to exist," was the reply; "it seems too deeply rooted to be an invention; it seems to be a congenital disease."

This is the title of Upton Sinclair's latest book, published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., of Chicago.

It is a very keen analysis of capitalist morality and religion. Its satire is superb, though stated in such a subtle manner through the experiences of the daring Prince, that the most sensitive Christian could not take offense, while he would be forced to admit the superficial and coercive character of modern ethical standards.

It is an admirable little work for distribution among the multitudes even of workmen who still cherish a high respect for inherited and bourgeois ideals. This book ought to set the dullest worshiper to thinking what his worship really means.

It is dressed up with sufficient romance to make it read like a thrilling story of adventure. No one will begin "Prince Hagen" without finishing it. Nothing but pressing business will stop him till he reaches the last page.

The book is hardly off the press, but we have ordered a lot for immediate circulation among our subscribers and their friends. So valuable a propaganda medium do we consider it, that we have decided to offer it as a sort of premium for new subscriptions, something we have not done in many years.

Offer No. 1.—This is our proposition: For two yearly subscribers, whoever sends them in, and two dollars enclosed, we will forward by mail, prepaid, one copy of Upton Sinclair's new story, Prince Hagen, handsomely bound in cloth, price one dollar. Or, if you prefer, we will send three copies of the paper covered edition, which sells for twenty-five cents each. We make the same offer for four six-months subscriptions, or for eight three-months subscriptions, or for any combination of yearly, six months, or three months' subs amounting to two dollars. This two-dollar offer holds good for all subscriptions, whether new ones, or renewals of old ones.

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These special offers hold good until June 1, 1910.

### BRESHKOVSKOYA

By Elsa Barker

(Editor's Note: Katherine Breshkovsky, after an unexampled career of 50 years of revolutionary activity in behalf of Russian liberty, now 68 years old, has been once again sentenced to Siberian exile. Her defense before the court was the plea, "Guilty of Revolutionary Activity," and a strong speech to clear her fellow-prisoner, Tschalkovsky. This noble woman was first arrested in 1874, exiled to Siberia in 1878, not released till 1896, and then returned to fight Tsarism up to the Revolution in 1905. The lines which follow, by Elsa Barker, first published in the N. Y. "Times," are really great poetry and fully worthy of their subject.)

How narrow seems the round of ladies' lives  
And ladies' duties in their smiling world,  
The day this Titan woman, gray with years,  
Goes out across the void to prove her soul.  
Brief are the pains of motherhood, that end  
In motherhood's long joy; but she has borne  
The age-long travail of a cause that lies  
Still-born at last on History's cold lap.  
And yet she rests not; yet she will not drink  
The cup of peace held to her parching lips  
By smug Dishonor's hand. Nay, forth she fares,  
Old and alone, on exile's rocky road—  
That well-worn road with snows incarnadined  
By blood drops from her feet long years ago.

Mother of power, my soul goes out to you  
As a strong swimmer goes to meet the sea,  
Upon whose vastness he is like a leaf.  
What are the ends and purposes of song,  
Save as a bugle at the lips of Life  
To sound Reveille to a drowsing world  
When some great deed is rising like the sun?  
Where are those others whom your deeds inspired  
To deeds and words that were themselves a deed?  
Those that believed in death have gone with death  
To the gray crags of immortality;  
Those who have believed in life have gone with life  
To the red halls of spiritual death.

And you: But what is death or life to you?  
Only a weapon in the hand of faith  
To cleave a way for beings yet unborn  
To a far freedom you will never share.  
Freedom of body is an empty shell  
Wherein men crawl whose souls are held with gyves;  
For Freedom is a spirit, and she dwells  
As often in a jail as on the hills.  
In all the world this day there is no soul  
Freer than you, Breshkovskaya, as you stand  
Facing the future in your narrow cell.  
For you are free of self and free of fear,  
Those twin-born shades that lie in wait for man  
When he steps out upon the wind-blown road  
That leads to human greatness and to pain.  
Take in your hand once more the pilgrim's staff—  
Your delicate hand mishapen from the nights  
In Kara's mines; bind on your unhealed back  
That long has borne the burdens of the race,  
The exile's bundle, and upon your feet  
Strap the worn sandals of a tireless faith.

You are too great for pity. After you  
We need not sobe, but sing; and all our days  
We shall walk bravelier knowing where you are.



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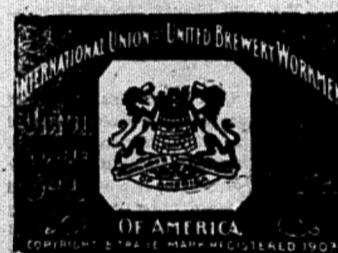
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# WHERE WE STAND

(Reprinted From Our First Issue in 1910.)

In what relation does "The Workingman's Paper" stand to the various organizations of the Wage Class, and to that class as a whole?

This question is frequently asked, now that this paper does not profess to represent any particular organization. It seems inconceivable to some that a newspaper can be non-sectarian, an organ of Proletarianism but not an organ of any exclusive branch of Proletarianism. Yet that is the critical scientific attitude this paper seeks to assume. It is the complete opposite, for example, of the De Leonist attitude, which damns every organization of workingmen which does not bear its own brand.

"The Workingman's Paper" sees good in the I. W. W., sees good in the "I'm a Bum" song; but it also sees good in the A. F. of L., and even in De Leon's S. L. P. It also sees evil in all of them. This critical method is also constructive, for the paper seeks to promote the good in all and to remove the evil in all. And on every occasion, this paper seeks the solidarity of all Proletarians.

The following outlines our position exactly:  
"The Workingman's Paper" does not seek to form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. It supports the UNION of Wage-Workers.

We advocate no interests separate and apart from those of the Proletariat as a whole. All policies are decided from this standpoint.

We do not set up any sectarian principles of our own by which to shape and mould the Proletarian Movement. We follow, not force, that Movement.

"The Workingman's Paper" is distinguished from partisan journals of the working class by this only: 1. In the various struggles of the wage class organizations with the capitalists, this paper will point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire Proletariat, independently of all apparent divisions, national, industrial or personal. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the Working Class against the Bourgeoisie has to pass through, this paper will always and everywhere, in the future, as in the past ten years, strive to represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

"The Workingman's Paper" therefore, encourages, on the one hand, practically every advanced and resolute organization of Wage Workers wherever found, those organizations which push forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, like all scientific Proletarian publications, we have the advantage over many Labor papers, of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the Proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of "The Workingman's Paper" is the same as that of all other really Proletarian organs, namely: **FORMATION OF THE PROLETARIAT INTO ONE CLASS, OVERTHROW OF BOURGEOIS SUPREMACY, CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER BY THE PROLETARIAT.**

Our theoretical conclusions are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

These conclusions merely express the actual relations springing from an existing Class Struggle, from an historical movement going on under our very eyes.

We disdain to conceal our revolutionary views and aims. We openly declare that Proletarian ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social foundations. Let the ruling class tremble at a Proletarian Revolution. The Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win!

Workingmen of all countries, unite!

To assist in organizing the Wage Slaves of Capital into a union capable of winning such an emancipation, this paper was founded in 1900. It has no other policy in 1910.

