

# THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

OUR TASK—To Remove His Bandage

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Win Their Own Emancipation

THE SOCIALIST

Tenth Year—No. 471

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, May 28, 1910

Price Five Cents



## THE WOMAN

By Bessy Fiset

The papers have made much of, first, the death of Consul, and now the death of Chas. First, both educated monks. But when one takes ever so short a journey in the world, one is struck with the fact that in the death of the two Simlans one hasn't witnessed the passing of the educated monk by any means, for there are plenty of them left.

What of having hungry, enfeebled, stunted, degenerate men, women and children at one end of the scale and a bunch of gold-steeped, pleasure-sated, educated apes at the other end. We have a pretty order of things. Let us pray!

Whether the Positive School of Criminology is becoming popular in the United States or not, I don't know, but another instance of the practice of the same has come to light recently. What used to be the fearsome, vile, cruel, House of Refuge for girls in Philadelphia has become a farm of broad acres, where no longer are the girls—almost without exception the product of the extreme and most cruel economic condition—kept for years at a stretch in solitary confinement—but where they are given half a chance of developing physically and mentally—which means every way—with a realization that good conditions breed good men and women and vice versa.

Will the gradual realization of this fact lead to the conviction that if drastic measures are used it will be needless for such institutions to exist, because such conditions may be possible for every one?

It seems a long way off, doesn't it? With one big lump of the workers seriously contemplating joining forces with the worthy "Ulter of the soil" and the vast majority of the rest waiting breathlessly for T. R., the chances for a really, truly Revolution look slim to me.

The Socialists of France expect to meet 63 of their candidates at the coming election. I would like to know if they are contemplating the installation of moving pictures in the public schools (a la Mayor Seidel) to divert the children of the working class from

the ten-cent shows—wouldn't you? Talk about solidarity! The Working Class can learn something from the Educated Monks, just the same! The entire Senior class at Yale, including the son of your rotund president, has signed a petition for the release and pardon of Banker Morse.

If any member of the Working Class had been found guilty of bamboozling as much out of the Capitalists as Morse has there are mighty few, if any, of the workers' organizations that would dare sign a petition for pardon. Of course the Yale chappies haven't jobs to lose.

It has been suggested by a British subject of the name of Gladstone; that "if every driver in Seattle and every automobile and taxicab carried a bit of crepe for the dead King on Friday, it would touch the heart of all England."

I don't believe every driver in Seattle will do it; do you? In the first place, some of them are getting pretty wise, and it won't be long before they will all be wearing an emblem of some kind on days when their brothers, who have been murdered in mines, in factories, on trains and in industry in general, are buried, and that in turn, will give way to a manifestation so stupendous, so threatening that the whole earth will tremble with it! Yes, it may take years, but there is one thing certain, the longer it takes the more stupendous will the demonstration be.

Seattle Labor Unions are going into business on a scale that will make the co-operative stores of Europe look like a ten-cent store. At least so the papers say.

Whether the workers will consider this revolutionary or reactionary remains to be seen.

One dear, sweet, Christian housewife declares that "the only way we can ever hope to remedy the prices is for the women to take a hand and quit doing the way they are now!" You're extravagant, women, and don't know it, and extravagance is a crime, if you happen to be drawing wages—if you draw dividends, it is a virtue).

The dear, sweet, Christian housewife

doesn't say what is going to happen if the women who would like to marry and can't—who would like a home and can't have it—who would like to do her own marketing and can't—doesn't change her way of living on sinkers and coffee in the morning and a fifteen-cent dinner at night.

The trouble is, there are too many points of view.

With T. R. booked as "The New Insurgent Leader," the outlook is pretty bright for a Middle Class victory of some sort.

I wonder how long it will take the workers to find out that a change along those lines has nothing in it for them?

The Socialist party of the city of Seattle seems to be saddled with the Sadlers.

"Votes for Women," the new suffragist paper published in the state of Washington, is on sale.

When the body of suffragists becomes large enough to be a force as purchasing agent, it may enter one of their heads to bring a little "direct action" to bear. When the products of the state are boycotted to a great enough extent the suffrage may be forthcoming without being "asked" for.

I see that in Passaic, N. J., the census man found a house which 350 men call "home." This "home" is occupied by a day shift and a night shift, both shifts occupying the same beds and breathing the same air. (Awfully generous of the night shift to pass the air on, but that is irrelevant.)

Is it possible that among those 350 men there aren't enough who want good beds, good air, good clothes, good food, in short, who want to live like intelligent human beings, to force better conditions from the employers?

