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REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM AND REFORM

BY HERMON F. TITUS

Foreword

SOCIALISM

This series of articles is intended to present the Principles and Tactics of Modern Socialism in so plain a way that one who has never heard of Socalism can understand, yet in so reasonable a way that the student of Socialism will be convinced.

It is written for the new Socialist and for the old Socialist alike, as found in the American Socialist movement.

It will deal with the live facts of American society and American politics as seen and interpreted by Socialists. No American Workingman should ever cast his vote

without clearly understanding the matters discussed in And no American Socialist is qualified to stand in his

place and instruct his fellow citizens during the next few years without a complete mastery of the diverse principles and methods outlined in these chapters.

Chapter I. -- Two Kinds of Socialism

Perhaps you thought there was only one kind of So cialism; or perhaps you think there are as many kinds of Socialism as there are Socialists.

The truth is there are just two kinds, and only two kinds.

You may have heard of "Fabian Socialism" and "Christiap Socialism," and "State Socialism" and "Municipal Socialism," and "Utopian Socialism" and "Scientific So-

But these can all be boiled down to two. Some belong to one and some to the other, but all the different kinds can be called either "Revolutionary Socialism" or "Reform Socialism." If we understand these two, we understand all the rest.

MOST TALKED-OF SUBJECT

Socialism is the one thing everybody is talking about now, though almost nobody knows what it is he is talk-

A few years ago 99 out of 100 thought a Socialist was the same as an Anarchist. When McKinley was shot, the Socialists were charged up with the deed, though Czolgosz was an avowed Anarchist.

Now the pendulum of public opinion has swung over to the other extreme, and every radical Democrat, like Tom Johnson or Hearst, is dubbed a Socialist.

It is even becoming popular to be a Socialist. Is not the Russian struggle for liberty, which now engrosses the world's attention and commands the world's admiration, led by Socialists? Socialists are becoming recognized as the world's heroes. If the tide keeps on running, Jack London will be lionized more for being a Socialist than for being a successful story writer.

The Hearst newspapers tell us in flaming editorials that if we Americans lived in Germany, three-quarters of us would be Social Democrats—the German name for Socialists. And so staid a Republican journal as Harvey Scott's "Portland Oregonian" not long ago boldly declared in a leading editorial that it preferred Socialism to Trust Monopoly, if it came to a choice between the two.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

All this looks as if Socialism might soon capture America. And many people really think so. Some hopeful Socialists have even prophesied that the Socialist party would elect its president in 1908.

On the other hand, there are a great many Socialists who claim the times are not ripe for Socialist victory. They laugh at their sanguine comrades as dreamers, and urge that the working class in America is quite too ignorant of its own interests to be entrusted with political power at present.

What do these opposing outlooks mean? Why does it appear to some as if Socialism was at the very door and to others that Socialism is years and years away?

It is because they are talking of two different kinds of Socialism-some of Reform Socialism and some of Revolutionary Socialism.

FALL' ELECTIONS OF 1905

A significant fact appeared in the Socialist returns for the fall election of 1905. Generally, the Socialist vote of 1905 fell far below that of 1904. The vote for Debs and Hanford in 1904 was nearly twice that cast for Socialist candidates in many city and state elections one

But there were exceptions to this rule. In some localities the Socialist vote held its own, and even gained largely. In nearly all these places where gains occurred it is the Reform kind of Socialism which prevails.

in striking contrast with this, where Revolutionary Socialism was put forward most strongly, in platform and campaign, there were distinct losses in votes, or only

WHY REFORM SOCIALISM SUCCEEDS NOW

All over the country just now there is a great wave of Reform sentiment. President Roosevelt represents it, and it makes him popular. He is against railroad rebates; he would check monopoly; he is down on "graft."

Hearst represented this Reform sentiment in his can didacy as Mayor of New York. He was openly for municipal ownership. He was charged by his opponents with being a Socialist. He captured a great many Reform Socialist votes which had been given to Debs and Hanford in 1904.

In New York City, notice, the Socialist ticket lost votes to Hearst.

Now the New York Socialist party was controlled by Revolutionary Socialists.

Had the New York Socialist party stood for Reform So cialism, it would undoubtedly have held many votes which

THIS SHOWS THE DIFFERENCE

In New York City, Hearst stood for Reform Socialism. As a consequence, he captured the Reform Socialist vote. It was claimed by some Socialists that the New York Socialist Party made a great mistake. They ought to have put forward a Reform Socialist platform and captured the Hearst thunder, so the Reform Socialists main Then they might have equalled or exceeded the Debs vote. In this claim the Reform Socialists are prob

If the Socialists take advantage of the great tidal wave toward Public Ownership as a preventive of Monopoly and Graft, they can undoubtedly gain thousands of votes, and even win many municipal victories.

(The above was written in 1906. The results of the na-

tional election in 1908 illustrated the same truth. The Re form Socialists voted for Bryan under the influence of Gompers, while the Revolutionary Socialists held their own in their best centers. But the general vote for ebs fell far below expectations. The consequence is a renewed de mand for a Program of Reforms.)

WOULD THIS BE SOCIALISM?

That is the question. The Revolutionary Socialist denies that such victories would be Socialist victories. He claims that Reform Somailsm is not Socialism at

The Revolutionary socialist claims that "Municipal Socialism" is not true Socialism.

The Revolutionary Socialist claims that Public Ownership is not Socialism. He says they have had that in Russia for years, but no Socialism by a long shot.

So then you see there are two kinds of Socialism in this country, Reform and Revolutionary.

The question is, which kind is the real kind? Which kind deserves the name Socialism? Which kind ought you and I to support?

In the following chapters we shall take up first one kind and then the other, their principles and their tactics, so as to make perfectly plain what they both stand for and which is most likely to win.

Chapter II. -- First Principle of Revolutionary Socialism

The Principles of Revolutionary Socialism are themselves

They are not generally understood, even among workingmen, who should be the first to understand them.

There are probably not ten thousand people in the United States who thoroughly understand the simple Principles

of Revolutionary Socialism.

The reason is, these principles are too revolutionary for the popular papers and magazines to print. They are too dangerous to allow the people to read.

The brief outline of the Principles of Revolutionary Socialism contained in the following chapters should be mastered by every workingman in America. If he understands this much, nobody can lead him astray. He will know more than his capitalist teachers.

"REVOLUTIONARY" BUT NOT "BLOODY."

What the word "Revolutionary" means will appear before this discussion is ended. But we want to say now it is not the same as "Bloody." There may be such thing as a Revolution without war, without a resort to arms.

But there can be no revolution such as Socialists expect without a change in the government. With or without war, the Socialist Revolution will be a political Revolution.

Revolutionary Socialism aims first of all to capture the state, to effect a Revolution in the government. Socialists are in politics. They are organizing first,

not into Labor Unions or Co-operative Associations or

Colonies or Churches but into a Political Party to capture the powers of government.

Revolutionary Socialism proposes to win possession of all the offices in the nation, state and city, of the Presidency, the House of Representatives, the Senate, the Supreme Court, the Army and Navy, the Treasury, the power of taxation, the power of life and death, the control of property; in a word, the Power to Rule, now known as the State or the government.

Revolutionary Socialism means more than this, as we shall explain later. But it has no meaning at all if it does not mean the overthrow of the present government and the substitution of another government in its-place.

It expects to do all this by the baflot, in a peaceful manner. Only in case of armed and unlawful resistance by the government defeated at the polls, do Socialists anticipate a Revolutionary War.

When once the people of the United States have voted that a Working Class Government shall take the place of a Capitalist Class Government, revolutionary Socialists expect the old government to retire reaceably and to yield lawfully to the will of the majority. But if the old Class government refuses to surrender to the new, then unquestionably there will be a War of Revolution.

FOUR GREAT PRINCIPLES.

Revolutionary Socialism covers a multitude of details as wide as life itself, but four great questions include all the

First. The Question of Science. Second. The Question of Property.

Third. The Question of Classes.

Fourth. The Question of Government

Mark these four! If you accept what Revolutionary Socialism has to say about the first question, namely, the Science Question, you will have to accept what it says on the Property Question.

And if you accept its principles on the Property Question, you will inevitable understand the Class Onestion and the Class Question includes the Government Ques-

The whole four stand or fall together

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM IS SCIENTIFIC.

The very first principle of Revolutionary Socialism includes all the rest

It is this: YOU MUST BE SCIENTIFIC IN YOUR METHOD This does not mean, you must be learned in the school

learning, highly educated, able to explain scientific terms, skilled in chemistry or astronomy, or even able to spell every word in the English language. It only means that the attitude of the Revolutionary

Socialist toward all subjects is the scientific attitude, the modern scientific attitude in contrast with the ancient superstitions, attitude The scientific man never guesses at anything. He al-

ways requires proof. He will believe anything if the facts prove it to him. He will believe nothing unsupported by

The superstitious man believes what looks to him reasonable without waiting for the slow proof from facts.

