

# THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

OUR TASK—To Remove His Bandage

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Win Their Own Emancipation

THE SOCIALIST

Tenth Year—No. 472



Seattle, Washington, Saturday, June 4, 1910

Price Five Cents



## COMMERCIAL BODIES AGAINST THE UNIONS

There is a movement among the Seattle Machinists and other Iron Workers to secure the Eight Hour Day and the Closed Shop. The Manufacturers' Association is aroused in opposition and at once its appeal is responded to by those other organs of Capital, the Chamber of Commerce and the Commercial Club. We print the Resolutions of these two bodies, as reported in the Capitalist papers. When a strike happens to be on, these same bodies will pass resolutions as representatives of the "Innocent Public"; the impartial middle class, who stand between the two contending parties, Capital and Labor. You notice they are not "between" just now. Remember that, when the next street car strike comes off and the Chamber of Commerce or the Commercial Club offer to act as mediators or peace-makers or arbitrators.

Notice, too, the old gag about the "right of the individual to work for whomsoever he may see fit and on whatever terms may be arranged between the employer and the employee." Therein lies the very meat of the Open Shop, the right of the Scab to make his own terms, in defiance of the interests of his Class. That means the right of Capital to deal with the individual laborer, alone and unprotected by his fellow laborers. It means the right of Capital to compel its wage workers to act as individuals, as weak and selfish units, reduced to the minimum wage, the bare subsistence wage, so that Capital can increase its proportion of Unpaid Labor, and force the working class to accept the lowest terms of existence.

This contest between the Open Shop and the Closed Shop is a class contest and involves the very right to organize. Without organization an eight-hour day can never be obtained, for a reduction in hours of labor means an absolute reduction in the surplus time during which you work for your employer for nothing, that surplus time out of which your employer makes his profit out of you. If that is reduced, the only way he can make good his loss in profit is to speed you up, to increase the intensity of your labor, and he has that pretty well accomplished already.

You have been working, say, ten hours and now you propose to cut off two hours of that time. Suppose hitherto it has taken four hours of your day's work to produce enough for your employer to pay your wages with, and that the other six hours of your ten-hour day you have been producing, over and above your wages, profit, surplus, for your employer. Now you propose to take away two hours at a clip, which will be one-third of his entire profit. It really means a good deal more than that to him, for he has had to divide up that surplus of unpaid labor with others, like his landlord, and his mortgagee, and for his raw materials, wear and tear of machinery, etc.

The manufacturer is seen to have a vital interest in preventing by all means the employe from reducing his hours of day-labor; it may mean the withdrawal of the most of his profit and the practical forcing of a small manufacturer, like Frink, into the ranks of the Proletariat himself, which would mean the absorption of his business into the hands of the greater manufacturers he has to compete with. You see how the successful strike always hastens the downfall of the small business man and promotes the formation of the Trust.

We may, therefore, look for a real fight here in Seattle, if this attempt of Labor to secure an eight-hour day and the Closed Shop is persisted in. The Iron Workers should have the strongest assistance from every Union in the city. It is Labor's fight.

### THE SCAB'S "RIGHT TO WORK."

The Chamber of Commerce yesterday (May 31) declared for an "open shop," suspending its rules and adopting unanimously the following resolutions:

"Whereas, in several localities organized labor has, by enforcing 'closed shop' conditions, restricted and hampered manufacturers in the management of their business and output and infringed on the just rights and privileges of the individual as guaranteed by the constitution and laws of our country; now therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Seattle Chamber of Commerce affirms that organized labor has no right either by force or otherwise to interfere with the right of any individual to work for whomsoever he may see fit, and on whatever terms may be arranged between the employer and the employee.

"Further, it believes that the maintenance of what is known as the open shop principle is in the best interests of both of this city and state, and that every effort possible should be made to maintain said principle and pledge itself to use its influence towards that end."

Robert R. Fox, manager of the Sino-Inda Manufacturing Company, in presenting the resolutions, said it was for the interests of Seattle that such a step be taken. The Chamber of Commerce of Portland, he said, had been induced to go on record in favor of the "open shop," with the result that a large manufacturing plant that had virtually promised to locate in Seattle, has decided to establish in Portland.

The men working in the Metal Trades in Seattle are demanding an eight-hour day. Their employers refuse to listen to the representatives of the unions. They will treat with individuals only. They want the open shop. That means a shop closed for union men. The employers themselves recognize the efficacy of the closed shop, as they have a very strong organization which is relentless toward any employer who refuses to join with them.

The Chamber of Commerce and the Seattle Commercial Club have both condemned the unions for their "unjust" demand, while they have endorsed the employers' organization for their "noble stand in protecting the individual workman against the selfishness of unionism."

By the way, I wonder of it isn't about time that certain prominent union men withdraw from their membership in the Commercial Club?

Well, I feel sorry for poor Taft! Teddy is coming home to lead the

The resolutions were also favored by Alexander F. McEwan, president of the Manufacturers' Association.—Seattle "P.I."

### FOR TEN-HOUR DAY.

The Commercial Club as a body places itself on record as being against the eight-hour agitation advanced by the labor unions on the Pacific coast for the following reasons:

"That a higher rate of wages paid by manufacturers on the Pacific coast than by other manufacturers are already imposing a burden upon the manufacturers who must compete for trade.

"That in San Francisco, where an eight-hour day has been inaugurated, it has driven out or caused to suspend many of the most extensive and oldest manufacturers.

"Manufacturers running but eight hours per day cannot compete with other factories running nine and ten hours a day."

J. M. Frink, president of the Washington Iron Works, who argued in favor of the adoption of the resolution, said, "As far as my plant is concerned, we do not intend to concede the eight-hour day."

Mr. Frink further said that the agitation in Seattle in the metal trades at present was being fostered and fomented by San Francisco labor agitators. Outside of San Francisco, he claimed that the metal trades had an eight-hour day only in one or two places in Montana.—Seattle "P.I."

principles of insurgency to triumph. At least such are the indications. He has refused to talk about American politics, but he has been mighty careful in securing publicity for his meeting with Gifford Pinchot, the Insurgent hero, for the coming interview with Hamilton Fish, the leading insurgent in New York state, etc.

Anyway, Taft will be down and out. He will have less of the sympathy of the American people for the next two or three years than any president ever had. Teddy will be hailed as the saviour of the "common people" from the avarice of the trusts and their faithful agents—Taft, Ballinger, Aldrich, Cannon and Company.

And indications just now seem to point toward a decisive victory for the "rebels" in the first real battle of the "Middle Class Rebellion."

## THE BEAST IN POSSESSION--AN ILLUSTRATED FABLE



A certain man once owned a camel, which, becoming cold, begged to warm his nose in his master's tent. Permission being granted, the camel first inserted his nose, then his head and forelegs, finally occupying the whole tent and driving his master forth into the cold. APPLICATION—Capital, from a small beginning, has gradually usurped control of all the means of production and distribution and rendered Labor homeless and propertyless.

