

TO ORGANIZE THE SLAVES OF CAPITAL TO WIN THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION

# The Workingman's Paper

Eleventh Year—No. 487

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Suspended with this number. Price Five Cents

## EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

### Dr. Titus Prostrated

Since its inception ten years ago this paper has been suspended four times.

First. When the paper was moved from Seattle to Toledo, Ohio;  
Second. When it was taken from Toledo to Caldwell, Idaho, to become a daily during the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone trial;

Third. When it was brought back again to Seattle from Caldwell; and  
Fourth. About a year and a half ago when we had to suspend for a few weeks because of lack of funds.

Now, for the fifth time, we are compelled to again suspend the publication for two months. And right here we wish to inform the subscribers that their subscriptions will be carried over for an extra two months. It then will be no loss to them in any way. The same holds good for our advertisers.

In order that our readers may have a clear understanding of why suspension is required at this time it will be necessary to go back a few years into the history of the paper and the personal history of its editor, Dr. Hermon F. Titus.

Every one who is familiar with the growth of the paper is aware that for years it was kept going only through the monthly output of private funds on the part of Dr. Titus.

After all his money, property and income—above bare living expenses—were consumed, the paper somehow managed to worry along, but was only able to do so because the editor took nothing in the way of salary or wages, for his services. Such has been the state of affairs for the last few years.

At present Dr. Titus is ill—very ill—and in order that our readers may understand the conditions more clearly we think it well to go over, very briefly, the last four years of Dr. Titus' work.

To go back to March, 1906, we find that at the news of the possible arraignment of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, Dr. Titus boarded the first train from Seattle to Boise, managed to force his way into the car which was taking the accused men to Caldwell—and be the first person from the outside world to grasp Haywood by the hand and assure him that "the Working Class would never believe them guilty until they had been proven so." From that moment began the most strenuous action in behalf of the men on the Dr.'s part.

Being appointed national organizer by Secretary Barnes of the Socialist Party to go over Idaho to raise funds for the defense, he covered the entire northern part of the state and into Montana. Later he started out in Canyon County, Idaho—the county from which was to be picked the Jury—to canvass the entire county, speaking at every hamlet, town or camp in order to turn public sentiment in favor of the accused men.

This may not seem to be fraught with many hardships but when we realize that Lawyer Richardson, attorney for Haywood, told Dr. Titus that if he were crazy enough to attempt such a thing, he would be killed in less than a week, and when one knows that he was threatened with hanging, one begins to think that the strain of a campaign like that means something.

At this time the paper was also brought from Toledo to Caldwell to become a daily during the trial, but the trial being postponed for a year the paper was brought on to Seattle where it has remained ever since.

All through the great trial Dr. Titus did the heaviest reporting for the Working Class that was accomplished at that time.

At the close of the trial he came back to Seattle and almost immediately was precipitated into one of the hottest street fights in the history of this country.

As you know this fight lasted for about two years, and during all of that time the dominant and most indefatigable fighting spirit was Hermon Titus—speaking night after night to immense crowds in order to arouse public conscience, being promptly arrested as surely as he spoke, encouraging and urging every one to keep up the fight and editing "The Socialist" every week—sometimes from the jail.

The treatment in the jail was worse than that of a convicted criminal. At the time of the coldest weather of the season, Dr. Titus was placed in a steel tank, open to the outside cold, and was not allowed even an overcoat to protect him against the intense cold. He was kept here alone three nights and two days. Mrs. Titus was refused any attempt to provide her husband with any coverings or clothing to relieve his sufferings from the intense cold. And this was before any trial of the case. He has never recovered from the effects of the inhuman treatment accorded him at that time.

After the street fight in Seattle was won the Local Socialist Party was soon in the throes of another factional fight which culminated as all our readers know, in the withdrawal of the revolutionists from the state convention at Everett in 1909. It is needless to say that through all of that fight Dr. Titus was to the fore in the revolutionary ranks—in fact, not daring to attack his position which was the real issue, the opposition converted it into a personal issue, making the name "Titus" a bugbear upon which to split the organization.

To say that all these times were strenuous is to put it mildly, and no one was surprised when last November Dr. Titus had an acute attack, accompanied by hemorrhage, of duodenal ulcer, brought on without question by overwork and general nervous breakdown.

Less than two weeks ago the Doctor, who had not fully recovered his strength, had another hemorrhage and it has been found after thorough examination and consultation that an operation is imperative. So the time for said operation has been set for two weeks hence, thus giving the ulcers time to heal and eliminating the possibility of hemorrhage during operation.

If "The Workingman's Paper" were less educational than it is it would be possible for the associate editors to conduct it during Dr. Titus' illness, but in view of things as they are the value of the paper ceases when his work is withdrawn, and we feel it to be far more advisable to suspend until such time as he is able to take up the work again.

Were Dr. Titus to receive the most nominal sum for his services for the past ten years, he would have much more than enough to defray all the expenses attendant upon this operation; and in view of that fact, the Trustees of the Trustee Printing Company feel that from the company should come the necessary amount. As usual the Trustees feel that they cannot command sufficient funds, so have decided to ask the co-operation of all the readers of the paper who are in sympathy with its present policy.