The Proletarian elements now scattered in A. F. of L., I. W. W., W. F. of M., S. P., S. L. P., U. W. W., and other bodies, together with multitudes now unorganized in the United States, must some time come together as a **UNITED LABOR PARTY.** To that end this paper is devoted.

# A Proletarian Newspaper

(Reprinted from our issue of March 19, 1910.)

Some of our friends are disturbed over the new attitude of this paper, as described on our second page, under the heading, "Where We Stand." "The Socialist" having been so long a Proletarian paper attached to a party, they cannot now adapt themselves to that new viewpoint of ours which does not regard any specific organization of Proletarians as the sole representative of the Proletariat as a whole.

For instance, some of our I. W. W. readers resent our support of a political organization in Seattle, and consider us guilty of treachery to the Proletariat because we advocate anything "political." Others are distressed when we give the I. W. W.'s so much prominence, since they regard them as part of the "Slum-Proletariat" and hence dangerous to the true working class. Still others condemn us for supporting a "Labor Party" which does not clearly perceive itself as based on the Class-Struggle. In a word, they cannot agree to a policy which recognizes Proletarianism wherever found, but does not venture to select any one branch of Proletarians to the exclusion of all other branches.

Let us remind our critics that this paper has never been dogmatic as to tactics. In fact, the only thing we have been "cock-sure" about is a well-authenticated fact, wherever observed. From the accumulation of such facts, certain conclusions may be drawn, though these conclusions are liable to be erroneous and must be subject to the discovery of more facts and to a better generalization from the facts. That person who has reached positive irreversible conclusions on any subject has practically ceased to live and become a mere automaton. He has "principles" to which the world must conform or the world is wrong. Such a person is unscientific, dogmatic, sectarian, unprogressive, mentally unresponsive and dead. He is one of those men "you can't talk to," he is incapable of argument, because his mind is unapproachable, it is fixed and right beyond the possibility of error; he may let you speak, but he doesn't listen to you; his knowledge is so superior to yours; he has nothing to learn; he is the intellectual Pharisee and all those who do not agree with him are Publicans and Sinners.

Now, the paper hitherto known as "The Socialist" has never assumed this attitude of intellectual Pharisaism, even with respect to its principles, and still less with respect to methods. We are thoroughly convinced, for instance, that the Marxian Law of Value is established as the governing law of Capitalist Economics, as much as we are convinced that the Law of Gravitation is established as controlling the stellar universe; though even in these cases we would not assert with absolute dogmatism that no future revision of these laws is possible. So, too, we hold it incontrovertible at present that the Wage-Class must achieve its own emancipation, though this is a deduction from the Law of Value, the Law of Wages, the Law of Exploitation, the Law of Class Interest.

With this as a fundamental proposition, that the Proletariat must emancipate itself, certain further deductions have to be made with respect to Tactics, that is, with respect to the methods by which the Working-Class shall emancipate itself. On this subject, dogmatism is inexcusable, since it concerns the future, and the best social prophets have been discredited by the event itself, both Marx and Engels being conspicuous examples.

It has been the generally accepted belief that Proletarian Emancipation would use, as its chief instrument, the Capitalist device known as the Elective Franchise. The Communist Manifesto refers to the "organization of the Proletarians into a class and consequently into a political party," as a part of social development and shows "the conquest of political power by the Proletariat" to be indispensable, and it affirms distinctly, "Every Class-Struggle is a political struggle."

These expressions have been assumed to mean that the main tactics for the Proletariat are the formation of political parties in the various countries and the conquest of political powers by the exercise of the elective franchise. In accord with this theory of Tactics, the German Proletariat, enlightened by Marx and Engels, and led by Lassalle and Liebknecht, formed a political party some forty years ago and has grown in strength and influence up to the present day. At this very moment, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany is confronted with a crisis in its history and is putting to the test its efficacy as a Revolutionary instrument. The Capitalist Class is determined to limit the Elective Franchise, so that the Working-Class shall not be able to use its majority in numbers to accomplish for itself "the conquest of political power."

It is not for us to say categorically that the elective franchise will be the historic instrument by which the Proletariat must achieve his own emancipation.

Suppose it fails, as a matter of fact. Is then the Proletariat to remain enslaved? Grant that it cannot be freed so long as the Capitalists retain control of governmental forces, that is, so long as the Bourgeoisie, through its polit-

ical power, can kill and conquer the Proletariat, still is there no other way to capture that power to kill and conquer which is incident to that Class-thing known as the State? Is there no other possible tactic but the Ballot-tactic?

It is puerile to tie the hope of the Proletariat to any method which proves itself impracticable.

Therefore, "The Socialist" has never been dogmatic as to tactics. It has been remarked by many that the promised chapters on Tactics in "Revolutionary and Reform Socialism" by the editor of this paper, have been unaccountably delayed for some three years. The real reason is that the editor has never been sufficiently settled in his own mind on the question of the method by which the Working-Class will achieve its own emancipation, to complete that part of his little book. This attitude of uncertainty may not be satisfactory to those whose minds are so constituted that they require absolute knowledge and partisan limitations to make them contented, but it seems to us the only attitude possible to an open, scientific mind with respect to matters which can be settled finally by the test of evolutionary experience alone.

All this is not to say that this paper commits itself to "Direct Action" or repudiates the Political Party method. We have used this illustration taken from contemporary Proletarian history in order to make our point clear, namely, that it is possible to conduct a Proletarian Newspaper which is not partisan or sectarian or dogmatic.

We do not profess to know whether the I. W. W. is sufficiently adapted to present Proletarian conditions in America to become the instrument of universal Proletarian organization and Revolutionary action; but we do recognize it as a part of the Class-Struggle and will report it and encourage it as calculated to develop Class Intelligence, Class spirit and Class action.

We do not know whether the present tendency of the A. F. of L. toward the formation of a political party, composed of Union men primarily, is destined to develop into a Class Party compelling legislative ameliorations of Working Class conditions, or whether it will degenerate into a mere Progressive Party, catering to Middle-Class reactionary elements like the farmers; but we do know that the membership of the A. F. of L. is composed of Wage-Workers engaged in contests with their employers for a greater share of Wage-Labor's product, and that the concentration of Capital is forcing these A. F. of L. Proletarians to act more and more as a Class and less and less as Crafts, and therefore we encourage all these tendencies toward Class action, both as Unions and as a political party.

We recognize the A. F. of L. as the greatest American organization of Proletarians and we do not regard it as controlled by any arbitrary "Principles," revolutionary or otherwise, but by its own interests so far as it perceives them, and it is our place to help it perceive those interests and to avoid reactionary entanglements. We do not deny its Proletarian character nor its part in the historic Class-Struggle. We would like to see it clearer, we will do our best to make it clearer, but we will not be so unscientific as to deny a fact, and affirm that this enormous body of Two Million Wage-Workers is a Capitalist institution, while an organization of One Hundred in Cincinnati or Seattle is the real Proletarian body, inasmuch as it declares of itself, "We can prove that our Structure is the only sound one existing in the Labor World today."

For nearly ten years this paper and most of its supporters have been allied with the Socialist Party in the U. S., believing that that party represented best the Proletarian cause. But the course of economic development led that organization to represent the small Bourgeoisie rather than the Proletarian, and we finally were driven out of that party, because we continued to insist that the Party was and should be composed of Proletarians. So we are no longer supporting that organization because it seems to us essentially Middle-Class in its constituency and tendencies.