### A Little Debate

Dear Friend Armstrong:

Well, I read another one of Jack London's books, "Martin Eden," and I thought about our talks on Socialism, naturally. Now I believe you were under the impression that Jack London was a Socialist, but his "Martin Eden" doesn't indicate as much. To my mind, at least, he looked upon Socialism as I do, the same as Democracy, Republicanism, Monarchism or any other "ism" that doesn't alter the "survival of the fittest" theory, that is beyond all political creeds, and is one of God's eternal facts, and looking back, I don't see how we got it mixed up with Socialism, but think it was from a remark of mine, that I was non-partisan, which is true, for I say what difference does it make which party is in power, or rather what party will always be the fittest. I don't necessarily mean by "fittest," brute strength, else the lion would rule the world; nor do I mean those with extraordinary mental powers, for I look upon such a man as a freak. Really, I think Marconi was a freak, so to speak, yet he was a useful freak, we must admit. But there is strength in numbers we are told, and it may sound funny, but there is strength in weakness, as I think you will agree. When you look about, for instance, the negro slaves in the South, with their weakness and docility and, apparent contentment with serfdom, caused an uprising in their favor with the result that today he is on almost an equal footing with white people in the South. I am perfectly willing and ready to submit to the rule of Socialists or anyone else, when it comes, and furthermore, I will not say that it will not come, for stranger things have happened.

It takes a strong man to go to the frontier and fight the forests and soil for a home, but it takes a wise and observing "Gasabo" to locate himself if he were placed in the middle of the Pacific ocean.

Yours,  
L. STANLEY.

Charleston, Wash.

Dear Friend Masley:  
We just got your letter from Japan today and was very much pleased and interested with your description of that country. It must surely be beautiful. As to your reference to Socialism, will say that I don't think, but I know, that Jack London is a Socialist. Three years ago, he traveled all over the United States on a lecture tour for the National Socialist Party, and made some of the hottest Socialist speeches ever heard in the large Eastern cities. But London does believe in the survival of the fittest, as does every Socialist I ever met.



I cannot think what I could have said to make you think that the Socialist Philosophy denied the law of the survival of the fittest.

Your impression seems to be much the same as some others I have talked with, that the Socialists want to bring all people to a common level, and not to recognize greatness or genius in anyone. That is far from our purpose.

What we want is a state of society in which the best can be developed and when real genius appears men will not be slow to recognize and approve.

Now here is the point you do not seem to grasp: In modern society there is a constant and ever-increasing struggle for mastery, between the workers, or wealth-producers on the one hand, and the idlers on the other. The latter give \$5,000 dinners to monkeys, and \$1,000 funerals to dogs, while the children of the workers (who produce the wealth for these empty-headed parasites) are slaving their lives away in the factories and sweat-shops of these same empty skulls.

Now the Socialists did not cause this class struggle; neither do they wish to aggravate it.

They simply recognize an existing fact and ask the workers of the world, which are the "fittest" to survive, the wealth-makers or wealth-takers?

I think you will agree with me that the rank and file individualist prefers a good government in which to develop his individuality, and certainly any fair-minded individualist does not wish, and should not need to dwarf or stamp out the individuality of others to advance himself.

It is a recognized fact that when two factions are at war (and the class struggle is nothing less than war) that one or the other must survive.

Now the question is, which class is the fittest to survive? The class that produces all of the good things we enjoy, such as food, clothing, shelter, and in fact everything that we use and enjoy; or the class that through laws made not to protect individuals, but to protect the property of this same idle class, absorb all the workers produce except a bare living.

I think you admitted to me last summer that there was no chance whatever for a man in the ranks, or, as you say, an enlisted man, to rise to the rank of any high officer in the navy.

### Herron's Prophecy

Geo. D. Herron ventures "this in the 'New Age,' of London: "I make my prophecy: Roosevelt will return to America and he will rule it. He carries the nation in the hollow of his hand. He will be elected President. There will be war with Japan for the market of China. There will be gutted markets, under-consumption of economic goods, universal unemployment, and the sudden standstill of industry and the paralysis of even the semblance of government. Roosevelt will see the only salvation from anarchy. When he returns to Washington, he will return to stay, as he means to stay. He is by nature a man utterly lawless, and the nation is now practically lawless. He has been all his life getting ready for this one goal, and the decadent nation is rapidly preparing the goal for him. The monthly magazine reformers and Mr. Pierpont Morgan are alike turning to Mr. Roosevelt as the nation's hope. All things are preparing his way. His times and he are joining themselves together perfectly. Theodore Roosevelt has had his dawn—he will now have his day; and it will be one of the harshest and bitterest days in the still continuing pilgrimage of mankind through the wilderness.

"Now, having made my prophecy, let me be judged by it ten years hence—not now. And ever, while I live, shall I pray that my prophecy may prove false."

### Rose Pastor Stokes After Victor Berger

Editor of The Call (New York): Will you kindly publish this letter to Comrade Berger:

My Dear Comrade Berger—In speaking of your plans for contract work for the city of Milwaukee you are reported in the Chicago Daily Socialist (May 8) to have said: "We don't mean by this" (the institution of a proposed cost unit system in your city) "that the contractors are not entitled to a decent profit on their business and are entitled to a fair return."