Class. It is not our fight. In the French revolution the rising Proletarians were perhaps justified in fighting for their future masters, as they were the agents of progress. Today the Roosevelt, the Pinchots, the Polidexters, the LaPollettes and all the rest are the agents of reaction.

We should not help retarding the development of concentrated and trustified industry. Our mission is to organize ourselves and, through our organization, through our force as the real agents of production, to fire the capitalists off their jobs and invite them to join us in our efforts to maintain and further develop modern industry.

In backward countries, such as Russia, the universities are the breeding ground of revolution and the students are constantly being exiled and punished for spreading revolutionary ideas.

In our own "free" America, things seem to be different. A couple of weeks ago we heard of an Indian university graduate working as a strike-breaker in a Spokane restaurant.

This week we see in the daily papers that a considerable number of students have come from the Stanford university, California, to break the millmen's strike in the saw mills of the Grays Harbor country. However, they found the cost of living too high and balked on going to work for \$3 per day, the wage agreed upon. Perhaps the mental work of a strike-breaker is not very inviting after all.

It is quite probable that university students would appear more picturesque in military uniforms, commanding volunteer regiments in quelling

strike riots of the future. At any rate, that is evidently the role intended for them at the University of Washington, in this city, as military instruction has become compulsory at that institution. Blithen's "Daily Times" commends the general plan, but thinks that the uniforms should be supplied by the taxpayers, "as they are the ones who are to derive the benefit of the military training."

And we will get the benefit in the form of cold lead!

In the Eastern part of this state there are thousands of farmers who call themselves Socialists and can prove that they are Socialists by having subscribed for the "Appeal to Reason" for years.

I wonder if these Socialist farmers can see the "identity of interests of all producers" clearly enough to demand an eight-hour day and five dollars per day and board for the harvest hands this summer? It has been my experience that the "Socialist" farmers agree with the other farmers, that the "hoboes" and "bums" who seek recreation by performing light work thirteen hours per day and sleeping in the strawstack should be made to accept the wages offered by the farmers or forced to work on the "socialistically"-owned public roads as "legs."

A. J.

There is a bill up in the City Council of Seattle providing that the city buy a pasture where tired, sick and lame horses in the city service may be turned out to graze, and have a good time generally, off and on, each year! Notice that the bill provides for HORSES. Of course we all know that the city's human workers never get

tired, sick or lame. Not because they wouldn't like to be turned loose off and on each year—but they know very well that there is no Beulah Land set aside for them to frolic in.

Moral: Don't get tired or sick or lame, for it doesn't pay. Just keep that shovel moving and keep it moving as fast as you can per minute and you will never know what it is to be tired or sick or lame!

Aren't you all about tired of being considered lower than the beasts? You haven't even come to the place where you will slow down on that shovel movement so that the city will be really paying for what it gets done.

I see the Minnesota Socialists are coming up to the scratch. This paper is being gradually tabooed in their midst. Because it has become Middle Class? Goodness, no! Because it is so Proletarian that its tendency is to keep the thinking readers out of the Socialist Party.

It is the fad at present (and I see no sign of its abatement) to strengthen the Socialist Party instead of the Socialist Movement—therefore down with the "Workingman's Paper!" (It took me quite a while to learn the difference between the Movement and the Party).

All over the country we see the forming of Anti-Tuberculosis Leagues—to say nothing of other reform movements. A great tussle is made over the fact that every two-and-a-half minutes a life passes on owing to the white plague—and terrible it is. But would so much be said and done if it were something that was confined to the workingclass? If it was not possible for the "great and noble

Middle Class" and the degenerate Higher Up to be contaminated?

If the workers as a class were as busy and persistent about overthrowing the wages system as the members of the Middle Class are over the high cost of living, extermination of Tuberculosis, equal suffrage, etc., we would have such a social revolution as none of us dreams of!

Well, may be after the wage workers have joined hands with the farmers (and then have seen the farmers make a noise like a hoop and roll away), and have tooted their lungs out for Teddy, and have gone where where the bugle called a few more times, they will be ready either to stick a ballot in a box or look up the meaning of Direct Action—which ever seems most opportune—and make a present to themselves.

Do you really know what keeps this column going in this paper? Well, I will tell you.

The times demand that variety shall be dished up to people. The quality of this generation's gray matter is such that people are compelled to take scientific facts in homeopathic doses. People go to see Ibsen because they have gotten the notion it is "the thing," but in their inmost souls they like a good, spicy bill at a vaudeville house! And it's the same thing here. This paper has one definite end and aim—(the education of the Proletariat in Proletarianism)—and it is a constant hammering away at the same old thing! So, in order that we may not miss any one, we have this column simply to hoodwink the unwary and get a rap in without his or her knowing it, if we can.

I suppose thousands of our sturdiest, best workers will be tramping and stoking away to Alaska now that the new rush is on? Haven't you learned by past experiences to cut it out? Stay here and work day and night for your own emancipation, which is possible. If the men going north were class conscious and would put as much effort in changing conditions for their class the end would be in sight.

Even a capitalist paper quotes a Capitalist Lawyer as quoting the Capitalist Mine-Owners, that there is no use safeguarding Alaska mines, for "a Hunky is cheaper than a horse." And you workers, you mightiest of the world's mighty, will sit and take it, and not only passively take it, but will do everything from voting to giving up your lives, to perpetuate this system. Doesn't the thought fill you with pride?

This month there is to be the convention of the American Woman's League in University City, Mo. Thousands of women will be there—representative of more thousands at home—who belong to the League. Talk about the Middle Class! Why, it is out to grab everything in sight. And the first thing the workers know, they will find themselves chained hand and foot to a new master.

"Back to the Land" does have an enticing, alluring something about it! As a paradise for the homeless and unemployed it is unequalled. All you need is about twenty-five hundred dollars in cash, or its equivalent. You pay a thousand down for some land, then go on it and put a few hundreds in a house and barn or chicken house. Then take a hundred an acre to get it set out in fruit and then wait for five years. While you are waiting buy a good Jersey cow, some chickens, make a garden, pasture and attend to your cow and put in your spare time chopping wood. Take whatever money you have left and buy a first-class apparatus for spraying and at prescribed times spray and irrigate.

At the end of five years you will be on the road to riches, ready to exploit all the hoboes and Japs who come your way.

Victor Berger says there will be "no balm until the Socialists finally come into National power." I wasn't aware before that the working class wanted balm. I thought they wanted a good, clean surgical operation. But then, the Socialists and Berger are not taking into consideration what the working class want!

### THAT MIDDLE-CLASS REBELLION.

Attorney Brandeis, counsel for Glavis in the Ballinger investigation, said in his summing-up speech:

"This investigation has been referred to as a struggle for conservation, a struggle against the special interests.

