

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

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RESULTS OF THE PHILA. STRIKE

WORLD'S EYES ON PHILADELPHIA

By Horace Traubel in N. Y. "Call"

Philadelphia is today a World's Center. It is making a world demonstration. The eyes of the world are all turned its way. I have always said: The only real strike is the sympathetic strike. Philadelphia has a real strike.

The masters are our slaves. They are forcing us together. They are increasing and multiplying and solidifying us. They are doing their own work. Their clubs, their bullets, their threats, their scabs, their murderers, are our emissaries provoking knowledge in the brains of people who so far have not known the alphabet of Revolution.

We should not denounce the masters. We should thank them. They haven't sense enough to postpone us. Masters, tyrants, never do have sense enough to postpone their own destruction. They throw away their cautions. They ride madly right into the fire. Philadelphia affords us a tremendously impressive instance of this curious suicidal abandon.

In the meantime, the crowd is learning its lesson fast. Get together or we will be destroyed. All get together. Not a few of you. Not even many of you. No. All of you. Get together. Your enemies can destroy you when you quarrel. They are owned by you when you agree.

A staunch front of human hearts can beat down any array of property. The crowd, which has suffered so long, which has sacrificed so much, which has endured so bravely, which has stood in the midst of plenty, will never win, will never achieve leisure until it realizes its integrity. But when the crowd becomes a crowd, the masters of the crowd will cease to rule.

Though the Philadelphia carmen should lose, the Philadelphia strike must win. Certain irrefragable steps would have been taken. From this day on something heretofore unaccomplished becomes a weapon of righteousness in the hands of Labor. What has happened in Philadelphia must lead us to what will happen anywhere. The Labor Movement will add one total to another until its formidable inventory threatens the foundations of the old estate. The fight in Philadelphia is not a fight for wages, but a fight for life. Not a fight for the day that is here, but a fight for all the days to come.

By ARTHUR JENSEN

Through the agency of the local daily press we have learned that the General Sympathetic Strike in Philadelphia has been called off and that the street railway employees are standing out alone against the Transit Company.

The fact is that Organized Labor in Philadelphia has changed its policy. Most of the unions have voted to return to work and to assess each of their members a certain weekly amount—most of them one day's wages weekly—in support of the carmen.

State Strike Is Abandoned

The State-wide Strike was abandoned March 23, after a two-day session of the Executive Council of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

The following statement was issued at the close of the session:

"The deliberations of the Executive Council of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor during the past two days are ended. The general strike proposition was given careful consideration and the conclusion reached that such a drastic remedy should not be applied unless as a last resort, and, inasmuch as there is still hope for a settlement of the strike in Philadelphia, all plans relative to a general industrial strike are held in abeyance.

"Notwithstanding this decision, it is, nevertheless, the purpose of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor to call a general State-wide strike, and it calls on every citizen to drop his usual occupation next election day and strike at the ballot box for clean politics and honest government."

It will be judged from this that a Labor Party is being planned. Organized Labor evidently thinks that its aims can be reached easier through the indirect method of electing its representatives to political offices than through the direct method of demanding what they want and enforcing their demands by the strike. Time will show which method is the more effective.

Politicians As Peacemakers

A number of conferences were held during the fifth week of the carmen's strike, in an endeavor to arrive at a settlement. A number of politicians, chief among whom was State Senator McNichol, acted as would-be mediators. It was through McNichol's efforts that the strike of last June was ended. He guaranteed the carmen that they would not be discriminated against for being members of the union, and made certain other promises which, after election, were not kept.

Several propositions were made at these conferences by the company or its political representatives, but only one was seriously considered. Briefly stated, this proposition by the company was as follows: The immediate reinstatement of as many strikers as possible, with the payment by the company to all surplus men of \$2 a day until places are provided for them.

A wage increase to 23 cents an hour on June 1, and an annual increase of one-half cent an hour until the wages reach 25 cents.

Recognition of a Grievance Committee and a reservation by the company to recognize other grievance committees.

Disposition of the cases of the 173 men, whose discharges led to

the strike, by a board of arbitration composed of President Kruger, of the company, and President Driscoll, of the Carmen's Union, with a third to be appointed by these two in case of disagreement.

The only clause objected to by the carmen was the one in which the company reserves the right to recognize other grievance committees than the one representing the union now on strike. This clause looks innocent enough at first glance, but when it is considered that a "yellow" union, fostered by the company, has already been organized and is known as the Keystone Union, it does not require much calculation to figure out which grievance committee the company will not recognize.