Many Comrades have for a long time regarded your position on many vital tenets of Socialism as unsocialist, but if you have been correctly quoted you appear to "drop down on

the principles much further than they have looked for from you.

Must the old classic forever hold good that, "Whom the gods would destroy they first elect to office?" Has not every capitalist and every capitalist retainer found one of his basic robber principles in this: "He who takes the risk of business is entitled to a decent profit and a fair return?" And here we behold the inglorious spectacle of Victor Berger in office saying amen to one of the basic claims of the enemies of the people.

Socialism will indeed become "respectable" among all "respectable" classes and their retainers when they see how safe, sane and conservative our fire-eaters become in office. Indeed, no small number of the capitalist dailies have already commended "Milwaukee Socialism."

Instituting a cost unit is a good thing for a Socialist in office to attempt; but can you tell me, Comrade Berger, why you think it practicable to get an expert to prepare your cost unit and impracticable to find an expert to engineer the work to be done, for a "fair salary" instead of handing the job over to a contractor who, you say, is "entitled to a fair return for the risk of business?"

You may be moved to agree, Comrade, that Milwaukee isn't able to effect the social revolution yet. True, true! But must you meanwhile go on preaching sound capitalist doctrine because you are able to do only a few of the things that the platform of the party contains? Or, is it because the comet vote in Milwaukee had a non-Socialist tail considerably longer than its Socialist body, and you fear to hang the disgraceful tin can of Socialism to the tail lest it (the tail, not the tin can) drop off?

Alas, can it be true that whom the gods would destroy they do not elect to office merely, but elect to office on a semi-dem-Socialist vote!

Fraternally,  
ROSE PASTOR STOKES.  
Stamford, Conn., May 11, 1910.

"There comes a time when all that men have regarded as inalienable, become objects of exchange, of traffic, and can be disposed of. It is the time in which even the things which until then had been communicated, but never exchanged; given, but never sold; acquired, but never bought—virtue, love, opinion, science, conscience, etc.—where all at last enter into commerce. It is the period of general corruption; of universal venality, or, to speak in the terms of political economy, the time when everything moral or physical having become a salable commodity, is conveyed to the market to be appraised at its proper value."—A remarkable and scientific prophecy by Karl Marx in 1874. It might have been written by an American "muck-raker" in 1910.

## AULT'S JUNK

"Vivacious Scene in the Arctic Club's Magnificent Assembly Room Last Night When Seattle's Society REVELED in the DELIGHTS of the ANNUAL CHARITY BALL," is the heading over a half-page illustration in a recent issue of the "P-I." The caps are mine.

"The Freeport (Fla.) Observer," the only Socialist paper in that state, says apropos the Milwaukee election, "When the workers realize their power and the middle class their smallness, then Socialist victories will be common. The workers are getting more and more disfranchised and the body politic is now practically formed by the middle class, and those most awake of the middle class today are the leaders of the Socialist party." Which is what we have been saying for a long time. And the question is, where do the workers get off?

That the Socialist Party is becoming more proletarian and revolutionary is proved by the election of the Reverend J. Stitt Wilson as member of the National Committee for California. It will be remembered that the Rev. Mr. Wilson was practically thrown out of the party six or seven years ago for extortionate charges as a lecturer. It seems as though pasture is getting green again in California.

Those Union men who are always howling about "conserving the interests of the taxpayers" should stop long enough to get their breath and witness the struggle between Street Superintendent Walters and the city's teamsters who are trying to make him live up to the law and give them only eight hours work instead of the ten or more he is forcing them to put in now. The interests of the taxpayers lie in making the men work as long hours as possible, but why will say that the interests of the Working Class lie that way?

It has got to be an old story to tell of the many ways there are left to "rise" to heights of wealth and power in these United States, but the enterprise of the bright young man who was arrested in Chicago recently for sending cheap jewelry C. O. D. to persons who had just died and collecting from their sorrowing relatives deserves more than the jail sentence which seems imminent. The young gentleman's inventive ability should be recognized and put to use by some "master of finance" in devising new ways to hide the facts of wage robbery from the Working Class.

That a college training is a great aid in the struggle for a livelihood is shown by the case of the graduate from the Carlisle Indian school who is working as a strike-breaker in a Spokane restaurant. An ordinary, uneducated Indian (or even white) workman, would hesitate a long time before he took the job. It is further interestingly alleged that the college graduate in question "will remain working until the end of the strike."

Sometimes a ray of light enters the head of even William Allen White of Emporia, Kans., friend of Roosevelt and interpreter of the wants of the "common people" (middle class). At a speech in Chicago recently he stated: "Today . . . capital rules the world. Churches are built and

creeds formed to please capital. Politics is the struggle of capital to hold its legal advantage. . . . The greatest piece of work mapped out for the world's workers is to socialize steam for the entire people." After that, he should be able to join the Socialist Party or the Farmers' Union, or some other bunch of middle class radicals who don't know where they are.

