Seattle, Washington, Saturday, April 22, 1910

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MIDDLE CLASS OR WORKING and some cast-off clothing now and tails of the business their skill and then will quiet the consciences of workmanship, and their ability to turn CLASS

Editor "Workingman's Paper:'

in Milwaukee is creating great enthusiasm in the Socialist party. Some how I can't seem to feel as much enthuslasm about it as most of them do.

The reason of this is that I can't feel sure just how much of a true the pursuit of happiness, for which "Socialist" victory it will turn out to

On the surface it will appear to mos people, no doubt, as a real Socialist conquest, and those that think that way will cry out against anyone who has the temerity to doubt it. It was it as such with most members of the and the enjoyment of the things which labeled "Socialist," and that will fix party, but that fact is far from being go to make life worth living." conclusive. It will not be the first instance in history in which a name has deceived hosts of people. Rome was called a "Republic" for centuries blance to being such, except in name. From that time to this, tens of millions have been deceived utterly about the truth thru "That strange spell, a NAME."

"A modern instance," a most con spicuous one, and one altogether apropos to the subject in hand, is the "Democratic Party," which never had the remotest semblance to a democ-

Lowell puts it thus: "Let us speak plain; there is more force in names than most men dream of; and a lie may keep its throne a whole age of some fair-seeming name."

Berger and the clique he dominates have had control of the Social-Demo cratic party of Milwaukee ever since its first organization. I have watched their tactics for several years and heaped ridicule on revolutionary Soparty must subscribe to belief in the at the next election. class struggle as required by the national constitution, leaving out this requirement, and they are said to admit rience with that sort of votes, among to the working class, but court the never recovered a single one since. middle class. The Chicago "Daily Sohe is reported to have said that they had "no revolutionary intentions," and he wrote out a statement in which. after saving that the election was a victory for Socialist principles, he "The success of myself and my associates is an expression of the disaffairs in the city hall," and, "Personally, I shall be at the command of best of my ability to be the servant

TO NEW READERS.

You get this paper as a sample you like the paper, subscribe. If per" will thoroughly cover every pretends to be up-to-date in these matters can afford to do with-

or race, doing my best to serve them"; I notice that the Socialist victory and hopes the people generally will stand by him in his "endeavor to make Milwaukee a place where, indeed, the citizen-every citizen-may find it possible to attain the highest expression of that right to 'life, liberty and

well. "I want to see Milwaukee a city where every man can bring up his children in peace and comfort and make them good citizens and good men and women; where the commo man and the rich may find happiness

This is certainly beautiful and very conservative, and just exactly what one would expect the ordinary bourgeois mayor just elected to office to say, and it shows conclusively that he is not exclusively a mayor to advance the interests of the working class.

to this milk and water sort of revolutionary spirit he declared the party there was extremely revolutionary, and to prove it said that the old party candidates made their campaigns against them on charges that the Socialists were blood-thirsty revolutionists who would make Milwankee red with blood, but that they could not care the people into believing it. All of which seems to prove that the peolonger, if it skulk behind the shield ple knew better and had full faith in their meek and conservative intentions. This seems to be borne out by the facts.

The Milwaukee "Free Press" and other capitalist sheets charge that Seldel and his associates were elected they have always seemed to me to be by disgruntled Republicans and Demothoroughly opportunist. They have crats and it looks as though this was strictly true. If so, they hold the cialists without stint. As I understand balance of power, and Seidel will have it, they changed the card prescribing to make his administration conform that those seeking admission to the to their wishes or he will be routed

We have already had some expewhich was Chase's sons from all classes indiscriminately years ago. They were afterwards deand do not confine their proselyting feated for all these offices and have up to this time, and it would not be

We had the same experience when cialist" reports Seidel, their candidate the Democrats voted for Debs in 1904 at least, by persuading them that the for mayor, as having made a special and went back on him in the next elec- old parties are corrupt and that they him, tion, leaving, among other things, the The next morning after the election city of Chicago minus from 40,000 to 50,000 votes at the very next election, will doubtless do that and might be recover since then. Last Wednesday the name of the Socialist party for a (April 6th), Chicago had another city long time without being any more election, and the Socialist party received a paltry 15,000 votes, or less than a quarter of what Debs got six satisfaction of the people with the years ago. It is a safe bet that the way the old parties have administered dog will always "return to his vomit and the sow to her wallow," and that spirit. If they do so, well and good Republican or Democratic votes given the people of this city, trying to the to the Socialist party are deceptive and sure to result in disaster to the of all, without regard to party, creed party.