Continued on Page Two

THE WOLVES

Mayor Miller of Seattle the other day, fat upon the profits of her toil when tunist "Independents" and Impossi Every animal that preys on other she was a working girl living miser-bilist "Insurgents." animals is in hiding

human animal.

at the theater, in the grand stand quarry. In the factory he boldly swag-

The wolf, Mayor Miller, may be hidden, but not so the human wolf, He comes boldly forth as the plaintiff in injunction suits, as a member of the Citizens Alliance, as a member of eral Meeting of the Stockholders of the Employers Associations. He holds the Trustee Printing Company will be dents," in which they actually attempt

destiny of the working class should 1909. be left in the hands in which God has placed it. His flunkeys shout in presidential messages that every far sighted patriot deplores the growth of that

out and speaks of "MY business

The fact is, Mayor Miller, that you made a mistake in identifying the ani mal who preys upon other animals. animal who preys, Mayor, is not the woman you have driven from the tenderioin who has gone elsewhere

"To eat the bread of infamy And take the wage of shame

ably upon a pittance

The men and women of prey flout conscience making him ashamed, but being that McCorkle under the direct themselves in automobiles. In the box because the plundered farmer knows tion of the Carpenters' Union Itaeli who steals his sheep and devours his took charge of a non-union job and calves. The human wolf may some unionized it by going on a "one mar The boss of the department store time hide, Mayor Miller, not because strike" for that purpose, a most re struts, fat and pompous, before his squeezing labor is an infraction of markable and courageous perform State Committee referendum closing love and equity; but because class ance, which defeated and enraged his consciousness DOES grow, and your employer, J. M. Frink, one of the worst "far sighted patriot" can go hang.

ARTHUR B. CALLAHAM.

You are hereby notified that a Genhis head high, and throws his chest held at the office of the Company, 1620 to threaten and bribe Lewis to take Fourth Avenue, Rear, Seattle, Wash, sides with themselves, by offering to

important matters will come before

All Stockholders not able to attend ersonally may be represented by

and payable. Delinquent Stockholders are requested to remit immediately.

BURGESS' PAPER

Brown, print a second issue of Sup-last bubbles from a drowned cat, pressed Facts' in which Burgess actually defends Walter Thomas Mills and "Wolves are always hidden," said but the smug employer who grew celebrates the union of the Oppor

As a sample of the truthfulness o Every animal, perhaps, except the I wish, Mayor, that you were right the publication, we notice it calls Mc-The wolf hides not from some innate Corkle "the boss of scabs"; the fact union haters in Seattle.

> A second sample of "Suppresse Facts" is found in a letter to Ed. J. Lewis, of Portland, written by Parks ington, 7:30 p. m., Monday, May 17, withdraw Parks' suit against Lewis for assault and battery. Pretty raw! You are requested to be present as Evidently they mistook their man.

> > publication of the charge against E. B. Mr. Hermon F. Titus, Seattle, Wash. Ault as a "defaulter." With respect to this, we believe Ault should at once institute an action for criminal libel against every one of the signers of of the earth long enough last summer this charge and against the editors to leave a souvenir behind him in the and publishers of the paper itself, shape of a rumor to the effect that, against such malicious liars is to hold winter Tom Sladden "got away with author of said "rumor" belongs to cretary, them responsible in the Capitalist money collected from widows and those who called Jesus Christ a devil. 30th or June 6th, or both.

In a

Burgess and Parks, assisted by Facts" is duliness itself, and, like the to the matter in the presence of vis serves only to remind us that the "P.-I." Socialists are dead.

Socialist Party of Washington is now occupied by Comrade Waynick of Bellingham, as Secretary pro tem. the members of Local Klamath Falls Comrade Krueger has gone to the have the utmost confidence in the sir in 10 days is out to proceed to the in regard to the above mentioned mat election of a permanent secretary. A State Party Referendum which will occupy some 60 days is also out to restore Krueger to his former position endums ought to carry.

The State Convention is called for July 3 at Everett.

"LYING RUMOR."

Klamath Falls, Or., April 28, 1909. Dear Comrade: Some itinerant horny-handed son of-toll-from the Sound country tarried in these ends

general way. "Suppressed ing happily (?) "inspired," referred itors at the last meeting of the Local

Therefore, the Local desires me to write to some of the Seattle com rades, with a view to knocking this lying rumor in the head-for such we know it is-and burying it so effectu ally that neither here nor hereafte shall either men or angels "Roll the stone from its grave away."

exists in every Local in every land, rade Sladden.

'We should be glad to hear from yo Hoping to hear from you at th

earliest date possible, I am, yours for the Revolution in the shortest space of time possible, KITTY SPARGUR HULSE.

N. B. Should be greatly obliged if of "The Socialist" containing a pic ture of Comrade Sladden taken while in jall in Seattle. Came out during which if maintained will carry Christmas week, 1908, I think.

Editor's Reply. Tom Sladden got nothing in Seattle Street Fight except earth. We are ashamed to say that he was not paid enough from the Street Fight Fund even to cover his expenses. He went destitute rather state on the 20th and will civilize it?" only way to protect one's self during the street fight in Seattle last than let his needs be known. The

NOW'S THE TIME

Day edition of "The Socialist" were printed and distributed. Five thousand extra copies of this issue are being printed Judge, Secretary of State and Adjumountains to recover his health. A cerity, honesty and loyalty of Com- to fill present and prospect- escape prosecution. Workingmen are ive orders. Since the resumption of regular publication from the Proletariat, but it is good to subscriptions and orders for prod 'em a bit, as our Bellingham correspondent does here—Ed. literature and printing have "Grim-visaged war hath smoothed his taken a decided turn for the better. A general interest you could send me a copy of the issue in the welfare of the paper seems to have been aroused He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber

Two thousand four hun-

"Still fighting!"

Haywood is due in this speak in Seattle either on the is a joke.

us through to permanent suc-

Hall and definite date for dred extra copies of the May Haywood given next week.

APROPOS GEN. HAMILTON.

Republicans officials of the State of Washington, including Supreme Court tnat General are resigning to not specially concerned in this fight

wrinkled front;

And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds To fright the souls of fearful adver-

saries, To the lascivious pleasing of a lute

There is a picture in our mind's eve of the Investigating Committee singing blushingly and sweetly: "Oh, bunches just like you," while throwing side glances at Schively, Nichols,

Who said "war is hell and you can't The saying must be revised. War

H. G. CUPPLES. 2505 D St., Bellingham.

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM AND REFORM SOCIALISM

if he sees something he cannot explain, like table-tipping or a shooting star, or a financial panic, or a municipal ownership craze, the superstitious man begins to work out some explanation in his mind, or he accepts, without any thinking at all, the explanation of the crowd he is with. But the scientific man forms no opinion whatever He walts for an investigation which will bring out the

FACTS EVERYTHING, THEORIES NOTHING.

To the scientific man, facts are everything theories nothing, even though they may be his own or his own

To the superstitious man, theories, especially if conse crated by centuries of belief and universally accepted, are regarded with respect and even reverence. He is horrifled. indignant vindictive at the scientific man who discovers new facts and disproves his ancient pet theories.

a matter of fifty years since Darwinism, or the Evolution ary Theory of the Universe, was received with horror, anger and vituperation, by the superstitious and unscientific mass of men.

Why has the theory of Evolution won its way to belief? BECAUSE IT IS SUPPORTED BY THE FACTS?

Darwin spent years hunting for facts; he laboriously studied the habits of pigeons and recorded accurately all he observed of pigeon life, before he published his book on the Origin of Species.

The facts were with Darwin. Nobody could deny his facts. He formed his theory from observed and recorded and indisputable facts.

Therefore, the world has come to agree with Darwin. You cannot fight a fact. The superstitious man, with all his beautiful and hoary theories, must always give way to the scientific man who has no preconceived theories to es tablish, but only a host of established facts from which to derive any theory which will best explain those facts.

ABREAST OF THE MODERN ERA.

This scientific attitude toward all subjects, which forces a man to believe what the facts support, even against all his cherished theories and against his own interests also, an attitude which characterizes the modern era of thought as compared with the ancient era, this is the atti tude of Revolutionary Socialism. It founds all its theories and beliefs and principles upon the facts of society as dis covered by the most rigid investigation.