The proposition was unanimously rejected by a committee of nineteen carmen, representing the men formerly employed at the nineteen car barns.

Following upon the rejection of the company's offer, a messenger was sent to Organizer Pratt, asking if he would meet with U. S. Senator Penrose. He replied he had no personal objection, but at this time he preferred to be accompanied by a committee, so that no misunderstanding would occur or complication ensue. It was then agreed that a committee, consisting of Organizer Pratt, Rexin Orr, International Treasurer Carmen's Union, and Arthur G. Hawes, Vice President Central Labor Union, should meet Senator Penrose. At Penrose's office they met State Senator McNichol, who, here, as at former conferences, was the company's representative.

Carmen's Proposition

The carmen's representatives made a counter proposition as follows:

"First—The company immediately to reinstate a lot of its former employees who are out on strike without prejudice, all to be returned to their full seniority of rights, but in order to permit the company reasonable time to effect such an adjustment all men not properly returned to their places shall receive not less than \$2 per day until such time as their proper positions are restored, which time shall be within two months from date of settlement.

"Second—In regard to the discharged men, their cases shall be adjusted by President G. O. Kruger, acting for the company, and President Peter Driscoll, acting for the employees. In the event that they fail to reach an amicable understanding in regard to these cases, the same may be submitted to an arbitration committee as outlined by the act of 1893. The men who have been unjustly suspended or discharged shall then be reinstated in their former positions and paid for their time lost on account of such suspension or discharge.

"Third—With these two propositions practically agreed upon, it is hereby understood that the existing agreement entered into last June shall immediately be restored and faithfully carried out by the interested parties."

That the proposition was not accepted by Senator McNichol may be seen from the following extract of a statement sent out by the Committee of Ten after the conference:

"It was pointed out to the Senator that he was instrumental in securing the agreement of last June, and he had pledged, as had also Mayor Bayburn, that he would personally guarantee the company's fulfillment of its part of the contract if we would ac-

cept it and effect a settlement of the trouble of last June. The Senator said conditions were such at the present time that the company would not enter into any signed agreement with its employees, and would not even carry out the provisions of the June contract. We believe that this is sufficient evidence to convince the public that the company has no serious intentions of being sincere in trying to reach an honorable settlement along the lines that have recently been suggested during all of this peace talk. Until they are willing to submit reasonable evidence as a guarantee of good faith on their part there is nothing left for us but fight to the finish. The fight will be waged with all of the vehemence and vigor at our command, and if every citizen will continue to use their best efforts to force this company to be reasonable, fair and honorable this fight need not be carried on for any continued length of time, as the company must yield to public opinion when it is based on justice and right."

Daily Papers Lie

The daily papers of Philadelphia almost every day make statements to the effect that rumors of large numbers of carmen going back to work are being heard. However, the company in its daily statistics does not show any great progress in the restoration of the car service. According to their own statements (which are never found true) less than 1,400 cars out of the regular number of 2,070 are running. The Strike Committee, on the other hand, claims that the number of cars running never reached 900. The Traction Company is losing heavily, as the comparatively few cars carry but few passengers and the scab conductors are taking advantage of the situation and "knock down" so freely that less than half of the fares collected find their way to the treasury of the company.

Of the 6,500 carmen on strike over a thousand have found other employment in the city awaiting a settlement of the strike, some have left the city, many are making a living by selling newspapers and as solicitors, while a large number are being supported by strike benefits from the International Union and by contributions from other bodies of Organized Labor. But they are not returning to work, declarations by the company and the daily press notwithstanding.

The carmen have learned the lesson of class solidarity. Their firm stand proves that. And the clear, ringing note of class consciousness in their circulars is a delight to hear. The following appeal for financial aid sent to Philadelphia unions is a noteworthy illustration.

Carmen's Appeal

"Dear Sir and Brother: This is a direct appeal to you and to your financial aid. The Philadelphia Division of Street Railway Employees, now on strike, is not making this appeal solely for the benefit of its members, much as they need money to buy food for themselves and families; the appeal is asked of organized labor for the benefit of organized labor in order that this union of street car employees may fight this strike against organized capital through to a successful finish.