In order that the contributors may be benefited at the same time the Trustees have compiled the recent much talked of editorials—"The Eclipse of Marx," "Class Conscience," "Middle Class Rebellion," and the discussion between Wm. Z. Foster, European representative of the I. W. W., and Dr. Titus on the "Economic Power of the Middle Class," into pamphlet form and are ready to send them in bundles to all those who feel it a privilege to join with the Trustees in raising the aforesaid funds.

These editorials have aroused comment all over the world, and there are many who consider "Middle Class Rebellion," the first permanent contribution to working class literature in this country.

As a means of educational propaganda they are unsurpassed, and those securing a bundle may either distribute them or re-sell them at an advanced price.

In either case the pamphlet is such that you need not be ashamed to pass it on to any one.

These pamphlets are ready for immediate distribution and will be sent on receipt of contribution.

We wish to make the statement that the next issue of the paper will be the first Saturday in December, and should the editor's recovery be

## LABOR'S ANNUAL PRODUCT

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

### Labor Produces Twenty-Four Billion Dollars Worth of Goods per Year

(See U. S. Census Reports for 1900)

# \$24,000,000,000

Enough to give every person, man, woman and child, in all our Seventy-five Millions of Population \$300 apiece. Every family of five—father, mother and 3 children—would have \$1,500 a year.

## What Labor Gets -- One Quarter

(Represented by this upper portion of the Box)

# Six Billions Worth -- \$6,000,000,000

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.

"Ye are many. They are few."

more tardy than is anticipated, the associate editors will make every effort to produce a paper as near to the present educational standard as possible. At all events the paper will resume publication at that time.

With appreciation in advance of the efforts we are sure will be made

upon the part of those who will consider it the greatest privilege to aid the Trustees in this matter.

ERWIN B. AULT,  
ARTHUR JENSEN,  
BESSY FISER.



# Economic Power of the Middle Class

We welcome a letter like this from our old friend and correspondent, William E. Foster, better known by our readers as William Z. Foster. When he started for Spokane to represent this paper in the Fight for Free Speech in that city, it was thought his mail might go to some other man by the rather common name of William E., so it was agreed that his pen name for this paper should be William Z., and so by that initial he is known from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

Foster is now in Europe, this letter bearing a Paris postmark. He wants to study "Direct Action" in its home, France. He promises to write us occasionally and give the results of his investigations.

This letter shows once again what an able man Foster is. He is one of those wage-workers who put to shame the cavils of the so-called Intellectuals who imagine the working class is incapable of doing its own thinking.

The issues which Foster takes with the position of "The Workingman's Paper" are (1) whether the Middle Class has sufficient "Economic Power" to resist the Trust Class, and (2), whether the Ballot can be used by the Working Class for its own emancipation.

First, as to Economic Power. That is an expression frequently employed without analysis to discover its actual meaning. It is often associated in thought with that similar expression, Economic Determinism. Both sound large and impressive and may be used to overwhelm an unsophisticated antagonist. It does one good to see a Capitalist adversary appear stupidly wise at the mention of one of these phrases by a really wise Proletarian.

But the wisest sometimes employ terms which have a profound significance, especially if they have won a vogue for themselves, in a loose and indefinite manner. Therefore it is always healthy for any thinker to analyze his most commonly used generalizations.

For instance, it is a commonplace for Socialist writers to say the Feudal Class passed off the stage because Economic Power was captured in the course of development by the Capitalist Class; or that the Slave-owning Class of the South was forced to yield to the Capitalist Class of the North because it possessed inferior Economic Power.

Taking this out of the region of the clouds, what can it mean but the Power of Bread and Butter? That class has the greatest Economic Power which holds the purse strings; or, if all have purses, the one which has the deepest and fullest purse, has the Power. This assumes that the Purse can purchase. If money cannot buy the necessities of life, the Purse is powerless. Economic Power, in that case, rests with that class which commands the Means of Production, the land and machinery by which necessities are produced through labor.

Take a strike, for example. The strikers can last as long as they can feed. When they can no longer get a meal or provide a roof, they die; their Economic Power was lost and life with it. The old South yielded and Lee surrendered, because there was nothing left in the treasury at Richmond, the soldiers were ragged and starving, no guns and no powder could be obtained, no cotton could be raised or sold, nobody could pay taxes; in a word, their Economic Power was exhausted; while yet the North had abundance.

Now, have the Middle Class sufficient Economic Power left? Can the Trust Class starve them out? For the Middle Class are certainly on strike against the Trusts. Listen to their world-famous champion, Roosevelt's closing words at Minneapolis form a call to battle: "The supreme political task of our day, the indispensable condition of national efficiency and national welfare, is to drive the Special Corporate interests out of our public life."

Compare the relative wealth of the three classes. According to the census of 1900, the last reliable figures, the Trust Class, with some quarter million members, owned 67 Billion Dollars worth of the wealth of the United States. The Middle Class, some 8 1/2 millions of them, owned 24 Billion Dollars; while the Wage Class, over 20 Millions of them, had 4 Billions.

The question is, Can 67 Billion Dollars starve out 24 Billions? And another question, What chance has the Four Billion Dollar Wage Class against the combined Ninety-one Billion Dollar Capitalist Class?