"It is that, but it is far more. Its essence is the struggle for democracy, the struggle for the small man against the overpowering influence of the big, politically as well as financially; the struggle to establish that every American is entitled to equal justice—in the public service as well as in the courts—that no official is so highly stationed that he may trample ruthlessly and unjustly upon even the humblest American citizen."

Yet there are some people who cannot perceive that the Middle Class is putting up a tremendous fight for its life, but refer sneeringly to it as a "decomposing carcass." When the Insurgents have completed their insurging, we shall see.

### STOKES ON MILWAUKEE.

NEW YORK, Friday, May 27.—J. G. Phelps-Stokes, the New York millionaire Socialist, is not at all satisfied with the kind of Socialism which won recently in the Milwaukee municipal elections.

Speaking at the annual dinner of the Collectivist Society here last night, Mr. Phelps-Stokes said: "It is a great grief to me to be obliged to seem to cast any reflection on any achievements of Milwaukee comrades, but honor compels me to confess that I don't think there was any such thing as a Socialist's victory. The Milwaukee Socialists compromised with capitalism. "I have read quotations from their election speeches, which declared small business men need not fear because the Social Democratic party did not object to reasonable profits. "Is this Socialism? Do men who utter sentiment have clear visions? I say they have not. They are mere reformers, not Socialists at all."

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# WHERE WE STAND

(Reprinted From Our First Issue in 1910.)

In what relation does "The Workingman's Paper" stand to the various organizations of the Wage Class, and to that class as a whole?

This question is frequently asked, now that this paper does not profess to represent any particular organization. It seems inconceivable to some that a newspaper can be non-sectarian, an organ of Proletarianism but not an organ of any exclusive branch of Proletarianism. Yet that is the critical scientific attitude this paper seeks to assume. It is the complete opposite, for example, of the De Leonist attitude, which damns every organization of workingmen which does not bear its own brand.

"The Workingman's Paper" sees good in the I. W. W., sees good in the "I'm a Bum" song; but it also sees good in the A. F. of L., and even in De Leon's S. L. P. It also sees evil in all of them. This critical method is also constructive, for the paper seeks to promote the good in all and to remove the evil in all. And on every occasion, this paper seeks the solidarity of all Proletarians.

The following outlines our position exactly:  
"The Workingman's Paper" does not seek to form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. It supports the UNION of Wage-Workers.

We advocate no interests separate and apart from those of the Proletariat as a whole. All policies are decided from this standpoint.

We do not set up any sectarian principles of our own by which to shape and mould the Proletarian Movement. We follow, not force, that Movement.

"The Workingman's Paper" is distinguished from partisan journals of the working class by this only: 1. In the various struggles of the wage class organizations with the capitalists, this paper will point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire Proletariat, independently of all apparent divisions, national, industrial or personal. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the Working Class against the Bourgeoisie has to pass through, this paper will always and everywhere, in the future, as in the past ten years, strive to represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

"The Workingman's Paper" therefore, encourages, on the one hand, practically every advanced and resolute organization of Wage Workers wherever found, those organizations which push forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, like all scientific Proletarian publications, we have the advantage over many Labor papers, of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the Proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of "The Workingman's Paper" is the same as that of all other really Proletarian organs, namely: **FORMATION OF THE PROLETARIAT INTO ONE CLASS, OVERTHROW OF BOURGEOIS SUPREMACY, CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER BY THE PROLETARIAT.**

Our theoretical conclusions are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

These conclusions merely express the actual relations springing from an existing Class Struggle, from an historical movement going on under our very eyes.

We disdain to conceal our revolutionary views and aims. We openly declare that Proletarian ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social foundations. Let the ruling class tremble at a Proletarian Revolution. The Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win!

Workingmen of all countries, unite!

To assist in organizing the Wage Slaves of Capital into a union capable of winning such an emancipation, this paper was founded in 1900. It has no other policy in 1910.

The Proletarian elements now scattered in A. F. of L., I. W. W., W. F. of M., S. P., S. L. P., U. W. W., and other bodies, together with multitudes now unorganized in the United States, must some time come together as a **UNITED LABOR PARTY.** To that end this paper is devoted.

# A Proletarian Newspaper

(Reprinted from our issue of March 19, 1910.)

Some of our friends are disturbed over the new attitude of this paper, as described on our second page, under the heading, "Where We Stand." "The Socialist" having been so long a Proletarian paper attached to a party, they cannot now adapt themselves to that new viewpoint of ours which does not regard any specific organization of Proletarians as the sole representative of the Proletariat as a whole.

For instance, some of our I. W. W. readers resent our support of a political organization in Seattle, and consider us guilty of treachery to the Proletariat because we advocate anything "political." Others are distressed when we give the I. W. W.'s so much prominence, since they regard them as part of the "Slum-Proletariat" and hence dangerous to the true working class. Still others condemn us for supporting a "Labor Party" which does not clearly perceive itself as based on the Class-Struggle. In a word, they cannot agree to a policy which recognizes Proletarianism wherever found, but does not venture to select any one branch of Proletarians to the exclusion of all other branches.

Let us remind our critics that this paper has never been dogmatic as to tactics. In fact, the only thing we have been "cock-sure" about is a well-authenticated fact, wherever observed. From the accumulation of such facts, certain conclusions may be drawn, though these conclusions are liable to be erroneous and must be subject to the discovery of more facts and to a better generalization from the facts. That person who has reached positive irreversible conclusions on any subject has practically ceased to live and become a mere automaton. He has "principles" to which the world must conform or the world is wrong. Such a person is unscientific, dogmatic, sectarian, unprogressive, mentally unresponsive and dead. He is one of those men "you can't talk to," he is incapable of argument, because his mind is unapproachable, it is fixed and rigid beyond the possibility of error; he may let you speak, but he doesn't listen to you; his knowledge is so superior to yours; he has nothing to learn; he is the intellectual Pharisee and all those who do not agree with him are Publicans and Sinners.

Now, the paper hitherto known as "The Socialist" has never assumed this attitude of Intellectual Phariseism, even with respect to its principles, and still less with respect to methods. We are thoroughly convinced, for instance, that the Marxian Law of Value is established as the governing law of Capitalist Economics, as much as we are convinced that the Law of Gravitation is established as controlling the stellar universe; though even in these cases we would not assert with absolute dogmatism that no future revision of these laws is possible. So, too, we hold it incontrovertible at present that the Wage-Class must achieve its own emancipation, though this is a deduction from the Law of Value, the Law of Wages, the Law of Exploitation, the Law of Class Interest.

With this as a fundamental proposition, that the Proletariat must emancipate itself, certain further deductions have to be made with respect to Tactics, that is, with respect to the methods by which the Working-Class shall emancipate itself. On this subject, dogmatism is inexcusable, since it concerns the future, and the best social prophets have been discredited by the event itself, both Marx and Engels being conspicuous examples.

It has been the generally accepted belief that Proletarian Emancipation would use, as its chief instrument, the Capitalist device known as the Elective Franchise. The Communist Manifesto refers to the "organization of the Proletarians into a class and consequently into a political party," as a part of social development and shows "the conquest of political power by the Proletariat" to be indispensable, and it affirms distinctly, "Every Class-Struggle is a political struggle."