Bob Ingersoll once remarked that when the Christian church lost its be You get this paper as a sample, now become merely a social club for On the second page you will find a the comfortable ruling class, and that declaration of our principles. If now-a-days no church is complete without its kitchen, parlor and other you don't like the paper, but want accessories to social enjoyment. But to keep in touch with the progress ing class, not on your life. These of the proletarian movement, sub-may starve and freeze in garrets and scribe. "The Workingman's Pa-cellars or walk the streets by the field of battle, and no one who is thrown open to shelter them, no

institutional religion.

of thing is true of a Socialist party it the plank declaring for the utter destruction of capitalism, root and branch, lock, stock and barrel, and you have robbed it completely of its vital is the ONLY thing that is fundamental The rest is merely subsidiary and incidental. But your middle class "So cialist" finds it next to impossible to rub out the ideas with which he was less doctoring of mere symptoms with which the middle class has been wont to avoid the search for causes and the the strong physique-and the quality consequent wiping out of its detestable system of plundering the working class. He therefore occupies himself it comes to courage and initiative wom with constructing platforms loaded with reforms of more or less import ance and complacently crowds the revolutionary plank into the "ultimate" end of the structure, where it becomes sufficiently obscured not to offend or frighten prospective middle class proselytes. He also writes books on Thompson has done, or translate Kampfmeyer on the changes of tac tics in the German Socialist move ment, to make it appear that middle class reforms are, in fact, true Social ism, and justify his ignoring the true and only real issue between the work ing and capitalist classes.

Now, I deny there can be any "Con structive Socialism," or any other kind of Socialism within a capitalis environment, and when a party shoves the revolutionary plank of its plat form to the rear and makes it as ol form with a mass of mere reforms, it has become a mere reform party and lost the life and soul of Socialism. The present business of Socialism is not to "construct" any party on a rotten capitalist foundation, but to dea sound and permanent Socialist foun-

Until this is done no Socialism car be buil, and it will be time enough to do the "constructing" when we get a suitable foundation to build upon.

sign a card declaring he has re- mayoralty of Haverhill, Mass., and the class basis the Milwaukee Socialist nounced his affiliation with other par- election of Carey and McCartney to party has, but the old parties have ties. They believe in admitting per- the Massachusetts legislature some been able to hoodwink a vast majority wonderful if the Milwaukee party had been able to get their votes for a time the Socialists would give the city a clean and honest government. They able to keep themselves in office unde "Socialist" than any other reform party. In other words, the name "Se cialist" does not necessarily mean real Socialism, and they have still to prove if they have the revolutionary Socialist We shall see what we shall see.

> I think that in every Socialist party should be given the most cons place possible, and that to omit it or obscure it in any way is an indict make the platform. That plank alone is the essential plank in a Socialist item just brought to light by the inparty platform.

It seems to me that the Socialist party has gone daft on getting vote it is a mighty poor business and had better be left to the rotten old par- and starving can't even have a corn ties whose sole principle it is. It inversion of all principles. Office may appear mighty attractive to middlechurch kitchen is heated to give them class Socialists, but any Socialist hel warmth and to cook food for their party that makes vote-getting its prime starving bodies. A Christmas dinner business will not get very far in this in. class Socialists, but any Socialist held back in crowds at the supper

I think something of the same sort run on middle class lines. Take from "Constructive Socialism," as Rev. Carl

scure as possible by loading the platstroy that foundation utterly and build

them are pretty!

ountry and will surely land in the **Another Labor Party**

I notice that both Hunter and Worl are arguing to divert party funds into onal districts as seen to be possible to win for a Socialis candidate. Better read what Comrade Boudin has to say about the useless ness of sending labor or Socialist men to Congress in the April number of the International Socialist Review. during this month WM. C. GREEN.