Some of us are now to be found in an attempted new Party called the Wage-Workers' Party which has not yet completed its organization and has never put a ticket in the field. If it accomplishes things and makes itself felt as a real part of the Class-Struggle, this paper will report its progress; but at present, this organization disapproves the course adopted by us as outlined in this editorial and we bear no other relation to it than to any other body of Wage-Workers.

Others of the former supporters of this paper are now allied with the attempt to found a United Labor Party in the city of Seattle and in the state of Washington. At the election last week in this city, this Party, which had the support of none but Proletarians and was opposed vigorously by the old-party "Labor-Leaders" in the Unions, polled some 1,500 votes for its candidate for Mayor and probably elected one of its candidates for ward councilman.

This paper supported that ticket as the only Proletarian Party in the field. But we reserve our right and duty to criticize its development into a

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State Party if it shall be so unwise as to unite, for the sake of a few, or many, votes, with the Farmers' Leagues which are springing up over the country to secure better prices and lower R. R. rates, both of which tend to lower the purchasing power of wages and hence make it harder for the Unions to maintain their standard of living. Ask the Farm-Laborers to unionize themselves and demand an 8-hour day, if you want to see the absurdity of the farmers and wage-workers belonging to the same organization.

We expect our new attitude will lose us a good many friends and supporters, but we have never yet accommodated our views to our subscription-list and we cannot begin now. We shall conduct a Proletarian Newspaper, aiming to give that news which is most significant of Proletarian advances, which will best promote the Class-Spirit, develop the Class-War, encourage Class-Solidarity and hasten the final victory of the Proletarian Class.

We append an extract from a recent letter sent to an I. W. W. official, in response to a friendly letter from him.

### Extract from Editor's Letter

My Dear S.—  
I would like you to understand perfectly the attitude of this paper. It will support every contest which it regards as a part of the Class-Struggle of Labor against Capital, though it may not indorse without reserve the organization conducting such contest. Our aim is to unify the Proletariat against the Bourgeoisie. We do not think the I. W. W. the only Proletarian organization engaging in the Class-Struggle, though we are doing a great deal to promote its growth by reporting its activities. But we do not surrender the right to criticize it. Our attitude is the same toward the A. F. of L., though more critical, as that body seems to us less Proletarian in spirit and less revolutionary in form than yours.

If we come to see things differently, as your Branch of the Proletariat develops, we shall not hesitate to change our attitude.

We await the normal evolution of the Working-Class itself, and do what we can to speed on the inevitable war and the inevitable Proletarian Victory.

The unwavering loyalty of this paper, through ten years of loss and calamity, to the interests of the Wage-Workers, is the best guarantee of its future course.

Sincerely yours,  
HERMON F. TITUS.



# The Middle Class Rebellion

(Reprinted from our issue of April 9, 1910.)

Aside from the Trusts themselves, the most conspicuous phenomenon in the United States today is the Rebellion of Small Business against Big Business.

Pinchot versus Ballinger is at bottom Small Business rebelling against its exclusion by Big Business from all business. Gifford Pinchot himself said last Christmas: "For whose benefit shall the national resources be conserved, for the benefit of the many or for the use and profit of the few? The great conflict now being fought will decide."

Ballinger and Taft have Big Business behind them. There is no practical doubt Ballinger was selected for his cabinet position by and for the enormous Capital Invested in Metal Mines, in order to insure to the Guggenheims and their associates the possession of the Alaskan treasures of copper and coal. Pinchot's contention is that these treasures should be retained by the Government so as to give equal opportunity for their use to the "American People"; that is, to the small investor and prospector. He inveighs against "Excessive Profits from the Control of Natural Resources Monopolized by a Few."

There are many theorists who, following Marx slavishly, claim the Middle Class is too timid to put up a fight for itself, that it is disintegrating and has no future. But the American Middle Class has different traditions and training from the "Petty Bourgeoisie" and small traders referred to by Marx. The best representative of this American Middle Class is Theodore Roosevelt, the Strenuous. No one will deny that he is a good fighter. Other words of Gifford Pinchot have the ring of battle in them, as follows: "We have allowed the great corporations to occupy with their own men the strategic points in business, in social and in political life." "The only thing to do with them is to fight them and to beat them." That does not sound like timidity and incapacity.

The "Insurgents" among the Republicans, like La Follette and Cummins in the Senate and Norris and Poindexter in the House, with their Small Business backing of Farmers and Merchants in the West, are only another manifestation of this Middle Class Rebellion.

The Bryan Democrats are another branch, though less capable and more pliant.

The vast growth and success of the cheaper Magazines in the last five years is directly due to the fact that they voice the popular discontent with the unparalleled development of the monopolistic trusts. "Everybody's" jumped to a half-million circulation on the strength of Tom Lawson's fierce attacks on "Standard Oil." The swarm of "Muck-Rakers," like Charles Edward Russell, Judge Lindsey and Stannard Baker, are paid for and inspired by the militant hosts of these Middle Class Rebels.

What will be the result? Is it possible for the Rebellion to become a Revolution? Will this American Middle Class, consisting of millions of men who have hitherto been successful in business; men selected and hardened for conflict by their two centuries of experience as Pioneers; will they win this battle against the comparatively small Army of Monopoly, Special Privilege, Incorporated Wealth?

Those who glibly say they have no chance, because the Laws of Combination will defeat them inevitably, may have miscalculated social forces. For the next step in the evolution of American society may be Government Ownership in the interest of the Middle Class. "Conservation" means, as Pinchot says, that "our natural resources must be conserved for the benefit of the many." The Government, by this plan, shall retain its ownership of the coal fields of Alaska and of the power sites on streams, so as to forestall private ownership and monopoly and to insure "Equal Opportunity."

Suppose Roosevelt, on his return, with his immense popularity and genius for forceful leadership, shall openly defy "Cannibalism" and "Aldrichism" and "Tattism," there is no doubt he can be re-elected as the Napoleon of the Middle Class Rebellion. He will have behind him a Congress overwhelmingly Middle Class and Anti-Monopoly. What is to prevent comprehensive legislation in the direction of Middle Class Socialism? Gifford Pinchot is now on his way across the Atlantic to be the first to consult with the returning Roosevelt on the Conservation Issue.

Bear in mind again what Pinchot said in that remarkable interview of his last December: "The Conservation Issue is a great moral issue. When a few men get possession of one of the necessities of life, either through ownership of a natural resource or through unfair business methods, and use that control to extort undue profits, as in the recent cases of the Sugar Trust and Beef Packers, they injure the average man without good reason, and they are guilty of a moral wrong."

Such a call, addressed to the expropriated masses of the Middle Class, appealing to their interests and conscience alike, is certain to be received with militant fervor. What right, it will be demanded, have the Morgans, the Rockefeller, the Guggenheims, the Armours, to segregate the vast wealth produced by this Industrial Age and to use it to debauch municipal councils, state legislatures and courts, and even national officials, creating a Reign of Graft unexampled in all history?

To this national question, put in the name of "The Common People," and of "The Right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness," may arise an instantaneous and overwhelming Middle Class vote in favor of the Restraint of Monopoly by means of Government Ownership of the Monopolistic Trusts, including the Railroads, the Alaskan and other Coal Mines, the Oil Trust, the

Meat Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Copper Syndicate, and all other "Bad" Trusts.

