

The Workingman's Paper

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AN INSIDIOUS FOE

By John Downie

Labor all over the country is turning to the political field of action in an effort to regain political and industrial liberties and rights purloined by the capitalist class through its possession of political power.

While it is true that labor has more or less recognized the value of and even necessity for, political action in the past, its effort has always until recently been confined to work through the capitalist parties by trading its vote for such concessions as the capitalist politicians were generous enough to grant.

This method of working developed certain ideas and courses of action within those parties, all tending to increase the strength of the workers in the councils of the parties and to secure more concessions by virtue of this increased influence.

Old Party Methods

Most notable of these methods was the effort to secure greater democracy in the government of the parties by the enactment of direct primary laws and the adoption of the initiative and referendum and recall of officials.

All of these measures were of vital importance were labor to continue to work in the old parties as by these methods alone could we secure any voice in the councils of the party or keep hold of the government officials after election. The vigorous agitation for these reforms has left its imprint on the working class mind, and now that the method of political work has changed, they have become a detriment to effective working class political action.

These methods were all right so long as we were trying to secure something through the old parties, but have now adopted a new line of action.

Now we have a labor party, distinct from and opposed to all other political parties, and our mode of action must change to conform to the change in conditions.

Direct Primary

Take the direct primary. This has now become the approved method of nominating a great number of the states at the present time and is being constantly extended. It is usually so framed that John Jones can run for office by putting up a more or less nominal fee. These fees individually are small and on their face look like a bona fide attempt to make those who desire publicity pay for it. But when the aggregate of these fees confronts a labor party whose funds come from the underpaid workers, and which does not use the primary method of nomination but is compelled to pay the fees anyway, it comes pretty near making impossible the continuance or even beginning of that party.

New Party Impossible

And that was the governing reason for the adoption of the direct primary. It makes practically impossible the formation of a new party unless it is composed of the capitalist class. Any working class organization is, because of poverty, practically barred from participation in politics.

Again, hand in hand with the direct primary, has come the limitation of the franchise more and more to property holders. Previously it was possible for one to vote by making affirmation of the right to vote even if not registered. That right has been withdrawn, except, as in the case of Oregon, six owners of real property made affirmation that his statements are true. This makes it practically impossible for any workingman to vote unless he has registered, while the property owner can easily comply with the conditions.

Parties Abolished

Under the direct primary laws in most states, it is impossible to control the nominations of the political organization. The laws were made to prevent that very thing. Anyone who declares his intention to vote the ticket in question at the next election, in whole or in part may participate in the nomination of the candidates on that ticket. Such a condition is absolute suicide to a labor party, where it is absolutely essential that the membership of the party be composed only of wage workers—and preferably already organized on the industrial field.

This is one instance of the change of position in regard to laws governing political parties which we will have

to make now that we have our own party.

Direct Legislation

Now as to direct legislation through the initiative and referendum, and the right of recall.

You think it tends to democracy. There never was a greater mistake. It only tends to disorganization on the part of the workers. So long as the greater part of the wealth is in the hands of the few and the many are in poverty, social democracy is impossible. Our hope lies in the organization of the workers. There democracy is not only possible, but necessary to our best success. And it is possible for the capitalists to have democracy in their organizations, but so long as there is such a vast difference in the distribution of wealth, democracy, between the two, is absolutely impossible. Our hope lies in organization. Build up an organization with our numbers—numbers that are strong enough to

enforce our demands—that is the only way we will ever gain our rights.

Recall Ineffective

The recall cannot be an effective weapon for us. The only reason we could have to wish to recall any elected official would be because he did something inimical to our interests and favorable to the capitalist class, therefore if we wished to recall him, the whole power of the master class would be used to keep him in office. On the other hand, if any of our members or our party got into power and started to do things for us, the recall would be used effectively by the capitalist class to hamper our work and make impossible effective action in our interests.

One Demand Imperative

Away with these political demands! There is only one political demand

that we are concerned in and that is the extension of the franchise among the working class, and this includes among other things the abolition of the direct primary laws.

Surely there can be no more absolute proof of the lack of good faith and the middle class character of this whole direct legislation propaganda than that in all the direct legislation literature I have ever read there is not one word of protest against the gradual disfranchisement of the working class by the numerous arbitrary restrictions being placed around the use of the ballot.

Capitalist Device

Cannot you see that this whole agitation only furnishes the capitalist politicians with an excuse to extend these restrictions?

Can't you see that the enactment of this legislation will take away the power that makes organization effective and make the legislative body not

worth having? Can't you see that it will disorganize and demoralize the whole legislative machinery and leave the administrative functions in the hands of the capitalist class which can control by virtue of the power of wealth?

Our organization is the only thing we have to oppose this wealth and anything that tends to prevent or hinder organization is detrimental to our interests. As we become stronger and threaten the power of the old parties they will pass all kinds of direct legislation laws in order to weaken the power of the legislative bodies when we obtain control.