But that bald statement of the case does not cover all the ground. For then the Wage Class would be utterly helpless, forever enslaved. And that is precisely the conclusion which some theorists, who follow their theories if they lead even into the ditch, have arrived at. The Proletarians have no Economic Power because they have no wealth. No historic class ever achieved its freedom without first achieving Economic Power, that is, Wealth. The modern Wage Class can get no wealth, therefore there is no hope for it.

The reply made by some Proletarians is that the present Proletariat has real Economic Power, though it has not wealth. Its Power lies in its control of its own Labor Force, without which no wealth can be produced. They urge the argument that a United Proletariat, withholding its Labor Power from the Capitalist Class, would be able to paralyze that class. They could starve out the world by such "Direct Action."

But they would also starve out themselves meanwhile. The Capitalists, few in number, would be in possession of all the storehouses filled with provisions and could stand a long siege, while the workers would be without anything and millions of them. To this, the Direct Actionists reply: We will take and hold the Instruments of Production, the land, the factories, the railroads, where we are daily employed; we will continue to produce wealth, only now for ourselves, no longer for the Capitalists. We will then have instituted the Cooperative Commonwealth. The Capitalists, who thought to starve us out, will be obliged to come to us at last and solicit us for a chance to live.

That sounds good. But what would the Capitalists be doing while you are taking and holding? There are millions of them and they will fight for their property. Don't imagine that Teddy Roosevelt and General Wood and Admiral Dewey and Post and Heney and Hill and Gaynor and La Follette and the rest of their kind, are going to lie down and die like trapped rabbits. They are not made that way.

And they have the guns, never forget that. They have the guns. And modern guns are terribly deadly things. One man can hold up a thousand with one of these modern instruments of warfare. A hundred thousand men with Machine Guns can dislodge a million workmen, helpless, defenceless, at their industrial machines, in their factories which they are taking and holding.

The Economic Power of simple, unassisted, unarmed Labor Force, even if it could be united in a far greater degree than would ever be practicable, would be as unavailing against that vast development of power, called the Government, as hand labor has proved unavailing in its conflict with machine labor. The mere possession of Labor Power is obviously not, the possession of Economic Power. It cannot produce the necessities of life while excluded from the Means of Production.

But is it true, on the other hand, that the possession of mere wealth, including the Means of Production, is the sure possession of Economic Power? Suppose Morgan held the entire wealth of America. Could he starve out all the rest of us? Ownership must be accompanied with power to maintain ownership. Could one man maintain possession against all the rest of mankind and compel them to starve because he would not admit them to the sources of life? If, then, one man would fall through weakness, how many men would be essential, with all the power of Government and Guns, to dispossess the rest of men and hold them dispossessed?

Could, for instance, the Trust Class, with its present numerical strength of, say, 250,000, forbid all the rest of the nation to touch the Means of Production which belong to that Class? They have the Economic Power, as defined above, but have they the physical power? Can 250,000 subdue 30,000,000? Can such a handful, even with the Gun Government, coerce a hundred times their number and starve them into submission?

Granting that a whole nation could hardly be held up by a mere fraction of its number, like the Trust Class in America, how about such a large proportion as the Middle Class of some Ten Millions? Could they hold up the rest and compel them to deliver the goods?

That is the intensely practical question which faces the American nation today. Theodore Roosevelt is engaged in no child's play. He is in dead earnest to dethrone the "Predatory Interests," the Trusts, from their domination of the State. The Middle Class Rebellion has found a leader, as predicted in our editorial of April 10th, reprinted on our inside pages. He openly proposes Government Control of the Trusts, which can have no practical realization short of Government Ownership, as he plainly hints. This means the Railroads first, and then the Electric Trust and the Oil Trust and the Meat Trust and the Steel Trust, would be bought with Government bonds and hereafter conducted by the Government in such manner as to allow the small Business Man and the Farmer to live untroubled by high prices, high rates and high taxes; while the Wage Man would continue to work for wages as at present, provide a Surplus as at present and pay the interest on the bonds held by the Rockefeller, the Morgans and the Carnegies.

Can the Middle Class accomplish this program? Have they sufficient power, sufficient Economic Power, if you like?

The real question is, Can this Middle Class of Ten Millions, with its wealth of Twenty-four Billions, defeat the Trust Class of Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand with its wealth of Sixty-seven Billions, including most of the Means of Production?

(The Wage Class is not yet politically organized, and therefore is a negligible quantity in formulating a reply to this question. For a while, at any rate, it will divide its votes between the Trust Class Party, promising Prosperity and good wages, and the Middle Class, promising steady work on Government Jobs. Gradually, we hope and believe, the Proletariat will perceive that neither Big Business nor Small Business, Trust Class nor Middle Class, has any intention to abolish wages and unpaid labor and the consequent poverty of the Proletarian, and will proceed to fight its own battle for its own emancipation.)

But let us essay a reply to the main question as to the ability of the Middle Class, under Roosevelt's leadership, to force the Corporations out of the control of the Government.

And here we come to Foster's second difficulty, the Ballot. For it is by means of the Ballot, that the Middle Class Rebellion expects to succeed in displacing the Trust. A number of Wage Workers, including quite a section of the I. W. W., agree with Foster, when he says, "The Ballot is on the Bum," meaning that nothing can be accomplished by means of the Ballot, which is regarded by them as a Capitalist institution and a snare and a delusion.