This will be "Bourgeois Socialism," the kind that has for its battle cry, "Let the Nation Own the Trusts," the kind of Socialism that Bryan was charged with in the last Campaign, the kind of Socialism that is growing popular, the kind of Socialism that Victor Berger and Samuel Gompers represent, and that the Socialist Parties of both Europe and America are coming to represent.

Undoubtedly, such a Socialism is reactionary both in itself and as compared with the uninterrupted development of Monopoly.

It aims to preserve the present system of Capital and Wage Labor. There is no suggestion in the program of Roosevelt or Bryan or Hearst or of any other of these "Radical" spokesmen of "The Common People," that the appropriation of profit from the employment of wage workers shall cease, that the competitive wage system shall be abolished or that there shall no longer be a Proletariat.

Rather, their ideal is a Middle Class, capitalistic, free-for-all Paradise, like the present, only the tyranny of Monopoly and of the Industrial Giants shall be prevented by Public Ownership of those which have already attained uncontrollable dimensions.

We call this reactionary, because it practically preserves the Status Quo of Wage Exploitation and puts off to some distant future the Emancipation of the Wage Class from its compulsory service to the Capitalist Class. A large competitive Middle Class, based on Capitalist Profit as at present, might maintain itself indefinitely in power, because fortified by the enormous income to be derived from the National Industries taken over from the Trusts, thus relieving the Government from all necessity of dependence on Taxation and legislative Budgets; a condition which now exists in a modified form in Russia, Prussia, Japan and in all countries where Public Ownership already finds a partial exemplification. Tzar Nicholas and Kaiser William are both enabled to sustain their oligarchies, in spite of popular dissatisfaction, because of the money obtained by their governments from the administration of the State owned Railways, Telegraphs and other "Natural Monopolies."

On the other hand, if the Trusts are allowed to proceed to their "natural" conclusion, then the organization of industry into larger and larger units, completely eliminating the "Little Fellow" by precipitating him into the Proletariat, will go on apace, with accelerating speed. At the present rate, how long will it take for the Harriman and Hill systems of Railroads to effect a combination which will be able to crush and absorb all the other Railroads in the United States? Attorney F. B. Kellogg, arguing for the Government before the U. S. Supreme Court, stated recently: "The Standard Oil Co., if permitted to go on undissolved, will own the business of the Nation in five years."

It may be that even now their economic power is so great that no possible union of Middle Class elements in society can be effected strong enough to withstand the purchasing and disintegrating influences of wholesale bribery. The well known alliance of Big Capital and the Slum in our cities, like New York and San Francisco, point in this direction.

If such an economic supremacy of Great Capital has already been achieved, and hence, if the Middle Class Rebellion shall prove abortive, then Aldrich and Cannon and Taft and Ballinger, and all the rest of the tools of Great Capital in the State, are indeed the servants of Progress, unconsciously hastening the industrial organization of American society under the lead of the Captains of Industry.

To be sure, such a progress is won at the expense of personal liberty and the extension of wage slavery, and the utter extinction of the entire class of splendid fighters who have built America out of the wilderness.

Yet it is better that one Middle Class generation should perish than that ten generations of Proletarians should live and die in slavery.

When the Trusts have developed into The Trust, when all productive industry in the United States has been unified under one management, and the Government is nothing but the repressive power of this centralized, syndicated Oligarchy of Wealth, then the "Common People" and the exploited Proletariat will be identical and have identical interests, and consequently will form a vast and irresistible Revolutionary Class.

The sooner this centralization of economic and political power is accomplished, the better the prospect for such an exploited class being competent for united and revolutionary action; for the present American Middle Class or their children will make poor slaves and rebellious subjects.

Consequently, we regard it as desirable and progressive that the Present Middle Class Rebellion should not succeed, that Bourgeois Socialism should be exposed for what it is, an attempt to help the Class of Little Business to perpetuate itself and to postpone indefinitely the day of Wage Labor's Emancipation.

The key to the immediate situation lies with the American Working Class.

The Middle Class Rebellion depends for its success on the co-operation of the Wage Class.

The victory of Big Business and the abolition of Little Business also depends upon the action of the Proletarians.

It is announced that Gompers is contemplating the formation of a political party to be composed of the Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in combination with certain Farmers' organizations, alleged to number some three million voters. If this be true and such a party is formed, it will be in direct line with the Middle Class Rebellion outlined in this article. For these Farmers' Unions are not organizations of the Farm Laborers, but of the Small Farm owners. Their program goes no further than Public Ownership of Public Utilities, combined with the Utopian demand for the Initiative and Referendum, as if this method of voting were not more susceptible to control by Big Capital than the present representative system.

The reactionary character of a Gompers political party, composed of Proletarian Labor and Agrarian Small Capital, is sufficiently obvious. It would easily form a basis for the Middle Class Rebels to build their political rebellion on. If the American Working Class is so little enlightened as to its own interests and so lacking initiative as to follow such alien proposals, then indeed the Middle Class may succeed in saving itself and in prolonging Wage Slavery. It were far better to have the combination existing in San Francisco made national in scope, namely, that Labor should unite with Big Capital and the Slum to win political power; in which case, the Middle Class will go to the wall, the Trusts will complete their efficient organization of society and the Wage Class will be consolidated into a mighty, revolutionary and irresistible social force.

And there you are. It is up to the Proletariat. If it follows the reactionary lead of Gompers and unites its forces with the Middle Class Rebels, it may delay for many years the abolition of Class Rule in society and its own elevation to equal participation in the benefits of human invention.

But if it works with Big Capital to destroy the Middle Class, root and branch, with the greatest possible celerity; or if, better still, the Proletariat shall act together as one man, both industrially and politically, for its own class interests exclusively, then it will display an historic initiative and militant hegemony, which will make for the most rapid evolution out of society burdened with Class Antagonism into that association, sure to come some time, "in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

## The Milwaukee Election

(Reprinted from our issue of April 9, 1910.)

Since our editorial on the "Rebellion of the Middle Class" was written, the sweeping victory of the Social-Democratic Party in Milwaukee has occurred, where its majority mounted up to 8,000 over the Democrats, who, in turn, were 8,000 above the Republicans. Emil Seidel was elected Mayor and Victor Berger a Councilman-at-Large. Twenty out of twenty-nine Councilmen are Social-Democrats. The entire country is wondering how it was done and what it means.

In our judgment, it means precisely what has been outlined in the above editorial. It means what the astonishing election of a Democratic Congress-

man in the hitherto strong Republican Brockton district in Massachusetts, means. It means the Revolt of the Middle Class against high prices and the Trusts, which they imagine are the cause of the high prices. The Milwaukee Social-Democrats (not "Socialists," mind) are only a step removed from the ordinary Middle Class Democrats, at least in the popular mind and practically so in reality. Berger's first announcement sent broadcast through the Associated Press the very night of the election was, "We will give a Square Deal;" not a word as to the Working Class. Seidel said, "Capital need have no fear from us." Milwaukee is a city of homes, of Skilled Mechanics and Small Tradesmen, who have united under the leadership of such men as Berger, Seidel, Thompson and Gaylord, two business men and two preachers, for the purpose of buying the necessities of life, like gas, ice, coal, wood, light, street car fares, lunches, bread, water, etc., etc., at cheaper rates. Seidel, the new mayor, says, "We will do nothing revolutionary. We will show the merits of Socialism by insistent and consistent conservatism." Berger says, "This victory is a victory for Progress, a little step toward a higher phase of civilization." These expressions denote the Middle Class and reactionary character of the Milwaukee brand of Socialists, or, as they themselves prefer to be called, Social-Democrats.

