

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Win Their Own Emancipation

THE SOCIALIST

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RISING PRICES RISING WAGES

Seligman and Spargo

"The Cosmopolitan" for June contains a symposium on the "Problem of Subsistence," provoked by the recent stress of high prices. Two of the contributors are Professor Seligman, Columbia University, and John Spargo, member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party in the United States. We should expect the Socialist to be guided by truer economic principles than the capitalist. But we are disappointed. John Spargo, who aspires to be the biographer of Marx, actually represents Marxian economics less accurately than the Professor of Economics in a great capitalist institution of learning.

That we be not accused of unfairness, we are giving our readers the chance to judge for themselves by the two quotations in question, which follow.

Notice that Spargo ascribes the prevailing high prices to the interference of Monopoly with the normal operation of the Law of Value, so that he concentrates attention on the "Secondary Exploitation" of the workers, rather than on the "Primary Exploitation," which occurs in the payment of wages. Seligman answers this Monopoly argument in a single sentence by pointing out that prices have risen where there are no trusts creating monopoly.

But there is a reason for Spargo's directing attention to the exploitation of the consumer rather than, like Marx, exalting the Exploitation in Production as the one thing worth fighting against,—and this reason is, he Milwaukeeized American Socialist party, which Spargo stands for, pays almost exclusive attention to the Reforms which will help the Middle Class, like the reduction of prices, rather than to the Revolution which will end the extraction of Surplus Value at the point of Production.

There is no monopoly of Labor to abolish the Law of Wages and allow the wage-worker to get more than a subsistence. Spargo knows that the average wage is down to about a dollar and a half a day, and that the standard of living represented by that wage cannot be much reduced with the class of wage workers in this country. He knows that already the tendency of wages is to rise to compensate for the rise in prices, and that constant organization and determination by the wagemen will resist the tendency of rising prices to reduce the purchasing power of their wages. The reduction of the prevailing standard of living in an entire country, inherited from many generations, is something which cannot be accomplished in a day or year, and the present diminution of

the value of gold and consequent rise in general prices, is not to be resisted by attempting the impossible feat of defeating the Law of Value as expressed simultaneously in both money and prices, but rather by raising the price of labor power, or wages, to correspond to the higher prices of everything else. Wages will adjust themselves to the new standard, reduced value of gold, more slowly than other prices, because Labor is less united than Capital, and has less powerful weapons, but such an adjustment is far more easy and far quicker than the cutting down of the standard of living which has prevailed for many years in this nation.

Notice how admirably concise and complete is Seligman's statement of the problem. The only omission which the Marxian economist would complain of, is the basing of value on supply and demand rather than on the amount of labor required to produce gold by the new processes. The fluctuations of gold value follow the quantity, but the quantity itself is dependent upon the ease of production, and the diminished value, directly and ultimately, upon the diminished labor demanded, by the lately invented processes of extraction of the metal, to put a given amount upon the market. What the final value of gold will be

depends upon the average amount of labor necessarily expended by society in providing itself with that commodity.

Let the fight for higher money wages go on. It must win. Don't throw away your energies, proletarians, in a vain endeavor to defeat high prices, falsely imagining they are due to monopoly. That is a Middle Class cry, and the only way these little capitalists can escape from the pinch of high prices is to get more of what they and their class, big and little, rob you wage workers of, at the very moment they pay you your wages. But you can escape in a way that is in line with the very laws that underlie social production, by securing a corresponding adjustment of the price of your commodity to the reduced value of gold; that is, by securing a rise in your wages, exactly as you are striking to do in all your unions.

Even John Mitchell, in this same symposium states the Law of Wages clearly as follows: "The economic fact is that Wages follow Prices." That is inevitable, if the standard of living is unchanged. Therefore, the gods fight with you in your present fight for higher wages. This is the unanswerable argument to present to the employers.

The Cause of Rising Prices

By E. R. A. Seligman,
Professor of Economics, Columbia University.
(In June "Cosmopolitan.")

Prices of commodities are their values expressed in terms of money—that is, under modern conditions, of gold. A general rise of prices must, therefore, mean a depreciation of gold; and when there are no market changes in the conditions of credit, a fall in the value of gold is always the result of an increase in its output. Unless there is some change in the supply of, or the demand for, gold, there can be no change in the general price level.