These expressions have been assumed to mean that the main tactics for the Proletariat are the formation of political parties in the various countries and the conquest of political powers by the exercise of the elective franchise. In accord with this theory of Tactics, the German Proletariat, enlightened by Marx and Engels, and led by Lassalle and Liebknecht, formed a political party some forty years ago and has grown in strength and influence up to the present day. At this very moment, the Social-Democratic Party of Germany is confronted with a crisis in its history and is putting to the test its efficacy as a Revolutionary instrument. The Capitalist Class is determined to limit the Elective Franchise, so that the Working-Class shall not be able to use its majority in numbers to accomplish for itself "the conquest of political power."

It is not for us to say categorically that the elective franchise will be the historic instrument by which the Proletariat must achieve his own emancipation.

Suppose it falls, as a matter of fact. Is then the Proletariat to remain enslaved? Grant that it cannot be freed so long as the Capitalists retain control of governmental forces, that is, so long as the Bourgeoisie, through its political

power, can kill and conquer the Proletariat, still is there no other way to capture that power to kill and conquer which is incident to that Class-thing known as the State? Is there no other possible tactic but the Ballot-tactic?

It is puerile to tie the hope of the Proletariat to any method which proves itself impracticable.

Therefore, "The Socialist" has never been dogmatic as to tactics. It has been remarked by many that the promised chapters on Tactics in "Revolutionary and Reform Socialism" by the editor of this paper, have been unaccountably delayed for some three years. The real reason is that the editor has never been sufficiently settled in his own mind on the question of the method by which the Working-Class will achieve its own emancipation, to complete that part of his little book. This attitude of uncertainty may not be satisfactory to those whose minds are so constituted that they require absolute knowledge and partisan limitations to make them contented, but it seems to us the only attitude possible to an open, scientific mind with respect to matters which can be settled finally by the test of evolutionary experience alone.

All this is not to say that this paper commits itself to "Direct Action" or repudiates the Political Party method. We have used this illustration taken from contemporary Proletarian history in order to make our point clear, namely, that it is possible to conduct a Proletarian Newspaper which is not partisan or sectarian or dogmatic.

We do not profess to know whether the I. W. W. is sufficiently adapted to present Proletarian conditions in America to become the instrument of universal Proletarian organization and Revolutionary action; but we do recognize it as a part of the Class-Struggle and will report it and encourage it as calculated to develop Class Intelligence, Class spirit and Class action.

We do not know whether the present tendency of the A. F. of L. toward the formation of a political party, composed of Union men primarily, is destined to develop into a Class Party compelling legislative ameliorations of Working Class conditions, or whether it will degenerate into a mere Progressive Party, catering to Middle-Class reactionary elements like the farmers; but we do know that the membership of the A. F. of L. is composed of Wage-Workers engaged in contests with their employers for a greater share of Wage-Labor's product, and that the concentration of Capital is forcing these A. F. of L. Proletarians to act more and more as a Class and less and less as Crafts, and therefore we encourage all these tendencies toward Class action, both as Unions and as a political party.

We recognize the A. F. of L. as the greatest American organization of Proletarians and we do not regard it as controlled by any arbitrary "Principles," revolutionary or otherwise, but by its own interests so far as it perceives them, and it is our place to help it perceive those interests and to avoid reactionary entanglements. We do not deny its Proletarian character nor its part in the historic Class-Struggle. We would like to see it clearer, we will do our best to make it clearer, but we will not be so unscientific as to deny a fact, and affirm that this enormous body of Two Million Wage-Workers is a Capitalist institution, while an organization of One Hundred in Cincinnati or Seattle is the real Proletarian body, inasmuch as it declares of itself, "We can prove that our Structure is the only sound one existing in the Labor World today."

For nearly ten years this paper and most of its supporters have been allied with the Socialist Party in the U. S., believing that that party represented best the Proletarian cause. But the course of economic development led that organization to represent the small Bourgeois rather than the Proletarian, and we finally were driven out of that party, because we continued to insist that the Party was and should be composed of Proletarians. So we are no longer supporting that organization because it seems to us essentially Middle-Class in its constituency and tendencies.

Some of us are now to be found in an attempted new Party called the Wage-Workers' Party which has not yet completed its organization and has never put a ticket in the field. If it accomplishes things and makes itself felt as a real part of the Class-Struggle, this paper will report its progress; but at present, this organization disapproves the course adopted by us as outlined in this editorial and we bear no other relation to it than to any other body of Wage-Workers.

Others of the former supporters of this paper are now allied with the attempt to found a United Labor Party in the city of Seattle and in the state of Washington. At the election last week in this city, this Party, which had the support of none but Proletarians and was opposed vigorously by the old party "Labor-Leaders" in the Unions, polled some 1,500 votes for its candidate for Mayor and probably elected one of its candidates for ward councilman.

This paper supported that ticket as the only Proletarian Party in the field. But we reserve our right and duty to criticize its development into a

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State Party if it shall be so unwise as to unite, for the sake of a few, or many, votes, with the Farmers' Leagues which are springing up over the country to secure better prices and lower R. R. rates, both of which tend to lower the purchasing power of wages and hence make it harder for the Unions to maintain their standard of living. Ask the Farm-Laborers to un-unionize themselves and demand an 8-hour day, if you want to see the absurdity of the farmers and wage-workers belonging to the same organization.

We expect our new attitude will lose us a good many friends and supporters, but we have never yet accommodated our views to our subscription-list and we cannot begin now. We shall conduct a Proletarian Newspaper, aiming to give that news which is most significant of Proletarian advances, which will best promote the Class-Spirit, develop the Class-War, encourage Class-Solidarity and hasten the final victory of the Proletarian Class.

We append an extract from a recent letter sent to an I. W. W. official, in response to a friendly letter from him.

## Extract from Editor's Letter

My Dear B.—  
I would like you to understand perfectly the attitude of this paper. It will support every contest which it regards as a part of the Class-Struggle of Labor against Capital, though it may not endorse without reserve the organization conducting such contest. Our aim is to unite the Proletariat against the Bourgeoisie. We do not think the I. W. W. the only Proletarian organization engaging in the Class-Struggle, though we are doing a great deal to promote its growth by reporting its activities. But we do not surrender the right to criticize it. Our attitude is the same toward the A. F. of L., though more critical, as that body seems to us less Proletarian in spirit and less revolutionary in form than yours.  
If we come to see things differently, as your Branch of the Proletariat develops, we shall not hesitate to change our attitude.  
We await the normal evolution of the Working-Class itself, and do what we can to speed on the inevitable war and the inevitable Proletarian Victory.  
The unwavering loyalty of this paper, through ten years of loss and calumny, to the interests of the Wage-Workers, is the best guarantee of its future course.  
Sincerely yours,  
**HERMON F. TITUS.**

# The Middle Class Rebellion

(Reprinted from our issue of April 9, 1910.)