April 14, 1910.

From now on the whole Socialis party of the United States will probably be hip-hip-hypnotized—I mean Bergerized-with the Wisconsin idee.

A capitalist daily prints the news that "young women in Sedalia, Mo., who have found conditions under which they have been employed in garment factories unsatisfactory, have acceeded in financing an enterprise whereby they can build, equip and ophave learned that in all essential demembers. That is the tendency of out an acceptable finished product, make up the principal stock in trade. Certainly no woman need be ashamed of the way the working girls and wom en are "stacking up" in the industrial arena!"

The worm (yes, the worm in the eyes of many) is turning, and when the right-about-face has been accom spark. This plank is fundamental and plished the men workers will have to cratch to keep the pace.

How long have men workers had it dinged into their ears that they produce all; that without them industry ceases to exist; that there is no place "tattooed in his cradle" and the end in present day production which they, D. C. Coates and H. L. Hughes of Spo

the world's workers, cannot fill? Man may have the logical mindof mind which makes him look upon numself as the whole thing, but when . By the time women have been in the outside work of the world as long as men have, there will be conditioned that are worth working under.

When Teddy comes marching hom

Hurran! Hurrah! When Teddy comes marching t

Hurrah! Hurrah! Flags will fly and the fools will shout And they'll have the bands and the

soldiers out-But the working class will slave When Teddy comes marching home

Just how a Socialist mayor can put a city on a sound financial basis without adopting capitalist tactics isn't quite clear.

ing in the theatrical business for starvation wages it seems astonishing that they haven't combined long ago. As it is, there is only one wage workers' organization among them and that—The White Rats-is exclusively for men. (Evidently there are not supposed to be any female White Rats.) Condiworse, though, so maybe the exploited females who are paid twenty-five a week and have to furnish most of their costumes, put up at first-class hotels and clothe themselves so they are up some morning with some sense in their heads. But the trouble is most of

Working men and women of Seattle. attention! There will-be-some time along in May-a lecture by a man who has always had fat jobs in a university or as consul to "furrin parts" on the as yet heard of any attempt on the subject, "The Flag-America-and Op-part of the Social-Democrats in the portunity!" Let's have a contest and e how many workers cannot deliver than our learned importation. The trouble with you all is you are bufpeople see what you really do know You don't know yourself how much you know (or don't know) until you try to tell the other fellow. So get busy and see if you can't beat the pro essor on his own ground. Besides it one-half the people are talking of the platform the revolutionary plank high cost of living and the other half are trying to get the price to pay for

'It may relieve the tension to medi tate on the fact that pheasants are now \$24 a dozen wholesale. That is an vestigating commission in Washington that is of vital interest to all worker or would-be workers.)

on the bread line! According to las reports the slimy things in human guise that infest the high-priced restaurants and cafes in New York are room doors waiting their chance to ge

Seattle, Wash., April 15.—(Special o the "Call.")—The Washington State Federation of Labor is urging trade moinists to form an independent laoor party. It is stated that a vote on it is absolutely impossible for the vast the subject will be taken through the office of the state secretary some time

Efforts are being made also by the Socialists of the state to prevent the of the question for the average girl birth of such an organization, as it is seld it will be nothing more than a milk and water reform party. The So cialist party is pointed out as the real labor party of the state, and all work ers are urged to support and vote for its candidates as the bona fide political epresentatives of the working class

They're getting out a pretty good pa per in N. Y. and one that the eastern vorkers can afford to support, but the Seattle correspondent is suffering from the same disease as the Socialist parerate a factory of their own. They ty in this city and state—he's a "dead one." At the time this dispatch was printed the proposal for a state labor party had already carried by a vote of four to one and the convention called for July 4 at Spokane. And the So cialists of the state-or, rather, the members of the Socialist party only made no effort to prevent the or ganization of the party, but are so far emoved from working class activities that they did not know the proposition was being voted on in the unions until the result was declared. The So cialist party in this state is in a deep sleep, and isn't even walking in it. The fact is, besides that some of the most acute supporters of the new "Labor Party" are members of the S. P. itself,

CAPITALISM WILL PREVAIL.