The only way in which all things can rise in price simultaneously, even though some rise more than others, is through a relative increase in the supply of gold. From 1845 to 1860, when the gold supply was augmented enormously, there was at the same time a revolution in transportation. So that the force of the increase in the gold supply was partly corrected by a growth in the demand, with the consequence that general prices rose only slightly. But since 1897, when another enormous increase in the gold supply has occurred, there has been no corresponding revolution in industry, trade, or agriculture, and as a result prices are soaring.

All the other alleged causes are unavailing to explain the situation. To say that the rising prices are due to trusts will not explain a similar rise of prices in cases where there are no trusts in those particular commodities in this country, or no trusts at all in other countries, where the rise of prices is also well marked. To say that higher prices are due to the tariff does not explain the similar rise of prices in England, where there is no protective tariff. To say that higher prices are due to labor unions does not explain the rise of prices in the Orient, where there are no labor unions. To say that rising prices are due to the growth in population does not explain the falling prices of a decade ago, when population increased

virtually at the same rate. It is obvious, then, that, apart from the minor oscillations in any one commodity, the general change in the level of prices can be explained only by a cause which attaches equally to all prices.

Socialism and Subsistence

By John Spargo,
Author of "Capitalist and Laborer."
(In June "Cosmopolitan.")

The constantly increasing cost of living illustrates what some of the great economists have called "the secondary exploitation of the producers." The primary exploitation occurs through the medium of wages. The producer must give a greater value in labor-product than he receives in wages. Upon the surplus value thus wrung from the blood and sweat of the wage-earners the parasitic classes in society exist. Naturally the workers find it to their interest to get as much as possible for their work and the exploiters pay as little as possible. This is the cause of the great industrial conflict which characterizes modern society.

Until the era of monopoly prices created a new condition the workers concerned themselves almost wholly with this direct exploitation. They were not very much concerned with secondary exploitation; that is, with the further exploitation as consumers to which they are now subjected. So long as competition reigned in industry and commerce, prices were regulated by the law of supply and demand. When the workers gained an advance in wages it was a real gain, an increase of comfort and general prosperity.

It is far otherwise in this age of monopoly. Great combinations of capital, enlisting in their service all the powers of science, can now set the law of demand and supply aside. In other words, they exact monopoly prices. The immense cold-storage plants, as current investigations prove, enable packers and dealers to so regulate the market supply as to enable them to exact artificially high prices for the necessities of life. Back of

them, sustaining them in their plunder of the people, is the infamous "protective" tariff.

The consequence is that the workers find that when their wages are increased they do not really gain. Wages rise with leaden feet, but prices soar with eagle wings. Many a worker whose wages today are twenty per cent higher than, they were ten years ago finds that he is not so well off as he was then; that his standard of living is actually lower. And workers whose wages have not been increased are far worse off than they were. The standard of living of the working class

of America is seriously deteriorating.

As a Socialist, I am convinced that the only real remedy is Socialism. The people must own and control the things upon which the common life and welfare depend. Rent riots and meat strikes in our cities are angry warnings of an impending revolt of the people against the masters of their bread, of their very lives. Thousands who today are boycotting the meat trust (and, incidentally, their own stomachs!) will soon learn the folly of that. They will vote to socialize the meat trust—and all other trusts.

THE WOMAN POLITICS IN DENMARK

By Beasy Fiset

"Kunne!" Roosevelt, in an address on "International Peace" before the Noble Prize Committee in Christiania, recently said: "No man is worth calling a man who will not fight rather than submit to infamy or see those that are dear to him suffer wrong." Beautiful sentiment that. I wonder which side the "Kunne!" would uphold if he happened to be called upon to arbitrate troubles in Potlatch. Over in Potlatch, Idaho (I cite this not because Potlatch is the only place where anything like this occurs, but because fresh incidents from there have just come under my observation). Well, over in Potlatch it is not an unheard-of occurrence for the ones in authority to grossly insult wives of the men employed by the company. When said men threaten to bring action against said ones in authority, they are given so many hours in which to leave Potlatch, and if they dare to say anything or take an action, it will be made an utter impossibility for them to secure work in any lumber camp or mill in the Northwest. Consequently the weak Moores walk out of Potlatch (taking their wives with them) to some other camp where they can quite reasonably expect the same thing.