Don't Experiment

Surely we do not need to disgrace our intelligence by aiding our enemies to enact legislation that can only be used against us simply because we think we have to experiment. Cannot our powers of perception, aided by past experience, show us the inevitable results of such legislation without traveling over the weary road of further experience?

Let us fight this propaganda of direct legislation wherever it shows itself. Let us build up our organization for its final fight with the powers that oppress us and when success has crowned our efforts the world will know that we have been worthy leaders of our class.

JOHN DOWNIE.

Don't Forget That Fox's Drinks are UNFAIR.

B. F.'S JUNKET

Just two years ago Edmond Peluso, translator for and contributor to the Seattle Socialist, left Seattle for Japan en route via China and Siberia for Paris.

Finding that other countries of the yellow men did not appeal to him and having difficulties in getting over the Russian border, he turned back to America, coming to San Francisco by way of the Philippines.

After the better part of a year spent in the American cities, principally New York, during which time he was fitting himself for future work in the Revolutionary movement by working in the offices of the United Press Association, he sailed for Barcelona at the time of the uprising there. He stayed in Spain for several months going from there to Paris, where he has been in the employ of the United Press Bureau until the first of August, 1910.

While in both Spain and France he was in close touch with the Revolutionary movement and during his stay in Paris laid his plans and studied German with a view of going over into Germany and there "completing his education and becoming a conscientious, scientific socialist."

When the First of August came he left Paris for Berlin and this last week came the word that he was at last at work on the staff of the big Socialist Daily of Berlin and that he had written his first editorial, which

appeared in the Vorwaerts for August 11th.

All our very best wishes go out to him and we know that because of his command of French, Spanish, Italian, German and English, his wide actual acquaintance with the labor movement over the world he will be a decided asset to the German Socialist Press.

And all this brings me down to another bit of news that may be of interest.

You may remember that about a year and a half ago while our Fellow Revolutionist Peluso was in Manila, he had an interview with that agitator, Dr. Gomez, which interview was printed in this paper.

Well, this last week I had a visit from an old friend who lives in Manila, is a very brilliant lawyer and represents the Stone Webster interests in the islands, and during the conversation I casually asked about Dr. Gomez.

I found out that he is considered of the capitalist class, to be the most formidable labor agitator in that district; that while he is a most brilliant man he is a "great menace to the working class" since he organizes them and takes "so much per capita from all those organized." That the workers don't realize what a huge fraud he is and continue to go out on strike (sympathetic or otherwise) on his recommendation.

That in order to imprison him it was found, after thorough investigation, that he was prescribing more opium than all other physicians in the Philippine Islands and as a consequence he was kept for months on one of the islands building fortifications for Uncle Sam.

That he was elected to represent his district but was not allowed to take his seat because while a Philippino and a resident for most of his life—he was in Cuba for several years and by some convenient technicality was not a "citizen."

That when the elections came around again, Dr. Gomez was for the second time overwhelmingly elected and for the second time was not allowed to take his seat. (If I recall correctly that is the way the matter stands at present—but whether this is the second or third election I can't say.)

That in order to prevent strikes and to keep the men contented, so avoiding the troubles incident upon labor disturbances—the electric railway company conceived the plan of donating 5,000 as a sinking fund of some sort and having the men give 5 per cent of their wages as savings.

At the end of a certain time either the \$5,000 or the interest on the same was to be divided pro rata among the men, making with their 5 per cent a nest egg.

The operators and a committee from the union met and agreed to the plan and everything was lovely until the men got their pay with 5 per cent deducted—Then they struck!

In fact Dr. Gomez is a vicious character, who has educated and organized to such an extent that the poor Philippino doesn't know when he is well off, and refuses—actually refuses to have the street car company say what he shall do with the 5 per cent of his—Workingman W. paltry wages. Oh for a few more Dr. Gomez!

Queer how that little point of view crops up again. The Amoskeag Cotton Mill corporation, of New England, has decided to shut down until the 12th of September to "curtail its output." Now that is all right—commendable—in the interests of business, so 16,000 operatives are having their summer vacations.

But when the 16,000 operatives decides to take a vacation in the interests of their business, it is a terrible thing! Did you ever notice that?

Now that the papers (even the so-called "Representative Labor" papers) are shouting "The Insurgents will win" and "Hurrah for the Insurgents" I suppose the percentage of wage workers who still have the franchise will boost it along. Love to think they haven't lost their votes, don't you know.

"Precious vote, Oh how sweet: Hope of earth and joy of Heaven." Then why on earth don't you give it a show instead of prostituting it every time you get the chance! It's really the touch stone only you don't know it.

The bold, bad Theodore is running loose trying to frighten good little working men into following him. The Boogie man'll get you if you don't watch out!

The Brewery Workers are trying to make J. G. Fox & Co. recognize them and hope all workers will assist in the good work.