Aside from the Trusts themselves, the most conspicuous phenomenon in the United States today is the Rebellion of Small Business against Big Business.

Pinchot versus Ballinger is at bottom Small Business rebelling against its exclusion by Big Business from all business. Gifford Pinchot himself said last Christmas: "For whose benefit shall the national resources be conserved, for the benefit of the many or for the use and profit of the few? The great conflict now being fought will decide."

Ballinger and Taft have Big Business behind them. There is no practical doubt Ballinger was selected for his cabinet position by and for the enormous Capital invested in Metal Mines, in order to insure to the Guggenheims and their associates the possession of the Alaskan treasures of copper and coal. Pinchot's contention is that these treasures should be retained by the Government so as to give equal opportunity for their use to the "American People"; that is, to the small investor and prospector. He inveighs against "Excessive Profits from the Control of Natural Resources Monopolized by a Few."

There are many theorists who, following Marx slavishly, claim the Middle Class is too timid to put up a fight for itself, that it is disintegrating and has no future. But the American Middle Class has different traditions and training from the "Petty Bourgeoisie" and small traders referred to by Marx. The best representative of this American Middle Class is Theodore Roosevelt, the Strenuous. No one will deny that he is a good fighter. Other words of Gifford Pinchot have the ring of battle in them, as follows: "We have allowed the great corporations to occupy with their own men the strategic points in business, in social and in political life." "The only thing to do with them is to fight them and to beat them." That does not sound like timidity and incapacity.

The "Insurgents" among the Republicans, like La Follette and Cummins in the Senate and Norris and Poindexter in the House, with their Small Business backing of Farmers and Merchants in the West, are only another manifestation of this Middle Class Rebellion.

The Bryan Democrats are another branch, though less capable and more politic.

The vast growth and success of the cheaper Magazines in the last five years is directly due to the fact that they voice the popular discontent with the unparalleled development of the monopolistic trusts "Everybody's" jumped to a half-million circulation on the strength of Tom Lawson's fierce attacks on "Standard Oil." The swarm of "Muck-Rakers," like Charles Edward Russell, Judge Lindsey and Stannard Baker, are paid for and inspired by the militant hosts of these Middle Class Rebels.

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

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

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

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

Such a call, addressed to the expropriated masses of the Middle Class, appealing to their interests and conscience alike, is certain to be received with militant fervor. What right, it will be demanded, have the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Guggenheims, the Armours, to segregate the vast wealth produced by this Industrial Age and to use it to debauch municipal councils, state legislatures and courts, and even national officials, creating a Reign of Graft unexampled in all history?

To this national question, put in the name of "The Common People," and of "The Right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness," may arise an instantaneous and overwhelming Middle Class vote in favor of the Restraint of Monopoly by means of Government Ownership of the Monopolistic Trusts, including the Railroads, the Alaskan and other Coal Mines, the Oil Trust, the

Meat Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Copper Syndicate, and all other "Bad" Trusts.

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

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

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

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

We call this reactionary, because it practically preserves the Status Quo of Wage Exploitation and puts off to some distant future the Emancipation of the Wage Class from its compulsory service to the Capitalist Class. A large competitive Middle Class, based on Capitalist Profit as at present, might maintain itself indefinitely in power, because fortified by the enormous income to be derived from the National Industries taken over from the Trusts, thus relieving the Government from all necessity of dependence on Taxation and legislative Budgets; a condition which now exists in a modified form in Russia, Prussia, Japan and in all countries where Public Ownership already finds a partial exemplification. Tsar Nicholas and Kaiser William are both enabled to sustain their oligarchies, in spite of popular dissatisfaction, because of the money obtained by their governments from the administration of the State owned Railways, Telegraphs and other "Natural Monopolies."

On the other hand, if the Trusts are allowed to proceed to their "natural" conclusion, then the organization of industry into larger and larger units, completely eliminating the "Little Fellow" by precipitating him into the Proletariat, will go on apace, with accelerating speed. At the present rate, how long will it take for the Harriman and Hill systems of Railroads to effect a combination which will be able to crush and absorb all the other Railroads in the United States? Attorney F. B. Kellogg, arguing for the Government before the U. S. Supreme Court, stated recently: "The Standard Oil Co., if permitted to go on undissolved, will own the business of the Nation in five years."

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

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

To be sure, such a progress is won at the expense of personal liberty and the extension of wage slavery, and the utter extinction of the entire class of splendid fighters who have built America out of the wilderness.

Yet it is better that one Middle Class generation should perish than that ten generations of Proletarians should live and die in slavery.

When the Trusts have developed into The Trust, when all productive industry in the United States has been unified under one management, and the Government is nothing but the repressive power of this centralized, syndicated Oligarchy of Wealth, then the "Common People" and the exploited Proletariat will be identical and have identical interests, and consequently will form a vast and irresistible Revolutionary Class.

The sooner this centralization of economic and political power is accomplished, the better the prospect for such an exploited class being competent for united and revolutionary action; for the present American Middle Class or their children will make poor slaves and rebellious subjects.

Consequently, we regard it as desirable and progressive that the Present Middle Class Rebellion should not succeed, that Bourgeois Socialism should be exposed for what it is, an attempt to help the Class of Little Business to perpetuate itself and to postpone indefinitely the day of Wage Labor's Emancipation.

The key to the immediate situation lies with the American Working Class.

The Middle Class Rebellion depends for its success on the co-operation of the Wage Class.

The victory of Big Business and the abolition of Little Business also depends upon the action of the Proletarians.

It is announced that Gompers is contemplating the formation of a political party to be composed of the Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in combination with certain Farmers' organizations, alleged to number some three million voters. If this be true and such a party is formed, it will be in direct line with the Middle Class Rebellion outlined in this article. For these Farmers' Unions are not organizations of the Farm Laborers, but of the Small Farm owners. Their program goes no further than Public Ownership of Public Utilities, combined with the Utopian demand for the Initiative and Referendum, as if this method of voting were not more susceptible to control by Big Capital than the present representative system.

The reactionary character of a Gompers political party, composed of Proletarian Labor and Agrarian Small Capital, is sufficiently obvious. It would easily form a basis for the Middle Class Rebels to build their political rebellion on. If the American Working Class is so little enlightened as to its own interests and so lacking initiative as to follow such alien proposals, then indeed the Middle Class may succeed in saving itself and in prolonging Wage Slavery. It were far better to have the combination existing in San Francisco made national in scope, namely, that Labor should unite with Big Capital and the Slum to win political power; in which case, the Middle Class will go to the wall, the Trusts will complete their efficient organization of society and the Wage Class will be consolidated into a mighty, revolutionary and irresistible social force.

And there you are. It is up to the Proletariat. If it follows the reactionary lead of Gompers and unites its forces with the Middle Class Rebels, it may delay for many years the abolition of Class Rule in society and its own elevation to equal participation in the benefits of human invention.