This is the foundation principle. By the Scientific Method Revolutionary Socialism stands or falls. All its principles are derived, like the law of gravitation, from observed and recorded and accepted facts, the facts of history and of human life. It has no dreams, no schemes

The socialism of the dist pair of the nineteenth century was Utopian, unscientific, with ready-made plans to reor ganize society unbased upon the facts of social history. Many Socialists of the twentieth century really belong

to this ancient school of early Socialists. They think and dream and idealize according to inherited methods and prejudices. They do not belong in the modern scientific world. They brush aside facts if they don't fit theories But the Scientific Socialist brushes aside all theories that don't fit the facts.

ALL PRINCIPLES TESTED BY FACTS. What the Revolutionary Socialist believes on the Prop

erty Question stands or falls by the actual property relations discovered in ancient or modern society. What the Revolutionary Socialist believes on the Ques

tion of Classes in Society, is no theory based on the De claration of Independence or on the demands of justice or fraternity or on popular rights, but wholly and only on an exhaustive study and analysis of society, ancient and

When the Revolutionary Socialist announces his principles on the subject of Government, he does not assume that any particular form of government is right and just and then proceed to fight to obtain that which is right and just in government. He takes nothing at all for granted. He studies history to find out facts. If he finds that the American government has never been "of, by and for the people," and was never intended to be such; if he finds that there never was on earth any ap proach to such a popular government; if he finds the facts of history disprove all the current fine theories about democracy, the Revolutionary Socialist is first of all scientific and will make his principles on the question of government conform strictly to the ascertained facts.

DARWINISM AND MARXISM

The first principle, then, of Revolutionary Socialism is that it accepts the Modern Scientific Method. It stands in the front rank of progress.

need to know about that age. In a word, the Relations of Property constitute about

to live and be prosperous. Marxism, like Darwinism, must be accepted and

women in all ages clamber over each other in pursuit of food and shelter and all that they imply. What is a whole cityful of people doing, in office, stor

and factory? It is one mighty struggle for wealth, f property. Your churches, your courts, your clubs, all revolve around the one center of Property. It was always so since men ceased to be savages, since

and all those varied riches which constitute the world's

PREJUDICES MUST YIELD TO FACTS.

This common sense view of history is offensive to man; people who have been taught that history was made by ideas, rather than that ideas are made by history. Bu the modern scientific view of history has dissipated the old superstitious view that great men and great ideas contro the progress of the race.

We know now that the controlling factor in the develop ment of man on the earth is the way he makes his living When he made his living by agriculture, as in America a hundred years ago, his thoughts, his ideals, his ambitions, his habits, even his religion and his government, were entirely different from those of the present day, when he makes his living chiefly by machinery and the factory

This view of things, making all history dependent on the production of property, is known as "The Materialist Conception of History" or "The Economic Interpretati of History." It was first definitely propounded by Marx and Engels in 1848 and is now pretty generally recognized

In accord with this view of history, difficult and distress ing as it may seem to the reverent holder of old theories it must be said that the discovery of the steam engine and power loom and all the related modern machinery, has done far more to change the face of the world than the birth of Jesus or the campaigns of Napoleon.

If we hold to the scientific method which is the first principle of Revolutionary Socialism, our theories, however dear and cherished, must yield to the facts.

THE NEW LAW OF HISTORY.

We repeat, the history of the world is the history of This may be termed the Law of History and is frequently

named as one of the main principles of Socialism. It is true it was first formulated by those twin Socialist investigators, Marx and Engels. But it is capable of a nonrevolutionary application, as Prof. Seligman has applied

it in his recent book on the subject.

Besides, the Revolutionary Socialist can confine himself to the naked, concrete facts of life, which nobody can deny or mis-apply.

It is the property relations of the present day with which we of the present day are chiefly concerned. We illustrate and fortify our observations by reference to the past out of which the present has been born. But the economic conditions of the nations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries furnish our field of study.

In all this great modern society, there is one stupendous fact, towering like a mountain peak above the multitude of ordinary facts. This Fact of Facts constitutes the Second Principle of Revolutionary Socialism.

SECOND PRINCIPLE STATED.

IN OUR AGE, AS IN ALL AGES SINCE THE EARLI-EST. PROPERTY IS NOT HELD BY THE WORKERS WHO CREATED IT. That is the second great principle of Revolutionary So-

This seems a very simple fact. It is very simple. So is a man's cerebro-spinal column. But it is central and when you understand it, you understand about all there is to a

Let us state again this second principle, in different THE WEALTH OF THE WORLD IS NOT POSSESSED BY THOSE WHO MADE IT.

This was not always so. Assuming human beings to have lived on the earth for one hundred thousand years, a moderate estimate, then for ninety-five thousand of those years, the men and women who produced the property possessed It is only during the last five thousand years, more or

less, that property has passed out of the hands of those whose work created it. All races of men that survive pass through certain stages.

Savagery, Barbarism, Civilization, the latter itself including three stages, Slave Labor, Serf Labor, Wage Labor Japan is just emerging from Serf Labor to Wage Labor. So is Russia. But England passed out of Serf Labor two centuries ago, the transition to Wage Labor being almost a century earlier in England than anywhere else. That is why Marx studied Wage Labor and its counterpart, Capital, in London.

SLAVE LABOR, SERF LABOR, WAGE LABOR.

It is evident to everybody that Slave Labor did not pos sess its own product. The slave produced food and armor and palaces and luxuries for his masters, but never had any surplus of his own. All the slave got was his "keep." So with Serf Labor in the age of Feudalism. The serf was bound to the soil on which he labored for himself a

certain number of days and the balance of the time for his lord. All the serf got was his living, like the slave. The lord got the balance of the product and was thus the only property holder.

It is no different with Wage Labor in the present day The wage worker gets his living, no more, like the slave and the serf. The balance of his product goes to his employer, the capitalist, who thus, and thus only, becomes the holder of property, wealth which he did not himself create.

It will be said we have taken no account of the farmer in this sketch of history.

But the independent farmer, owning his farm and pro ducing wealth for his family, who has himself been the greatest product of the vast landed domain thrown open to he old world by the discovery of America, this noble rac of independent farmers form an exception, a sporadic offshoot, in the world's history.

He was due to special conditions and he is no longer the dominant factor in American life. Already in 1900, the U. S. census showed the agricultural products to be only about

America has now become a land of wage labor, even the farmers themselves employing an increasing number of wage workers year by year.

THE PRINCIPLE STATED AGAIN.

More definitely let us now state our Revolutionary Fact. THE PRODUCT OF WAGE LABOR PASSES IMMEDI-ATELY INTO THE HANDS OF CAPITAL. The wage worker never gets the product of his own toil

In the very act of producing property, he delivers it all to his employer-save only his wages, barely enough to sup-MODERN PROPERTY IS THEREFORE UNPAID LA-

The Socialist asserts, this is the most stupendous fact of nodern times. It explains all other social facts. Without it, no other social fact can be explained.

With this fact as guide and key, you will understan municipal ownership, you will understand "Graft," you will understand Trusts and Rockefeller and Lawson and even arst and Tammany and the "Red Light District."

THE TRUE "FRENZIED FINANCE."

Thos. W. Lawson is easy to explain in the light of this central fact. He is a stock broker and his famous exposures of the methods of Wall street, showing up what he

called "The System," by which "Standard Oil" and Rogers and Clark and Lawson made millions in a day, roused the American public to indignant project against such methods

But nobody claims that Rogers or Lawson or Wail street create the millions of value they gamble with. It is "Made Wealth" indeed, to use Lawson's expression.

The men who do the world's work, of course. LABOR CREATES ALL WEALTH, BUT DOES NOT GET IT. That

These colossal struggles in the business world, by which the enormous fortunes of America have been piled up, are struggles among Property holders for the mass of Proerty which its creators have never had a chance to possess. You, the workers, made all the millions these business men fight over, while you get, what? Your living, your wages That and that only

's the "Made Wealth" you never read of in all the Magazines and Dailles. This is the Revolutionary Fact the whole capitalist world is hiding from the workers. State it in still another form: WHILE WAGE LABOR

A SIMPLE SUM IN ARITHMETIC.

Compute what this means for the U. S. Steel Corpora-

tion, for example. Suppose they employ a hundred thousand workers a one dollar a day wages, a total of One Hundred Thousand Dollars a day paid in wages. These workers each create a value of two dollars a day, that is, Property enough to be worth in the market an average of two dollars a day for every worker or Two Hundred Thousand Dollars a

These workers for the Steel Corporation therefore create Property to the amount of Two Hundred Thousand Dollars per day, but receive only One Hundred Thousand Dollars per day for themselves, leaving the Second Hundred Thousand Dollars' worth of the wealth they created in the hands of the Steel Corporation. That means, in a year's time of 300 days, the U.S. Steel

Corporation receives Property which the workers created. and for which they were paid nothing, to the vast amount of Thirty Millions.