"We have pitted against us the most heartless corporation that ever attempted a war of extermination against the labor movement. The Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company refused to meet us or treat with us, and, in the face of an overwhelming public sentiment, absolutely ignored our request for arbitration. This is not so much a strike as it is a lockout. Back of the transit company are scores of employers' associations, all of which are pledged financially to aid the transit company in its attempt to destroy our organization and suppress our agitation for living wages and decent conditions of employment.

"If our union is destroyed organized labor in Philadelphia will be given a blow from which it will take years to recover. If our union is destroyed the labor movement of America will be regarded by the employing class generally as a joke. Really, this fight is your fight as much as it is our fight. For once in the history of the industrial battles the issue is clear-cut and the line-up of the two sides definite and complete.

"This fight is a fight between the workers and their exploiters. It has fallen to the Philadelphia carmen to begin the skirmish. Now the battle is on, and will stay on until victory or defeat is our portion. If the Philadelphia fight fails, capital will rejoice; if it wins, labor everywhere will move forward swiftly to its emancipation.

"To disclose the obstacles that have been put in our path by the Transit Company, which also owns and runs the city government, we have been refused the right to hold public street-parades, to operate hand-organs, by which to collect money from a sympathizing public, to run delivery wagons in competition with scab-manned cars, or to do anything lawfully to locally advance our cause. Our members have been arrested, beaten with clubs and sent to jail for periods ranging from 30 days to six years for no cause whatever. Everything that can be done has been done by the political-transit combination to defeat our cause and crush our union.

"ask that your union donate what funds you can immediately, sending the money direct to the secretary-treasurer of Division No. 477, A. A. of S. and E. R. E. of A., Philadelphia, Pa.

"Thanking you, I remain, fraternally yours,

"H. B. BARRON,

"Secretary-Treasurer."

"P. S.—When forwarding contributions to Philadelphia, also notify W. D. Mahon, International President, 601 Hodges building, Detroit, Mich.

"In behalf of the International organization, I fully endorse the above appeal, and urge all organized labor and its friends to render such assistance, at once, as can be afforded."

"W. D. MAHON,

"International President."

Several thousands of textile workers, hundreds of grocery clerks and others did not go back to work when the sympathetic strike was called off by the Central Labor Union. They had made demands of their own in the form of higher wages or shorter hours.

Women Organize

Under the direction of Luella Twining, a Woman's Auxiliary to the carmen's union has been organized with Miss Twining as the president. Luella Twining will be remembered as the

young woman who represented the Western Federation of Miners at the time of the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone affair.

The purpose of this auxiliary is to hold entertainments and in other ways raise money to continue the fight. The women show great enthusiasm, hundreds of them attending the meetings with their little children and the "Philadelphia Public Ledger"—which is by no means friendly to Labor—admits that "they are deadly in earnest." One Mrs. Chadwick, the wife of a striking conductor, is quoted by the "R-cord" as follows:

"I will go out to work myself at anything I can get before I will let my husband go back on the cars beaten. I know all about this. My husband came to me that Saturday the strike was called and asked, 'Did I do right?' and I said, 'if you had done anything else I would never live with you again!'"

With such women the Working Class cannot lose!

The Women's Auxiliary had planned a parade through the downtown streets of the wives, sisters, daughters and sweethearts of the carmen. Director of Public Safety Henry Clay reared to issue a permit for the parade. The women applied for an injunction and the hearing was set for April 9th, thus temporarily postponing the parade.

The police is still continuing to arrest drivers for hauling passengers.

"But," said Mr. Hennessey, "these open shop min ye minshay they are for th' unions, if properly conducted."

"Shure," said Mr. Dooley, "if properly conducted. An' they ye are. An' how wud they have thim conducted? No strikes, no rules, no contracts, no scales, hardy any wages, an' dam few numbers."

(Editor's Note—The following is from the Seattle "Post-Intelligencer" of April 6. Pretty high compliment to the "Int. Socialist Review" to be rejected by the Carnegie Library.)

Washington Labor Party

Referendum Adopted by Vote of 4 to 1.

Resolution No. 26—Formation of Labor Party; by Delegate A. W. Swenson, Spokane Typographical Union No. 193.