I suppose the men feel their impotency when it comes to a single-handed battle with an economic despot but, in the words of the Umbrella Man, "I'd go for 'em, sink or swim, B'gosh!" I'd go on record as making a fight anyhow, if it was only to encourage some one else. The first thing you knew, there would be a bunch of them. And, "every little bit added to what you have makes a little bit more."

A good illustration of what can be done by just one person is contained in the following: During the week of Washington's birthday a vaudeville singer was playing in one of the Detroit houses. On the day in question the manager—with an eye to filling his pockets by extracting more work from his performers without paying for it—held an extra show, making two for afternoon and two for evening. To the casual observer an extra show, more or less, doesn't seem much; but to the underpaid performers and the box office it means a good deal. Extra work with no extra pay for the former, and in a house of the size of the one in question, about sixty dollars in ready money for the latter.

The bill was particularly good, and went so "big" on Washington's birthday that the manager sent the stage manager around to say that there

By Arthur Jensen

The political situation in Denmark is a peculiar one. In fact, Danish politics has been in a chaotic condition for some time.

According to the Danish constitution, the cabinet must have the support of the lower house. The moment this support is lost, the cabinet is expected to tender its resignation and give way to a new one.

CONSTITUTION IGNORED.

For about twenty-five years preceding 1901, the constitution was ignored and the old Conservatives remained in power despite the fact that they did not have the support of the lower house.

Finally, in 1901, the Reform party, which had become the controlling group, formed a new cabinet. This party had arisen to power because of its promise to reduce military expense and to revise the constitution, making it more democratic.

However, the Reform party did not keep its promise, and in 1905 a split occurred, and the Radical party was formed. Last year another split occurred, thus making five separate political parties or groups, namely: 1. The Conservatives, or the "Right" Party. 2. The right wing of the Reform Party. 3. The left wing of the Reform Party. 4. The Radical Party. 5. The Social Democratic Party.

The old Conservative Party represents the interests of the landed aristocracy and big capitalists, the two groups of the Reform Party reflect various tendencies in the middle class farmer, the Radical Party is endeavoring to further the political aspirations of the very small farmers—husband—and the professional classes, while the Social Democratic Party is the political reflection of organized labor.

REFORM PARTY CONTROLS.

From the spring of 1901 to the spring of 1909 the Reform Party had undisputed control of Danish politics. But through broken promises and internal strife, the Reform Party lost control at the election of May 25, 1909. After this election the five party groups in the lower house were of practically equal number, as follows: Conservatives, 21; right wing Reform party, 22; left wing Reform party, 27; Radical party, 20; Social Democratic party, 24.

It required the coalition of three groups to attain a working majority. The two Reform party groups formed a cabinet and were in the beginning supported by the Conservatives. But last fall a split occurred among the latter and the cabinet resigned, lacking the support of the lower house.

would be an extra show on the day following.

When the herald of this good news reached the little singer's dressing room (which contained a revolutionist) he was told gently, but firmly, that "There might be an extra show the following day, but that lady wouldn't sing in it. That if the manager wished to cancel the engagement it was up to him, for there were plenty of singers out of work, and he could get them for a five. But as for her, if he wanted her to sing, it meant five dollars." The stage manager blustered and passed on. Immediately the strong man of the room next called out: "Are you going to stand by that?" and the black-face team from down the hall crept up to hear the ultimatum and all pledged to stand pat and refuse to go on, which decision was sent to the office. After the last show that night the stage manager came around and respectfully announced that there would be the usual number of shows the next day.

That isn't given as an epoch-making event in the progress of the exploited class, but is mentioned just to show what it means for a few—even a few—to band themselves together and stand for—their rights? No. You'll never get your rights while depending on some one else, but you can certainly get a little bit more that is coming to you by organizing—and you know, "Every little bit added to what you have makes a little bit more."

After many conferences the King requested the Radical party floor leader to form a cabinet, and thus the smallest and youngest party became the governing party. The Radical party, as formerly the Reform party, stands pledged to revise the constitution. The constitutional reform, mostly clamored for, is the redistricting of the country into new election districts. The districts are the same as in 1866, thus giving the country districts an undue advantage over the industrial centers. Population in the farming districts has been almost stationary, while in the cities a steady increase has taken place.