Undoubtedly the Socialist Party of the United States will tumble over itself to follow Milwaukee. Already Victor Berger dominates the National Executive Committee of that party, while the Proletarian and revolutionary elements are driven out, as in Washington, or discouraged and divided, as in California. The race of this party is now to outstrip the Democrats in bidding for the support of the great Middle Class, better known as "The Common People." Except in Milwaukee, and in isolated spots, the Socialist Party in this country has hitherto amounted to little as a vote getter, and the sight of the Milwaukee trough will make their mouths water. The result at the coming convention of the Party at Chicago in May will be a stirring anti-trust call, addressed to the working class in form and to the business class in fact. It will be, as Berger says, an appeal for "Progress," for another "step toward a higher phase of civilization." In this new appeal, nothing will be insisted on which will alarm the bourgeois distribution of Property, the Capital-and-Wage-Labor system, in which Labor gets a "Fair Wage" and Capital, small or large, gets the rest of Labor's product.

Such a Social-Democratic political movement, taking the place of the old and discredited Democratic Party, is quite in keeping with the aspirations of the exasperated Middle Class as suggested in our leading editorial. It is also quite in keeping with the economic ignorance prevailing in the American Proletariat, that such a political movement should capture the most of the wage workers organized in the American Federation of Labor, as it has in Milwaukee. The chances are that the various State Labor Parties now springing into existence, as in Washington and Pennsylvania, will follow the same general lines as the Milwaukee Social Democracy. In that case, it will be almost inevitable that these Labor Parties will effect a coalition with Berger's city party and establish a real political power, wherein the Working Class will be used to save the Middle Class and to check the Trust Class.

Meanwhile the Revolutionary Proletarians are more and more combining into industrial organizations which menace the existing order and openly demand the abolition of the Wage System itself. As yet, this class of proletarians has no political organization of the Proletariat for the Proletariat. The two Socialist Parties are both travesties of proletarianism, both led by the small business man and the intellectual. In San Francisco, the "Union Labor" Party means Labor financed and used by Big Capital. In Washington, the "United Labor" Party seems disposed to join hands with the insurgent farmers and thus make a sort of Milwaukee affair, in which case the Socialist Party of this state will lose what few remnants it has left at present. In Pennsylvania, the "United Labor" Party is yet too raw to indicate its real character, though its first declaration in Philadelphia contained a sop to the farmers. Yet it is in this very state of Pennsylvania that the Revolutionary Proletariat in the coal and iron industries is being forced into Class Consciousness and Class organization.

We believe it to be the duty of every wage worker and of every other person who wishes to further the emancipation of the wage workers, to put himself where he can best discourage the spread of such Middle Class Socialism as Milwaukee represents, and which will only prolong the age of wage slavery; and to ally himself with whatever organization will soonest promote the unification of the working class to abolish Capital and its accompanying Wage Slavery.

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# LABOR PARTIES IN 1877 & '86

Strikes and Labor Parties are not peculiar to these present years, as can be seen from the history of earlier troubles in 1877 and in 1886, which we are reproducing from Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United States."

We are too apt to assume there was never such a time as the present, and hence to overvalue our immediate experiences. There is nothing like a little history, especially recent history, to give you the proper perspective and thus to discover that Fifty Years may be as one day in the march of events or as only one hour in an Historic Day.

It will be seen that in the year 1877 more startling things happened in St. Louis than in Philadelphia in 1910. It will be seen that Labor Parties, including "Union Labor," "United Labor," and "Socialist Labor," were organized and disorganized again 25 and 30 years ago. It will be seen that those parties rose and fell according to the unaltered character of their constituency. The "United Labor Party" of New York, as well as the "Greenback Labor Party" of the preceding decade, fell to pieces because it was not a pure Labor Party.

Labor seems never to have dared to go it alone in politics as it does in its Unions. Yet there is no principle more elementary in organization than this, namely, that you cannot hold a body of people together unless they have common interests. That business men and wage-working men do not have common interests is plain enough in your Labor Unions; yet when it comes to politics, this common sense principle is forgotten, and business men, farmers, preachers, lawyers, are welcomed with bowings and scrapings. When wagemen learn to reject all heroes like Henry George in 1886, or like Bryan or Roosevelt or Berger or Steiwe in 1910, when they rise in their might and defy all other classes, then they will do things and all other classes will submit to them.

The great present danger of the Labor Parties is their tendency to compromise and fall ultimately for the sake of some immediate votes.

This is the main principle for which this paper has always contended, that proletarians are sufficient unto themselves, politically and every other way. They must act as a class, because they have different and opposing class interests to every other class in society. That is why we are opposed to the Socialist Party and to the Socialist Labor Party, precisely because both alike admit to their membership and are controlled by the discontented members of the middle class, men and women who could never gain admission to the Labor Unions. That is why we were opposed to the B. C. Labor Party, supported by Walter Thomas Mills, because it did not stand for pure and simple proletarianism, while the B. C. Socialist Party did so stand. That is the reason, too, why we supported the United Labor Party in Seattle this Spring, because it stood for Proletarianism and that alone, the only party in the city which did so stand. Max Hayes, in his "Cleveland Citizen," thinks it "peculiar" that "The Workingman's Paper" should break away from the Socialist Party as not "revolutionary" enough and then support this United Labor Party. Yet he must know, and every reader of this paper must know, that the "Seattle Socialist" has been distinguished for its intolerant insistence upon a Proletarian Party, that is, a Party composed of Wage Workers, "primarily" we always said, "exclusively" we have said of late. For that sole reason, the editor of this paper ceased to be a member of the Socialist Party, because he is not himself a wage worker and does not consider himself eligible to membership in a professionally proletarian body. We are convinced a Wage Worker organization, pure and simple, must arrive at principles and methods which are for the advantage of Wage Workers, but that a mixed organization, composed, like Henry George's "United Labor Party," of Wage Class and Business Class, having antagonistic interests, can never become any more revolutionary than its middle class component.

## Strikes In Seventies

The Socialist Labor Party commenced its career under rather favorable auspices. The extraordinary industrial activity which had developed after the close of the war was succeeded by the great financial panic of 1873. The acute stage of the panic subsided after a few months, but the financial depression continued for fully five years and caused an unprecedented degree of destitution among the population of the country. In the great industrial cities cases of death from starvation, not only of single individuals but of entire families, were reported by the police every week.

During the winter of 1877, the police stations were filled every night with crowds of working men and their families seeking shelter from the cold of the streets, and the police courts were besieged by men, women, and children imploring to be committed to the workhouse. The number of the unemployed in the United States was estimated at no less than three millions. At the same time the wages of those who had employment were reduced from year to year, and in 1877 they were so low that the working men rebelled, and a series of strikes was inaugurated. The movement was quite spontaneous; it was an outbreak of despair rather than a planned and deliberate undertaking; the time was ill-chosen, the masses were unorganized and undisciplined, and the strikes were almost uniformly unsuccessful.

The most significant of the series of these strikes, in point of size and the bitterness with which it was fought, was that of the railway employees.