Their contention is, that Economic Power is the only thing that counts. So, if the Middle Class wins at the Ballot Box, it will be defeated in the legislature itself and on the Judge's Bench and in the Executive's Chair, by the corrupting power of money in the hands of the Trusts; and they point to the universal prevalence of Graft as proof. They would not trust their own representatives, if elected, to prove inaccessible to the temptations of intrigue and bribery. In a word, they abjure Politics as a Device of the Enemy.

It is a sad among these workers to greet the mention of political action with Homeric Laughter and to consign the victim of political notions for the Working Class to the limbo of the totally ignorant and depraved. Even to discuss the matter, as we are doing now, will seem to these men as little less than Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. Their horror of political action is very like the anarchist's horror of "The State;" they would not touch it to save their lives.

But nothing, not even the Law of Gravitation, is beyond discussion. Nor should the intolerance of its adherents lead us to refuse to consider any proposal which concerns the Workingclass.

Let us see. The Middle Class proposes to down the Trust Class by means of the Ballot, notwithstanding the alleged superior Economic Power of the Trusts. Are they foredoomed to failure?

Let us say at the outset that all this cheap ridicule of the Ballot as "a piece of white paper" cannot pass with the thoughtful. You might as well ridicule all voting, as the anarchists do—in theory; that is, Never try in any manner to ascertain the will of the majority.

It is just as stupid to take a vote in an assembly by show of hands, or by eyes and noses, as it is to do it by means of the ballot.

The "Piece of Paper" is nothing in itself, but as indicating the will and opinion of a man or woman, a unit in a given society, whose decision is to be ascertained, it is a very potent fact.

It is no modern invention. It is as old as the ancient Commune. It existed long before Capitalism, Feudalism or Slavery was known on the earth. You might as well decry the wearing of Cotton Clothes as a device of Capital, or the use of Petroleum or the Steamboat or the study of Chemistry. Because Capitalists employ Robert's Rules of Order does not prove that they are not good rules for any assembly.

A fact is a fact, and the Ballot is a very prominent fact in the modern economy. By means of the Ballot this week, the Trust Senator Burrows of Michigan has been retired from the U. S. Senate, and La Follette has been re-nominated in Wisconsin. "Insurgent" victories are recorded all over the country—by means of the Ballot.

Why this tremendous struggle between the Standpatters and Insurgents now going on in every state, if the Ballot is not a powerful factor in deciding events? It seems absurd to have to prove so obvious an assertion as that the Ballot is a tremendous fact.

The Ballot certainly changes the Government. By means of it the Middle Class can achieve power. It is altogether likely they will win the elections this fall.

But will Government make up for lack of Economic Power? Will not the superior wealth of the Trust Class enable them to defeat the Government in the hands of the Middle Class? Just as the Capitalist Class might defeat the Wage Class, even after its victory at the polls?

We admit we cannot understand how it will be possible for a quarter of a million people, though they may be in possession of 67 Billion Dollars of Property, to prevent ten million people who have won the powers of Government, from passing and enforcing any legislation they please. The only way we can see for the Trust Class to maintain itself under those conditions, would be to fight, to engage in actual war in defence of their property. In which event, they would stand no show against the Ten Million who were in possession of the mighty machine of repression known as the Government.

For the Government, the State, the thing which is changed by means of the Ballot at Elections, is an almost superhuman engine of power. For generations it has been trained in the exercise of power. It is a vast social machine for applying coercion. It is itself an Economic Power, a physical power which, in the hands of a large minority, like the ten million of the Middle Class, might be able to coerce and conquer the twenty million Proletarians. By means of the Ballot, the Middle Class can capture this Economic Power, the Instrument of Physical Control, the Means of Producing Death, the historically developed Machine of Government, and thereby prolong its own existence as a Capitalist Class. Then it will be far more likely to defer the Emancipation of the Wage Class indefinitely than the numerically and physically weak Trust Class.

Therefore we regard the Middle Class Rebellion as a thing to be combatted unremittently by the Wage Class. We can see no possible way in which the Proletarian can be benefitted by the victory of Roosevelt and Pinchot. It is better that Taft and Hill and Morgan and Guggenheim should carry on their Trust Organization to the limit, wiping out the Middle Class completely. Meanwhile, the Wage Class is just as well off, certainly, during the progress of the Battle between Big Capital and Little Capital, under the management of Big Capital as it would be under Little Capital.

Any kind of Capital is the Foe of Labor. Any kind of Capital, big or little, is the robber of Wage Labor. It is the very nature of Capital to live off the Surplus of Labor's product over its subsistence wage. Abolish that Surplus, abolish the Law of Wages, and you abolish Capital. Nothing short of that will emancipate Wage Labor. And we have no consideration whatsoever for any other class in society but the Wage Class. Their battle is the Battle for Freedom, for Democracy, for Progress, for a New Race. Proletarianism is the only Nationalism worth fighting for.

## W. Z. Foster's Letter

On Board North German-Lloyd Steamer Prinz Friedrich Wilhelm, bound for Cherbourg, France.  
Aug. 6, 1910.

Mr. E. B. Ault.  
Dear Friend and Fellow Worker:—For the past few months I have been knocking around so much that I have had very little time for reading, and many of the articles in my old friend, "The Socialist," have escaped my notice. In New York, however, I was handed a late issue and during a few spare moments I read the article entitled "The Middle Class Rebellion." I judge from the style of it that Dr. Titus is the author.