Then Break the Chain



See Editorial on Last Page

Continued on Page Four

LABOR'S ANNUAL PRODUCT

(Represented by all the space below inside the D Lines.)

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(See U. S. Census Reports for 1900)

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(Represented by this upper portion of the Box)

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Twenty Million Productive Laborers (with one or more others, children or aged, dependent on each) average \$300 a year, \$6 a week. Barely enough to live on.

This is all the laborers can get because they compete with one another for the chance to work.

The Law of Wages works incessantly to keep their pay close down to the existence line. High prices or low prices make no difference. They get a living—no more, no less.

What Capital Gets -- Three Quarters

(Represented by this lower portion of the Diagram)

Eighteen Billions Worth -- \$18,000,000,000

Ten Million Capitalists, who do no productive labor, get this three-quarters of Labor's Product for nothing. It is Unpaid Labor, the Surplus over the laborer's necessities of life.

This Surplus of Unpaid Labor, Eighteen Billions a year, is what all the world is fighting over. The Big Capitalists, the Plutocrats, a million or so of them, get the most of it. The Little Capitalists, the Middle Class, eight to ten millions of them, are fighting hard to get more of it for themselves. The "Insurgents" represent the Little Capitalists. The "Standpatters" represent the Big Capitalists.

But the Working Class, who produce all this wealth, have no interest in "Insurgents" or "Standpatters," Republicans or Democrats, or any other Capitalist Class struggles over this mass of Unpaid Labor.

The only interest of the Working Class is to keep the Wealth they create, to perform no Unpaid Labor, to save themselves being robbed of this vast Surplus of Eighteen Billions a year.

This is the one Great Red Fact for the Workingman to learn.

No other issue counts.

The Tariff, high or low, will not prevent Unpaid Labor.

Direct Legislation will not stop Unpaid Labor.

Co-operative Stores will not abolish Unpaid Labor.

Postal Savings Banks will not touch Unpaid Labor.

Conservation will not reach Unpaid Labor.

No Capitalist platform will ever mention Unpaid Labor; for without Unpaid Labor there would be no Capitalist Class.

No one but the Working Class, those whose labor goes unpaid, will ever stop this stupendous robbery.

Workingmen, you millions on millions of workingmen, how long will you go unpaid? Stand up together and take your own. The world waits for your united strength. You can do what you will, if you only recognize your power.

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THE PROLETARIAN

By Friedrich Engels

"Far more demoralizing than even poverty in its influence upon the workingman, is the insecurity of his position, the necessity of living upon wages from hand to mouth, that in short which makes a proletarian of him."

"The smaller peasants are usually poor and often suffer want, but they are less at the mercy of accident; they have at least something secure. The proletarian, who has nothing but his two hands, who consumes today what he earned yesterday, who is subject to every possible chance, and has not the slightest guarantee for being able to earn the bare necessities of life, whom every crisis, every whim of his employer may deprive of bread, this proletarian is placed in the most revolting, inhuman position conceivable for a human being."

"The slave is assured of a bare livelihood by the self-interest of his master, the serf has at least a scrap of land on which to live; each has, at worst, a guarantee for life itself. But the proletarian must depend upon himself alone, and is yet prevented from so applying his abilities as to be able to rely upon them."

"Everything that the proletarian can do to improve his position is but a drop in the ocean compared with the floods of varying chances to which he is exposed, over which he has not the slightest control. He is the passive subject of all possible combinations of circumstances, and must count himself fortunate when he has saved his life even for a short time; and his character and way of living are naturally shaped by these conditions."

"Either he seeks to keep his head above water in this whirlpool, to rescue his manhood, and this he can do solely in rebellion against the class which plunders him and then abandons him to his fate, which strives to hold him in this position so demoralizing to a human being; or he gives up the struggle against his fate as hopeless, and strives to profit, so far as he can, by the most favorable moment."

"To save is unavailing, for at the utmost he cannot save more than suffices to sustain life for a short time, while if he falls out of work, it is for no brief period. To accumulate lasting property for himself is impossible; and, if it were not, he would only cease to be a workingman, and another would take his place. What better thing can he do, then, when he gets high wages, than live well upon them?"

"The bourgeoisie is violently scandalized at the extravagant living of the workers when the wages are high; yet it is not only very natural but very sensible of them to enjoy life when they can, instead of laying up treasures which are of no lasting use to them, and which in the end moth and rust (that is, the bourgeoisie) get possession of."—From "Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844," three years before Engels and Mark together wrote the "Communist Manifesto."

The Eclipse of Marx

The modern Christian declares Jesus his master and model, yet in practice ignores the ethics of Jesus. The modern Socialist accepts Marx as his Economic Master, but ignores the central teaching of Marx.

That Jesus was an altruist it did not need Tolstoid to show. His "Turn the other Cheek," and his "Love your Neighbor," were embodied in his life and pre-eminently in his death. He was a real miracle of sympathy, if his historic, and an equally miraculous ideal, if literary only. In either case, those who believe in him profess to follow him. He is their great exemplar.