And now the business men are to again save the credit of the city and boost for a greater Seattle by helping the foundrymen resist the demands of the allied metal mechanics for an eight-hour day. We are told that the metal industry of the Coast will be destroyed if the men are given an eight-hour day. Well, let 'er bust! But I imagine that when the time comes, and if the men win their strike, there will be just as much work going on in the metal trades in this city as ever before—and maybe more. And anyway, the workers have nothing to lose, but an extra hour's work a day.

Rev. J. D. O. Powers, the Unitarian minister, who has sometimes wrongfully been accused of being "radical," recently preached against the "Greatest Sin of the World—Worry" and gave as the remedy, "Look upon the bright side and depend upon God." Which reminds me of the con song line, "And a glad hand shake and a good, kind word, wouldn't buy a dinner for a humming bird." But he means well.

The "P-I." says, "Royalty Arrives in London for Burial of King—Col. Roosevelt Given Eighth Place in Funeral Procession." Hurrah for Lincolnian simplicity.

Some Labor Unionists are jubilantly announcing their approaching coalition with the farmers "for mutual benefit" through the medium of co-operative stores. I can see where the farmer will win out on this deal, but how a working man, whose wages are determined by his cost of living, is going to make anything is more than I can fathom. If the unions would spend their time in strengthening their lines to resist wage decreases and secure increases and shorter workday they would be preparing themselves to finally secure the full value of the product of their labor much better than by frittering away their time in building labor temples and devising death benefits and starting co-operative stores. Personally, I think the less property unions and union men have the more likely they are to be revolutionary and the better working and living conditions they can secure, even "under capitalism."

"It is only in an order of things in which there will be no longer classes or class antagonism that social evolutions will cease to be political revolutions."—Marx.

"The antagonism between the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie is a struggle between class and class, a struggle which, carried to its highest expression, is a complete revolution. Would it, moreover, be matter for astonishment if a society, based upon the antagonism of classes, should lead ultimately to a brutal conflict, to a hand-to-hand struggle as its final denouement?"—Marx.

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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 Phariseism, 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 its own emancipation.

Suppose it fails, as a matter of fact, is then the Proletariat to remain enslaved? Great 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, 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 E—

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 unite 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 "Cannonism" 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 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. 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 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 of 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 wagemakers, 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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Entered as second-class matter in 1906 at Seattle, in 1905 at Toledo, Ohio, in 1904 at Caldwell, Idaho, and April 12, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Washington, under the Act of Congress of March 2, 1879.

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United States and Mexico.—One year, \$1.00; six months, 50c; three months, 25c; single copies, 5c.  
To Canada and Foreign Countries.—One year, \$1.50; six months, 75c.  
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All remittances should be made payable to TRUSTEE PRINTING COMPANY.

All business communications should be addressed to TRUSTEE PRINTING COMPANY, Box 1908, Seattle, Wash.

Communications intended for the Editor should be addressed to the Editor. Communications intended for publication should be mailed in time to reach this office not later than Monday.

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**Editorial Notes**

The Milwaukee Socialist Party of Washington is appropriately represented at the National "Congress" in Chicago by Mrs. E. D. Corey, who is one of the delegates. She is recorded as by occupation a "Milliner," which is probably a misprint for "Mill-owner," which she really is. She distinguished herself on the first day, as her prototype, Irene Smith, did in 1904, by making and carrying a motion forbidding the brethren from smoking on the floor of the Congress. This hit Victor Berger so hard that he immediately had an attack of violent nausea, during which period of weakness and reminiscence he registered a vow to telegraph a message of congratulation to the "Titus Gang," on their present happy freedom from such restrictions as "The Lady of the Four Sciences" and her successor-friend. Thanks, Berger, thanks. We deserve it. And so do you.

The National "Congress" of the Socialist Party of the United States, which meets two years away from the "Convention" of national election years, opened in Chicago on May 15th. One of the problems which the delegates will have to tackle is that of Asiatic immigration. A committee, with Ernest Untermann as Chairman, has been preparing a report during the last two years. If Untermann writes the report, it will take a common sense position and oppose a race mixture and consequent race war in America between the Yellow and the White which will take a thousand years to settle and which will postpone indefinitely the settlement of the Class Struggle between Yellow and White and between White and White in their own native countries. If Untermann does not represent the majority of the committee, he will no doubt present a minority report which will precipitate a hot debate. For the A. F. of L. delegates will naturally support the Federation position against the Yellow Peril, while the New York delegates will come instructed to support the half-way resolution of the International Socialist Congress favoring exclusion of Contract Labor only. The De Leonites, of whom there is quite a number in the Congress, will shout for the Utopian cry, "Are we not all brethren, all we proletarians, and shall we refuse to sleep in the same bed or to eat with the same chop sticks?" The Milwaukee contingent, the two preachers, Thompson and Gaylord, and the two business men, Berger and Seidel, are expected to stand for Exclusion, as they usually know which side their bread is buttered on; for it is to the interest of the Business Class and of the Wage Class, both of which are represented by the Milwaukee Socialists, to keep out Asiatic competitors. The European Socialists never showed their provincialism so much as when they theoretically decided this race question, of which they know nothing experimentally, with their eyes on Europe alone. The American delegates at Brussels, like Hillquit, were too much overawed by their own Semi-Europeanism, to make a fight for the rule of Common Sense and Science.