Whereas, Legislation and other political action is most important for the advancement of labor from the fact that every industrial question is finally a political question, as demonstrated by the efforts of employers to destroy labor organizations and their influence through denial of freedom of speech, free press, right to boycott, by the issuance of injunctions against labor, the use of the police, militia, army and private detectives to defeat the efforts of labor to better its industrial condition; and

Whereas, All efforts of the wage-workers to secure labor legislation through pledges from candidates of the Republican and Democratic political parties, and lobbying at the legislative sessions have proven complete failures, owing to the fact that the old parties stand as representatives of business and propertied interests as against labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That for labor's own best interests, the Washington State Federation of Labor urges all affiliated and unaffiliated labor organizations in the state to send delegates to a convention to be held on July 4, 1910, in the city of Spokane, for the purpose of organizing a Labor party, separate and distinct from the Democratic and Republican parties, and without fusion or trading with them, with the view of placing labor candidates in the field for congressional, state, district and county offices; be it further

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution by the State Federation of Labor, the same be forwarded through the secretary to every labor organization in the state for endorsement and election of delegates to said convention, the number of delegates of each organization in such political convention to be the same as provided for representation in the State Federation of Labor conventions.

The Open Shop

(By Mr. Dooley.)

"What's all this talk that's in the papers about the open shop?" asked Mr. Hennessey.

"Why, don't ye know," said Mr. Dooley. "Really, I'm surprised at yer ignorance, Hinnessey. What is th' open shop? Shure, 'tis a shop where they kape th' door open 't accommodate th' constant stream of min comin' in 't take jobs cheaper thn th' min what has th' jobs. 'Tis like this, Hinnessey—suppose wan of these free-barn American citizens is wurkin' in an open shop for th' princely wages of wan large iron dollar a day of tin hours. Along comes another free-barn son-of-a-gun, an' he sez 't' boss: 'I think I could handle th' job for ninety cents.' Shure, sez th' boss, an' the wan dollar man gets th' merry, jinglin' can 'an' goes out into the cool world 't exercise his inalienable rights as a free-barn American citizen and scab on some other poor devil. An' so it goes on, Hinnessey. An' who gets th' benefit? Thure, it saves th' boss money, but he don't care no more for money than he does for his right eye. It's all principle wid him. He hates 't see min robbed of their independence. They must have their independence, regardless of inything else."

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A Labor Party

"There is no reason why Labor, in the political arena, should not be guided by its past experience in the economic field.

"First of all, the elevation of favored workmen into the good graces of the employer is not good Unionism.

"Granting high salaries and better positions to one or two privileged men in the shop is no material benefit to the shop or the working people as a whole.

"In the same way, the election and elevation of a few workmen to political office is not, of itself, a political victory for Labor; and it is apt to turn out to be defeat, if accomplished through a trade with one of the old parties."—Joe Cohen, in N. Y. "Call."

Clay's Progress

"The workings of that 'thin end of the wedge,' which, beginning small, creates an ever larger and larger fissure, were never more strikingly illustrated than in the conduct of Henry Clay, the obtuse Director of Public Safety in Philadelphia.

"First, he suppressed Emma Gold-

THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

By W. B. Mahon, President Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees

A wrong impression concerning the settlement of the strike has gone forth and the public has been led to believe that the question of a settlement hinged on the reinstatement of 178 striking employees, thus leaving the impression that all we wanted was the reinstatement of our members into their old positions.

This is not correct at all. For, while we demand the reinstatement of all our members, there must be connected with that an agreement that will properly protect the men in their organized rights in the future. No settlement will be made, so far as the Amalgamated Association is concerned, until that condition is conceded.

If it is a matter of reinstating our men, we could have had that done two weeks ago. But THIS FIGHT HAS BEEN WAGED FOR THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE, and it will be continued on those lines, and there will be no settlement on the part of our association until such conditions as I have just spoken of have been secured.

The 38 carmen who were arrested in the midnight raid on their headquarters were charged with conspiracy in connection with dynamiting a car. The Grand Jury, however, in investigating the charge, utterly ignored the bill of indictment, much to the displeasure of Judge Barratt.

Another case before the Grand Jury was that of a man charged with rioting. When the jury refused to convict, Judge Audenried grew very angry and told the members that they were violators of their oaths, that instead of

Continued on Page 3

man and anarchism.

"Then he interfered with Socialist meetings and threatened to have Socialist leaders arrested.

"Next, he suppressed the meeting of striking carmen on a field hired by them.

"Now he suppresses Galsworthy's 'Strife,' a play commenting on and interpreting the Labor War.

"The Russification of America proceeds apace."

—Leonard D. Abbott in N. Y. "Call."

Stupid Outrage

In Newcastle, Pa., the capitalists

have been guilty of about the most senseless attempt to suppress the Labor Press that we have ever had to record.