But if it works with Big Capital to destroy the Middle Class, root and branch, with the greatest possible celerity; or if, better still, the Proletariat shall act together as one man, both industrially and politically, for its own class interests exclusively, then it will display an historic initiative and militant hegemony, which will make for the most rapid evolution out of society burdened with Class Antagonism into that association, sure to come some time, "in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

## The Milwaukee Election

(Reprinted from our issue of April 9, 1910.)

Since our editorial on the "Rebellion of the Middle Class" was written, the sweeping victory of the Social-Democratic Party in Milwaukee has occurred, where its majority mounted up to 8,000 over the Democrats, who, in turn, were 8,000 above the Republicans. Emil Seidel was elected Mayor and Victor Berger a Councilman-at-Large. Twenty out of twenty-nine Councilmen are Social-Democrats. The entire country is wondering how it was done and what it means.

In our judgment, it means precisely what has been outlined in the above editorial. It means what the astonishing election of a Democratic Congress-

man in the hitherto strong Republican Brockton district in Massachusetts, means. It means the Revolt of the Middle Class against high prices and the Trusts, which they imagine are the cause of the high prices. The Milwaukee Social-Democrats (not "Socialists," mind) are only a step removed from the ordinary Middle Class Democrats, at least in the popular mind and practically so in reality. Berger's first announcement sent broadcast through the Associated Press the very night of the election was, "We will give a Square Deal;" not a word as to the Working Class. Seidel said, "Capital need have no fear from us." Milwaukee is a city of homes, of Skilled Mechanics and Small Tradesmen, who have united under the leadership of such men as Berger, Seidel, Thompson and Gaylord, two business men and two preachers, for the purpose of buying the necessities of life, like gas, ice, coal, wood, light, street car fares, lunches, bread, water, etc., at cheaper rates. Seidel, the new mayor, says, "We will do nothing revolutionary. We will show the merits of Socialism by insistent and consistent conservatism." Berger says, "This victory is a victory for Progress, a little step toward a higher phase of civilization." These expressions denote the Middle Class and reactionary character of the Milwaukee brand of Socialists, or, as they themselves prefer to be called, Social-Democrats.

Undoubtedly the Socialist Party of the United States will tumble over itself to follow Milwaukee. Already Victor Berger dominates the National Executive Committee of that party, while the Proletarian and revolutionary elements are driven out, as in Washington, or discouraged and divided, as in California. The race of this party is now to outstrip the Democrats in bidding for the support of the great Middle Class, better known as "The Common People." Except in Milwaukee, and in isolated spots, the Socialist Party in this country has hitherto amounted to little as a vote getter, and the sight of the Milwaukee trough will make their mouths water. The result at the coming convention of the Party at Chicago in May will be a stirring anti-trust call, addressed to the working class in form and to the business class in fact. It will be, as Berger says, an appeal for "Progress," for another "step toward a higher phase of civilization." In this new appeal, nothing will be insisted on which will alarm the bourgeois distribution of Property, the Capital-and-Wage-Labor system, in which Labor gets a "Fair Wage" and Capital, small or large, gets the rest of Labor's product.

Such a Social-Democratic political movement, taking the place of the old and discredited Democratic Party, is quite in keeping with the aspirations of the exasperated Middle Class as suggested in our leading editorial. It is also quite in keeping with the economic ignorance prevailing in the American Proletariat, that such a political movement should capture the most of the wage workers organized in the American Federation of Labor, as it has in Milwaukee. The chances are that the various State Labor Parties now springing into existence, as in Washington and Pennsylvania, will follow the same general lines as the Milwaukee Social Democracy. In that case, it will be almost inevitable that these Labor Parties will effect a coalition with Berger's city party and establish a real political power, wherein the Working Class will be used to save the Middle Class and to check the Trust Class.

Meanwhile the Revolutionary Proletarians are more and more combining into industrial organizations which menace the existing order and openly demand the abolition of the Wage System itself. As yet, this class of proletarians has no political organization of the Proletariat for the Proletariat. The two Socialist Parties are both traitresses of proletarianism, both led by the small business man and the Intellectual. In San Francisco, the "United Labor" Party means Labor financed and used by Big Capital. In Washington, the "United Labor" Party seems disposed to join hands with the insurgent Farmers and thus make a sort of Milwaukee affair, in which case the Socialist Party of this state will lose what few remnants it has left at present. In Pennsylvania, the "United Labor" Party is yet too raw to indicate its real character, though its first declaration in Philadelphia contained a sop to the farmers. Yet it is in this very state of Pennsylvania that the Revolutionary Proletariat in the coal and iron industries is being forced into Class Consciousness and Class organization.

We believe it to be the duty of every wage worker and of every other person who wishes to further the emancipation of the wage workers, to put himself where he can best discourage the spread of such Middle Class Socialism as Milwaukee represents, and which will only prolong the age of wage slavery; and to ally himself with whatever organization will soonest promote the unification of the working class to abolish Capital and its accompanying Wage Slavery.

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Entered as second-class matter in 1900 at Seattle, in 1906 at Toledo, Ohio, in 1906 at Caldwell, Idaho, and April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Washington, under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1907.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES.
United States and Mexico.—One year, \$1.00; six months, 50c; three months, 25c; single copies, 5c.
To Canada and Foreign Countries.—One year, \$1.50; six months, 75c.
Weekly Bundles.—5 for three months for \$1.00; for six months, \$2.00; one year, \$4.00.
Special Bundles.—2 cents each in any quantity.

All remittances should be made payable to TRUSTEE PRINTING COMPANY.
All business communications should be addressed to TRUSTEE PRINTING COMPANY, Box 1908, Seattle, Wash.
Communications intended for the Editor should be addressed to the Editor.
Communications intended for publication should be mailed in time to reach this office not later than Monday.

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What to Do

Here is a letter from one of our oldest and best supporters, Austin Boudreau, of Attleboro, Mass.: "Please find Money Order for Fifty Cents, to pay up my arrears. Please discontinue sending your paper. Believe me, I am very sorry for this, but I do not like your present policy. Yours with Regret."

We are not receiving very many such letters, not nearly as many as we expected. Most of our readers seem to look at our changed policy as the worker from Minneapolis, quoted last week: "I don't agree with you, but I want to hear all sides."

We are not sure what particular position our present correspondent occupies, though we think he is a good Socialist Party man. We wish he had designated his point of disagreement.

Surely, Boudreau does not disagree with this paper in its fight for the Emancipation of the Wage Workers. It always stood for that, when he was working to get us subscribers in the years we supported the S. P.

