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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.

"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.

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 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.

"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.

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!

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."

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."

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.

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.

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.

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?

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.

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 Bourgeoisie 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.

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.

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.

Extract from Editor's Letter

My Dear S.—
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.

# 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 Poydexter 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 "Cannons" 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 Rockefeller, 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 a 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., 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 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 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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HERMON F. TITUS Editor
ERWIN B. AULT Associate Editor
ARTHUR JENSEN Assistant Editor
HESSY FISET Assistant Editor
HATTIE W. TITUS Business Manager

Contributors.

RYAN WALKER, New York Cartoonist
JOHN F. HART, Philadelphia Cartoonist
THOS. A. SLADDEN Portland, Ore
ERNEST UTERMANN California
A. B. CALLAHAN Juneau, Alaska
EDMOND PELUSO Paris, France

“Revolution” In Milwaukee

In his paper of April 16th, Victor Berger says: “To set at rest all wild claims and dire predictions, we hereby again declare that the Milwaukee Social Democratic movement is revolutionary, class conscious, uncompromising, clear cut and Marxian.”

In line with this kind of a revolution, he goes on to enumerate a few of these “Important Details,” thus: “We will not try to establish the Cooperative Commonwealth next Tuesday, but we will surely drive out the grafters and break up the contractors’ ring.”

Berger says next: “We will not nail the red flag to the City Hall, but we will try to readjust taxes so that their burden will fall in a less degree upon the poor and so that the rich shall pay their just share.”

In exact harmony with this division of society into rich and poor, rather than wage class and capitalist class, is to be interpreted Berger’s later manifesto, issued the day before the Social Democratic officials were installed in office, published in the Associated Press dispatches and embracing some good economics.

Here is the quotation: “The battle for human rights has become a battle to determine which form of government we shall have in the future—Plutocracy or Democracy.”

In this classification Mr. Bryan will agree with Milwaukee and so will Mr. LaFollette, or even Mr. Pinchot and Mr. Roosevelt. They also are engaged in the Battle of Democracy against Plutocracy.

There could scarcely be a more self-contradictory position than that assumed by the Milwaukee “Socialists.” In one breath they announce the “Middle Class is fast disappearing,” so much so that it may be regarded as having already disappeared; and yet in every appeal and in all their promises and proposals they have their eye on that very non-existent Middle Class.

On March 26th, just prior to the election, Berger wrote in his paper, the “Social-Democratic Herald,” the following comment on the situation: “Milwaukee people read the magazines, read the newspapers. They know the reason for the high prices and for the labor troubles. They know that the public utilities of Milwaukee are owned by two or three national trusts.

That is certainly a frank appeal to the Middle-Class opponent of the Trust. On April 16th, after the election, he talks in exactly the same strain: “We will not confiscate the public service corporations, but we will ask the legislature for power to buy them. And we will build and operate the municipal electric light and power plant, which has been promised the people of Milwaukee for twelve years by the capitalist parties.”

Hear again this Middle Class prophet of Milwaukee, speaking unrebuked, even by New York Socialists, in the name of the Working Class: “We will try to give employment to as many of our citizens as possible. . . . AND WE WILL PAY A FAIR DAY’S WAGE FOR A FAIR DAY’S WORK.”

But the Bergerites of Milwaukee are nothing if not practical. They know what they are about. They could never win by preaching confiscation and the red flag and the overthrow of the wage system.

And therefore it will not unlikely succeed. It promised to reduce the prices of meats, tea, bread, street car rides, gas, coal, wood and light. If it really does these

things, the middle class people will be able to live so much the cheaper, and the wage class people will never learn that these reductions in the cost of their living will be the cause of a corresponding reduction in their wages within a year or two.

The Milwaukee kind of “Revolution” slurs over the essential antagonism between the Wage Class and the Business Class. It assumes that the Proletarians can gradually take the management of Capitalist production and manage it to the satisfaction of the Capitalist Class.

The Social-Democrats are therefore wise in their announced intention to do middle class things only. This is the Day of the Middle Class. It is now or never for them.

Well, anyhow, we have to congratulate Berger the Victor for a neat euphemism for the Middle Class Rebellion, “Revolution in Permanence.” Will the educated economists in the Socialist world accept the plausible masquerade as the real thing or uncover behind it that old exploiter and false friend, Small Capital?

Socialist Successes In '77-'78

From 1877 till 1879, during which time the labor excitements continued, the party conducted many spirited campaigns in state and local elections, and in some of its strongholds it met with considerable success.

The Kearney movement was but the expression of a vague and unenlightened discontent. It was not based on any definite social theory; it offered no constructive measures; its battle cry was: “Down with the rich!”

of the State administration, legislature, and judiciary; the curbing of the powers of corporate capital, and the abolition of Chinese labor. This instrument for a time occasioned a good deal of fear among the possessing classes, but subsequent events proved the apprehension quite unfounded.

The movement was so circumvented by succeeding legislatures and so “construed” and “trimmed” by the courts as to render it quite insignificant.—Hillquit’s “History of Socialism in U. S.”

The Greenback Labor Party

The “Greenback” movement was almost exploded, when the great strikes and labor agitation of 1877 brought new life into it and gave it an entirely new turn. The financial issues were relegated to the background, and the demands of labor took their place.