The Socialist Party in that city of some 40,000 people, mostly proletarians, was particularly aggressive, and revolutionary; so much so, that they published a little paper, "The Free Press," and distributed 10,000 copies each week from house to house, FREE.

The natural result followed: the Working Class was aroused and at the last election these Fighting Proletarians actually elected one of their own number, McKeever, to the city council. McKeever was the editor of the "Free Press."

A few months ago another revolutionary paper, "Solidarity," was started at Newcastle representing the I. W. W., with A. M. Storton as editor and printed in the office of the "Free Press."

Finding Labor so active, Capital got busy, as at Spokane, but Newcastle was even stupider, if possible, than Spokane. The officials had the edi-

It is magnificent stupidity. These Proletarians of Western Pennsylvania are to be congratulated. Like Herve in France, they can well afford to joke and be happy in their prison cells, while they see the circulation of their papers and the appreciation of the Cause they stand for spread far and wide by these stupid tactics of the enemy.

We are not quite sure but we are now making a mistake in thus giving notice to these capitalist fools that they are fools. Otherwise they might have been such big fools as never to have found out that they were fools.

Later Note.—A capitalist daily in Newcastle was acquitted by another jury on same charge brought by Fred Merrick, a proletarian reporter. Evidently the capitalists can now control any ordinary jury. In Washington the last legislature legislated that all jurymen must be TAXPAYERS.

PRINCE HAGEN

This is the title of Upton Sinclair's latest book, published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., of Chicago.

It is a very keen analysis of capitalist morality and religion. Its satire is superb, though stated in such a subtle manner through the experiences of the daring Prince, that the most sensitive Christian could not take offense, while he would be forced to admit a superficial and coercive character of modern ethical standards.

It is an admirable little work for distribution among the multitudes even of workmen who still cherish a high respect for inherited and bourgeois ideals. This book ought to set the dullest worshiper to thinking what his worship really means.

It is dressed up with sufficient romance to make it read like a thrilling story of adventure. No one will begin "Prince Hagen" without finishing it. Nothing but pressing business will stop him till he reaches the last page.

The book is hardly off the press, but we have ordered a lot for immediate circulation among our subscribers and their friends. So valuable a propaganda medium do we consider it, that we have decided to offer it as a sort of premium for new subscriptions, something we have not done in many years.

Offer No. 1—This is our proposition: For two yearly subscribers, whoever sends them in, and two dollars enclosed, we will forward by mail, prepaid, one copy of Upton Sinclair's new story, Prince Hagen, handsomely bound in cloth, price one dollar. Or, if you prefer, we will send three copies of the paper covered edition, which sells for twenty-five cents each. We make the same offer for four six-months subscriptions, or for eight three-months subscriptions, or for any combination of yearly, six months, or three months' subs amounting to two dollars. This two-dollar offer holds good for all subscriptions, whether new ones, or renewals of old ones.

Second Offer—For one new subscription, and enclosure of Fifty Cents, we will send to any address named, "The Workingman's Paper" for six months, and one copy of Upton Sinclair's Prince Hagen, bound in paper, which is sold everywhere for 25 cents.

To old subscribers: No objection to your extending your subscription, in order to take advantage of offer No. 1, even if you are already paid a year ahead.

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This Sunday paper, for which there has been a strong demand, will contain a complete condensation of the week. Being, therefore, partly of the nature of a weekly periodical it will be able to circulate to every part of the Union.
 There will be full Socialist and Trade Union news, a full page of Woman's Sphere and the best department "For Young Folks" ever printed. Early issues will contain stories and articles by Prof. Thorstein Veblen, Leonid Andreff, "Hebe," Brigit Stanton, Max S. Hayes, Ewald, Norolenko, Ernest Poole, Robert Hunter, Charles Edward Russell, R. Rives La Monte and others.
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THE NEW YORK CALL,
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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.



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A Proletarian Newspaper

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

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

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

Now, the paper hitherto known as "The Socialist" has never assumed this attitude of Intellectual Pharisaism, 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 fails, 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 its 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 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 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 Sir—

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 unify 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.

Results In Philadelphia

Continued from Page 1

trying cases according to the evidence they deliberately gave way to their sympathies and acquitted the defendant regardless of the testimony. At the conclusion of his remarks the judge held the defendant in \$1,000 bail to be of good behavior for six months.