The American political situation has been summed up from every political angle and prejudice, but of all these efforts that I have seen I

believe "The Middle Class Rebellion" is by far the best, and, barring a few conclusions as to the part to be played by the workers and the possible outcome of the fight I agree with it. In it the leading political figures of the day, such as Roosevelt, Taft, Ballinger, Pinchot, etc., are properly pigeon-holed in the economic classes they represent, and the class nature of the struggle now going on is clearly exposed.

The current explanations that the muck raking graft exposures, etc., now filling our popular magazines, are due to a moral wave that is sweeping over the country, or to the re-awakening of the "inherent" sense of justice of the American people which has hibernated for the past two decades, are absurd, and unworthy of

the serious consideration of any student of sociology. As Dr. Titus says these phenomena are the result of "the revolt of Little Business against Big Business."

In the I. W. W. it is customary for writers and speakers to almost completely ignore the Middle Class. Any reference made to it is usually as a slur at its weakness and backwardness. No attempt is made to point out that present society is a three class society, with two economically inferior classes—Working Class and Middle Class—desperately resisting the inroads of the Master or Capitalist Class. With a sublime contempt for the great, reactionary, Middle Class we consider that it is already eliminated as an important factor in the struggle for economic power. All political activity we attribute to the Capitalist Class; the violent political quarrels, of late agitating the country, are but so many subterfuges and schemes to divide and bewilder the only other class worth mentioning—the Working Class. Roosevelt, Taft, Aldrich, Cannon, Pinchot, etc., are just so many capitalist politicians. A favorite expression is, "There are but two 'nations'—the robber and the robbed."

This position is manifestly wrong, and misleading, as the Middle Class is yet to be reckoned with, and all indications point to a great struggle between it and the Capitalist Class proper for mastery. This warfare, now just getting well under way, contains a large element of danger to the American labor movement, in that the Middle Class, although possessing no interests in common with the Working Class, represents all the historic ideals the raw and undeveloped Working Class have been bred to consider as their own.

The American Ideal has been to evolve to affluence through the medium of the Middle Class by first becoming a small farmer, storekeeper or manufacturer, etc. Now, when the Middle Class, figuratively the second rung on the ladder to success, finds itself being strangled by the Capitalist Class it makes a desperate appeal for aid to the Working Class, which readily responds, naturally supposing it is interested in the "square deal," "anti-rebate," "conservation," etc., policies of the Middle Class, as they represent the last remnant of the historic American slogan of "Equal opportunity for all." As proof that this aid is being extended to the Middle Class the late victories of the Insurgents may be cited, to say nothing of the hopelessly Middle Class character of the so-called "Socialist" party.

The sooner this struggle is over the better it will be for the Working Class, as the economic subjugation of the Middle Class means the destruction of their individualist ideals—with which the Working Class is now obsessed, and the development of the new Working Class Collectivist ideals, without which the labor movement is almost useless. So long as a worker believes that by "saving up" for a few years he can become the owner of a lucrative business he is absolutely unfit to be organized; but when that hope is removed and he understands that he can better his condition only by acting in concert with his fellow workers, then the days of Capitalism are numbered.

Dr. Titus points out the hastiness of considering as a cancelled economic factor such a good fighting class as the American Middle Class has proved itself to be, and suggests the possibility that under the leadership of the fire eating Roosevelt and Pinchot, it may severely check the growth of the monopolies, and "indefinitely postpone" the overthrow of capitalism. So strong does he word this possibility that one would be led to believe that he expects events to take such a course. This would mean government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, coal mines, express companies and other monopolies that particularly harass the Middle Class.

Does modern American history justify any such faith in the power of the Middle Class, to, in any way, even check the concentration of capital? Does it not, on the other hand, clearly prove that the Middle Class is doomed, that its old means for the control of industry are obsolete, and that it is incapable of developing any new ones, that in spite of its vast numerical strength and seeming virility, its intellectual following and its possession of the historic American ideals—an invaluable asset to a ruling class—it is about to be obliterated?

This "Middle Class Rebellion,"—the rendered acute by the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy and the rebuke administered to Cannon recently—has been going on with increasing vigor for the past ten years. We have seen the trusts increase their power continually in spite of all opposition until today they are almost all powerful. It is folly to say the Middle Class hasn't disputed this advance; but it has always been defeated. Several times running victories have been won but only for a time, the Capitalist Class has always emerged the victor.

The Northern Securities case is a good example. Here was a trust that was legally busted and yet today the merger is in practical effect by the simple expedient of keeping three sets of books instead of one. The Standard Oil Co. \$29,000,000 fine was another great victory for the Common People.

Continued on Page Three

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# Economic Power of the Middle Class

Continued from Page Two

At the time of the imposition of the fine any newsboy could have told us that it would never be paid. Is there any sane person who believes the rebate and graft prosecutions have decreased the practices? The railroad officials and legislators have simply become more expert in covering up their trails.

Once in a while a trust gets so "bad" that the "people" decide to buy it—for instance the Chicago City Railways—but somehow the capitalists refuse to sell. Instead of selling public utilities to the state or municipalities the tendency is to buy up what few gas works, water-works, etc., the municipalities now own. The Phila Gas Works was sold to the U. G. I. Co. in spite of the express decision at the previous election that it should not be sold. Even the public ownership of the post office is now threatened.