ator Bailey, of Texas, ventures the statement that unless the Insurgents either stay Republicans or join the Democrats, they must become Socialists. Well? Couldn't worse than that happen, if there were enough socialist sentiment in the Republic to raise it in national affairs above the level of merely playing at politics? \* \* \* Out of the contest now raging Dolliver thought he saw possibilities of new parties, one the champion of special privileges and the other based upon Abraham Lincoln's maxim of 'an unfettered start and a fair chance for every man in the race of life.' \* \* \* What Lincoln meant, as doubtless Dolliver does, is that every man shall have the fruit of his own labor, with an unfettered opportunity to produce it."

Will the Socialist Party in its Congress at Chicago this week, under the lead of Berger, adopt a program and issue an invitation broad enough to attract these advocates of Lincolnism and Rooseveltism and Single-Taxism? It would be a bold stroke of political policy so to do, and to throw overboard once for all the crazy "Revolutionists" who now handicap the American Socialist organization. This would furnish a leadership for that tremendous Middle Class Rebellion now in progress in the country and draw to itself the Farmers' Unions and the Gompers' Unions, too. Such an anti-Trust organization might "sweep the country."

In line with this drift toward a new alignment of political parties, here is that stanch old-time Republican editor, Harvey Scott, of the "Oregonian," on his way back from the New York meeting of the Associated Press, giving out this interview in Seattle: "Mr. Scott said that the two leading parties stood for practically the same thing, and that the ranks of the Democrats were as widely split over questions of public policy as those of the Republicans. He said it wouldn't surprise him if two new parties formed—the Conservative and Liberal, the Insurgent Republicans and Democrats affiliating with the Liberals and the old guard of both parties joining the Conservatives."

Harvey Scott is one of the most influential men on the Pacific coast, and conducts what is, perhaps, the ablest journal on the coast. He has just made a tour of the Eastern states and must know what he is talking about. There can be no doubt there is a Middle Class Party in course of formation, and there can be little doubt that the Wage Workers of America are so utterly ignorant of their own interests that they are likely to co-operate with the Middle Class in this fight to save themselves from the destructive forces embodied in the vast corporations known as the Trusts.

"Social Democratic" would be a good name for this new party and Milwaukee has been keeping that name in pickle with a happy forecast of this very contingency. Nobody knows what it means enough to object to it, while most would think it was an improved variety of Democrats, as indeed it would be. We say, Hurrah for the Social-Democratic Party that the Single Taxer can join, that the Insurgent Republican can join, that the Bryan Democrat can join, that the Gompers Independent can join, it will be a winner! For it may make possible a real Proletarian Party, made up of Wage Workers alone, who understand that Wages are Robbery, whether paid by the small business man or farmer, by the large manufacturer, by the U. S. Post Office or by any other employer, private or public. Let us have the lines drawn, with the Wage Workers on one side and everybody else on the other side. Then the age-long contest between exploiter and exploited will soon be decided.

"The Public," able advocate of Individualism and Single Tax, queries where the "Insurgents" will go and quotes Senator Dolliver's objection to the Democratic Party as equally unprogressive with the Republican. Then it adds its own hope, as follows: "What, then, is that parting of the ways which appears from Senator Dolliver's speech to be so surely almost at hand? To answer this question would be to indulge in futile groping. As one may see a storm coming without so much as an inkling of the course it will take, or may watch the sprouting of a crop without knowing exactly what the harvest will be, so one may predict a political revolution without perceiving its processes or foreseeing its results. Sen-

The Socialist Party "Congress" at Chicago lasted a whole week, or twice as long as was anticipated. It accomplished practically nothing, but adjourned leaving the organization neither better nor worse than it was before. The split in the party was the occasion of numerous violent debates, but the Middle Class element represented by Berger, Hunter, Stitt Wilson and such, was easily in the ascendant, though they accorded considerable prominence to the Proletarian advocates like Tom Lewis, of Oregon, and Lawyer Morgan, of Chicago.

The immigration question was straddled by the adoption of a resolution by Hillquit, substitute for both the Anti-Immigration Majority report by Untermann, Wanhope and Berger, and for the Minority report by Spargo. Hillquit's substitute declared against Mass and Contract Immigration, but also against exclusion of any specific races. The debate on this lasted over two days, the longest and most acrimonious of the Congress. Impossibilists, like T. J. Lewis, and Sentimentalists, like Spargo, united in voting for the Hillquit straddle.