While labor's contented with just what it's got, While few sons of toil want to bette

their lot, While the masses believe to be good

what is rot, Then some will be happy, but most of us not.

"American Industries," official or gan of the Manufacturers' Association, says "strikes are good things to avoid," and "every attempt at a gen eral strike has been a failure." Take an enemy's advice for what it is worth and do the thing he doesn't want you

The daily press is shocked to find that prominent Pittsburg millionaires are the owners of certain disorderly houses in that city. Personally, I do not think it is any worse to own the houses than it is to fill them with the young women of the working class When you think of the hundreds of through paying them so little in thousands of men and women work- wages that they cannot exist other

HUH!

It's easy enough to be honest when life flows along like a song, but when you're out of work and the rent is due taken by the authorities without any and your wife is ill and the children tions are bad as can be and getting are hungry and you see something you want and there's nobody looking and about the "grand old rag." you've got to a point where you don't much care if there is some one looking, because a warm cell is as good

> An interesting side-light is thrown on the Milwaukee election by the publication in the N. Y. "Call" of an ar ticle by "Mother" Jones on the con dition of the girl workers in the bot tling and other departments of th Milwaukee breweries. We have not city council to enforce better sanitary measures in the breweries, nor has there been any attempt to organize these girl slaves until "Mother" Jones an outsider, took a hand in the work

A fact for Socialists and "high brows" generally, and intelligent wage workers in particular, to consider i that practically all the productive work of the world is now being done by unorganized, unskilled labor, and will take your mind off the fact that that the time of the dominance of the skilled tradesman in production is

STRAIGHTFORWARD.

Jacksonville, Ore., March 30, 1910. Trustee Printing Co., Seattle,

Dear Comrades: Hereby will find enclosed one dollar (\$1.00) P. O. money order for one year. The fearless attitude of "The

Workingman's Paper" (The Socialfounded that it ought to have the support of every workingman in

Yours for the Working Class Vio C. F. BOWMAN.

A prominent writer makes the statement that the girl who wants to make a "living wage" must have a high school education or the equivalent thereto. She falls to state the percentage of women or girls having the high school education, and she also neglects to mention the fact that majority of either girls or boys to remain in school a long enough time to secure such education. So, according to this one writer, it is simply out to think of making a "living wage."

In answer to an attack made on Governor Draper, of Massachusetts, Senator Lodge made the statement in the Senate the other day that "No railroad president ever went into Governor Draper's office and undertook to dictate what he should do." Of course the Senate may be intellectually dull, but there are people who don't have to be told that-people who are aware that Governor Draper knows so well the wishes of the railroad presidents and other Massachusetts capitalists that he works automatically. To tell him would be to insult him!

star on his breast who wants to be about one per day. Hundreds were inheld up as a doer of brave deeds should go out on the streets of our conductors "knocked down" fares so fair Amrican cities and shoot to death freely that the business of running a hobo or a member of the "scum of street cars was a net loss, amounting heroes of the cops.

Solomon Up-to-Date,

CHAPTER I. 1. Trust in thy master with all thine

understanding.

and he shall direct thy paths.

4. So shall his barns be filled with plenty and his presses shall burst out with new wine.

5. Be not wise in thine own eyes; fear thy master and depart from evil. CHAPTER II.

1. My son, keep thy master's commandment and forsake not the law of

the oppressor. 2. Bind them continuously upon thine heart and tie them about thine Federated Labor Party neck.

love; yea seven are a consolation unto

him: 4. A proud look, a lying tongue and hands that shed innocent blood.

imaginations, feet that be swift in running to mischief.

and him that soweth discord among

A new bill has been presented in the House for the protection of Old Glory. It provides that those shall be fined and imprisoned who shall "publicly mutilate, deface, defile, trample upon, or cast contempt by words or actions upon the flag."