What a miracle of inconsistency is John D. Rockefeller as a disciple of the meek and lowly Nazarene; or Archbishop Ireland; or the ordinary business man, let alone the soldier or policeman. It actually seems inconceivable, this acceptance of the ideals of morality contained in the Sermon on the Mount and this practice of Jungle morality in the fierce competition of the commercial world. Yet the Christians seem unconscious of the hideous incongruity. Rockefeller continues to "love Jesus" and kill his competitors. Millions go to church every Sunday, and practice "The Devil take the hindmost," every week day.

In a precisely similar way, the professed followers of Karl Marx treat their master's main idea. They praise Marx to the skies as the greatest of all scientific economists, as the only man who has revealed the true secret of Capitalist society. They rejoice at the translation of the last volumes of his masterpiece, "Capital," into English, and hasten to put all his works on their bookshelves. Socialists are just as proud to be Marxians as churchmen are to be Christians.

Now, what is the main idea from end to end of Marx's "Capital"? In a single phrase, it is Unpaid Labor. That is his own favorite expression, as much as Love is the keynote of Jesus. According to Marx, Capital itself is produced and reproduced in continuous cycle from Unpaid Labor. According to Marx, when a man is paid his wages, a surplus product of his labor, over and above his wages, is withheld from him by his employer without any compensation, taken from the wage-worker for nothing. In simplest form, if you are paid Two Dollars for your day's work, your employer retains a surplus for himself out of your day's product equal to another Two Dollars, more or less. This Surplus Product, this Unpaid Labor of the immense number of Proletarians, or Wage-Workers, is the very source and secret of Capitalist accumulation. Here is the real confiscation, the real robbery, compared with which all the so-called graft and thievery and corruption are the merest drops in the bucket. In fact, all these other forms of graft are only subdivisions of this one original graft.

All that seems simple enough. There is nothing mysterious or recondite, profound, philosophical, learned, in that plain proposition, that the surplus a laborer produces above his wages is captured by his employer without the payment of a cent. That is indeed the very proposition which every wage worker will understand most naturally. For it is more and more of his product, higher wages and less hours of labor, that every worker is concerned to get, and that all Unions fight to obtain. Unconscious of the Great Economic Fact that Marx wrote his masterpiece to elucidate, and which he spent his life to get the Working Class to understand, the Working Class itself has organized its industrial armies to attack this Citadel of Capital. In truth, there is no better confirmation of the Marxian economic analysis of society, than this agreement of his theory with the actual development of the Proletarian tactics.

Why, then, is not this Prime Economic Fact, which is the pivot of all the scientific achievement of Karl Marx, pushed to the front by his professed followers? Why, for instance, in the Platform of the Socialist Party of the U. S. in 1904, was there only a single reference to the fact of Unpaid Labor, and this reference dragged in as a subordinate clause, "above its subsistence wage"? And it may be said here, that this clause was only inserted at the instance of the writer of the present editorial. The omission of the whole fundamental Theory of Socialism was entirely and quite unconsciously overlooked by all the rest of the Platform Committee, consisting of such representative Socialists as Debs, Mailly, Herron, Hillquitt and Berger. Precisely as an Ecclesiastical Conference or Synod will pass through a week's sessions and omit all reference to the Essentialism of Love to the Christian Community, so the Conventions of political Socialists gather and debate and adjourn without once mentioning the foundation principle of Proletarian Emancipation, namely, the Abolition of Unpaid Labor.

We call this the Eclipse of Marx, as we might call the practice of the modern church the Eclipse of Jesus. Of course the reason the church ignores Jesus and his ethics is that the theory of non-resistance can not be practiced in modern society without killing that society; the two are incompatible. The same reason holds for the Socialist Parties, who hide Marx in their own shadow. For, to bring forward the Fact of Unpaid Labor, and to make the battle rage around that Fact of Facts, would be incompatible with the interests of the Middle Class which composes the active majority of

the modern Socialist organizations. Such a battle would necessarily be a Wage Workers' battle; for the Middle Class, including Business Men and Farmers, are not robbed as Producers, but as Consumers. The Wage Class never even gets its hands on its own product, but passes it in the very process of production into the possession of the Capitalist employer. Marx knew all this perfectly, and therefore he had no time to spend on any but the Proletarian Class. All other classes may be disregarded in comparison with this Class of Wage Workers, particularly in view of its recent amazing growth in number and keenness.

No political organization dares to take the Marxian position. Therefore we are saying in another article this week that, until a Wage Workers' Party appears, there is nothing for Proletarians to do but to join such Proletarian bodies as already exist, to fight with them for such temporary advantages as are obtainable from the Capitalist Class at present, and more especially to force to the front of the battle-line that tremendous issue, The Abolition of Unpaid Labor, the Total Abolition of Unpaid Labor.

Thus, too, will Karl Marx come into his own and no longer be betrayed in the house of his friends.