Both these estimates are on the basis of the unpaid labor being exactly equal to the paid labor. If the unpaid labor is twice the paid labor, or five times the paid labor, as under improved machinery is often the case, then the Un-

paid Labor of the U. S. Steel Corporation in every year People. will amount to sums ranging from 60 millions to 300 mil-This is the perennial source of the fabulous accumulations of Property in the nineteenth and twentieth centur-

HIGH PRICES, HIGH RENTS, HIGH TAXES.

over in Wall street.

ies. This is where the capitalists get their wealth to fight

Under the present system of Wage Labor, exactly as under the past systems of Slave Labor and Serf Labor, the creators of wealth never possess that wealth. All the surplus above their own subsistence belongs to the class of Property Holders.

Questions of rent, questions of prices, questions of taxes do not affect this question of Wages. The Law of Wages goes on working whether rents or taxes or street car fares be high or low. These questions concern the propertied man, but not the wage man. THE WAGE MAN WILL GET NO PROPERTY SO LONG AS THE WAGE SYSTEM CON-TINUES.

Of course, we speak of the Wage Man as a class. Individuals may, with utmost frugality and sacrifice, secure a "modest competence." even though that is increasingly difficult. But the class of Wage Earners can never become possessed of Property. The Law of Wages gives them only a bare living. The Capitalist Class gets all the rest.

HERE IS THE PROOF

You ask for proof of these startling assertions? We re fer you to the scientific works we named at the beginning of this chapter, especially to Marx's "Capital."

There you will find that the Wage Worker creates firs his own value, that is, his wages, which he gets, and then a surplus value which "the other fellow" gets This "Surplus Value" is never paid for by the capitalist in any way whatever. This "Surplus Value" or "Unpaid

Labor" constitutes his "profit" Here again we speak of the Capitalist Class as a class. This class as a whole gets the "Profit" or "Unpaid Labor," making, because of the enormous productive capacity of modern machinery, a teeming worldful of wealth to fight or among themselves, the very battle-ground of "Frenzied

In Marx's "Capital," you will find it proved by the most rigid and scientific examination of Modern Capitalist production, that a wage worker sells his "Labor Power" to a capitalist for a given time at a given price, his wages, say eight hours for four dollars. That in a portion of that time. it may be four hours or two hours, the worker produces value enough to pay his own wages. That for the rest of the time, four hours or six hours, he produces "Surplus Value" for his employer, for which he receives nothing at

You will also find it proved that the wages or the price of Labor Power can never rise permanently above the subsistence level, because, like any other commodity, Labor Power can never bring, in the competitive market, more than its own "cost of production." that is, enough to buy the necessaries of life for the Working Class itself.

A MATTER OF FACT, NOT OF ETHICS In closing this chapter, we repeat that we are not now

discussing the "Rights of Property," so much talked of in capitalist literature. We only seek to know the Facts of Property in our own

Whether it is right or not for Capital to have all Property and for Labor to have only a living, the Revolutionary Socialist does not discuss. That is a question of ethical standards, involving abstract distinctions and endless disputes about "Right" and "Wrong." Revolutionary Socialism lays down as a Fact, indisput ably and scientifically settled, that Property in these mod

ern times of Wage Labor, precisely like Property in former

times of Slave Labor and Serf Labor, is never possessed

by the Working Class, which creates it, but by the master class, which appropriates it. Let the consequences or inferences be what they may this is the Fact.

Chapter IV. - aird Principle of Rev jonary Soci n

"The People!" The populatines and dailies are always charming us with the words, "The People!" A swarm of writers in the st monthles are fight ing the battles of "The Pec annard Baker has the "Railroads on Trial" for the of 'The People." Lincoin Steffens exposes "Grat herican cities—for the benefit of "The People." | Iward Russell travels over Europe to discover "E of the Common Good," that is, Soldiers for "The Graham Phillips lays bare "The Treason of the also for the benefit of "The People." While Bro on labors in frenzied travail to unfold his "Rem the ille which afflict

"The People." It is the word to conjure | he People." Yet nobody stops to ask, "The People"? In old Rome 2,000 years a alked about "The People," too. But they never i he slaves in the term. Yet the slave population in rest "The People" in Ro the people who had

property, whether Patrician

classes, separated by the p

really include the Wage Cl.

The Revolutionary Social

A hundred or more years rance, there was much enthusiasm for the cause People" and for "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. he franchise was restricted to those people while It is no different in Am lay. "The People" of Lawson, Steffens & Co. ar. payers, the great mid-

die class, the solid business ao are supposed to con stitute the backbone of the ary Socialist proposes to . The People" of thes middle class writers is a ferent thing from the whole American people. The Revolutionary Social is his first and last princil shows the facts are,

the American people are of two great distinct

not allow these bourgeois authors to pose as a of "The People" with cut exposing their real me The Socialist will not be it by a popular phrase He knows there are only classes in modern society, that "The People" pitalist press does not

It is a snare and a delug see a word in a double "The People." as used in the Propertied People. Bu stand it to include us, the eople, the Propertiless

These magazine writers literal writers in the Hearst sort of newspaper lieve they mean the whole They have been educated in a Middle Class at e and naturally regard the Middle Class, which us the chief class in Amer-

ple." unless they tell exact
It is the object of this constitute the population show precisely what it is violated. It is the population in the state of the population in the state of the population in the state of the population in the populatio

ed and double-meaning phrase, "The People," but a modern scientific lan

THIRD PRN STATED.

MODERN SOCIETY IN TILIZED NATIONS, IS DIVIDED INTO TWO CL WITH OPPOSING IN-TERESTS, BASED ON T SION OF PROPERTY. THE PROPERTIED CLAS IN AS THE CAPITAL. THE PROPERTILESS CLASS, KNOWN AS THE PROPERTILESS

past the most direful am influences which have brought about the downfal ablics."

FACT NO. 7. Modern Society is therefore divided by the property line into two classes, the Wage Class who o a bare living and the Capitalist Class who get all the rest. il classes do really con Class Spirit is really becord rer in these struggling accepts the facts in classes which are dangerous to American institutions

UNITED STATES CENSUS DEFICIENT.

The census statistics are not compiled by the Wage Class. The census superintendent is appointed by a cap italist government. Hence, this division of the populs tion into classes is ignored.

tic Animals," but no computation of the total number of is reasonably safe to assert that of people over 10 years of age the Wage Class in the United States numbers some Twenty Millions, men, women and children, while the Capitalist Class amounts to about half that number, some

NATURAL ANTAGONISM OF CLASSES.

are not partners, but antagonists, just as slaves and masters were antagonists, not partners.

The Wage Class of Twenty Millions does the work, pro-

enough for all to be rich, and actually producing enough

On the left hand. Ten Million other people, appropriating to themselves what the Twenty Million create by their labor, allowing the Twenty Million only a bare subsistence. just enough to keep on working and producing.

A QUESTION OF POWER.

These 20 million are more powerful than those 10 mil-

There is no doubt about that. Twenty million able bodied persons are stronger than ten million. This is the fact which is dangerous to the Republic. Th Revolutionary Socialist does not deny it. How will Mr. Roosevelt deal with this Revolutionar Fact? Preaching at it will not change it. Even shooting

The Terrible Thing is there. Nothing will change it, till the 20 Million master the 10 Million, as the Capitalist Class did the Feudal Class a hundred and more years ago. The next chapter will continue this subject of Classe outlining their subdivisions and explaining their relation to existing governments.

Chapter V. -- Fourth Principle of Revolutionary Socialism

We come now to the statement of our Fourth Great Revo lutionary Fact. It is in some respects the most startling of all, because it deals with the question of government and strikes at the roots of ordinary patriotism.

Yet, however startling or revolutionary this fact may be, no person can be foolish enough to resent it. If it is indeed a fact, every one must accept it as such, whatever the consequences.

THE PRINCIPLE STATED.