The movement gained popularity among the industrial workers in the East, and in the ensuing congressional elections the party polled about 1,000,000 votes and elected fourteen representatives to Congress.

SOCIALIST LABOR FUSION.

As long as the Greenback Party had limited its agitation to currency reform, the Socialist Labor Party strenuously discountenanced all political alliances with it, but since 1878, when it came in closer touch with the labor movement, the party’s attitude toward it was more friendly.

representatives of their respective sections. Among the latter were Philip Van Patten, the party’s secretary; Dr. Doual, P. J. McGuire, R. Parsons, Mrs. L. Parsons, T. J. Morgan, and other prominent members of the Socialist Labor Party.

In the Socialist caucus it was decided to apply for admission to the Greenback convention as a body, and to vote as a unit on all questions.

Dr. Doual, as the spokesman of the caucus, presented these demands to the convention “in behalf of 100,000 voters represented by the Socialist Labor Party.”

The demands were substantially conceded; the Socialists were given the required representation on the platform committee and were allowed forty-four votes on the floor of the convention.

SOPS TO SOCIALISTS.

The main work of the Socialists in the convention was in connection with the drafting of the platform. They strove to bring the views expressed in that document as close to their conception of social evolution and the class struggle as possible.

“Civil government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil, thus enabling the producers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort and the facilities for mental, social, and moral culture; and we condemn as unworthy of our civilization the barbarism which imposes upon the wealth producers a state of perpetual drudgery as the price of bare animal existence.”

“Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power, the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery, and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, and the hours of toil are but little shortened, and few producers are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence.”

It was also on motion of the Socialist Morgan, that the convention, after much discussion, adopted a plank calling for the collective ownership of the land.

On the whole, however, the Socialists were not well satisfied with the platform and management of the Greenback Party, and participated in its presidential campaign in a half-hearted way.

Immediately after the campaign the alliance with the Greenbackers was dissolved, never to be renewed again, except in a few isolated instances.—Hillquit’s “History of Socialism in U. S.”

1893---Not 1910

The subject of Socialism was brought before the American Federation of Labor in a direct manner at its Chicago convention of 1893, when Thomas J. Morgan, a member of the Socialist Labor Party, introduced the following resolution:

Whereas, The trade-unionists of Great Britain have, by the light of experience and logic of progress, adopted the principle of independent labor politics as an auxiliary to their economic action; and

Whereas, Such action has resulted in the most gratifying success; and

- 1. Compulsory education;
2. Direct legislation;
3. A legal eight-hour work-day;
4. Sanitary inspection of workshop and mine and home;
5. Liability of employers for injury to health, body, or life;
6. The abolition of the contract system in all public work;
7. The abolition of the sweating system.

Resolved, That this convention hereby indorses this political action of our British comrades; and



America, with the request that their delegates to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed on this most important subject.”

Milwaukee Not the First

The resolution was discussed with much earnestness and skill on both sides, but the socialists had decidedly the better end of the debate; the general destitution of the workingmen brought on by the industrial crisis of that year had made the minds of the delegates more receptive to radical social views, and the fact that the resolution called for a referendum vote on its final adoption, placed its opponents in the unpleasant position of withholding an important question from the consideration of their constituents.

The following two years witnessed a rapid growth of the young party. The party nominated state or local tickets in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Connecticut, Maryland, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri and California. In the fall elections of 1891 it elected the first Socialist representatives in the Massachusetts legislature, James F. Carey and Lewis M. Scates, and in December of the same year the Social Democrats of Haverhill, Mass., elected John C. Chase to the office of mayor of that city, while C. H. Coulter was elected mayor of Brockton, Mass., also on a Social Democratic ticket.

In 1902-3, the Socialist Party elected its candidates for mayor in Brockton and Haverhill, two shoe manufacturing towns in the state of Massachusetts, and also in the towns of Sheboygan, Wis., and Anaconda, Mont. It also elected about fifty of its candidates to the offices of aldermen or councilmen in a number of towns in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas, Iowa, Indiana, Montana and Colorado, and a score or two of other municipal officers in the same places.

“The Socialist” of Melbourne, Australia, advertises that it is willing to accept contributions to enable Emma Goldman to take a trip through that country. “The Socialist” is usually pretty clear-cut, and we fall to see how it can square its proletarianism to its support of Emma Goldman’s bourgeois

Our “Prince Hagen” Offers

Again we call your attention to the two offers we made two weeks ago. The responses are coming in and every one is delighted with “Prince Hagen.”

The publishers advertise this book as “Upton Sinclair’s Greatest” and make the following statement as to its history:

“Prince Hagen” was originally brought out by a very respectable Boston publisher at a high price. There was far too much truth in it to suit the tastes of the capitalistic buyers to whom it was offered, and it was soon “out of print.”

The author has now wisely decided that wage workers are the ones who will read, enjoy and circulate this book. He has therefore leased the plates to Kerr & Co., the present publishers, who stand for wage-working revolutionists.

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 the superficial and coercive character of modern ethical standards.

It is an admirable work for distribution among the multitudes even of workingmen 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.

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