The Farmer question was even less frankly dealt with, the whole matter being thrown back into the Committee's hands to be reported on two years hence. If any vote had been taken, it would undoubtedly have sustained the present position of the Party, adopted last year by referendum, which promises the farmers not to molest their ownership of their farms. The great argument was, we must have the farmers' votes in order to win, and we can never get their votes if we threaten their private ownership of their farms. So they resolved to take two more years to study up this complicated farmer business, not quite daring to risk the loss of their proletarian members by an open endorsement of the agrarian program.

In fact, the most conspicuous thing about the gathering was its timidity. It did not dare to be either hot or cold. The delegates were mostly intellectuals or straight middle class, and were content to stand "betwixt and between," while patting the wage class on the back. The Congress fairly represented the Party, and it is evident that whatever leadership it may have had for American Proletarians, it has now surrendered it and degenerated into a political Mr. Facing-both-ways.

Louis Duches, a real Proletarian of Pennsylvania, wrote a few days before the Congress met, as follows: "The strength or weakness of the Socialist Party in the years to come will depend in a very large degree upon what stand it takes at the national congress with reference to the unorganized workers and their struggles in the industries." On this tremendous question the congress took no action, either. It simply reiterated its previous resolution on the Trades Unions, daring nothing new, lest it should lose votes.

This Congress might have taken a decided position in favor of State Socialism, the progressive ownership of monopolies, thus assuming leadership of the present Middle Class Rebellion against the Trusts. But that bold step would have put it out of touch with the European parties, and it had not the courage. It might, on the other hand, have issued a ringing call to all the millions of the unskilled workers, the typical Marxian proletariat, who is now the leading phenomenon of American society. But such an appeal would have been unthinkable for that respectable meeting led by Robert Hunter, Morris Hillquit, A. M. Simmons, Victor Berger, John M. Work, J. Stitt Wilson, Winfield R. Gaylord, John Spargo, Mila T. Maynard, Stephen Reynolds, Carl D. Thompson, Elizabeth H. Thomas, Clyde J. Wright, Geo. H. Goebel, J. E. Naah, Ella Reeves Bloor, William E. Bohn, A. M. Lewis, Ernest Untermann, Marion Craig Wentworth, William Thurston Brown. How lonesome must real working men like Jim Carey and Adolph Germer and Dan White and John Willert have felt in that environment!

**Origin of Unions**

The Great Industry of modern times masses together in a single place a crowd of people unknown to each other.

Competition divides their interests. But the maintenance of their wages, this common interest which they have against their employer, unites them in the same idea of resistance—combination.

This combination has always a double end, that of eliminating competition among themselves while enabling them to make a general competition against the capitalist.

If the first object of resistance has been merely to maintain wages, in proportion as the capitalists in their turn have combined with the idea of repression, the combinations, at first isolated, have formed in groups, and, in face of constantly united capital, the maintenance of the association became more important and necessary for them than the maintenance of wages.

of their wages on behalf of the associations which, in the eyes of those economists, were only established in support of wages.

In this struggle—a veritable civil war—are united and developed all the elements necessary for a future battle. Once arrived at that point, association takes a political character.—Karl Marx in "The Poverty of Philosophy," 1846-7, just before he wrote the "Communist Manifesto."

**Labor in Politics**

Economic Conditions in the first place transformed the mass of the people of a country into Wage Workers.

The domination of Capital created for this mass of people a common situation with common interests. Thus this mass becomes a class, but not yet for itself.

In the progress of the struggle, this mass unites, it is constituted as a class for itself. The interests which it defends are the interests of its class.

But the struggle between class and class is a political struggle.—Marx against Proudhon, 1847.

**The Method**

After touring the big factory we were admitted to the sumptuous office of the gentleman who owned and managed it.

"Your factory is full of hollow-eyed children and frail women," we remarked.

"Yes, I am so tender-hearted that I can not help giving employment to those who must have it," said the manager.

"And I learn that your wage scale is at the starvation point or lower."

"I admit paying small wages, but I believe in employing as many people as possible."

"But by paying such a small wage scale your profits are enormous."

"I am compelled to make enormous profits, for how else could I afford to finance all the charitable enterprises with which the whole world is familiar through the work of my publicity department?"

Not having any answer ready to hand we were compelled to seek refuge in silence.—"The Commoner."

"The Right is only the official recognition of the Fact."—Marx.

**Get Another Workingman to Subscribe and then Have Your Union's Printing Sent to Our Shop**

**MINIMUM WAGES**

"The first of the laws formulated by political economists is this: Competition reduces the price of every commodity to the minimum cost of production.

Thus the minimum of wages is the natural price of labor.

And what is the minimum of wages? Just so much as is required for the production of the articles absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the worker, and for the continued existence more or less poorly of his class.