The cause for the uniform lack of success on the part of the Middle Class through its government is clearly because it is lacking in economic power, tho it has time and again demonstrated the fact that it has an abundance of the obsolete "political power." There is one kind of power recognized in the world today, and that is the ability to control industry. This is an economic power. This power is shared by the capitalists and the workers almost entirely, the former thru their capital, the latter thru the monopoly of their labor power. In these later days

armaments are more and more dependent upon capital owing to the increased expenditure necessary for their maintenance and the success of a war depending upon the goodwill of the capitalists who loan the necessary funds.

The Middle Class although possessing a vast amount of wealth is unable to use it effectively owing to its being divided among so many individuals. As for controlling industry by its labor power, such a thing is absurd, as they are not in a position to do so.

It can't command the armed forces of the nation, as that too has paid homage to the all conquering capital. The Middle Class thus stands stripped of all economic power.

Until quite recently the small capitalists, or Middle Class, controlled industry through their "democratic" government, which came into existence with them. Being economic equals and very numerous their method of procedure was to ascertain the sentiment of the majority by an election, and then to coerce the minority into obedience. No small set of the capitalists at that time could pit their capital, or economic strength against the rest, and as a consequence, the wish of the majority was law, and no mercy was shown the violator.

Not being exposed to so many corrupting influences the courts and legislatures could be depended upon to serve the class that elected or appointed them and the will of the majority was respected. Then was the

heyday of "government" and most of the brilliant men of the period could be found in the halls of Congress.

But times have changed; capital has combined, the trusts have arisen, and the owners, though few in numbers are able to easily thwart the wishes of the small capitalists by a liberal use of their money. Their capital is in such shape that they can make it count in a fight—witness how easily they suppress Trade Unions that were the terror of the small capitalists.

No longer do they obey the wishes of the majority. As Lawson says, "They buy legislators like fish in the market." They have corrupted the courts, the very soul of Middle Class government, until they are a byword even to the Middle Class. The government has become a joke and is composed of a lot of nobodies. The only real use the modern capitalist class has for it is to use it to exploit the "common people" of their rapidly dwindling possessions, such as franchises, water power, coal lands, etc.

Being few in numbers this new Capitalist Class needs no vast executive committee or "government" such as the Middle Class does, but transacts its business privately, behind closed doors. If the Beef Trust wishes to arrange for railroad rates, a meeting in Morgan's private office settles the matter satisfactorily. Why allow a lot of Kansas farmers to interfere thru their busybody "government"? It is a very significant fact that when a kick is made about unfair rates it is always by the Middle Class and to its government. The Trusts settle their disputes privately, except in rare cases, when they make open economic war upon each other. They treat the laws of the Middle Class government with contempt whenever it suits their convenience.

The Baseball syndicate is in existence in flagrant violation of many of the most fundamental laws upon the statute books.

This syndicate has absolutely banished business competition from baseball and each club is "in its narrow cell forever laid." It forces contract labor upon its employees and woe unto the ball player who is hardy enough to violate his contract. He is openly blacklisted by every club in the country.

This syndicate has a high court of three men who try owners, managers, and players alike, dealing out severe punishments when they deem it necessary. The magnates argue expediency, they rightly argue that shopkeepers should not be allowed to interfere with baseball. The only power they will ever recognize will be the organized labor power of the ball players, or a rival aggregation of capital. Many similar instances can be given of this evidence of each industry transacting its business regardless of the howls of the smaller fry.

The modern Capitalist Class absolutely refuses to obey any "law" detrimental to its interest that is not enforced by economic power. The so-called labor laws, such as "8 hour laws," "child labor laws," etc., are treated the same as are the "pure and simple" Middle Class measures, as it realizes they have nothing behind them but the old Middle Class counting of noses, or voting.

There are many ways of side-tracking the wishes of the "common people," but they are all based on capital. Courts and legislatures have always proved purchasable and investigating committees are easily disposed of. Even in the sacred ranks of the ultra holy insurgents the power of capital is evident. Garfield, several years ago, reported that the Beef Trust, one of the "very bad" ones paid but 2 per cent interest on the money invested and the Roosevelt-Morton rebate scandal stunk to the high heavens.

This disregard and contempt for "majority" made law, tho a pronounced characteristic of the revolutionary Capitalist Class is not peculiar to it alone. The revolutionary Working Class also ignores obnoxious "majority" made laws wherever it has the power to do so. The workers have organized in restraint of trade in spite of Middle Class conspiracy laws until now they have the "legal" right to organize. Needless to say this "legal" right is worth nothing if the Capitalist Class has the economic power to forbid it. Many of the labor unions of Europe are in flagrant violation of the "law." Even

our own Spokane fighting serve to "adorn a moral or point a tale" as that was successfully carried on in open violation of "law."

In the three cornered fight now going on in society, the two revolutionary classes have thrown aside the old Middle Class government—owing to a lack of organization, the Working Class hasn't repudiated it to the extent that the Capitalist Class has—and settle their quarrels between themselves and the reactionary class, the Middle Class, buffeted from pillar to post, and gradually being squeezed to death between the upper and the nether millstone, can only defend itself with its old obsolete weapon—Government, which its real enemy, the Capitalist Class ignores.