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 political.

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 Restraint of Monopoly by means of Government Ownership of the Monopolistic Trusts, including the Railroads, the Alaskan and other Coal Mines, the Oil Trust, the Meat Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Copper Syndicate, and all other "Bad" Trusts.

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

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

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

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

We call this reactionary, because it practically preserves the Status Quo of Wage Exploitation and puts off to some distant future the Emancipation of the Wage Class from its compulsory service to the Capitalist Class. A large competitive Middle Class, based on Capitalist Profit as at present, might maintain itself indefinitely in power, because fortified by the enormous income to be derived from the National Industries taken over from the Trusts, thus relieving the Government from all necessity of dependence on Taxation and legislative Budgets; a condition which now exists in a modified form in Russia, Prussia, Japan and in all countries where Public Ownership already finds a partial exemplification. 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, arraigning 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."



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Trust Against Trust

That is what we are coming to, two great Trusts, the Trust of Capital and the Trust of Labor, pitted against each other in mortal combat.

Many representatives of Labor have declaimed against the use of the Sherman anti-trust law to check the combination of Labor. But such a use is certainly within the scope of that law which was expressly aimed to prevent any restraint of trade, that is, restraint of free, competitive trade. Whether the framers of the Sherman Law intended it or not, the Judges of the Courts have been quick to perceive the fact, that the same principle which forbids Capital to combine in such masses as to restrain Small Capitals from functioning freely, will apply with equal logic when Labor organizes in such masses as to prevent unorganized laborers from selling their labor-power on their own terms.

It is better so. For the sooner the hostile forces are arrayed, front to front, in open battle, the sooner will the next great step in human progress be taken. In America, this newest of all nations, lying midway between the old continents, this last Battle of the Classes seems destined to be fought.

The chief menace to progress now is that the Roosevelt crusade against the Trusts should succeed. The Sherman anti-trust Law was one of the earliest manifestations of the Middle Class Rebellion against the arrival of what McClure's Magazine calls "the most striking and revolutionary change that has ever taken place in human society." For the last twenty years this Rebellion has been gaining momentum, until now the whole world rings with the reports of its struggles. The popular monthlies, even the more conservative among them, like McClure's, cater to the insatiable hunger of the public for news of this New Rebellion, the anti-trust Rebellion. In its September issue McClure's announces a series of articles on "the never-ceasing movement of the concentration of the power of capital over the industry and resources of America."

"Every question of the present day," it continues, "public and private, centers about this. In private life, no individual is free from the influence of this movement upon his personal fortunes. Fifty years ago we were a nation of independent farmers and small merchants. Today we are a nation of corporation employees: directly or indirectly, the corporation controls our living. And, as the corporations grow greater and greater, fewer and fewer men control them, and our individual lives with them. In politics nearly every road leads back to this one point. The revolt against the change in Europe is the rising tide of Socialism; in the United States, the growth of the so-called insurgent movement."

We have called this "Revolt against the Change" the "Rebellion of the Middle Class." We fear it is true, as "McClure's" says, that "the rising tide of Socialism in Europe" is a part of that Rebellion of the Middle Class. We fear the Social-Democracy of Germany, which Marx and Engels, with marvellous foresight, insisted should be founded on the Proletariat and should work for Proletarian emancipation, has imperceptibly degenerated from the implacable foe of Capital it once was into a mere opponent of Great Capital; thereby becoming an ally of the Middle Class and consequently reactionary instead of revolutionary.

We say, we fear, we fear. For any success of the Middle Class "Revolt against the Change," the Revolt from the Coming Kingdom of King Morgan back to or towards the conditions of "Fifty Years Ago" when "we were a nation of Independent Merchants and Small Farmers," any success of such an attempt to recur to Jacksonian or Lincolnian industrial conditions and the corresponding "democracy," might fossilize modern society on the basis of Small Capital as hopelessly as Chinese society has been stagnating for ages on a mongrel system of production between Feudalism and Capitalism.

Therefore every one who wants to promote progress toward the Co-operative Commonwealth, particularly every Proletarian, should put forth his best efforts to defeat this Middle Class Rebellion, this Revolt against the Change. For in large masses, human beings can decide their own destiny. A society, composed, like the American nation, of a preponderating proportion of Wage Workers, can refuse to submit to the leadership of the Middle Class, farmers and merchants and small manufacturers, in its reactionary rebellion against the progressive tendencies of the Trusts. The present terrific outcry for sympathy with which the Middle Class is assailing the Wage Class should be received with deaf ears. For to assist the Middle Class in its contest with the Trust Class is to delay the still mightier contest between the Wage Class and the whole Capitalistic Class.

Do you mean the Wage Class has no interest in checking the Trusts? That is precisely what we mean. All this talk about "The Interests" and "Special Interests" and "Privileged Class," has no meaning which concerns the Wage Class.