## Great R. R. Strike In 1877

The construction of railroads had become a favorite form of investment and financial speculation immediately after the termination of the civil war. Between the years 1867 and 1877 about 25,000 miles of new railway tracks were laid, and in the latter year the railroads of the country were capitalized for about \$500,000,000. The roads were frequently built on the mere expectation of the future development of the country, and without reference to the actual requirement of traffic. When the panic of 1873 set in, the railroads, therefore were more affected by it than any other industry, and the men to suffer most were the employees. Between 1873 and 1877 the wages of railroad workers were reduced by an average of about twenty-five per cent, and in June, 1877, the principal lines announced another reduction of ten per cent.

It was to resist this last reduction that the strike was inaugurated. The first clash occurred at Martinsburg, W. Va., on the 16th day of July, but the movement soon became general, and in less than two weeks it had spread over seventeen States.

The first men to quit work were the machinists and switchmen of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and they

were immediately joined by the locomotive engineers and other employees of the line. The management of the road soon succeeded in filling the places of the strikers, but when the new men attempted to move the cars, they were prevented by force. Two companies of the state militia sent by the Governor were powerless to cope with the situation, and the regular troops to the number of 250, sent by President Hayes to the seat of the battle, had no better results.

No serious disorders, however, occurred in West Virginia, but in Maryland, where the strike had broken out at the same time, a company of militia was greeted by the strikers and the crowds of their sympathizers with hooting and shouts of derision, which soon turned into active attack. Missiles were hurled at the militiamen, who retorted by opening a fusillade on the crowd, killing ten men and wounding many more. The shooting precipitated a riot; the militia was overpowered, rails were torn out, and cars burned.

On the same day, July 19th, a series of disorders developed all along the system of the Pennsylvania Railroad. There the movement was inaugurated by the switchmen, who struck against the introduction of the "double-heading" system. In the course of the day the switchmen were joined by the employees of the road in all other branches of the service, and the strikers now demanded not only the abolition of the "double-heading" system, but also the recall of the last ten per cent. reduction of wages.

## Battle at Pittsburg

Toward the evening all freight traffic in Pittsburg was blocked. Large crowds of strikers paraded the streets of the city and were rapidly reinforced by the multitudes of the unemployed and dissatisfied labor population. The demeanor of the masses grew more threatening from hour to hour, the local militia which was called into requisition by the sheriff refused to interfere, and 600 militiamen were sent from Philadelphia. But the arrival of the latter only served to increase the excitement of the crowd. A brief but fierce battle between the hostile camps ensued, and the defeated militiamen retired to the company's engine-room, where they barricaded themselves against the onslaughts of the strikers. There they passed a very uncomfortable night amidst the threatening shouts of the infuriated mob and the sound of the bullets whizzing past the windows. Early on the next morning they left Pittsburg and never halted on their retreat until they had reached Claremont, a point about twelve miles distant from the city.

The crowds were now the undisputed masters of the situation and their long-pent-up hatred against the railroad company, intensified and inflamed by the recent battle with the militia, vented itself in a wild crusade of destruction of the company's property. One thousand six hundred cars and one hundred and twenty locomotives are said to have been demolished by them in one day.

Disorders of a more or less serious nature also occurred in different points

of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and other States.

In Reading, Pa., a large force of the militia was ordered out to combat the strikers, but here something quite unexpected occurred.

## Militia Sympathizes

Most of the companies were composed of working men, who openly fraternized with the strikers, distributed their munitions among them, and threatened to turn their arms against all hostile militiamen. One company, however, recruited almost exclusively from the possessing classes, and led by a reckless officer, opened fire on the crowd, killing thirteen persons and wounding twenty-two. The effect of this unjustifiable act was to arouse the strikers and their sympathizers to fury; the noisy but peaceful crowd turned into a wild and dangerous mob, freight trains were derailed, cars demolished, and bridges burned. The hostile militiamen were maltreated, and the majority of them managed to make their escape from the city only by changing their military uniforms for civil attire.

## St. Louis Captured One Week

Most singular of all, however, were the occurrences at St. Louis. There the excitement communicated itself to all classes of the labor population. The traffic on the bridge between East and West St. Louis was stopped, and all communication between the Eastern and Western States was thus interrupted; the slaughter-houses and factories were closed, and the strikers took full possession of the city. The socialists called a mass-meeting which was attended by thousands, and at which an executive committee was elected to protect the interests of the working-men. Nobody ever knew who that executive committee really was. It seems to have been a rather loose body composed of whosoever chanced to come in and to take part in its deliberations. It had no definite plan of action and limited its activity to trying up all the industries of the city.

But such was the general excitement that the mysterious committee maintained the undisputed sway of the city for an entire week. Only when the general fear and excitement had somewhat subsided, the city administration, aided by the "leading citizens" of St. Louis, roused itself to some activity. A vigilance committee was formed in opposition to the executive committee, and finally the former, aided by the entire police force of the city and several companies of the militia, surrounded the headquarters of the executive committee at Shuler's Hall, and forced the rebels to capitulate. Seventy-five persons were arrested in the raid, but all of them had to be released, as they appeared to be mere idlers and curiosity seekers in no way connected with the insurrection. Of the much-feared "executive committee" no trace was found.

## Socialists Flourish

The socialists of the United States had no part in the instigation of the labor troubles of 1877, but, on the other hand, they did not neglect the excellent opportunity to propagate their theories among the excited masses. They did not overestimate the significance of the strikes, and realized at the very outset that the movement was but a passing phase in the struggle between capital and labor. They were opposed to unnecessary acts of violence, and at the numerous mass-meetings called by them, they dwelt almost uniformly on the futility of planless revolts, and the necessity of organized and intelligent action of the working class.

In Philadelphia the party decided to hold two mass-meetings "to discuss in a quiet and moderate manner the pending dispute between capital and labor, to express sympathy with the strikers, but to declare energetically against any destruction of property." The socialists in New Jersey held several mass-meetings in Newark and Paterson. In Brooklyn a mass-meeting of 2,000 working men, called by the local socialists, declared in favor of public ownership of railroads.

## Swinton and Jonas

In New York large mass-meetings were held under the auspices of the party on Tompkins Square and in the Cooper Union Institute. At the former fully 12,000 persons congregated. John Swinton addressed the meeting in German. A resolution of sympathy with the strikers was adopted, which wound up with the declaration that it had become necessary "to form a political party with a platform based upon the natural rights of the working men, and with the aim of enacting legislation against the monopolies which oppress the people."

In Chicago the strike agitation was conducted under the direct supervision of the party's National Executive Committee, which had been organized immediately after the unity convention of 1876. Chief among the Chicago agitators were the party's national secretary, Philip Van Patten, the chairman of the city committee, Schilling, and A. R. Parsons.