The Middle Class can't understand this phenomenon of a few men handling its government and proposes to cleanse the temple of the money changers by electing "good" and "honest" men into office, who will make their good "ship of state" answer the helm as she used to. In order to secure as many of these virtuous paragons who are exempt from the first law of nature, the Working Class is also to be lined up and such a counting of noses made as never occurred before.

Herein lies the chief fault of Dr. Titus' article. He seems to think such reactionary program can be effective in checking economic development.

The key to the situation does not lie with the workers. It is not a working class fight and the workers will never take any very serious part in it. They will probably use the Middle Class weapon—the weak and ineffective ballot—in this Middle Class fight but it is extremely unlikely that they will ever fight another's battles with real Working Class weapons that are revolutionary such as the strike, sabotage, etc. Far from being an important factor they will be but an imposing array of dead timber and the Capitalist Class will ignore even the greatly increased number of opposing noses and buy up the legislators and judges of this unholy alliance the same as before, tho perhaps at a slightly higher price.

The only hope the Middle Class has is to defeat the Capitalist Class with capital, and if this could be done, simply the personnel of the Capitalist Class would be changed and there would be a still greater concentration of capital.

The danger of this fight to the workers is that they are certainly going to experiment with the ballot to the neglect of their revolutionary economic organizations. These latter, however, can never die, tho their immediate development may be seriously interfered with, because while the workers are flirting with the seductive and barren ballot, they will be forced to retain some sort of bread and butter organization, or accept a greatly lowered standard of living.

When the ineffectiveness of the ballot has finally been demonstrated so clearly that even the workers can see it, then they will repudiate it entirely, and adopt Working Class tactics, even as the tendency seems to be in the vanguard of the labor movement of Europe. This will be the death blow to the already sadly weakened Middle Class and the opening of the real "direct action" fight between the Capitalist Class and the Working Class. For the first time in capitalist history the issue will be clear and then the Revolution will be at hand.

Thus it will be seen that the Middle Class can look for no real aid from the Working Class. Tho the latter will undoubtedly vote as the former directs, the combined vote will be just as easily ignored as the majority vote of today. The Working Class will have its direct action tactics to turn to after learning this lesson, but the Middle Class must go down and out owing to inability to develop effective weapons of offense and defense.

Harry, I think you fellows should get next to the ballot—its on the bum entirely. I don't propose to know a great deal about direct action but at present writing, I am on my way to a country where I should learn a little namely, France.

But I have made this letter so long that I have left no room for news. I'll write you occasionally, however, and give you what little news there is when I get settled.  
Yours for the Working Class,  
Per the I. W. W.,  
WM. "Z." FOSTER.

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, Malloy, Herron, Hillquitt and Berger. Precisely as an Ecclesiastical Conference or Synod will pass through a week's sessions and omit all reference to the Essentialness 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.

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## 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 Tolstol 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 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



The "Blanket Stiff"  
He built the ROAD—  
With others of his CLASS, he built the road,  
Now o'er it, many a weary mile, he packs his load,  
Chasing a JOB, spurred on by HUNGERS good.  
He walks and walks, and wonders why  
In H—L, he built the road.



# THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

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## A Class Conscience

Class Consciousness is good, but a Class Conscience is better. Many men who are class conscious are class conscienceless. To be class conscious without being class conscienceless is to be simply a Pharisee.

For consider. You probably know at least one man who is horribly "class conscious," but who does not hesitate to scab when he takes a notion. It is, indeed, rather common to find men who are forever talking about the Working Class and will not even join a Labor Union of any kind. When a strike is on these men curse the "A. F. of Hell" and never lift a finger in aid of the strikers. If they happen to be members of a Union themselves they keep in the background when a sympathetic strike is proposed, as their own jobs might be lost.

So-called Class Consciousness may be exaggerated self-consciousness, puffed-up egotism, swaggering selfishness. True Class Consciousness can not be selfish, for CLASS Consciousness, by its very name implies that Self is superseded by Class in your consciousness. To be conscious of your Class is more than to know your Class. You have learned there is a separate class in modern society, the Wage Class or Proletariat, whose interests are opposed to the Employing or Capitalist Class, and you proceed to parade your superior knowledge and call your fellow workmen fools. That is not Class Consciousness; that is only Class Knowledge. It makes a pedant and a Pharisee out of you—the cheapest and meanest sort of a man.

A truly Class Conscious man will have a Class Conscience. That is, he who becomes conscious of his class interests will subordinate his individual interests to those of his class. He is no longer a pure egotist. His enlarged egotism identifies him with the whole class of which he has discovered at last the true significance. The workingman who gains only knowledge of his class but not consciousness of it, becomes simply a bigger I, an offensive, strutting peacock of a man. Whereas, if he became class conscious in reality, he would consider himself a smaller I, a mere fraction or limb of the vast organism destined to control Society, the Proletariat.

Instead of an isolated unit, a meaningless ego, struggling to fulfill his own private destiny and often going crazy at it, he gains a place, a significance, a relation, a mission, in life and in the universe, which transforms and elevates him. In a word, he gains a consciousness of a larger, social self, which makes him at once both smaller and bigger. He will not overvalue his puny personal ideas and efforts, and he will not undervalue his importance as a member of the Historic Class now advancing to take the Headship of Humanity.