Surely we don't need to legislate about it, as action is already being legislation. One of the Spokane boys "got his" for saying something sassy

Something must be going to happen. The first strike-breaker to be tried in Philadelphia has been convicted. Next!

What is the use of organizing to better your condition when the Idol-the Supreme Theodore-draws near to save the nation and the people?

Straight Goods

By Paul Wallace Hanna. They got y', kid; they got y'-just like

I said they would. You tried to walk the narrow path. You tried, and got an awful laugh; And laughs are all y' did get, kid

They got y' good!

They never knew the little kid—the kid I used to know; The little bare-legged girl back

The little kid that played alone They don't know half the things I

Kid, ain't it so?

They got y', kid; they got y'-you know they got y' right; They waited till they saw y' limp, Then introduced y' to the pimp-Ah, you were down then, kid, And couldn't fight.

guess y' know what some don't kr and others know damn well-That sweatshops don't grow angels'

That workin' girls is easy things. And poverty's the straightest

-The Call, N. Y.

Philadelphia—Latest

The Associated Press dispatch of Friday, the 15th inst., telling of the final settlement of the Philadelphia car

strike was a little premature. The facts leading to the sending of the dispatch were as follows:

A series of conferences were held between representatives of the company and the strikers. On Thursday certain terms were submitted as a basis for a esttlement and through National Organizer C. O. Pratt these erms were laid before the strikers' Committee of Nineteen. This committee voted in favor of accepting the terms, subject to the decision of the membership of the union, which met Saturday, two days later.

It is said that the reopening of the negotiations was chiefly due to the intercession of Denis A. Hayes, fourth ice-president of the American Federation of Labor

There is no doubt but that the Transit company was forced to settle. As the number of cars, manned by scabs. increased, accidents grew steadily more numerous. Deaths resulting from Any well-fed human giant with a dling cars occurred to the number of incompetence and carelessness in hanjured, in these accidents. The scab Verily, bloodshed doth make to many thousand dollars each day. The stock of the company was steadily declining and many who knew claimed that it would be a question of a few weeks until the company would be in the hands of receivers.

These conditions, added to the fact heart; and lean not unto thine own that public sentiment was so much opposed to the Transit company that it 2. In all thy ways acknowledge him, was found impossible to secure a grand jury which would indict any one 3. Honor thy master with thy sub- charged with dynamiting cars, were stance, and with the fruits of all thine too formidable for the company to re-

The Associated Press says the men voted not to return, but by so close a vote that the committee ordered the strike off anyhow-all of which may

The following dispatch, published in Philadelphia paper, shows the status of the contemplated Labor Party:

"Harrisburg, April 8 .- The State 5. An heart that deviseth wicked Federation of Labor leaders today opened their campaign for the election of labor members to the next Legisla-6. A false witness that speaketh lies, ture by pre-empting the name of the Federated Labor Party for the Novemher election.

> "The pre-emption was filed in the Dauphin County Court and in the office of the Secretary of the Common wealth, being signed by E. E. Greenawalt, Lancaster, president of the State Federation; John J. Murphy, Philadelphia; Steven McDonald, Scranton: Cal Wyatt, Pittsburg, and Edward Fisher, South Fork.

"Mr. Greenawalt said that the preemption was for legislative elections only and that he could not say whether the plan to use it for a Gubernatorial nomination or not would be adopted

"Late tonight a conference was held between Mr. Greenawalt and a number of labor leaders, including the signer of the pre-emption, and Representative William T. Creasy of Catawissa, master of the State Grange. Mr. Greenawalt said that the conference was to consider conditions in legislative and congressional districts, adding:

'We are seeing if various organizations, various political forces not connected with either the Democratic or Republican parties, can be united in a campaign for the election of Congress men and members of the Legislature. who will be favorable to labor measures. I cannot say what will be done. This is a preliminary conference. There will be further conferences probably. As to whether a man will be nominated for Governor I cannot say.