The new Radical government could have dissolved the lower house at once and ordered new elections, but it first made an attempt to pass the law for the above-mentioned constitutional reform. The government had the support of the Social Democrats, but the attempt failed, because of the opposition from the Conservative-Reform groups. The consequence was that April 18 the lower house was dissolved. The date for the new election has been set for May 20.

The short time between the dissolution of the lower house and the date for the new election necessitated quick work on the part of the various party organizations.

SOCIALIST CONVENTION.

On April 21 the Social Democratic party held an extraordinary convention, with but one question on the order of business, namely, the election.

There were present 314 delegates representing 43,696 members in 229 local organizations. Besides these fifty-one members of the executive board of the party were also entitled to seats.

Before the convention, a conference had been held between the party executives of the Social Democratic and Radical parties, following which the executive committees of the two party organizations formulated recommendations to be submitted at their respective conventions. The recommendations were that the Radicals should refrain from placing candidates in Social Democratic districts and that in return Social Democrats should not enter Radical districts. In districts possessed by neither Social Democrats nor Radicals, the party which attained the larger number of votes at the last election should contest it.

In the Social Democratic convention the recommendation met some opposition, several delegates opposing any alliance whatever with other parties, but the recommendation was finally passed by a vote of 316 to 38, three not voting.

SOCIALIST-RADICAL ALLIANCE.

The passed recommendation read as follows:

"Politics of last winter have brought three important issues into the foreground, namely, the military question, election district reform, and constitutional revision. We have seen that that these questions will not be solved without struggle.

"However, the present cabinet has assumed a position which opens the possibility of an effectual fight against militarism and against the privileged franchise to the upper house, and it should therefore be considered good policy to create a lower house majority for this government.

"In consideration of this situation the Social Democratic convention resolves to form an election alliance with the Radicals for the coming election by considering it as a by-election, at which those of the candidates of the two parties—Social Democrats and Radicals—who had the lowest number of votes at the election in 1909 withdraw, and by refraining from placing any opposition candidates in those districts already held by one of the two parties."

The Radical party adopted a similar recommendation, with but four votes of about four hundred opposing it.

According to this arrangement the Social Democrats place candidates in fifty-five districts and the Radicals in fifty-eight.

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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 falls, 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 political 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 Bourgeois 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 un-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, advance 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 endorse 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 politic.

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 "Cannonsm" and "Aldrichism" and Taftism, 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 Rockefellers, 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 Restriction 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 Syndicates, 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. Tsar 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 Railways 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 3,000 over the Democrats, who, in turn, were 3,000 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 oust 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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HARDIE APPREHENDS COMPROMISE

Keir Hardie is an "M. P." that is, Member of Parliament. He represents the "I. L. P." that is, Independent Labor Party. He is also a member of the "L. R. C." that is, "Labor Representation Committee," now more commonly known as the Labor Party of Great Britain.

H. M. Hyndman is a member of the "S. D. P." that is, the "Social Democratic Party," long known as the "S. D. F." that is, the "Social Democratic Federation." Hardie's I. L. P. is much larger than Hyndman's S. D. P. and includes many more wage workers. Hardie's party affiliates with the Labor Party, Hyndman's does not. The S. D. P. has, in the main, been rigidly Marxian, and is, in fact, more of an educational society than a political party.

Whether Keir Hardie is a true representative of his own party, or not, is not yet established, as Ramsey MacDonald disputes that question with him. It is plain that Hardie himself is in doubt as to the future of the Labor Party, and not so confident as his article in the "International Socialist Review," quoted herewith, would seem to show. The fact is, there is the same drift in England as in America and Germany, toward assimilation in policy and in principle with the great Middle Class Reaction against the Trust Evolution of Capital.

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

Keir Hardie Answers Hyndman and Other Critics

(From "International Socialist Review," May 1910.)

It must be exceedingly difficult for American Socialists to get a grip of the facts about the British Labor Party. It is of some importance, however, that they should know the facts whether they agree or disagree with our policy. In the March issue of the International Socialist Review William E. Bohn, writing more in sorrow than in anger, says, "The Labor Party has sold its birthright for the mere chance of securing a mess of pottage." I do not know upon what Comrade Bohn is relying when he makes this statement, but that he has been misled admits of no doubt. In the February issue of the International Socialist Review an article appeared from the pen of H. M. Hyndman in which he holds up the British Labor Party "as an object lesson to our comrades in the United States who are inclined to venture on the same slippery path." It is the fact that a Labor Party is being seriously discussed by Socialists and Trades Unionists in the United States which leads me to beg the favor of your columns to put the actual facts against Mr. Hyndman's statements.