Concerning the strike, the grand jurors had the following to say:

"In the course of investigation of crime this jury was impressed with the fact that certain individuals were somehow immune from prosecution for certain offenses that others were indicted for—such as carrying con-

cealed deadly weapons. Now it seems to us that the Police Department should be more alert in the prosecution of all individuals found carrying such concealed deadly weapons irrespective of whether they are employees of the Rapid Transit Company or not.

"In view of the number of deplorable deaths and accidents that have occurred recently in this city apparently through the inefficient operators of our street cars, this grand jury would recommend that, as a safeguard to the public, the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company be compelled to employ only efficient men to run their cars."

The Transit Company evidently did not pick the right Grand Jury.

Strike Effects

After the General Strike has been called off the question is being asked by men in the Labor Movement throughout the country: "Did it pay?" "Have the results justified the effort?" Some Labor editors say yes. Others, notably the "Chicago Daily Socialist," belittles the General Strike, saying that "as a panacea, the general strike has distinctly failed. . . . Along with sabotage, strikes, grafting and other forms of 'direct action' it must be considered as a part of the guerilla warfare." In closing its editorial the "Daily Socialist" says that the general strike "will be valuable principally as a part of the radical arsenal of words in the vocabulary of hysterical litterateurs looking for a reputation as revolutionists."

It seems as though A. M. Simons has forgotten that he helped bring the I. W. W. into the world and that the General Strike has always been regarded by this organization as the chief weapon of the Working Class.

To say that the strike was a distinct failure is highly unfair, to put it mildly. Some of its net results may easily be enumerated. At least 15,000 new members were added to the ranks of Organized Labor in Philadelphia as a direct result of the strike. That in itself should be ample justification. Thousands succeeded in frightening their employers into paying higher wages and giving better conditions.

But the most important effect of the strike was the Class Solidarity which it developed. A thousand lectures on the Class Struggle and a million leaflets on Socialism could not have equalled the effect of the strike.

The Labor Party

Another effect of the strike is the organization of a Labor Party. A temporary organization has been formed in Philadelphia and a meeting has been called for the middle of this month for the purpose of selecting a name and adopting a platform.

The motion to organize a Labor Party was unanimously carried in a meeting of delegates elected by the various unions for the purpose of discussing such a step. It should be added, though, that a large number of Socialists had left the hall before the vote was taken.

Preparations are being made for the organization of a State Labor Party for the campaign of next fall.

One will naturally think that Pennsylvania should be a fertile field for Proletarian Politics.

Pennsylvania is undoubtedly the most typical Proletarian State in the country. The coal mining industry alone employs about 350,000 persons. The Iron and Steel industry employs about half as many.

The textile, woolen and cotton mills employ another hundred thousand.

The Tin Plate Works, Potteries and other gigantic industries swell the Proletarian army to about a million. That would indicate that at least four millions—or a vast majority of Pennsylvania's population—are of the Industrial Proletariat.

At first glance that would point toward victory for the Working Class in independent political action. But when one investigates the voting power of this industrial army it begins to seem doubtful that the Wage Workers can muster a majority.

Non-Voters Numerous

According to the report of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics of Pennsylvania of 1904, there were in that year 160,579 persons employed in the Anthracite and 140,331 in the Bituminous Coal fields. Of this number only 30 per cent were Americans, all the rest being foreign born. Now, it is a well-known fact that Slavs and Italians do not as a rule become American citizens. And statistics show that these constitute the overwhelming majority of the foreign-born miners. In the Bituminous fields the Slavonians, Italians, Poles, Hungarians, Austrians and Russians constituted 51 per cent of all employees, while in the Anthracite fields these same nationalities number 43 per cent of all employees or 13 per cent more than the Americans. The Bureau reports no statistics on nationalities employed in the Steel and Iron industry, but it is hardly likely that the percentage of Slavs and Italians is any smaller here.

Now, these hundreds of thousands have no vote on political matters. And the employing class would not grant them citizenship to be used against it. But they do have a vote on industrial affairs when once organized into unions. As voters to send representatives to legislative bodies they have no power. Their sole power lies in industrial organization.

Whether Labor in Pennsylvania can accomplish anything in politics without these foreigners is problematical. If the Proletarian voters are not numerous enough to command a majority the Labor Party is not likely to become a success, except as a tail to a middle class or farmers' kite.

Time will show.