Why? We will tell you why. Listen. Will the regulation or ownership of the Trusts raise your wages? Will you not still be looking for jobs? Even if a portion of you, like the Post Office clerks, should get your jobs made permanent under Government Ownership of the Trusts, would you not still be slaves, working for a bare living, like those same Post Office employees, and forbidden to take any part in politics or in any movement to better your condition, like the Post Office men now, and like the workers on the publicly owned Railroads in Europe?

And what about the vast mass of your fellow Proletarians, who will not be fortunate enough to get jobs on the Public service? Your class, the Proletarian class, as a whole, cannot rise piecemeal. Those who rise at the expense of the rest will not cease to be wage workers, exploited of all except a bare living. A Capitalist government will take the enormous profits which now accrue to the Capitalist Class, exactly as the German Empire is sustained by its publicly owned enterprises.

Hence we say, Let the Trusts proceed. They are not injuring the Working Class. The Working Class works for wages, Trusts or no Trusts; and wages never amount to more than a living, a little more or a little less. The only people the Trusts are injuring is the Middle Class, the small manufacturers, like Post and Van Cleave, the small merchants, the small farmers. It is not the mission of the Wage Class to rescue this Middle Class and thus delay the era when wages shall be abolished.

The Trusts have not yet fulfilled their mission. They are organizing industries on a superb scale, with superb efficiency. They are confiscating the property of the Middle Class at a magnificent rate, with far less trouble

than it could be done by legislative enactment. The Capitalist Class would never surrender their property to the victorious Working-Class without bloodshed or undue compensation. But the Trusts are capturing everything in the most legal and peaceable manner possible. Why should not the Proletarian rejoice at this destruction of part of his Capitalist enemy by the other part? Let the good work of concentration go on. Every industry and all industries will be organized perfectly and the Proletarians saved that trouble when they come into power.

In the second place, all this vast organized machinery of production will be possessed by a small class, while all the rest of the people will belong to the opposing class of Proletarians or Wage Workers. The latter will have common interests, will not be hopelessly divided into Wage Workers and half-Wage Workers, as now, but will clearly perceive their only salvation and easy salvation, to be the forcible dispossession of the numerically weak Trust Class.

Finally, the progressive trustification of industries by Capital is forcing the trustification of Labor. In no other way can Labor prevent a forced degeneracy in its own ranks. The U. S. Steel Corporation and the Combines everywhere are declaring for the Open Shop, which, being interpreted, means the Closed Shop, closed to Unionists. Therefore, to save themselves from annihilation, the Trades Unions are combined into Federated Unions, while the Industrial Union, like the Mine Workers, becomes the type of all Unions.

The Labor Trust, in which all Wage Workers, skilled and unskilled, workers of hand and brain, will act together as one man, will be the inevitable outcome. Over against Trustified Capital, "Captains of Industry" and their dependents, will be arrayed Trustified Labor, unnumbered millions of them, a self-conscious giant, fore-ordained to victory.

Then, let us be deaf as stones to all this outcry against Morgan and Guggenheim and Cannon and Taft and the Tariff and Graft. All these are instruments of trustification.

Let the Middle Class die. For them to survive is for the race to stagnate and the masses of Proletarians to suffer on in slavery. We may be sorry for the Middle Class as we are sorry for the American Indian. But as the Indians had to surrender their territory to the demands of productive evolution, so the noble Middle Class, notwithstanding its splendid record, must be compelled to yield the stage in order to advance the Co-operative Commonwealth. It is now just as foolish, unscientific, reactionary, immoral, for the Working-Class to fly to the assistance of the Middle Class against the Trusts, as it would have been in the 17th Century for the English under Cromwell to have undertaken to drive back the stream of Europeans from these American shores in order to protect and preserve the Indian race. For the same reason as Colonel Roosevelt assigned for the supremacy of the English in Egypt, that civilization demands it, so the Proletariat may say to him and his Middle Class "patriots," furious as the Egyptian Liberals: The progress of Humanity demands that you perish; you have served your day and generation; pass on.

Repeal the Sherman Law

The Middle Class want the Sherman anti-trust Law made stronger, so as to be able to exercise more effective control over the "Interests."

Yet, as shown in our leading editorial, this law applies with equal force to Combinations of Labor. Read, too, this language of Judge Goff, of the New York Supreme Court, from his injunction issued last week against the International Garment Workers' Union on the application of the Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association. Press Dispatches describe this as "the most sweeping anti-labor injunction ever given in New York state," and add, "the manufacturers consider the injunction the strongest decision against Labor Unions ever rendered in America."

"If it is the law that the employers cannot combine, the same law applies to the unions. What employers may not do, the workmen may not do. The primary purpose of this strike was not to better conditions for the workmen, but to drive other men of the opportunity or the right to work, and to drive them from the industry, which requires skill. These men have the right to pursue and gain a livelihood without being subjected to doing things which to them are disagreeable and repugnant."