3-CORNERED CONTEST.

In the opening paragraph of his article Mr. Hyndman asserts that "in order to make sure of retaining their seats in the House of Commons at the General Election both the Labor Party and the I. L. P. have come to terms with the Liberals in a manner which must check all confidence in them in future." Were I simply to deny the truth of this assertion it would only be a case of one man's statement against another's, and would lead your readers "no forrader." But here are the facts. At the time of the dissolution the period to which the statement refers, there were thirty-three members of the Labor Party in the House of Commons. At the election seventy-eight candidates went to the polls under the auspices of the party. All the leading members of the party in the House, Socialists and Trade Unionists alike went, as far as circumstances permitted, to the support of the new candidates and in nearly every case our new candidates were fighting three-cornered contests, that is, were being opposed by Liberal and Conservative nominees. I myself had a Liberal opponent as I have always had in every contest I have fought. Surely, then, in these facts and figures we have ample proof of the absence of any agreement or understanding with the Liberals, and apart from the statement appearing in the capitalist yellow press put forward to damage our prospects, there is no foundation whatever for Mr. Hyndman's statement. It cannot be too often repeated that the Labor Party has its own political organization, raises its own funds by a levy on the members of affiliated Trades Unions and Socialist organizations, and enters into no agreement whatever either about candidates, constituencies or policy with either Liberals or Conservatives.

(Editor's Note. Yet "The New Age," speaking in defense of the Labor Party, admits "the Labor Party entered into a Free Love Alliance with the Liberal Party in the late election." And the I. L. P. congress in March decided by a large majority not to object to its members appearing on Liberal or Tory platforms, and refused "to reaffirm its freedom from alliance with the Liberal and Conservative Parties.")

S. D. P. COMPROMISES.

Readers who do not know Mr. Hyndman may be surprised to learn that I myself went out of my way to support

gation of Socialist principles. Two years ago the Social Democratic party at its annual conference discussed whether it should join the Labor party, and on that occasion, by the way, Mr. Hyndman cordially supported the proposition. Had the motion been carried the Social Democratic party could have affiliated with the Labor party and yet retained full liberty of action in its organization and propaganda. I have frequently observed that Socialist comrades in the United States who oppose an alliance with the trades unionists to form a Labor party base their opposition on the assumption that they would require to merge the identity of the Socialist organization in that of the Labor party. This assumption is baseless. The Labor party here is a federation of organizations. A trades union can join, a Socialist organization can join, the co-operative movement could join, but in each case these organizations continue to retain their separate identity and organization and to carry on their work exactly as before. They pay a certain affiliation fee based upon their membership to the Labor party. They are free to nominate candidates to go on the Labor party list. These candidates together with all officials of the party come under obligation not to appear upon the platform or support in any way whatever candidates nominated by any other party. The Labor men are under the further obligation, if they succeed in securing election, to be members of the party in the House of Commons, which I repeat has its own separate organization and is clearly marked off from either Liberal or Conservative.

WHAT LABOR PARTY DID. I ask Comrades Untermyer and Bohn to note well these facts: 1st. The British Labor party has never had any agreement or understanding with the Liberal party. 2d. A Socialist organization which affiliates to the Labor party retains its own separate organization intact, and continues its work for Socialism unimpeded. 3d. The British Labor party has made it impossible for trade union officials or labor leaders to go on the stump on behalf of either Liberal or Conservative candidates or parties. This of itself is a great gain to the working class movement. A Labor party does not give us everything at once which we Socialists want, but it is at least a genuine working class movement, and as such merits the support and good will of all who believe in Social Democracy. Its faults and failures are but a reflex of the faults and failures of the class which has called it into being, and it, like its creators, will grow in wisdom as it gains experience. I ask them that the Labor party here shall be judged according to the evidences, and not be condemned on the ex-parte statements of its enemies and opponents.

JOINT NOMINATIONS.