"It is said that the chances of electing Congressmen in at least a dozen districts, including Philadelphia, Luzerne, Allegheny, Lackawanna and other industrial counties, and of re-electing Congressman W. B. Wilson of Tioga were discussed, together with the Senatorial and legislative elections."

This indicates a "Labor Party" trying to represent more than Labor.

Those "labor leaders" who are so olicitous to secure the establishment of the commission form of government of municipalities are respectfully referred to the latest electio in Des Moines, where the "people's champions" who were up for re-election were overwhelmingly defeated, and the traction company and other big interests were returned to power. The sum of the "improvement" made 's that it costs the corporations less to elect their representatives than it did formerly.

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The Subscription Dept. THE NEW YORK CALL

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

This question is frequently asked, now that this paper does not profess to represent any particular organisation. 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 branch.

"The Workingman's Paper" sees good in the L 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 Preletariat, 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 Proletar-

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Proletarian Newspaper

Some of our friends are disturbed over the new attitude of this paper 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, dog 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 Scelelist and Phariese and all those who do not agree with him are Publicans and Sinners.

> Now, the paper hitherto known as "The Socialist" has never assume 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 a 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 mus ancinate itself, certain further deductions have to be made with respec 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

> uld use, as its chief instrument, the Capitalist device known as the Elec tive 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 Proletarist" to be indispensable, and it affirms distinctly, "Every Class-Struggle is a political struggle."

> the Proletariat are the formation of political parties in the various countries and the conquest of political powers by the exercise of the elective franlightened by Marx and Engels, and led by Lassalle and Liebknecht, formed a political party some forty years ago and has grown in strength and in fluence up to the present day. At this very moment, the Social-De 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 con-

quest 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

Suppose it falls, as a matter of fact.

Is then the Proletariat to remain ensiaved?

Grant that it cannot be freed so long as the Capitalists retain control governmental forces, that is, so long as the Bourgeoisie, through its political control powernmental forces, that is, so long as the Bourgeoisie, through its political control c

to capture that power to kill and conquer which is incident to that Classthing known as the State? Is there no other possible tactic but the Ballot-

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 evo utionary 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, The Jungle amely, 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 rec ognize 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 desevelop 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 farm ers; 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 itself, "We can prove that our Structure is the only sound one existing in the

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 repre sented best the Proletarian cause. But the course of economic develop led that organization to represent the small Bourgeois rather than the Proletarian, and we finally were driven out of that party, because we con tinued 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 esentially 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 elt as a real part of the Class-Struggle, this paper will report its progress; out 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 ther body of Wage-Workers.

Others of the former supporters of this paper are now allied with the suppt 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 candiparty "Labor-Leaders" in the Unions, polled some 1,000 roles for ward coundate for Mayor and probably elected one of its candidates for ward coundate for Mayor and probably elected one of its candidates for ward coundates for ward coundates for ward countains and countains of the countains of t

This paper supported that ticket as the only Proletarian Party in the field. But we reserve our right and duty to criticise 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 tand 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. Workers is a Capitalist institution, while an organization of One Hundred in aiming to give that news which is most significant of Proletarian advance Cincinnati or Seattle is the real Proletarian body, inasmuch as it declares of 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

Extract from Editor's Letter

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 indorse 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 criticise 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

velops, 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 Vic-

The unswerving 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.

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 Busi-

Pinchot versus Ballinger is at bottom Small Business rebelling against its exclusion by Big Business from all business. Gifford Pinchot him self 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 theorizers 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 in-

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 Ed. Cannon and Taft and Ballinger, and all the rest of the tools of Great Capital the militant hosts of these Middle Class Rebels.