But the activity of the party was by no means limited to its agitation during the strike. The many labor troubles and the general condition of popular destitution of the period had made the minds of the working class more receptive to the teachings of socialism than ever before, and the socialists sought to take advantage of the situation by every means at their command. In all great industrial centers demonstrations were arranged, proclamations were issued, street-corner meetings were held and some of the most eloquent speakers of the party—McGuire, Parsons, Savary, and many others—undertook extended and systematic lecture tours through the country. Socialist newspapers appeared in all parts of the United States and in many languages. Between 1876 and 1877 no less than twenty-four newspapers, directly or indirectly supporting the party, were established. Of these, eight were in the English language, among them one daily, the Star in St. Louis, and seven weeklies; The Labor Standard in New York, the Working-Men's Ballot and The Echo in Boston, The Social Democrat in Milwaukee, the Emancipator in Cincinnati, The Socialist in Detroit, and The Times in Indianapolis. The German press was represented by four newspapers, of which no less than seven were dailies—the Chicago Socialist and Chicago Volkszeitung in Chicago, Volkstimme des Westens in St. Louis, Die Neue Zeit in Louisville, the Philadelphia Tageblatt in Philadelphia, the Vorwaerts in Newark, and the Ohio Volkszeitung in Cincinnati; one, the Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung, appeared three times a week; and six—the Arbeiterstimme of New York, Arbeiter von Ohio and Freiheitsbanner of Cincinnati, Neue Zeit and Vorwaerts of Chicago, and Vorwaerts of Milwaukee—appeared weekly.

The Bohemians had a weekly under the title Delnicko Listy, which was published in Cleveland, and the Scandinavian members of the party published a Swedish weekly in Chicago under the title Den Nye Tid.

The energetic activity of the party, aided by the favorable conditions of the time, bore good fruit; the organization grew rapidly in numbers and influence.

## Growth and Decline

On the 26th day of December, 1877, the first national convention of the party was opened at Newark, N. J., thirty-one sections being represented by thirty-eight delegates. The seat of the national executive committee was transferred from Chicago to Cincinnati, and Van Patten was reelected national secretary. The main changes effected by the convention were those relating to political action. The Unity Convention of 1876 had considered the principal mission of the newly organized party to be one of education and propaganda, and its platform and constitution were framed in accordance with that conception. The platform emphasized the superiority of the economic struggle over politics, the constitution contained no provisions as to the political action of the party or its subdivisions, and a separate resolution adopted on the subject expressly called "upon the members of the party, and all working men generally, for the time being to refrain from participation in elections, and to turn their backs upon the ballot-box."

But the situation had greatly changed since that time; the rapid growth of the party, and its unexpected success at the ballot-box (in Chicago members of the city council and members of the legislature were elected.—Ed.), had demonstrated to the socialists the importance and possibilities of politics, and had created a reaction in favor of it. The party was reorganized on the basis of a political organization, and its platform and constitution were remodeled to meet the requirements of the new situation. It was this convention which, changed the party name from Working-Men's Party of the United States to Socialist Labor Party.

## Checked by Good Times

The growth of the party continued unabated all during the next year, and in the beginning of 1879 the party consisted of about one hundred separate "sections" in twenty-five different States, with a total enrolled membership of about 10,000. But at the same time another change in the industrial conditions of the country was already preparing. The period of industrial depression passed gradually away, and was succeeded by an era of prosperity. The works and factories of the country reopened their doors, new industries sprang up, the demand for labor increased, and wages rose. The general dissatisfaction which had made the working men so responsive to the appeals of socialism during the past two or three years rapidly subsided, and the socialist agitators found only scanty and indifferent audiences where they had formerly met enthusiastic throngs. "The plundered toilers are rapidly being drawn back to their old paths, and are closing their ears to the appeals of reason. They are selling their birthright for a mess of pottage by rejecting the prospect of future emancipation in their greed for

the trifling gains of the present," lamented Van Patten.

The party was young and inexperienced at that time, and its hold on its own membership was rather weak. With the returning wave of prosperity it disintegrated rapidly, and the efforts of its leaders to stem the tide of disorganization were of but little avail. Its membership fell off, its sections disbanded, and its press succumbed for lack of readers. Of the eight English party papers reported as existing at the Newark convention of 1877, not a single one survived in 1879. A new party organ in the English language, under the title of The National Socialist, was established in May, 1878, and was with great sacrifices kept alive a little over one year. Of the German papers the Philadelphia Tageblatt and the Arbeiter-Zeitung, and Vorbote of Chicago, were the only ones to survive the general work.

## "Volks Zeitung"

In the beginning of 1878 the party press received, however, a notable reinforcement by the establishment of the New Yorker Volkszeitung, a daily newspaper in the German language, devoted to the interests of the socialist and trade-union movement. The paper was edited with exceptional ability by a staff of the most efficient and experienced journalists in the American socialist movement, including in its numbers Alexander Jonas and Dr. Douai, who have already been mentioned on these pages, and S. E. Schewitsch, a Russian of noble birth, who had received his education in Germany and England, and was an eloquent speaker and brilliant writer. On the death of Dr. Douai, a more than competent substitute was found in the person of Herrman Schlueter, a veteran in the socialist movement of both hemispheres, who still stands at the head of the Volkszeitung's editorial management.

The Volkszeitung from the very day of its appearance assumed a position of leadership among the socialist press of this country, and it has maintained this position ever since. Its good judgment and deliberate attitude have helped the party to sail safely through many a crisis in the early days of its career.

On the 26th day of December, 1879, the second national convention of the Socialist Labor Party was opened at Allegheny City, Pa. Twenty sections were represented by twenty-four delegates. The total number of members of the party was not officially stated at the convention, but it certainly was distressingly small. According to a subsequent report submitted by McGuire at the International Socialist Convention held at Chur, Switzerland, in 1881, it was about 2,600, and in the estimate of A. Strasser it was only 1,500.

In December, 1881, the third convention of the party met in the city of New York; seventeen sections were represented by about twenty delegates, most of whom had come from New York and Brooklyn either as representatives of the local sections or as proxies for other sections. No business of importance was transacted, and the national secretary regretfully stated that the majority of the socialists in the United States were outside of the party.

The struggles of the Socialist Labor Party grew harder and harder; the social contentment and political indifference of the masses seemed impregnable, no new converts were made, while the old party members, growing disheartened, dropped out in large numbers.

## United Labor Party

It was only in 1886 that the Socialist Labor Party was roused from its political lethargy. The intense labor excitement of that year, engendered by a long period of industrial depression and the struggles for an eight-hour work-day, assumed the form of a political movement in many important places.

In Chicago a "United Labor Party" was organized on the initiative of the Central Labor Union. The party was composed of members of the American Federation of Labor, Knights of Labor, radical elements of all kinds, socialists, and even anarchists. It cast over 20,000 votes for its county ticket in the fall of 1886, and in the following spring elections it mustered no less than 23,000 votes for its candidate for Mayor.

In Wisconsin a "Union Labor Party" was organized by the Knights of Labor in conjunction with the remnants of the Greenback Party. The movement was strongly supported by the local socialists, and obtained some practical results in the city of Milwaukee.

In Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Ohio, Minnesota, Michigan, Iowa, Missouri, and Colorado similar parties were organized. The parties were composed principally of trade-unionists, Knights of Labor, and Greenbackers; and in New York, New Jersey, Missouri, and Ohio the socialists also supported the movement. The parties were known in different places as "United Labor Party," "Union Labor Party," "Industrial Labor Party," "Labor Reform Party," or simply "Labor Party." They reached their highest bloom in the fall elections of 1886, when several of their local tickets were elected; the next year witnessed a rapid decline of the movement, and in 1888 very few of them survived. By far the most important political campaign of that period conducted by organized labor

was that of the City of New York.