I do not say that it is possible in the United States to have an organization modeled on the lines which have proved so successful here. The only point I am trying to make at present is that there could be a working political agreement between Socialist and trades unionist organizations without either merging its identity or having

HARDIE'S HOME VIEWS

Keir Hardie in I. L. P. Organ Talks in Different Strain

(From "Labor Leader," March 11, 1910.)

LABOR IN DANGER. This postponement of reform would be bad enough of itself, but there is to my mind an even greater danger to be faced. The Labor party itself may be swallowed up by the conflict. If the party is to have no policy of its own, if it also is to be distinguished by timidity and lack of grit it will forfeit its distinctive place in the public mind, and suffer the same eclipse as that which awaits Liberalism.

I am not underestimating the importance of the conflict with the Lords. I see clearly enough that their success means undoing much of the political progress which has been made in the past. Especially will this be the case if they regain control over finance, and if I saw any indications which would lead me to believe that the present government realized the gravity of the situation, and was prepared to meet it in a spirit worthy of the occasion, my fears would be to some extent allayed, and my attitude to that extent modified. What I foresee plainly enough is that if we are to tone down our policy to suit the convenience of the government, refuse to take on three-cornered contests, lest we injure its prospects, and to all intents and purposes put ourselves in line with the Liberals, we are foredoomed to ignominious extinction. Rather than be a party to such fatuous folly, I would retire to the banks of the Lugar and take to raising cabbages.

SHALL WE TURN BACK?

We have reached what may be the parting of the ways, when we shall have to decide whether we are to go forward as a separate party, building up a working-class movement, and making it more and more of a factor in the political life of the nation, or whether we are to turn our back on our own past, undo all we have been attempting to do, and justify the unworthy suspicions with which we have been assailed from so many quarters. For the moment the movement seems to be drifting without any settled policy, and that is bad. I know the difficulties of the situation and the dangers to the cause of democracy which lie immediately ahead of us, and am prepared to take whatever action may be necessary, not only to safeguard our own position, but also to safeguard the rights and liberties of the people against the encroachments of the peers. For good and sufficient return I would even be prepared to advocate that the Socialist and Labor votes should be cast for Liberal candidates at the forthcoming election in constituencies which we ourselves are not contesting. This is not the moment for any non possumus attitude. Vigorous action of any kind, if taken openly and after due deliberation, will save the situation, both for ourselves and others.

It is the policy of drift which I fear. It is that which might so easily prove fatal. And, with the election coming

False Arrest of Herman In Seattle

On the evening of May 6, 1910, under the auspices of the Wage Workers party, I went with Comrade George S. Holmes to the corner of Second avenue and Washington street to address a public meeting, as had been the habit of this and other working-class organizations ever since our memorable fight for free speech some three years ago.

Everything went off in the usual way until I had finished speaking, stepped off the platform and began taking up the collection in accordance with the established policy of the Wage Workers party.

At this juncture two policemen came upon the scene and demanded to know why I was begging. I told them that I was not begging, but that I was taking up a collection to further the propaganda of our party. Nevertheless I was arrested. And right here is where it is pertinent to ask the question, What is their purpose in denying us the right to continue to do what we have done for the last three years, and what the Salvation Army are still allowed to do, namely, take up a collection?

ENTERING WEDGE.

To my mind it is the entering wedge to feel their way to again deprive the working class of the right of free speech and peaceable assemblage on the streets of this city.

It must be obvious to all intelligent people that, if the taking up of collections on the street constitutes the crime of begging, that the Salvation Army and other religious organizations are equally guilty of this crime whenever they take up a collection, which they continue to do unmolested, and why? Why this discrimination? Because they speak in the name of Jesus, while we speak in the name of the working class? Jesus is dead, and to agitate in his name and take up collections can bring no harm to the capitalist class. The wage class is alive, in misery, poverty, degradation and restless under the burden of producing the world's wealth, of which they receive such a meager share in the form of wages. To agitate in their name and take up collections will assist in perfecting the political and industrial organizations of our class, and eventually put the capitalist class out of business of exploiting labor and compel them to earn their bread in the sweat of their own brows by taking away from them the gun with which they hold us up, namely, the means of production, socially used and socially necessary in the production of wealth.

This, then, and this alone, constitutes our crime, though the minions of capitalism would convict us of the charge of begging.

HERMAN'S TREATMENT.