What will be the result? Is it possible for the Rebellion to become ! 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 Combina tion will defeat them inevitably, may have miscalculated social forces. For the next step in the evolution of American society may be Government Owner-ship 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 Class. 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 necessaries 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

guilty of a moral wrong."
Such a call, addressed to the expropriated masses of the Middle Class, litant 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

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"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 reppopular, the kind of Socialism that Victor Berger and Samuel Gompers rep-resent, and that the Socialist Parties of both Europe and America are coming clated Press the very night of the election was, "We will give a Square Deal;

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

It alms 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 eno 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 Rus sia, Prussia, Japan and in all countres where Public Ownership already finds 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" aclusion, then the organization of industry into larger and larger units completely eliminating the "Little Fellow" by precipitating him into the Pro-letariat, 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

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 ward Russell, Judge Lindsey and Stannard Baker, are paid for and inspired by in the State, are indeed the servants of Progress, unconsciously hastening the industrial organization of American society under the lead of the Captains of

> 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 tha en generations of Proletarians should live and die in slavery

> When the Trusts have developed into The Trust, when all productive in lustry 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 acco plished, 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 fication of the working class to abolish Capital and its accompanying Wage perpetuate itself and to postpone indefinitely the day of Wage Labor's Emanci-

The key to the immediate situation lies with the American Working

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 de pends 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 Beef Packers, they injure the average man without good reason, and they are of Labor, in combination with certain Farmers' organizatons, 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 appealing to their interests and conscience alike, is certain to be received with 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 Pro letarian 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 indee 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

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 o human invention.

But if it works with Big Capital to destroy the Middle Class, root s 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 milltant hegemony, which will make for the most rapid evolution out of society burdened with Class Antagonism into that association, sure to come time, "in which the free development of each is the condition for the free de velopment of all.

The Milwaukee Election

ocratic Party in Milwaukee has oc curred, where its majority mounted up to 8,000 over the Der turn, were 8,000 above the Rep rger a Councilman-at Large. Twenty out of twenty-nine Councilm are Social-Democrats. The entire country is wondering how it was done at

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 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 pur pose of buying the necessaries 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 civiliza tion." 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 Proetariat, that such a political movement should capture the most of the wage workers organized in the American Federation of Labor, as it has in Milwankee. 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 wageworkers, 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 uni Get Another Workingman to

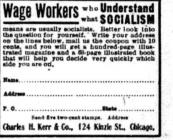
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"Revolution" In Milwaukee

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." That sounds good, but he proceeds to add a "How ever," as follows: "However, as we understand 'Marxism' and the 'revolution,' it means a revolution of men's minds, an endless series of continually changing important details which some call evolution—and which I would call 'a revolution in permanence,' '

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." That is an important detail for the middle class who have to foot the bills made by the grafters and contractors, but what difference does it make to the wage man whose pay is controlled by the Law of Wages, whatever the contractors' graft?

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 and influential German physician, a 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

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." To be sure, he mentions two classes, calling them "The Propertyless Class" and "The Capitalistic Class," but he is careful to explain that the Middle Class is "fast disappearing," so that there are in reality only two classes remaining, the rich and the poor, plutocracy and

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. And they will not had organized for political action as make the slightest objection to Berger's "Revolution," meaning an "endless make the siightest objection to Berger's "Revolution," meaning an "endless series of important details," such as driving out the grafters and readjusting taxes for the benefit of small taxesyers. taxes for the benefit of small taxpayers.