Here the Central Labor Union inaugurated a movement for independent political action of the working men in the early part of the summer of 1886. On the 5th day of July of that year a conference of representatives of labor organizations was held in Clarendon Hall for the purpose of launching the movement. Over 300 delegates were present, and on a vote being taken, 286 of these declared themselves emphatically in favor of nominating an independent labor ticket in the ensuing mayoralty campaign, and only forty opposed the plan. Several more conferences were held, and the movement grew in strength and enthusiasm from week to week. A municipal platform was adopted, and a permanent party organization was created under the name of "United Labor Party" of New York. On the 24 day of September, 1886, a city convention of the party was held in Clarendon Hall, and amid deafening cheers and shouts of enthusiasm the convention nominated as its candidate for Mayor and standard bearer of the young movement—Henry George.

## Henry George for Mayor

George did not accept the nomination without attaching a rather unusual condition of it. He demanded that his constituents obtain the signatures of at least 30,000 citizens and residents of the City of New York to a statement that they desired his nomination and would vote for him. This, he explained, would accomplish two purposes: It would demonstrate that there was a popular demand for his candidacy, and would show to the indifferent, that he had good chances of being elected, so that they could vote for him without fear of "throwing away" their votes. The extraordinary condition did not impair the enthusiasm of the movement by any means. On the contrary, it instigated the working men to greater activity. Within a very short time more than the required number of signatures were obtained, and the campaign was under full steam. Meetings were held by the score, campaign literature was distributed broadcast, and when, toward the end of September, a street demonstration was arranged, no less than 35,000 people marched in line enthusiastically shouting the name of Henry George under the loud applause of the sympathetic crowds of bystanders.

In October the United Labor Party established The Leader, a daily newspaper published in the interest of the Henry George campaign. It was a four-page paper, sold at one cent, and soon reached a circulation of 100,000. The movement assumed such proportions that the old parties took alarm at it and sought to offset the popularity of George by nominating the strongest available candidates at the head of their tickets. The Democrats nominated the noted philanthropist and son-in-law of Peter Cooper, Abram S. Hewitt, while the Republicans nominated the present chief executive of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, then a young and promising politician.

The day of election was one of great excitement for the City of New York, and when the vote was finally counted it was found that George had received over 68,000 votes to about 90,000 cast for Hewitt and 60,000 for Roosevelt. Thus closed the most memorable political campaign ever conducted by the working men of New York.

## Differences Arise

The socialists were at no time in sympathy with Henry George as the apostle of a new social creed. While they agreed with him on the criticism of the present system of wealth production and distribution, they differed widely from him in the analysis of the causes of the evil and the remedy proposed.

The single-taxer regards land-ownership as one of the most fundamental factors in our industrial life; the socialist considers modern factory production the dominant feature of present civilization. The single-taxer recognizes but one form of economic exploitation—rent, i. e., the return made for the use of land; the socialist asserts that "surplus value," i. e., the unpaid part of the working man's labor, is the source of all exploitation, and that it is from this "surplus value" that rent as well as interest and profit are drawn. The single-taxer thus consistently sees the root of all social and economic evils of our civilization in the private ownership of land—in which term he includes all franchises and special privileges in the use of land—while the socialist opposes the private ownership of all means of production, machinery, etc., as well as land as above defined.

The single-taxer would abolish the landlord and monopolist of "land values," but continue the existence of the capitalist and wage-worker; the socialist strives to wipe out all class distinction and to introduce complete economic equality. The single-taxer professes to be an absolute and scientific truth applicable to all ages and conditions alike, while socialism claims to be a theory growing out of modern economic conditions, and expecting its realization from the steadily growing concentration and socialization of industry. The single-taxer, lastly, is an earnest supporter of the competitive system of industry, while the socialist is as ardent a collectivist.

Thus the two social theories differ very materially in their views, aims, and methods.

## More Antagonism

The socialists of New York never attempted to conciliate or minimize this difference. They supported the Henry George movement solely for the reason that they saw in it a movement of labor against capital, and they endorsed the candidacy of Henry George "not on account of his single-tax theory, but in spite of it," as the Volkszeitung put it.

Nor did Henry George and his most prominent supporters feel any friendliness toward the socialists. The platform of the United Labor Party as originally drafted consisted substantially of the so-called "immediate demands" of the Socialist Labor Party, and wound up by the classic declaration of the Communist Manifesto that "the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself;" but as soon as George accepted the nomination, the platform was replaced by a document of an entirely different tenor, based in the main on the land theory of Henry George, and demanding various land, currency, and tax reforms, along with some factory and labor legislation.

During the campaign the antagonism between the two camps was carefully repressed by both sides, but as soon as the election was over, it broke out into open hostility.

The war was first carried on on purely theoretical grounds; the socialist press combated the single-tax theory as such, while George retorted in kind by criticizing the theories of socialism in his Standard.

## Socialists Expelled

But when the campaign of 1887 drew nearer, the controversy gradually assumed a more practical aspect, and finally it came to an open clash within the organization. The immediate pretext for it was the interpretation of Article 1, Section 2, of the constitution of the United Labor Party, which required the members of the organization to sever their connections with other political parties. On a previous occasion the New York County executive committee had decided that the section had no application to the Socialist Labor Party, since the latter was not a political party in the accepted sense of the term; but when the County general committee met on August 4, 1887, the point was raised again, and the previous decision was reversed, thus virtually expelling the members of the Socialist Labor Party. The decision precipitated a general commotion in the organization. Several Assembly Districts protested against the ruling and demanded its rescission, others approved of it, and in a few instances the question produced schisms in the district organizations.

It was under these circumstances that the state convention of the United Labor Party assembled at Syracuse on the 17th day of August. It was expected that the convention would deal with the status of the socialists in the party, and both sides were represented in full array. Out of the 163 delegates who presented credentials, twenty-six were avowed socialists, while many more were in sympathy with them. The English, Tenth, and Fourteenth Assembly Districts of New York were each represented by two rival delegations, one elected by the socialist elements within the organization, the other by the anti-socialists, and the debate arose on the question of the regularity of the contesting delegations. In the ensuing discussion great latitude was allowed, and all phases of socialism were drawn into the debate.

Socialism was warmly defended by S. E. Schewitsch, Walter Vrooman, Lawrence Gronlund, Hugo Vogt, Col. R. J. Hinton, and others, while the campaign against it was led by Henry George himself, who was ably seconded by McGlynn, MacMackin, and others. The discussion lasted about eighteen hours, and when a vote was finally taken, it was found that the socialists were barred from the convention by a large majority.

The convention thereupon nominated a state ticket, headed by Henry George as candidate for the office of Secretary of State, adopted a platform, and adjourned.

## Party Dies

The expulsion of the socialists from the United Labor Party had the effect of weakening the organization to a great extent. The socialists had been energetic and devoted workers in the movement, and much of the success of the campaign of 1886 had been due to their activity.

Besides, the labor excitement of 1886 was greatly allayed, the eight-hour day agitation relaxed its intensity, and the working men gradually lost interest in their political organization. The United Labor Party was on the decline, and its dissolution was accelerated by the strife among the leaders. In the contest between George and McGlynn for the supremacy within the organization the latter prevailed. George withdrew from the United Labor Party and cast his fortunes with the Democratic Party.

Under the leadership of McGlynn the United Labor Party conducted one more political campaign, that of 1888, but the results were so insignificant that the movement was given up as hopeless, and no attempt was made to revive it for the following campaign.