But do not imagine that the worker receives only this minimum wage, and still less that he always receives it.

No, according to this law, the working class will sometimes be more fortunate, will sometimes receive something above the minimum, but this surplus will merely make up for the deficit which they will have received below the minimum in times of industrial depression.

That is to say, that within a given time which recurs periodically in the cycle which commerce and industry describe while passing through the successive phases of prosperity, over-production, stagnation, and crisis, when reckoning all that the working class has had above and below mere necessities, we shall see that, after all, they have received neither more nor less than the minimum, that is, the working class will have maintained itself as a class, after enduring any amount of misery and misfortune, and after leaving many corpses upon the industrial battle-field.

But what of that? The class will still exist; nay, more, it will have increased."—Karl Marx on "Free Trade," in 1848, just after writing the "Communist Manifesto."

**FROM OUR LETTERS**

Our old friend, Dr. Kline, of West Virginia, writes: "Send paper to new address. Am no longer State Secretary. Your tactics are the old S. L. P.—and where are they? Watch Milwaukeee."

You will notice we are watching Milwaukeee, all right. By the way, Doctor, did you notice Milwaukeee's latest? Its delegation on the last day of the late Congress tried to force through the body a resolution advising the comrades to vote for capitalist candidates for City Commissioners under the new form of Commission Government, whenever Socialists failed to nominate their own selections? This was after the adoption by the Congress of a resolution recommending the Commission plan for cities, thus voting to commit party suicide by abolishing all partisan control of municipalities. Yes, let us watch Milwaukeee a year or two, and we shall see some other surprising things.

As to our advocating old S. L. P. tactics, only the most superficial observer could make that accusation against this paper. The only possible point of resemblance is our insistence on a party composed of Wage Workers, and there is no resemblance even there, for the S. L. P. does not insist upon an exclusively Proletarian Party. If they did, they would lose the best part of their organization, De Leon, for instance.

Yes, there is another resemblance, for the S. L. P. teaches Marxian economics and thereby furnishes the sole justification for its existence. Nothing is so much needed in America at this very minute as a knowledge of Marxian economics by the working class, and by those who have the ear of the working class. For the working class is coming together at last; only they don't know where to go or what to do. If they had the insight into social processes which the Analysis by Marx would give them, the era of Proletarian Victory and Human Emancipation would be at the doors.

Why, even a man so well read as Robert Hunter, at a very recent date was writing about Capital under Socialism and was quite peeved when brought to task for such amazing ignorance. Yet some of our Socialist leaders are urging us to stop this everlasting emphasis on the teachings of Marx, claiming the working men know all that from our years of propaganda. They say it is now time to organize and become "constructive." The fact is, events are compelling constructive organization at a pace far outstripping the progress of education. If the Socialist Party, at its late Congress, had resolved into one big Educational Union, and abandoned all pretense of being a political organization; if it had even confined itself to the circulation and elucidation of "The Communist Manifesto," which Victor Berger would not even allow mentioned in the Platform of 1904; if it had sought to reach the coming Labor Party into which the American Federation of Labor is soon to resolve itself, and furnish it with the political compass contained in the Scientific Socialism of Marx and Engels; then the S. P. would do a thousand times as great a service to the working class and to society as it does in winning a thousand Milwaukeee victories, which are Socialist in name only. Read the statements contained on our inside pages once again, and see how far we agree and differ with the "S. L. P."

**Another "Doctor"**  
Minneapolis, April 25, 1910.  
Trustee Printing Co.:  
This evening Ernest Ebeling (E. C. Ebeling) asked me to notify you that he wanted you to stop sending the "Workingman's Paper" ("The Socialist") to him. He says he will pay up what he owes later on, and that he doesn't want to run the bill up any higher. I don't know why he didn't notify you himself. I will pay up my own account soon. I am working and am beginning to get my debts cleared up. I think I will be able to pay up next week.

**ECONOMIC FACTS AND MORALITY**

By Friedrich Engels

"The earlier Socialist and Utopian application of the theory of Ricardo, which shows to the workers that the totality of social production, which is their product, belongs to them because they are the only real producers, leads direct to Communism.

But it is also, as Marx shows, false in form, economically speaking, because it is simply an application of morality to economy. According to the laws of bourgeois economy, the greater part of the product does not belong to the workers who have created it. If, then, we say, "That is unjust, it ought not to be"; that has nothing to do with economy, we are only stating that this economic fact is in contradiction to our moral sentiment.

That is why Marx has never based upon this his Communist conclusions, but rather upon the necessary overthrow, which is developing itself under our eyes every day, of the capitalist system of production.

Marx contents himself with saying that Surplus Value consists of Unpaid Labor; it is a fact, pure and simple.

But that which may be false in form from the economic point of view may yet be exact from the point of view of universal history. If the moral sentiment of mankind regards an economic fact—as, formerly, slavery and serfdom—as unjust, that proves that this fact itself is a survival; that other economic facts are established thanks to which the first has become insupportable, intolerable."—From Engels' Preface to Marx' "Poverty of Philosophy."