Now a word as to my treatment. Though the law assumes one to be innocent until proven guilty; though the constitutions of the United States and the state of Washington guarantee any one charged with crime a speedy and impartial trial, and the same documents prohibit the imposing of exorbitant bail, I was nevertheless compelled to spend twelve hours in their dirty and filthy dungeon, notwithstanding that I offered \$25 cash bail for my appearance on the date of trial, which is set for Monday, May 9, at 1:30 p. m. They denied me bail on the flimsy excuse that a personal check is not cash.

Finally Mrs. Bessie Fiset, who took an active part in the fight for free speech for labor (it has never been denied to capital) here, three years ago, as well as in the I. W. W. fight for free speech, free press and peaceable assemblage recently fought in Spokane, came to my assistance by putting up the \$25 cash bail required.

JAIL FILTHY.

Why were they so anxious to keep me in jail? Let me describe the jail and the conditions therein. The dimensions are 48x24x15 feet and the ventilation is fairly good. There are no seats or beds except the cement floor, and the toilet arrangements are in such unsanitary condition that one dare not use them for fear of infection. In this unsanitary confinement, where I could have neither washed myself, combed my hair, brushed my clothes or gotten my rest, they hoped to keep me for a period of three days and three nights before trial—while the judge, who draws pay for Saturday, claims it as a holiday, and all who fall into the police net on Friday are held till Monday afternoon before given a trial.

Beside the seedy condition in which I would necessarily have appeared in court, I would have been deprived of the opportunity of securing witnesses, preparing for my defense, and arranging for appeal bonds in case of conviction; all of which would have made me an easy victim for the chain gang, there to toil and sweat to reduce the taxes of the very class against whom I prefer to agitate, and who, on the other hand, do not wish to give up their snap of robbing labor, and who will do all in their power, and they have a great deal, thanks to the ignorance of the working class, to retain their political and economic supremacy.

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On with the REVOLUTION—the right of free speech for labor shall not be relinquished in Seattle. EMIL M. HERMAN.

Later.—Trial set for Monday was arbitrarily postponed till Tuesday, thus incommoding all witnesses. Tuesday afternoon Herman was acquitted after testimony had shown he was not collecting funds for himself (which would have been "begging"), but for a regularly constituted organization. There ought to be a prosecution occasionally for "false arrest"—Ed.

Still True

The quotation given here is from Engels' Preface, written in 1892, to the English translation of his remarkable work of 1844 entitled "Condition of the Working Class in England." Though it is 18 years since these words were published, they are nearly as applicable in 1910 as in 1892.

"While England has outgrown the juvenile state of capitalist exploitation described by me, other countries have only just attained it. France, Germany, and especially America, are the formidable competitors who, at this moment—as foreseen by me in 1844—are more and more breaking up England's industrial monopoly. Their manufactures are young as compared with those of England, but increasing at a far more rapid rate than the latter; and, curious enough, they have at this moment (1892) arrived at about the same phase of development as English manufacture in 1844. With regard to America, the parallel is indeed most striking. True, the external surroundings in which the working class is placed in America are very different, but the same economical laws are at work, and the results, if not identical in every respect, must still be of the same order. Hence we find in America the same struggles for a shorter working day, for a legal limitation of the working time, especially of the women and children in factories; we find the truck system in full blossom, and the 'cottage system' in rural districts, made use of by the 'bosses' as a means of domination over the workers. When I received, in 1886, the American papers with accounts of the great strike of 12,000 Pennsylvania coal miners in the Con-

Australian Labor Victory?

At the recent election in Australia the Labor party elected a working majority in both houses. The Australian Labor party, however, is mixed up in many middle class reform issues, and it is questionable whether or not the election can be considered a Proletarian victory.

Senator La Follette says that the Milwaukee election was not a Socialist victory, but a victory for honest men. He claims that the citizens of Milwaukee elected the Socialists because they were thought to be honest, and not because they were Socialists. And La Follette may be right.

The German Lockout

The lockout in the building industry in Germany is still on as far as is known here. The capitalist dailies are silent. According to the foreign labor press, the employers in Western and Northern Germany did not all respond to the call of their central organization.

In Berlin the trouble appears to have been settled by giving an increase of three pennig per hour now and two pfennig additional in October, 1911. A similar settlement was made in other cities. About 200,000 are involved in the lockout. This is about half the number which the employers' organization intended to turn out.

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