Is it that we want the Wage Workers to emancipate themselves, that we do not believe the Middle Class can emancipate the Wage Class? This paper always stood for that also; it has consistently opposed all compromises with Capitalist parties and principles. Those who are behind "The Workingman's Paper" were expelled from the Socialist Party for maintaining this very principle, that the Socialist Party must be a Wage Class organization, at least fundamentally. It was for this that Walter Thomas Mills came to this state and founded a paper to run us out of existence. It was for our criticism of the "Appeal" nine years ago because it stood for a Middle Class program, "Public Ownership of Monopolies," that Wayland denounced and slandered this paper when it was unknown, using his great circulation in an attempt to kill us off. It is because we have not hesitated to name names, when they represented Middle Class tendencies, as Victor Berger for instance, that we have incurred the hostility of every one in the Proletarian Movement who stands for such tendencies. And now that the Socialist Party has actually ceased to be a Proletarian organization and is making its main appeal to the Middle Class interests, as in Milwaukee, this paper is absolutely consistent in its criticism of that party as not fitted to be the organ of Proletarian Emancipation.

In what does Austin Boudreau, or others like him, disagree with us in this attitude? Would they have us support the Socialist Party, just because it is called Socialist; would they have us call a wolf a sheep because it calls itself a sheep; would they have us accept Dr. Cook as a hero, just because he labels himself, Discoverer of the North Pole?

It is a great disappointment to us that the Socialist Party has failed to occupy the magnificent battle ground offered to it. We have put in nine years of the hardest kind of work in connection with that party. We have many of our personal friends in that party, with whom it is hard to disagree. We have not a word of invidious criticism to offer against a single one of them. But it is the province of "The Workingman's Paper" to serve the Class of Workingmen and not any individual in that class, however valued as a friend. It is solely because we believe the Socialist Party is misleading the Wage Class that we now follow a policy opposed to that party.

Or perhaps Boudreau and others are not satisfied with a policy which is not sufficiently positive to support any Proletarian organization without reservation. They say, Why don't you advocate something for us to do? Your proletarianism is all right, but how do you propose to put it into practice? Do you want us merely to stand around and wait for something to turn up? Is there nothing, in your opinion, good enough for us to join and work with?

Our answer will be found on the inside pages, which we have kept standing week after week for the very purpose of making our new policy emphatic and plain. In the last paragraph on page three, find these words: "We believe it to be the duty of every wage worker to ally himself with whatever organization will soonest promote the unification of the working class to abolish Capital and its accompanying Wage Slavery." That is definite enough. You are a wage worker; then join a wage workers' organization, such as your Trade Union. In that Union you have access to your fellow workers; can help educate them in scientific, proletarian principles; can antagonize all bourgeois propositions arising in that Union or allied Unions; can work unceasingly to develop Class Consciousness and toward Class Action; can be the best Unionist among your fellows, always ready to defeat Capitalist attempts to control the Labor organizations for their own interests; can become a leader and guide to the less informed workingmen; in short, in the present state of unrest and investigation among the Union men everywhere, you can further working class unity to the end of abolishing Capital itself and its attendant wage slavery.

You can join the I. W. W. too. Why not? It may be there is no other Union covering your occupation, as the Loggers, for example. It may be there is no Union at all where you are. Then organize one, even if you do not affiliate with any national body. Get together, even if you do lose your job for your pains. What are you on earth for, anyway? Just simply to wear chains in contentment? By all means get together with your fellow workers against the Capitalists, wherever you are. If you are a Farm Hand, for instance, organize for shorter hours and better beds and better food. And always educate about your Class interests, about the Unpaid Labor upon which Capital is built, about the Robbery in Wages, about the Revolution committed to the Wage Class.

What political party shall you support? That is a much harder question. For there is at present no Proletarian Political Party in existence. And you will recollect we cannot advise you to support anything that is not Proletarian in its tendencies.

Both the so-called Socialist parties are led by Middle Class people, whatever their pretensions. They have practically no following among the wage class—outside Milwaukee. Think of it. There are Sixteen Million Voters in the U. S. The two "Socialist" parties have less than Fifty Thousand members altogether, and these are constantly dropping out and replaced by raw recruits. That means there is not one constant Socialist voter, who can be depended on, to every 300 voters in the country. Counting all the votes secured at the last election, they amount to less than 3 per cent. It is as nothing, after at least Twenty Years of work. If you reckon the proportion of enlightened, revolutionary Proletarians to be found in the country, those who cannot be misled by any temporary, makeshift, Middle Class

political attempts, whether called "Socialist," or "Labor," or "Democratic," why, this number is an exceedingly small per cent.

Yet there is a rising, unformed Class Consciousness pervading the Wage Class everywhere, which must soon take shape in combined action for political ends, that is, to get control of the power now lodged in Government.

We freely admit we do not see at present any organization along political lines worthy of proletarian support. We also admit we cannot see the force of the oft-asserted maxim that there must be two wings to the wage class, the Economic and the Political. We cannot see why there should be a double organization of the Proletariat.

What is needed, is United Class Action; of whatever kind, for Class ends. Therefore, this paper supports all action looking in that direction. It supports the A. F. of L., because it is composed of Proletarians organized as such, and more and more driven, in spite of reactionary leadership, toward Industrial Unity. It supports the I. W. W., because, in spite of much irresponsible leadership, it is organizing the unskilled workers and is fighting and exposing the short-sighted selfishness of mere Trades-Unionism.

We esteem it the duty of every wage worker to be a member of one or both of these organizations, and to work day and night therein, for the Union of all wage workers to overthrow Capital itself, that is, to take possession of Capitalistic property in the most practicable way.

The Eclipse of Marx

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We call this the Eclipse of Marx, as we might call the practice of the modern church the Eclipse of Jesus. Of course the reason the church ignores Jesus and his ethics is that the theory of non-resistance can not be practiced in modern society without killing that society; the two are incompatible. The same reason holds for the Socialist Parties, who hide Marx in their own shadow. For, to bring forward the Fact of Unpaid Labor, and to make the battle rage around that Fact of Facts, would be incompatible with the interests of the Middle Class which composes the active majority of the modern Socialist organizations. Such a battle would necessarily be a Wage Workers' battle; for the Middle Class, including Business Men and Farmers, are not robbed as Producers, but as Consumers. The Wage Class never even gets its hands on its own product, but passes it in the very process of production into the possession of the Capitalist employer. Marx knew all this perfectly, and therefore he had no time to spend on any but the Proletarian Class. All other classes may be disregarded in comparison with this Class of Wage Workers, particularly in view of its recent amazing growth in number and keenness.

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

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

Editorial Notes

Charles H. Miller, United Labor candidate for Mayor in Seattle last Spring, announces under date of May 29, through his organ, the "Times," that he "is considering entering the race for Prosecuting Attorney as a Republican." Two years ago he entered the race for Congress as a Democrat and was defeated. Last fall he entered the race for Mayor as a Democrat, but later switched to the race for the United Labor nomination for the same office. During that campaign, Mr. Miller was very tender with the Republican candidate, Gill, and also received considerable attention from Gill's warmest newspaper supporter, the daily "Times." Now the "Times" boasts him for the office of Prosecuting Attorney on the Republican ticket. It is a safe bet Charles H. Miller will never head another Labor ticket. But what we wish to remark is this, that Labor should learn from this little experience with Miller, that Labor should choose its candidates from its own members, its own present members, active members, not from any EX-members, certainly not when those EX-members have become lawyers with political ambitions. You can not expect any

man, though he was once a member of Organized Labor, to overlook his own interests when he leaves your class and enters a class where he must have Capitalist support, in order to live.