AND IS NOW A POLICE FORCE MAINTAINED BY THE PROPERTIED CLASS TO COMPEL THE WORKING CLASS (Slaves or Serfs or Proletarians) TO CREATE WEALTH FOR THE PROPERTIED CLASS TO ENJOY. This fact contradicts all prevalent ideas of government. especially of so-called "popular government!"

discovered, contradicted all prevalent ideas that it was

Just as the fact that the earth revolves around the sun contradicted all prevalent ideas, held only 300 years ago, that the sun revolved around the earth. Just as the fact that the human race has existed on the

by science beyond a doubt during the last 50 years, conwas created about five thousand years ago.

ing way to newly discovered facts. That is the progress Read the scientific works named at the beginning of Chapter III, especially Morgan's "Ancient Society" and Engels' "Origin of the State," and you will find ample

Compared with the full term of man's existence on the earth, the State or Government, is of modern origin. It

During all the earlier ages, while men were gradually reeping up through Savagery and Barbarism to Civilization, a period of some 95,000 years, there was no such thing as Property in the modern sense of privately owned wealth, hence no such thing as a Propertied Class living

The reign of property introduced the reign of the State or the government of the class possessing but not producing wealth over the class producing but not possessing

What we call ancient governments, of Greece and Rome

America was discovered. Property was common property. There were no classes. The People were all together, one people, no divisions along property lines and no "State.

CIVILIZATION AND THE STATE

people became civilized, they needed no government. thing. But we are not arguing the goodness or badness of anything. We are only pointing out the Facts.

Government is contemporaneous with civilization. Until

ditioned on the existence of economic classes. The baronial governments of the "Middle Ages" in Europe and of the Feudal era in any nation are obviously class institutions. The lords and ladies, the knights of chivalry and the prelates of the church were plainly a Workless Class exercising authority over the Working

The race never stands still, is never in any one year what it was the year before. The institutions of Society are clothes put on in one century to be discarded when worn out in the next. Civilization itself is only a passing phase of human history. There have been various phases of civilization. The

Slave age of civilization has passed. The Serf age of civilization is gone. The Wage Age of Civilization is passing The Stream of Social life flows on, ever making new his-Because there have been governments, is no reason to

The scientific man, the man of common sense, lays aside all superstitious reverence for institutions, even if they are 5,000 years old, and faces the naked facts concerning

If Government is a class institution, if civilization itself is the class phase of history, we learn the facts with equanimity and remodel our ideas to correspond.

18TH CENTURY IDEAS.

The truth is, nearly all the present popular ideas of government are derived from the 18th Century, and the 18th Century of France at that. Rousseau, as unscientif as a savage, breathing dreams and Utopias, is the true father of most of the prevalent notions about the origin of the State.

Poetical rhapsodies in praise of man's "original state of source of Profit and Property. nature" and imaginary pictures of ten thousand Robinson It cannot be too often repeated, nor too emphtaically re-Crusoes associating themselves to establish a government peated, that the vast accumulations of wealth possessed by "of, by and for the people," are now seen to be only childish conceits. History was not made that way. History has been a war of economic classes and the ruling class of any age has upheld itself by an army, by

laws, by magistrates, courts, officers, taxes, in a word, by protect Property and the class that held it. This is an entirely new view of Government or the worker, the proletarian. State. But it is the scientific view and the only key to

session of the wealth they both together have wrested from the wage worker, is now progressing fiercely. CAN IT BE TRUE OF THE U. S. GOVERNMENT?

We have been taught in America that our governmen was different from the old world monarchies. We think a Republic must be a government by the people, not the government of a class. America is the "Land of the Free," they tell us.

Again the Facts prick our bubbles of fond delusion. The Constitution of the United States is now shown by scientific historians to be a class document. We find the framers of this revered instrument kept their

debates secret, not allowing their publication till they were all dead. We find the minutes of those debates of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, published in 1839, show the United States Constitution to have been framed, in the words of Delegate, afterward President, Madison, in o der "TO PROTECT THE MINORITY OF THE OPULENT

The Constitution was a reaction from the "turbulent democracy" of the Declaration of Independence. The revolutionary fervor of the Declaration in 1776 did indeed represent the democratic spirit of a people largely agricultural and homogeneous and economically independent, among

But the Constitution thirteen years later was made by the large land owners of the South, by the trading inte ests of the coast, by the rising capitalist class, in order to protect themselves against the majority of the producers These statements can be verified by any one who wil take the trouble to read Elliott's Debates of the Federal Convention, to be found in any good library

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION ADAPTED TO CLASS RULE.

The two great modern classes defined in our last chapter did not exist in America when the constitution was framed. The Capitalist Class and the Wage Class have become clearly marked in America as two comprehensive

warring classes only since the Civil war of 1861-65. But the United States Constitution, framed, as it was, by the "opulent minority" of that day to "protect itself against the majority," has been an admirable tool for Governme by the Modern Capitalist Class over the Modern Wage

The Capitalist Class is entrenched in the Senate, as every one knows. It is a Millionaire's Club. The Capitalist Class, by its intellectual servants, the professional politicians and lawyers, controls the House of

Representatives. If these two legislative bodies, representing strictly the dominant economic class, ever passed a law in any degree favoring the Wage Class, the Supreme Court, holding life positions, far aloof from popular currents, have full power to declare it unconstitutional.

There can be no question that the United States government as at present constituted is a government of the Capitalist Class in which the Wage Class have no voice.

The Wage Class cannot break away from the hard Law of Wages, which allows them only a mere living, because they are bound hand and foot by a powerful governmen courts, legislatures, army, sheriffs, armed with the terrible modern 'machine gun." all constituting a Police Force in the hands of Capital to compel Labor to go on creating wealth for the Capitalist Class to enjoy.

seen to be exactly what government always was, an instrument of physical force in the hands of Property to compel the Propertiless to create wealth for its enjoyment.

PARTY GOVERNMENT EXPLAINED.

If there are but two great Social Classes in the United States, as shown in our last chapter, namely the Capitalist Class and the Wage Class, then how is it we find two politi cal parties, Republican and Democratic, both representing the Capitalist Class, with wage workers divided between the two

If the Lalists constitute one class with common inter ests opposed to the interests of the wage workers, why have we not two great political parties representing these two opposing class interests? There are two reasons. First, the Proletarians are ig-

norant of their own class interests. The Capitalists use all their vast machinery of newspaper, book, pulpit, school lecture, to keep the workers in ignorance and hence divided between two political parties, neither of which stands for

The second reason the political parties are not yet div'ded along the great class lines of Bourgeois and Prole tarian, is the existence of two sub-classes in the Capitalist Class itself.

Prior to the American Civil War, the Democratic Party stood for the Southern Slave-holding Class, the Republican Party stood for the Northern Capitalist Class. Wage Sla very was more profitable than Chattel Slavery, moder capitalist production more prolific of Property than the more primitive processes of slave production which had productive process drove out the ancient process, as ma

Since the war, the Republican Party has stood consist ently, and hence victoriously, for the rapidly developing Capitalist Class. The Democratic Party has stood, more or

chinery drives out hand labor.

The Proletarian Class have stood ignorantly by and cast their votes on both sides according to the amuont of Republican or Democratic protestations of friendsh.p for the workers.

PRESENT MIDDLE CLASS REACTION.

Within recent years, the lines of sub-class interests within the Capitalist Class have become more sharply drawn. The "Middle Class" is composed of the small capitalists who are being crushed out in the fierce competition with

the great capitalists. This Middle Class are capitalists just the same as their

competitors, the great capitalists. They all, small and great, procure their profits ultimately from the Wage Class. If the Wage class were to triumph and abolish their own exploitation by the Capitalist Class, then both small and large capitalists would lose their

the Property Holders, large and small together, come from the only value producing class in the world, namely, the These Workers alone create wealth. They do not retain the wealth they create, but deliver it to their employers.

the Capitalists. Whether the capitalist be large or small, employ many or few, the source of his profit is the wage The fight between the large and small capitalist for pos-

A tremendous attempt is now being made by the Middle Class to save themselves from extinction by the great Capitalist Class. The Anti-Trust war is on. Every year sees the little manufacturers dying by the thousand, surrendering their position as capitalists and bitterly accepting their fate as members of the proletariat.

How it has all happened, they dont' know. They only see the Trust has expropriated them, deprived them of their property, put them out of the class that gets wealth without The United States is now face to face with the death struggle of this modern Hercules, the Capitalist Class. It is divided against itself. It is being strangled by its own child, concentrated capital, or the Trust. Its weak ma

jority, "the Middle Class," is ritted against its strong minority, the Trust Class. The political lines are not yet clearly drawn. The Middle Class are found in both Republican and Democratic parties. Mr. Roosevelt is one of this class. So is Mr. Bryan. So is Mr. Hearst, Mr. Tom Johnson Mr. Folk, Mr. Mayor Dunne, and a host of reformers in both parties. The Middle Class are rapidly gathering themselves to gether about some sort of Public Ownership banner. Some

of them, like Roosevelt, instead of Public Ownership, favor

"Public Control," like the Railroad Rate Bill passed by The new Democratic Party, the party of Hearst and probably Bryan, seeks to check the Trust and save the Middle Class by Public Ownership of the Trust. Let these titanic combinations of Capital, especially those which control the Transportation facilities of the country, the "Public Utilities," be removed from competition with us and

WHICH CLASS SHALL WIN?