Surely workmen can see from such decided words how the Sherman Law is to be made to apply to Organized Labor. Unless that Law is repealed, the Labor Union is doomed. The Judges will not hesitate to follow the precedent set by Judge Goff, who is, indeed, only following other precedents set by other judges all over the country, particularly in the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case, which is in no wise dismissed because the Buck Stove Co. has withdrawn from it and settled with the American Federation of Labor. The interpretation of the Sherman Law as applicable to the trustification of Labor as well as Capital is now clearly established by the courts. The principle laid down in the Federal Courts, that a Labor Union is an organization "in restraint of trade," has been adopted in the inferior courts and will be enforced, as by Judge Goff, in the most merciless manner.

The most obvious remedy is to repeal the Sherman Law and to admit freely that the Trust, both of Capital and Labor, has come to stay. Labor is simply idiotic to support the Sherman or any other anti-trust Law. It is natural for the small business man and for the farmer to support all legislation against the Trusts, because great Capitalistic Trusts are devouring them both. But the workman can have nothing against the Trusts of Capital. They only drive him into closer affiliation with his fellow-workmen. They do not rob him any more than the small employer. Both pay him nothing but wages, a bare living. Both fail to pay him for the Surplus which he creates by his labor over and above his wages. Both make their living out of him, the Trusts no more than the little capitalists. Why, then, should the workman favor laws which protect the Middle Class of Capitalists against the Trust Class of Capitalists?

Especially why should the Working Class not demand the repeal of a Law made in the interests of the Middle Class alone, and which is being used by that very Middle Class to destroy Organized Labor? For notice this "Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association," which secured Judge Goff's injunction, is an organization of small business men.

The only possible effect of the repeal of the Sherman Law on Labor will be to hasten the Unification of all Wage Workers against all Capitalists a consummation devoutly to be desired.

"Unscientific Socialists" Again

Bohn and De Leon Compared

634 12th St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Aug. 19, 1910.

Editor Seattle "Socialist,"
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrade:

Mr. Charles H. Kerr has just sent me a clipping from the "Weekly People" which contains a quotation from your issue of July 24. This quotation deals with a translation of Karl Kautsky's "Das Erfurter Program," lately published by Charles H. Kerr & Company. The author of the passage quoted makes the statement that this translation "is not by William E. Bohn."

As to this statement I have one or two remarks to make. In the first place, if it is true, Mr. Charles H. Kerr is in no way responsible. He cannot be expected to vouch for the details of all the books brought out by the company of which he is the executive head. I gladly accept full responsibility.

As to the facts in the case. If you take a closer look at the book which you undertook to review you will see

that it is my work in every sense of the word. Mr. Daniel DeLeon did publish some years ago "adaptations" of certain chapters of "Das Erfurter Program," but so far as I know his work did not touch Chapter I, or the greater part of Chapter V. As to the remaining portions of the original work, I invite any one who can read German and has some knowledge of English to compare them, Mr. DeLeon's "adaptations," and my somewhat condensed translation. When I began my work on Kautsky's book I fully intended to make a mere revision of Mr. DeLeon's pamphlets and give him full credit for his share in the finished product. But I soon found that there was scarcely a sentence of his that could be used in its original form. Not to mention the rather peculiar style in which Mr. DeLeon couches his version, I found his work full of mistakes. Some of them were so gross as to make Kautsky say things absolutely different from any to be found in the original. If I had said anything about

Mr. DeLeon's performance in my prefatory note I should have been obliged to mention this fact. I thought the more charitable course was to say nothing at all. I am willing to confess now that I am extremely sorry that I started by taking Mr. DeLeon's work for the basis of mine. I could have made an independent translation of Kautsky's entire book in less time than I spent trying to patch up the "adaptation" with which I began.

In conclusion let me add that I take for granted you made your strictures in good faith.

Yours for the Revolution,
WILLIAM E. BOHN.

Editor's Note.—As to the publisher's responsibility, we think it greater even than an editor's. No editor would be held blameless who knowingly published a misrepresentation of fact. If this paper, for example, had published Bohn's rendering of Kautsky's book, and allowed Bohn to call it his own translation, knowing it to be in fact more DeLeon's than Bohn's, the editor would have been equally guilty with Bohn, if he said nothing to his readers to correct the false impression. We hardly think Kerr who is himself a skilled translator and, thoroughly familiar with European

Socialist literature, as well as the ethics of publication, would accept Bohn's assumption of "full responsibility."

That our readers may know exactly to what extent Bohn has used DeLeon's work without acknowledgment, we here quote two paragraphs, which are fairly representative of the correspondences found throughout the two renderings.

With respect to Bohn's present contention that he did not wish to hurt DeLeon by calling attention to his inaccuracies, we believe, on the other hand, that he, by such omission, neglected a rare opportunity to serve the cause of truthfulness and thereby the cultivation of scientific habits among American Socialists. DeLeon's partisan distortions of the truth needed just such an exposure. For another instance, in the quotation made by "The People" from the "Seattle Socialist," referred to in Bohn's letter, all criticism of DeLeon is carefully omitted by DeLeon, thus conveying a false impression to DeLeon's readers of the attitude of the editor of "The Socialist" toward DeLeon.