The English Shipbuilder, Sir Christopher Furness, Member of Parliament for the Liberal Party, was recently unseated under the Corrupt Practices Act for having imported into his district during the campaign a large number of workmen from outside in order to influence votes in his favor among his own workmen. Considering that Sir Christopher is the Millionaire Shipbuilder who made himself conspicuous a few months ago by admitting his employees to copartnership with himself, selling them stock after the manner of the U. S. Steel Corporation, it now looks as if the British workmen were more ungrateful than some of their American brothers for the profit-sharing favors their masters confer upon them in order to make them better servants. Poor Sir Christopher; he not only had to hire outside workmen to come in and impress his own, but he has been discovered at it and punished for it, has actually lost his "M. P." and is being laughed at. Yet he was a "Liberal," that is, a "Democrat," like Mr. Bryan, and a Friend of Labor.

The Middle Class Rebellion won a great victory this week when the U. S. Supreme Court, by a vote of 4 to 3, decided the Interstate Commerce Commission had not exceeded its power in ordering a reduction of freight rates. If the Commission can control the R. R. rates, then the farmers and the small shippers will have some show again. It means the practical control by the Government over the railroads and, if the decision stands, the result will be Government Ownership. For, if the Government Commission controls the income of the railroads, the Government will have to be responsible for the payment of all the bills, including wages. Then we will see how much Socialism there is in such Government Ownership. Between paying dividends on outstanding stock and meeting the demands of the wage workers, the Government will be seen to excellent advantage as a Capitalist, exactly as it is now in Russia, or in Germany, or even in the Post Office Department in the United States itself, where employees are denied the ordinary rights of political free speech. The sooner the Proletarians find out what Middle Class Socialism is, the better it will be for the Proletarians.

President Taft announces he will sustain Secretary Ballinger's policy in Alaska with respect to Government assistance of railroads in that rich territory. It so happens that the Ballinger policy in this matter, as in all others, is in harmony with the interests and contentions of the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate which has such enormous investments in Alaska. The Taft-Ballinger-Guggenheim policy is avowedly to afford full opportunity to private enterprise, and not to tie up national resources for the benefit of future generations, as Pinchot and the Middle Class desire, but rather, let the same policy rule now as always in the past, give the same chance to every man as to every other. That sounds good and democratic. Judge Burke, of Seattle, candidate for U. S. senator, good friend and former counsel for the Great Northern R. R., holds the same old-fashioned doctrine, a free field for all and special favors for none. The plain, simple fact is, the Morgan-Guggenheim Syndicate have control of so much in Alaska that all they want is to be let alone. Nobody has the ghost of a chance against them, unless assisted by Government. Therefore the little fellows want Government aid to build their railroads to their mining claims, which are valueless unless they can get their ore to market. No doubt it is to the interest of progress that the Morgan Kingdom include Alaska, the sooner the better, notwithstanding the losses and sufferings of the dispossessed Middle Class rebels. The quicker we have absolute Trust Ownership, the sooner the Middle Class loses hope AS Middle Class, the quicker we all become real Proletarians, the more likely the Great Revolution is to come quickly: Let the Trust Class, this latest product of the Capitalist System be allowed to do its work swiftly, organize production on the grandest scale, economize every social energy, and then Society will assume control for itself.

The Judges of the Federal Courts are evidently feeling the public pressure as displayed in the great Middle Class uprising. As noted above, the Supreme Court itself, led by Justice McKenna, of California, the same Judge who opposed the Moyer-Haywood Pettibone kidnapping, handed down a decision against the Railroads. Almost simultaneously, U. S. District Judge Dyer, of Missouri, grants an injunction, temporarily restraining the Middle Western Roads from putting into effect their announced advance in freight rates on June 1st. The Counsel for the Government, upon whose application the injunction was granted, contended the twenty-five corporations enjoined, were engaged in a conspiracy against competition, that is, in restraint of trade, because they combined in a non-incorporated body, known as the "Western Trunk Line Committee," and through said Committee agreed together on certain freight rates, thereby intending to

THE PROLETARIAN

By Friedrich Engels

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

monopolize transportation between the Middle Western States.

There are some people who shut their eyes to the most obvious fact of present day society, namely, the Rebellion of the Middle Class of small capitalists against the Trust Class of great capitalists. Yet here is Judge Dyer issuing an injunction against Monopoly and in favor of Free Competition, and every person of Middle Class instincts, from Champ Clark to Samuel Gompers, will rejoice aloud at this evidence that "The People" are at last being heard. Judge Dyer will be lauded as another Judge Landis. All we care for is, that the Wage Class should see clearly how this fight is not their fight, but wholly a fight between their Little Masters and their Big Masters.

Until recently, the Central Labor Council of Seattle had a representative in the Chamber of Commerce and proudly has yet. Anyhow we wonder how the Resolutions passed by said Chamber on May 31st regarding the Open Shop will suit the Labor Council. We publish these Resolu-

BASIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

By Friedrich Engels

"More and more evident becomes the great central fact, that the cause of the miserable condition of the working class is to be sought, not in minor grievances, but in the Capitalist System itself."

"The wage-worker sells to the Capitalist his labor-force for a certain daily sum. After a few hours' work he has reproduced the value of that sum; but the substance of his contract is, that he has to work another series of hours to complete his working day; and the value he produces during those additional hours of surplus labor is surplus value, which costs the capitalist nothing, but yet goes into his pocket."

"This is the basis of the system which tends more and more to split up civilized society into a few Rothschilds and Vanderbilts, the owners of all the means of production and subsistence on the one hand, and an immense number of wage workers, the owners of nothing but their labor-force, on the other. And that this result is caused, not by this or that secondary grievance, but by the system itself—this fact has been brought out in bold relief by the development of Capitalism in the last half century."—Written in 1892.

Ten Little Children

Two little children all the splindles run, One inhaled cotton dust, then there was one.
One little child forlorn skipped a day for fun, But he was soon put in jail, then there was none.
"Sufter little children to come unto Me," For they are a bigger profit, than the men, you see. —Detroit News.
Ten little children working in a mine One was blown up in the air, then there were nine.
Nine little children thru the factory gate, One was caught in the machine, then there were eight.
Eight little children in the sweat-shop heaven, One of them pined away, then there were seven.
Seven little children in a fix, One of them starved to death, and then there were six.
Six little children in the glass works strive, After the explosion, then there were five.
Five little children in department store, One got consumption, then there were four.
Four little children go to work in glee, Trolley killed one of them, then there were three.
Three little children in the mill did stew, One caught pneumonia, then there were two.

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