This is the political issue now before the American pub

cratic," "Public Ownership," or "Social Democratic," it will not be a Wage Class party. The very last thing which the Middle Class wants is to

any Capitalist Class, large or small. But the Middle Class is still a mighty class. It consists of at least seven millions of men, with trained wits and wills, the product alike of ploneer independence and capitalist competition, welded together by common interests, set in an invincible resolution to save themselves as a Propertied Class, to prevent themselves from being pre-

of this battle among capitalists, the Wage Workers as a

class will have no part in the Government. The Wage System, under which the worker gets a bare will go on just the same under Public Ownership as under Trust Ownership. The restored Middle Class, if it wins, even temporarily, will exploit the wage worker more re-

The Revolutionary Socialist never loses sight of the fact that Government as an institution, so far in the history of the world, is an invention of Property Holders to ex-

tract Property from its producers. He sees that Democracy is the same as Autocracy in this regard. He understands the Constitutional Republics of the United States and France, the non-constitutional Democracy of Great Britain with its figurehead of a Monarch, and the anti-constitutional oligarchy of Russia are all alike a Physical Force exercised by a wealth-holding class to extract wealth for their own use and enjoyment from the class which create it.

TACTICS NEXT.

can deny a fact. If he does, he puts himself outside the circle of rational beings. We do not say these three are all the facts of Socialism. They are simply those which seem most significant to

No conclusions have yet been drawn from these established facts, except incidentally. It will be the aim of some

(The pressure of necessary work under conditions of ill health has prevented these three years the preparation of

subsequent chapters to draw some such conclusions under the title, "Tactics of Revolutionary Socialism."

year in the course of economic and political development.

Because Karl Marx scientifically investigated the facts of human society and formulated its laws of development as Charles Darwin did in the life history of animals other than man, and thus Marx stands with Darwin as one of the twin scientific discoverers of the last century, Revolutionary, Scientific Socialism is sometimes described a Marxian Socialism, or simply Marxism.

lieved, if its facts are well established. No well ordered mind can escape the conclusions of the scientific Method, which is the first principle of Revolutionary Socialism. THIS PRINCIPLE NOT PECULIAR TO SOCIALISM. No, this Scientific Method is not peculiar to Socialism.

Every department of modern science is built upon this

principle. It is the very spirit of our modern time.

But Revolutionary Socialists were the first to apply this Method of Science to the study of human history. They are the only men who yet apply the scientific method rigorously and consistently in the domain of human so

The reason most capitalist historians and Sociologist

have not yet applied the modern method to the investig tion of man's progress on earth is, THAT THE CONCLU-SIONS OF SCIENCE IN THIS FIELD ARE TOO DAN-GEROUS TO EXISTING INSTITUTIONS, TOO REVOLU-

It is precisely because Karl Marx and the Revolutio Socialists, applying the Scientific Method to the study of nan's racial existence, have discovered facts and reached conclusions which, if generally known and admitted would undermine the intellectual foundations of all civilized governments and set up new standards, ethical, educational, religious, judicial; it is for this revolutionary reason alone that economists and historians shrink from applying the Modern Scientific Method to the study of

But the Working Class, as will appear in our late chapters, have every reason to welcome scientific conclusions in social history. These conclusions belong to the Working Class. They have a right to know them, for

they reveal the laws of Working Class Emancipation. When once the Working Class in general learns the con clusions of Modern Science with respect to its development and destiny, nothing can prevent its united action and victory.

ignorance alone stays the progress of the Proletariat in America. 'It is to help dispel this ignorance that these chapters are written. The next chapter will deal with the discoveries of Modern Science with respect to the great question of

Property, or the second principle of Revolutionary So-

ple of Revolutionary Socialism

Remember always the First Principle of Revolutionary

Social facts, that is, facts about Society, are particularly

difficult to discover. It it is hard to locate the source of

He cannot use the microscope or telescope nor bring his

materials into any physical laboratory. To ascertain hi

facts he must first study institutions, customs, religions

governments, laws, tribes, nations, classes, above all or

rather beneath all, methods of production in all ages, agri

Chapter III. -- Second Princi-

Socialism: What are the facts about any subject under discussion? That is the sole question the Socialist asks. But some kinds of facts are very hard to discover. It is easy for anyone to perceive that Malarial Fever is asso clated with swamps. But it required skilled investigators who knew how to use chemical reagents and comp microscopes; to discover that the mosquito is the fatal

channel of malarial infection.

reaching his conclusions.

lingered on the earth.

H. MORGAN.

Marx and Morgan.

one such common disease as Malaria, it is a thousand time harder to trace the essential facts underlying the ills tha afflict Society. It therefore becomes every student of the great organism known as human society to be very modest and slow in

ulture manufacture and the Great Industry of modern imes with its multitudinous statistics. Having by patient, exhaustive study ascertained his of insight and generalization, to deduce therefrom the laws which have controlled human development. The facts and conclusions stated in this chapter, forming the most important principle of Revolutionary Socialism are based upon the observations of two great Scientists of

the nineteenth century, Karl Marx and Lewis H. Morgan

gan in New York. Both studied and investigated for third

years before publishing their matured conclusions. The

Both were born in the year 1818, Marx in Prussia, Mor

whole scientific world now recognizes both as masters in Marx studied Modern Society in London, the leading capitalist city of the world. Morgan studied Ancient So ciety first among the Iroquois tribes of Central New York

These two monumental works, to which the Revolution ary Socialist refers for his facts and challenges dispute, are the following: "CAPITAL, A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION," BY KARL MARX.

"ANCIENT SOCIETY, OR RESEARCHES IN THE

THROUGH BARBARISM TO CIVILIZATION," BY LEWIS

The central facts stated in this and the following chap

ters on Revolutionary Socialism are those established by

Property." Socialists say the rights will take care of them-

We use the word, property, in the popular sense, as when

selves, if we know the facts about property.

LINES OF HUMAN PROGRESS FROM SAVAGERY

and afterwards wherever relics of ancient social forms still

Both these works can be found in all public libraries of purchased of the booksellers. Morgan's book is summar ized and supplemented in "The Origin of the Family, Pri

THE FACTS OF PROPERTY, NOT THE "RIGHTS OF PROPERTY." Capitalists concern themselves about the "Rights of

you ask, "Has he any property?" meaning, "Is he worth anything; does he own any of this world's goods?" In this sense, the Socialist says, the history of property is the history of the world. Tell us how any age has pro duced and owned its wealth, and you have told us all we

all there is to life. The human race is quite like any inividual in that his chief concern is to be fed and clad The world is a vast beehive. Its swarms of men and

of "making wealth."

But these brokers did not make it. Who did make it?

is our Revolutionary Fact.

LASTS. THE WORKERS CAN NEVER GET ANY MORE OF THE PROPERTY THEY CREATE THAN A BARE LIVING. CAPITAL GETS ALL THE REST.

This is the "System" Lawson said nothing about. This

This is on the basis of one dollar a day. If the wages are two dollars a day, the Unpaid Labor will be sixty mil-

> ica, as "The People." But the Middle Class is er "The People." The Wage Class has arisen in to be "The People." to be "The People." It is time everybody sto g this term, "The Peo-

two irreconcilable classes. We shall not use the old guage which will deceive i

> CLASS. President Roosevelt, in 12 ge to Congress, Decen ber, 1905, and since, has a ble to say against the development of Class Spirs country. He says "the growth of Spirit has been in the past the most direful am

> He urges every citizen er "the welfare of the public as a whole," not "the of the particular class to which he belongs." in all this exhorting, till lent is simply fighting were no classes in America would be no danger of Class Spirit. The fact the pirit is growing, as the President sees, is itself president sees, is itself president sees. Socialists, we cannot to repeat, are not such dreamers as to seek to the cts to suit themselves They are not such individe Mr. Roosevelt and the moralists generally, who the say human history with a precept or an exhortation stitute present day society Class Consciousness

scientific manner and prog act in harmony with

FACTS WHICE CLASSES.

Nobody will deny any of owing facts. They are so well known to every the person that to name

Statistics could be quoted bookfull to substantiate

classes: the Revolutionary

them is to prove them.

it as significant.

That is Fact No. 1.

he other three men?

A railroad train, with ter passengers and freight ac-

FACT NO. 2. Machine

every one of these facts. y all come within the range of observation of ex-FACT NO. 1. Machine does the work of the world and produces the wealth.