One of the saddest and most hopeless human specimens is the proletarian megalomaniac. He has simply gone daffy with his new knowledge. Instead of a conscience, which would render him responsible to his class, he develops an inhuman, irresponsible spirit, sacrificing everybody and everything to his overmastering vanity. The essence of insanity is hyper-egotism. The class-conscious, class-conscienceless workingman is really insane, though often too cowardly to injure anyone but himself.

On the other hand, the wage-man who possesses and is possessed by a Class Conscience is the most normal, useful, noble member of society. He is in line with Evolution and therefore truly moral. He is responsible. He is loyal. He is incapable of being a scab. He is true to his class, even at the expense of his reputation, his income, his family, his life.

This is no dream. Witness the supreme loyalty of the Japanese to his country. Patriotism is a Race Conscience and imparts a moral quality to the actions of men. The savages who die for their tribe possess a nobility universally recognized; they are controlled by a Tribe Conscience. The Communes of Barbarism, described by Morgan, developed this Social Conscience to a high degree. Every individual held his services, his acquisitions, his life itself, subject to the call of the whole community, of which he was as much a part as the leaf is of the tree; exactly as the Japanese soldier, or citizen even, will commit suicide unhesitatingly for Japan, the society of which he is an integral, vital, responsible member.

Charles W. Elliot, ex-President of Harvard; J. W. Van Cleave, late President of the Manufacturers' Association; C. W. Post, of Battle Creek, Theodore Roosevelt, denouncing Haywood on trial as an "Undesirable Citizen," and all other good Capitalists, are controlled by a Class Conscience. Their morality is a Class Morality. They are loyal to the class to which they belong. To them a scab is moral, a moral hero, as Elliot says, because he is loyal to the class which they regard as essential to the integrity of society. We do not blame them. We admire them for their loyalty. But we face them with another and equal loyalty, a Class Conscience more valuable and more potent than theirs, because it represents the Coming Age while theirs represents the Departing Age.

The Proletarian Class Conscience makes a scab the most despicable, contemptible, traitorous thing on earth, for he is disloyal, untrue, to his own class. He is irresponsible, an individualist who violates the Sanctity of Social Obligation, the highest human quality.

Old obligations perish in the flame of this Proletarian Conscience. The individual, to whatever class he may be born, or even economically belong, who recognizes the fact that the normal growth of society demands the Reign of Proletarianism, can become really moral only as he accepts the situation and conforms his practice to the interests of the Proletarian Class.

The rule of the Capitalist Class Conscience is passing. It is confronted with this new Wage Class Conscience. A New Nation grows up within the old and with a new patriotism, an obligation to a new class. What used to be moral becomes immoral. What things were legal, because enacted in the interests of the ruling class when it was also the progressive class, including all property relations, even religious and domestic relations, are under the light of this New Conscience, gradually transformed into illegalities, monstrosities, violations of human "rights."

It is the first privilege and duty, consequently, of every wage worker to develop within himself a Wage Class Conscience, to emancipate himself from those old obligations which the Capitalist Class Conscience would impose upon him and thus to hold himself loyal and responsible to the Wage Class against the world. Ben Hanford used to repeat, "The Working Class, right or wrong." We say more than that, the Working Class is right, it cannot be wrong, for its interests are the world's interests.

The supreme test of every man, therefore, now is, What kind of a conscience have you, a Capitalist Class Conscience or a Wage Class Conscience? For you certainly have one or the other, if you have any at all. And if you haven't any at all, get one or go out and die.

We are publishing in pamphlet form the editorials by Hermon F. Titus entitled, "The Eclipse of Marx" and "A Class Conscience," at five cents per copy, \$3.50 per hundred. Every student of Marx should have this editorial, in fact, cannot afford to be without it.

The chart shown on the front page can be secured in poster form at the rate of five for ten cents, prepaid. This is something that should be posted where every workingman could see it and grasp its significance. There is no other form in which the exploitation of the wage workers is more clearly shown. Get a bunch and post them up in your union rooms and on the bill boards.

The articles on the inside pages of this paper under the heading, "The Economic Power of the Middle Class," and published by us as a pamphlet, with the sub-title, "A Discussion between Hermon F. Titus, Editor 'The Workingman's Paper,' and W. Z. Foster, European Representative of the I. W. W." It sells for five cents per copy, \$3.50 per hundred, and is unusually effective propaganda material.

# 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.

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.

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## The Middle Class Rebellion

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" jumped to a half-million circulation on the strength of Tom Lawson's fierce attacks on "Standard Oil." The swarm of "Muck-Rakers," like Charles Edward Russell, Judge Lindsey and Stannard Baker, are paid for and inspired by the militant hosts of these Middle Class Rebels.

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

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

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

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

Such a call, addressed to the expropriated masses of the Middle Class, appealing to their interests and conscience alike, is certain to be received with militant fervor. What right, it will be demanded, have the Morgans, the Rockefelleres, 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 of 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. Czar 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," is precipitating him into the Proletariat, will go on apace, with accelerating speed. At the present rate, how long will it take for the Harriman and Hill systems of Railways to effect a combination which will be able to crush and absorb all the other Railroads in the United States? Attorney F. B. Kellogg, arguing for the Government before the U. S. Supreme Court, stated recently: "The Standard Oil Co., if permitted to go on undissolved, will own the business of the Nation in five years."

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

York and San Francisco, point in this direction.

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