Here follow (1) DeLeon's "Adaptation" of Kautsky and (2) Bohn's "Translation" of the same passage, placed in parallel columns:

DeLeon - "Adaptation"

(From "The Class Struggle," page 2)

"The spokesmen among the adversaries of Socialism are, however, the very people whose position in the Government, in society, and not infrequently in science itself, should, presumably, fit them best of all to understand the social mechanism, and to perceive the law of social evolution. Indeed, so shocking are the conditions in modern society that no one who wishes to be taken seriously in politics or in science dares any longer to deny the justice of the charges preferred by Socialism against the present social order. On the contrary, the clearest heads in all the various capitalist political parties admit that there is "some truth" in those charges; some even declare that the final triumph of Socialism is inevitable, unless society suddenly turn about and improve matters—a thing that these gentlemen imagine can be done offhand, provided this or that demand of this or that party be promptly granted and enforced. Others, again, admit unconditionally the ultimate triumph of Socialism, but—having the "one thing at a time" notion in their heads, and that thing always the wrong one—they ride a hobby, and fly off at a tangent. In this way, even those members of the non-socialist political parties who have obtained the clearest insight into the teachings of Socialism, elude, by a somersault back or sideways, the most important consequences and conclusions of their own admissions."

Jensen's Jobs

Continued from Page One

"Are you going to nominate candidates for that office?"
"Don't know."
"Can I get before the convention?"
"Not unless you have a paid up union card and proper credentials from your union."
A pause. He seemed puzzled to know how a lot of ignorant workingmen could run a convention without lawyers to tell them what to do. Finally he asked:
"Do you think I can get some delegates to propose my name before the convention?"

Bohn - "Translation"

(From "The Class Struggle, [Erfurt Program]," page 160-1).

"The spokesmen among the adversaries of socialism are, on the contrary, the very persons whose positions in the government, in society, and in science should fit them best of all to understand the social mechanism and to perceive the law of social evolution.

"And so shocking are the conditions in modern society that no one who wishes to be taken seriously in politics or science dares any longer to deny the truth of the charges preferred by socialism against the present social order. On the contrary the clearest thinkers in all the capitalist political parties admit that there is "some truth" in those charges; some even declare that the final triumph of socialism is inevitable unless society suddenly turns about and reforms—a thing these gentlemen imagine can be done offhand, provided the demands of this or that party be promptly granted. In this manner even those among the non-socialist parties who best understand the socialist critique of capitalist society save themselves from accepting the conclusions of this critique."

"Don't know."

"Will the names of the delegates be published before the convention?"

"No."

"Well, I thank you for your courtesy and your time" and another handshake but not as firm as the first."

The strike of the Machinists is still on. The situation is about the same as for the last few weeks.

A conference between representatives of the employers and employees of the Metal Trades on the coast has been going on in San Francisco for some time. At this writing the result is still unknown.

In the meantime the machinists are putting up a splendid fight. They de-



Pictures of Machinist Scabs are Being Taken

serve a more solid support of the other unions than they receive. This is especially true of the Molders' Union. The molders are associated with the machinists more closely than any other trade, and if they could read the signs of the times they would know that unless they stand with the machinists in this fight, they can expect to reap the harvest of their own inactivity, if the machinists do not come out victoriously.

The Machinists have in their possession a large number of snapshots of scabs. Some of these "heroes" quit their jobs when they found out their pictures were taken. They feared that they might be known as scabs all over the country, and they evidently do not relish the idea of having their name placed on the regular list of "American heroes."

AULT'S JUNK

Again short of "copy." And this time there was no obliging Bro. Reid to make a good talk that I could report. Will do better next week—but perhaps it's taking a whole lot for granted to think that this stuff would be missed, so I guess I'll not apologize after all.

Another example of the benevolence of our capitalist government is shown by the treatment of the forest rangers—many of whom lost their lives in the recent fires in this vicinity. These men, who are certainly most useful workers in a hazardous occupation are left destitute if injured, and their families receive nothing if they are killed. Only the hired murderers who are to be used in keeping the working class in subjection by shooting them down wholesale, if necessary, are worthy of being rewarded by pensions. Hurrah, for patriotism!

Charlie Miller, he who was a Democrat and then the Labor candidate for mayor at the last city election on the United Labor party ticket—much to the sorrow of that party and the good union men who supported him—is now a staunch Republican and distributor of the Burke slush fund amongst "prominent labor leaders" who are supporting the aforesaid Burke. Let it be said to the credit of the labor movement of this city that although Mr. Miller claims he has 150 union men working for him at \$5 or \$10 per, not one prominent member of organized labor is amongst them except Mr. Miller himself, and he can better be described as notorious.

Then Get the Gun