Ebeling seems to have become displeased at what you wrote about the Milwaukeee election, etc., in your last issue. However, he is not a working man. He sells medicine, of his own make, and calls himself a doctor, and he is not now a dues-paying member of the Socialist Party.

I do not agree with all I read in your paper, but I like to read both sides, or all sides, of an argument.

Yours for Socialism,  
O. WALTER HAGELIN,

Comment. Now that has the right ring. Don't agree, but want to hear all sides. That is where we and Comrade Hagelin differ radically from the "old S. L. P." referred to by Dr. Kline in another column. We are ready to be convinced if we are wrong. We welcome discussion. Above all, we welcome facts, whether they sustain our theories or not. It is because the Analysis of Society by Karl Marx is so wonderfully accurate and comprehensive, built upon an array of facts that cannot be disputed, that we defer to his authority and yield to his judgment as to no other man. The more persistently we study his works, the more we are convinced of his profound insight into the laws which underlie Capitalist Society, the more we are convinced that he was right when he fought for the unity of the Wage Class against all other classes. These are the principles for which this paper now stands and there are a good many people, like Walter Hagelin, who want to hear what we have to say along these lines.

**Curious**

Santa Cruz, Cal.  
Trustee Printing Company,  
Seattle, Wash.  
Comrades—that was—I enclose fifty cents for the paper, as I see my subscription has expired. I don't want to miss any numbers as I want to keep in touch with the force that is being played by the U. W. W. of W. I wonder what the devil you will do next? I have never got over "Down With High Rents; Vote For ME." and this latest deal in voting with LABOR when LABOR wants NOTHING doesn't help matters, though I was not nearly so much surprised.

The Socialist Party does not suit me, and I have practically quit activity, but am not able to see how to get Socialism by voting against it. Not I. What next are you going to do? Well, that is why I am renewing, to find out—not that I have any sympathy any more.

Yours for Collective Ownership and Control,  
DEFOREST SANFORD.

Comment. Sanford used to publish a paper of his own and he probably expected to see this pithy epistle in print.

If Sanford did not know that the "Vote for Me" business was a slanderous falsehood, he was a bigger fool than he seemed to be. The "Down with High Rents" proposal, as has been often explained, was altogether subordinated to the general Proletarian argument, and was almost the only thing which could be accomplished in the State legislature, for the benefit of the working class in the city districts. It was advocated as an immediate and temporary advantage during that winter of Hard Times when so many were out of work and wages were driven down. Only the rankest impossibilist could object to such a practical piece of legislation as was promised in that campaign.

Our hypercritic was surprised at the support given by this paper to the Seattle "United Labor Party," because it demanded "Nothing," not even lower

rents. But here, too, Sanford's trouble lies with his facts which are not facts. The United Labor Party demanded that Labor should stand for Labor and the City government be administered in the interests of Labor. Its platform, as printed in "The Socialist," was a clear-cut Proletarian document. But our curious and discontented correspondent is not suited with the Socialist Party either, and there we find one point of agreement with him. But he does not have "any sympathy" more" with this paper, not even with our fight for Proletarian Unity, as outlined on our inside pages. All he wants is "Collective Ownership and Control"; not a word of the Wage Class from Sanford. Why, even Taft is almost committed to collective "Control" and probably to "Collective Ownership"—ultimately.

**About Right**

This from the San Francisco "Chronicle" pretty nearly hits the nail on the head:

**GOVERNMENT BY SOCIALISTS.**  
Brave Promises of the New Mayor of Milwaukeee.

There is a scriptural suggestion that the appropriate time for boasting is not when one puts on his armor, but when he is taking it off after the fight. At that time it may be possible to brag with more precision. But this suggestion, although evidently sound, is not taken seriously by the new Socialistic city government of Milwaukeee. Its members insist upon telling in advance what good things they will accomplish, and among them is the proposed saving of \$500,000 a year by the services of a "professional economist." This was the conclusion reached after a conference of the Aldermen with an outfit of "university professors," and the private economist is to be installed. As university professors know virtually nothing about such mundane affairs as buying cheaply, organization of working gangs and methods of accounting the result of Milwaukeee, and its members insist upon telling in advance what good things they will accomplish, and among them is the proposed saving of \$500,000 a year by the services of a "professional economist." This was the conclusion reached after a conference of the Aldermen with an outfit of "university professors," and the private economist is to be installed. As university professors know virtually nothing about such mundane affairs as buying cheaply, organization of working gangs and methods of accounting the result of Milwaukeee, and its members insist upon telling in advance what good things they will accomplish, and among them is the proposed saving of \$500,000 a year by the services of a "professional economist." 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*W. Lehmann, The Workingman's Paper [Seattle] May 28, 1910*