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The Middle Class Rebellion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Undoubtedly, such a Socialism is reactionary both in itself and as compared with the uninterrupted development of Monopoly. It aims to preserve the present system of Capital and Wage Labor.

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

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

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

On the other hand, if the Trusts are allowed to proceed to their "natural" conclusion, then the organization of industry into larger and larger units, completely eliminating the "Little Fellow" by precipitating him into the Proletariat, will go on apace, with accelerating speed. At the present rate, how long will it take for the Harriman and Hill systems of Railways to effect a combination which will be able to crush and absorb all the other Railroads in the United States? Attorney F. B. Kellogg, 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

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 3,000 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 that the astonishing election of a Democratic Congressman 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 now united under the leadership of such men as Berger and Thompson and Gaylord, a business man 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 denude the Middle Class and reactionary character

of the Milwaukee brand of Socialists, or, as they themselves prefer to be called, Social-Democrats.

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

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

Meanwhile the Revolutionary Proletarians are more and more combining into industrial organizations which menace the existing order and openly demand the abolition of the Wage System itself. As yet, this class of proletarians has no political organization of the Proletariat for the Proletariat. The two Socialist Parties are both travesties of proletarianism, both led by the small business man and the intellectual. In San Francisco, the "Union Labor" Party means Labor financed and used by Big Capital. In Washington, the "United Labor" Party seems disposed to join hands with the insurgent farmers and thus make a sort of Milwaukee affair, in which case the Socialist Party of that 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.

The Revolt of the Many

Robert L. Owen, U. S. Senator from Oklahoma, in an address in New York March 20, declared: "That the beginning of the end of the rule of the few is near at hand is borne out by the revolt of the House of Representatives against Speaker Cannon."

many or the few should bear rule for the present? Remembering that the "Many" are the Small Business men and the "Few" are the Trusts?

Senator Owen says further: "The people do not elect their Governor; they do not elect their Congressmen. These officials are appointed by those who desire to make money by special privilege and legislation. They spend millions to put their tools in power. We did not need this bribery scandal at Albany to tell us this. Such a state of affairs is so notorious that only an imbecile would deny. But you can't control the Government unless you control the Trusts."

There you hear the Middle Class Revolt against the Trust Class. "CONTROL THE TRUSTS." Under the influence of this spirit of rebellion on the part of the Farmers and Tradesmen of America, the old Party lines are disappearing, Democrats and Insurgent Republicans are acting together, a recent Republican is elected to Congress in Massachusetts as a Democrat, Roosevelt and Bryan are likely to be in the same party at the next national election, and the Gompers and Berger Proletariat, more's the pity, not unlikely to be associated with them.

Is it in the direction of progress that the Trusts should be controlled? That is the question for the Working Class to answer before rushing into a Public Ownership Party composed of (1) Business Men, (2) Farmers, (3) Skilled Mechanics. Read our main editorial on this subject.

A Leaky Star

The editor of this paper has, during the last ten years, been called so many different names that he has long forgotten them. But Daniel De Leon awakens him with a new one. De Leon assails Titus as a "Star," and a leaky star at that. Here are his exact words: "The Titus star somehow struck a snag and sprung a leak." Such a celestial catastrophe staggers the imagination. Who said De Leon was once professor of rhetoric?

From "The Glass Worker"

(Organ of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America, 418 N. Clark St., Chicago.)
"The general strike, like that in Philadelphia, is a new departure in this country, and in the future there may be more of such conflicts. The solidarity of the workers is being more fully understood as time passes. Craft interest is forgotten for the time being, and in its place Organized Labor has taken the position: 'United we stand, divided we fall.'
"In the future the General Strike may be more effective, for the workers will be educated to this idea, not only by the agitators, so-called, but by experience, the teacher of many a hard lesson.
"O, no. The general strike—to simply strike—is not all that will be learned. A struggle of this kind has more significance. The workers will learn, and must learn; so they will not have their heads beaten with a policeman's club, be shot by deputies, militia or regular soldiers; their leaders put in jail on trumped-up charges of conspiracy to riot, etc. When they reason this out, they will quit voting the masters' political parties and will no longer vote the club, or revolver, or Gatling Gun into the hands of the masters. The workingman will go into workingman's politics and see that his representatives, not the representatives of the master class, will legislate, execute and decide upon the constitutionality of any law."

ONE OF THE SIGNS



PERCY—I actually caught my man thinking, yesterday.
ETHELYNE—Perhaps he is a Socialist.