This is so common a fact out people do not notice

Yet 100 years ago, the in backward places in the still practically unknown. sickle and spin yarn by ha In the most advanced comany, machinery is most in have gradually disappears the still cut wheat with a wheel. England, America, Germany machinery is most in the production is the

A mowing machine will grass as four men with sections: What became of run it, will carry more continent than a hunshoes by hand on the bench. What becomes of the othe

nine hundred? A steam shovel, with three men to guide it, will keep ten teams hauling away dirt, more than thirty men could do with hand shovels. What are the other 27 men doing This is true of all machinery. It does the world's work

dred stage coaches with a hundred men to drive them. What becomes of the other ninety men?

A shoe factory, employing one hundred men, will turn

with less and less men. Every new invention "saves labor," that is, dispenses with laborers. That is Fact No. 2. FACT NO. 3. Machinery is always accompanied by the

This is only to repeat Fact. No. 2. If machinery produces

the same amount of wealth with less men, then less men

are employed. This is true even if more wealth is pro-

duced, for the increase in wealth production never keep pace with the increased productivity of machinery. That is the reason we asked after each illustration under Fact No. 2, What becomes of the men who used to work at hand trades, but who are not needed now that machinery

ing machinery," we are apt to forget the disadvantages The invariable shadow of the Modern Machine is the We wonder why there are so many men tramping around the country. The old people tell us it was not so when they were young. In the good old days, there were no tramps and hoboes. Machinery is the explanation Since its advent, there has always been a Surplus o

When we talk so glibly of the "advantages of labor sav-

Hence every occupation and profession is overcrowded Too many carpenters, too many doctors, too many real estate agents, too many printers, too many saloon keepers, too many brokers, gamblers, insurance agents, clerk solicitors, promoters, lawyers, preachers, editors, trades men and workers of all sorts including prostitutes and

It is the ever-rising tide of machine displaced labor

fighting for a chance to exist.

That is Fact No. 3.

Facts Nos. 2 and 2.

That is Fact No. 4.

Labor, men not needed looking for something to do to

FACT NO. 4. There are always at least two for every Every advertisement for a stenographer or bookkeeper or machinist or street car conductor, is answered by a long line of applicants. Of course, this Fact No 4 follows inevitably from our

The Surplus Army of Labor, not needed by machine

production, are always hunting for "jobs." The working

class in all capitalist countries, like America, have become

The result is, every job has at least two applicants.

practically disinherited. They are always on the move From New York to St. Louis, from Seattle to Los Angeles back and forth, often "beating their way," this pathetic horde of "free laborers" hunt, like hungry animals, for some machine to work on long enough to keep them alive

FACT. NO. 5. Wages are kept at the subsistence level How could it be otherwise? With two men after every job, both of them must live, both of them must have a job to live, one of them is bound to take that job for just enough to keep him alive. There you have the Law of Wages over again, deduced

Taking modern society as a whole, in which Machiner

body of the Unemployed, competing eagerly for the places

to be filled, wages cannot possibly rise permanently much

above what is needed to keep the worker alive.

is the dominant factor, where there is always a surplus

That is Fact No. 5. FACT NO. 6. All the rest of the vast Wealth produced in the Machine Age goes to the employer, the owner of the That must be so, since the worker on the machine gets only his wages, a bare living.

Yet machinery is capable of turning out miraculous

amounts of wealth. That is why this Modern Age is so

rich, beyond the most extravagant dreams of the ancients

Without machinery, a Carnegie or a Rockefeller would have Of this enormous quantity of goods, known as wealth or property, made possible by modern inventions, the worker for wages, the man who runs the machine, gets only the est subsistence, the Capitalist or Machine Owner, gets all the rest. That is Fact No. 6.

from the simplest facts of every day life.

No amount of pretty rhetoric about "The People" will American people were homogeneous, consisting in the main of the independent farmer class, when the term The People" would express some degree of truth to fact No official declamation by even so strenuous a presi dent as Roosevelt against the growth of Class Spirit as dangerous to American institutions, will alter the facts The two classes are here, have grown up coincident wit the growth of Machinery and because of it. It is these

which threaten the stability of the Republic. The Class Spirit is the incident of the class fact.

Wage Workers in the United States. But by comparing and selecting and grouping figures from various reports, it

These two great bodies of people cannot agree. They

duces the property. The Capitalist Class of Ten Millions owns the Machinery, owns the jobs, and therefore appropriates the property produced by the workers on the It is Twenty Millions against Ten Millions. On the right hand Twenty Million people capable of producing wealth

GOVERNMENT, OR THE STATE, ALWAYS WAS

Yes, it does. Just as the fact that the earth is round, when it was first

earth for at least one hundred thousand years, established Prevalent ideas, inherited and popular, are always giv-

proof of the Revolutionary Fact stated above as our Fourth Principle.

GOVERNMENT ONLY 5,000 YEARS OLD started when Property started, say 1,000 years ago

off the products of a Propertiless Class and hence no suc thing needed as a State or Government to protect the possessing class and their "rights" of property against the dispossessed and propertiless class

or 3,000 years ago, were all Slave governments, the rule of a Master Class over a Slave Class. Prior to that, there were no governments at all, any more than there were among the American Indians when

Perhaps you will jump to the conclusion that govern ment must be a good thing, because civilization is a good

And the Fact about government is that it is no older

than civilization, and that, like civilization itself, it is con

Class of serfs and retainers. NOTHING "SACRED" IN HISTORY The Scientific Socialist points out that history is growth.

revere governments. Because civilization has paraded itsel as man's highest achievement, is no reason we should whom the modern wage class was unknown.

monepolistic control over us, by being transferred to the hands of the State, is the Middle Class cry.

lic: Shall the class of small capitalists known as the Middle Class, or the class of large capitalists, the Trust Owners, obtain control of the government? Whatever the name of the Middle Class party, "Demo

> abolish wage slavery. For the continued existence of the wage system, with its perpetual and automatic supply of Unpaid Labor, is absolutely essential to the existence of

cipitated into the ranks of the despised Proletariat.

THE WORKING CLASS NOT IN IT. It will be a royal battle for the possession of Governmental Power. The Revolutionary Socialist alone under stands what it all means. He knows, whatever the issue

lentlessly than the Trust, because it is more needy and

facts of modern Socialism. If one accepts the scientific method, he can deny none of these facts. In truth no one

We have now briefly outlined three great revolutionary

the promised chapters on "Tactics," as well as the anticipated outline of "Reform Socialism, Its Principles and Tactics." But the author hopes during the present year (1909) to publish these as editorials in "The Socialist." The delay will prove of advantage, since the complex questions of "Tactics" are receiving fresh elucidation year by

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By Bessy Fiset

Beginning Sunday night, May 16th, grateful death) and who come out into the women of Local Scattle will begin the world again to either plod blindly to hold weekly street meetings. The forward, with a broken spirit, or to first meeting will probably he held desperately trample every convention-either at Fourth and Pike or at Second al idea of "morality" underfoot, with

charge of these meetings and it is it is a peculiar "Providence" which their plan to conduct them during has given instincts to men and women or five months the city will be full of gratifications of such instincts right strangers of all classes, and the for one and wrong for the other! women will not be scarce by any means, especially, as the National would be accused of advocating free Council of Women is to be held here love-and that would be awful). as well as the big suffrage conven

greatest importance that the Socialists he had hunted for work everywhere. of Washington and the larger cities From time to time he asked his

ing up splendid street meetings, due and a last refusal on said brother's mainly to the splendid and untiring part, the desperate man insanely shot Local at that time elected a commit work of Joe Biscay and Floyd Hyde, the brother and his wife. and it is up to the women comrades to buckle down to it if they are to The mother must make a super human kep up their end.

we will let you know all about it next care. week, whether we succeed or-but PikeStreet Transfer

> tiny, unfortunate, unwelcome visitors it is facing starvation. have arrived at the city jail and an- if the fifteen year old daughter goes adopt some of the proposed amend-

haven't sinned themselves, its just the any way! mothers. Yet because of the mother's sins they are denied the necessary clothing to make them happy."

vidual holdings and reserving the that is where sinners usually land. No. fit of all stockhoiders. For partice (?), the ignoming, the want, the territaking part in our street meetings. ulars address E. S. Prentiss, 221 ble physical agony (sometimes the

a primeval hatred in their hearts and

The women are going to have full an open defiance of everything "good." the entire summr. For the next four alike, yet which makes spontaneous

(1 must stop. If I should go on I

There is a woman, a Mrs. Jean "Women's Movements" are in the Fortier, in Seattle who has six childair, and women of the Working Class ren and exepcts another soon. This will become infected as well as Middle woman's husband had been without Class women. It is therefore of the work for over three months, although

particularly, should put forth a con- brother to give him work but for some certed effort to interest women in a unknown reason the brother refused. movement that is so far, eminently Things went from bad to worse, until starvation stared them in the face.

The man is in jail awaiting his trial.

So here goes for the first try, and when she should be having the best quent meeting. It took the committee Justice must have ito way. The

else can we keep the Working Class sion, by a vote of twelve to eight, de-I see by a local paper that three gentle and submissive to the law when cided to indefinitely postpone action

other coming. An usgent appeal is into the Bon Marche and a year hence ments, since too much of the Local's for clothing for these helpless is taken to the Florence Crittenden time would be taken up in the discuslittle destitutes and no doubt all over home; if the boys turn into pick-pock-the city every mother who has read ets or are sent to the reform school; sion of the merits or demerits of the of it has had her heart swell with if the mother becomes desperate and and since nothing could be accomplishity.

But how about the mothers? The well, Society will shrug its shoulders—

ded because, though Local Tacoma adopted all these amendments, the says: "The little darlings those Fortiers always were a bad lot stae constitution would still remain

of course we don't pretend to say at 12 o'clock on Sunday at the headtion has bought 100,000 acres of land that the fathers of these mites of quarters, 711 Olive street, Every mem. shoool. in Mexico for coionization purposes, humanity have sinned, of course not. ber is expected on this occasion to allotting a certain number of acres If they had they would be hunted bring one new boy or girl, so you had to each stockholder for his indi down and put into jail, probably better be getting to work, youngsters, surgents and independents are not so that we may have a good big meetbalance as community property to it is just the mothers who sin, and ing. In a few weeks we are going to days. We have neither seen nor re be tilled and operated for the bene- who suffer the heartache, the shame let you feel your responsibility by ceived a communication from them for

Cordova and Heney Exposed. "The Socialist:"

Having just arrived on the steam ship Pennsylvania from "Guggenheims Grab." Cordova, Alaska, I beg to ad vise you as to the conditions of labor in that particular place.

M. J. Heney, the railroad contractor. has shipped up-about 1,000 men so far this year. Please advise all workingmen that there is no day labor except

That the only work is station work under Heney.

That station men must sign a contract to the effect that they receive nothing for their labor until after three months' work on their contract, 9 A. M., 1:00 P. M., 5:00 P. M., 9:00 P. M. and then they are to receive 25 per cent of their estimate monthly until Leaves Tacoma from N. P. whart, 7:00 A M., 11:00 A. M., 3:00 P. M., 7:00 P. M. they finish their particular contract.

This system virtually "peons" or enslaves a man who is broke, as he nas no prospect of earning a dollar at day labor, as the labor market is overcrowded here with dissatisfied men here. coming in off of the station work. There are a few men working for

the Catalla Company clearing track of snow and ice obstructions, and these men are given the preference when there are any common laborers when they quit and seek work enough at all, to suit his convenience. Of course, I mean renewal of 'The to earn their fare back.

There were over 300 idle men in the 28th of April, and 250 were expected in the next day. Heney brought these men up to that country before why you go. he was ready for them. He has only one camp established, "Headquarters' at Camp No. 18. No tools on the work, insufficient shelter and food for

But the worst feature of all is that the work is not "cross-sectioned." I wish you would put an article in weeks or a month longer, until the this town.

Since the road has been open the men are rushed to the front to and no show at all for a man. Heney's headquarters, 54 miles from food and equipment to the front They are supposed to do all this free job. gratis and pay board besides, and Heney's lieutenant, tells them that it is for their own benefit. If a man refuses to work he is hustled out of camp and told to bike to town, 54 miles; nor can he either buy, beg or steal anything to eat on the way in.

That's what happened to the 250 men—walked two days without a bite when they protest, "Murcheson," this summer. Heney's lieutenant, tells them that it

-walked two days without a bite to eat and slept alongside of fires. Lucky there is plenty of timber this side of the river.

weeks' hunger and exposure, because thousand inhabitants. there is very little timber where they We are holding four propaganda are. Also the grub is scarce and I meetings weekly, two on the street "mush" to Valdez over a sloppy, dan much interest shown. gerous trail even if they knew the way. It is 20 miles from the nearest tion of a Woman's Socialist Study Club point on the railroad to the Valdez- in the near future. Fairbanks government trail.

So kindly take this matter up if possible and inform all wage-slaves to beware of Cordova, and Heney.

The Company gets \$40 or more for Editor Socialist:

cumbs to this disease. But you don't hear anything about it in the Cordova papers, or on the streets of Cordova,

Workingmen are better off right

remain yours, etc., OLD SOURDOUGH.

P. S .- Murchison is the famous "blackball artist." Last spring, 1908. wanted by the company. Consequent- they shipped more men than they needly the Heney men are handicapped ed and Murchison blackballed anybody

Heney is the man who wanted to leave a lot of men stranded on an is-Cordova when the Pennsylvania left land in Alaska and sail away himself,

Go to our advertisers, and tell them

TO STOP A FEW.

PRINCE RUPERT. May 6th, '09 Seattle "Socialist:" If you would do a Comrade a favor

which will delay the men for three your paper stating the conditions in

Four of us were sent up here the

. \$6.50 a week for board. It is a nice They want to bring 5,000 men here

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At the last regular meeting it was unanimously decided to give Comrade

Wm. D. Haywood a date. Arrangements are under way for

place on the last Sunday in May or the first Sunday in June. The arrange ments are in the hands of a committee consisting of Comrades Ramsdale Howell and Emil Herman. The com mittee report that the subject is to be 'The Cause and Cure of Crime, Ethica vs. Economic." Mr. Hughes is to take the stand that the cause and cure of crime are ethical, our representative that they are economic. The commit tee also recommended that Comrade Cowley be our representative.

Many Socialists will, no doubt, remem ber Comrade Cowley as an old-timer in the Socialist Movement in this state. He has, since the days of his former activity, been on a tour of the world and, now that he has returned, is fight ing the cause of the Proletariat with his old-time vigor. He will come out victorious in this debate, there is no Some three weeks ago "Insurgent

The men of Local Scattle are build. After a last appeal to the brother ing up splendid street meetings, due mainly to the splendid and untiting tee, after the document had been signed by a local member, to go over effort to support her brood at a time the amendments and report at a subse three weeks to get ready to report. When the committee's report was prebrother must be avenged. Why, how sented the Local, after some discuson the committee's recommendation to unamended.

A committee consisting of Comrade The members of the Young People's Cowley, Woolsey and Eleanor Herman Women's stamps sold to date, \$2.85

I might say, in passing, that the Introubling Local Tacoma at all these three weeks. Last week the Local decided by a

vote of twelve to eight not to endorse There are about 300 men stranded Local Puyallup's call for a referendum above the Copper River rapids. The to amend the state constitution to pro Copper river has broken up and car vide for a Local for every twenty ried away the temporary bridge, and thousand inhabitants or major fraction these men are doomed to at least three thereof in cities of more than twenty

suppose that few have the money to and two in hall. Good attendance and Prospects are good for the forma-

ELEANOR MAURER HERMAN.

SOME CENTER SHOTS

every man that goes to Cordova and returns. Hency is not ready for work and will not be for a month.

And there is no day labor or chance for a poor man to get back unless he has the money.

Pneumonia fever is epidemic in and around Cordova. One man a day succumbs to this disease. But you don't Is this clear enough?

Did not the membership in the United States declare for Immediate Demands? Tack the card issued by the King County Committee to the bottom of the Demands of the Na tional Convention and it fits. If the National demands are in the interest of the working class or of any benefit to the working class, so were the King County demands.

As to the guilt of Comrades Krue-ger and Ault as embezzlers, I believe in them as thoroughly as I did in Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

Comrade Krueger I admire as a first-class disciplinarian, standing pat for his class. As to his being a gambler, where does he get money to gamble on? We have more money in the state treasury than at any other time. He served two terms before being accused of dishonest methods and he had served the membership st well there was not a dissenting vote when again secured for this year. The trouble is not with Comrade Krueger, but with new members in

your paper stating the conditions in this town.

They are advertising for men in Seattle for \$3 to \$3.50 a day. When you come up here it's \$2.25 and \$2.50 a day and no show af all for a man.

Four of us were sent up here the Hency's headquarters, 54 miles from Cordova, where they are charged for board \$1.00 a day, and made to break trail for the horses that are hauling food and equipment to the front, \$650 a week for board It is a nice. ganizable into a Union he is not or-ganizable into the Socialist Party and will soon make trouble.

class. You are the beautiful to be members of parties with members of influence can stay in the Democratic, Republican, Prohibitionist, Independent parties. They need not worry about the worker, as he is only a curse to them.

Yours for the Revolution,

ADA GATCHELL.

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