There could scarcely be a more self-contradictory position than that as sumed 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. They, in fact, testify in their practical politics to that which they deny in theory, namely, that the hitherto independent Middle Class, the lit-tle business man and the little farmer and the little intellectual, are a: this hour in America the most tremendously alive, class conscious and savegely great industrial depression which had fighting of all classes. in Milwaukee politics, the wage class is the tool and dupe of this Fighting Section of American Society. Berger is a shrewd, practical, forceful leader of men. He is a member of the Middle Class himself, though he got into the Typographical Union as a "Press Writer," and so has been classed as a Proletarian. But he has been supported mainly by his Insurance Agency, and his entire association and temperament are bourgeois. He is a fighting member of the fighting Middle Class. He sees cleargeois. He is a fighting member of the fighting Middle Class. He sees clear-ly that the Proletariat is necessary to the success of the Middle Class Re-bellion and to the overthrow of the Trust Class. In Milwaukee, with its Ger-tically suspended. Mines, factories man and radical citizenship, Victor Berger has found a fit field for the exer cise of his masterful and ambitious qualities. He has won a great persona victory, as well as a victory for the class he belongs to. But he is too intelligent and too well read in history and economics, to believe his own bluff and bluffing words about the Milwaukee movement being "revolutionary, 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. They know that the trusts fear nothing in this world except Socialism. And the tools and helpmeets of the trusts hate nothing so much as the Social-Democratic Party. For this reason alone a Social-Democratic victory in Milway

kee seems to be assured."

That is certainly a frank appeal to the Middle-Class opponent of th Trust. On April 16th, after the election, he talks in exactly the same strain 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 Milwaukee for twelve years by ...e capitalist parties." That is, we Socialists will do Capitalist work better than Capitalists. We will especially establish those municipal enterprises watch the Middle Class long ago estal in Glasgow without benefit to the Wage Class, and which the middle class parties in Milwaukee itself demanded and promised twelve years ago.

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 Where have we heard that familiar expression? Why, it is a favorite of Bryan, of Gompers, of Roosevelt, even of Tatt. And it is such a victory that the Socialist and Labor Press is going into hysterical raptures over,

But the Bergerites of Milwaukee are nothing if not practical. They kn what they are about. They could never win by preaching confiscation as the red flag and the overthrow of the wage system. Those revolutional sentiments land men in jail in Spokane and would in Milwaukee too. To Milwaukee brand of revolution is safe and sane. It will not even raise the

herefore it will not unlikely succeed. It promised to be honest and aft. If it really does that, it will make Milwaukee a better place business men to live in. It promises to reduce the prices of meats, 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 respective secretary within a year or two. But the business people will reward the Social-Democrats with another lease of power, unless the wage workers happen to get wise meanwhile and refuse to stand for these middle class gains at their prominent members of the Socialist

The Milwaukee kind of "Revolution" slurs over the essential antagon ism between the Wage Class and the Business Class. It assumes that the Greenback convention as a body, and to vote as a unit on all questions. It manages it to the satisfaction of the Capitalist Class. If the Wage Workers was further resolved that the party of Milwukee shall actually run the government of Milwaukee for the direct advantage of themselves, diminishing their exploitation and increasing their share of their own product, they will make business more expensive in that city than in other rival cities, with the inevitable result that business will eave Milwaukee. Capital will withdraw from Milwaukee as it did from Haverhill after a few years of Socialist rule. Then the enraged Business Class will rise in their indignation and sweep Berger and Co. out again as

they swept out the grafters on the 5th of April.

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. If the Milwaukee Wage Class will continue to stand with them against the oppression of the Trust Class, there is no reason why the followers of Victor Berger should not be retained in control of the city gov-

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

Socialist Successes In '77-'78

with considerable success. In the deal of fear among the possessing cast for the Socialist Labor party in the apprehension quite unfounded. F. Straubert, was elected to the Com-Meier and Leo Meilbeck, and one its platform was: "The Chinese must State Sepator, Sylvester Artley. These go!" The movement lasted as long introduced in the legislature some bills providing for the cash payment of wages, for the limitation of the ing prosperity appeared, it collapsed, hours of labor for women and children, an employers' liability act, and several similar bills, all of which were promptly defeated. They did, however, succeed in inducing the legis lature to establish a bureau of labor statistics. In the spring of 1878 four Socialists-Altpeter, Lorenz, Meier and Straubert—were elected aldermen. In these elections the Socialist Labor Party ticket was headed by Dr. Ernst Schmidt, as candidate for the office of Mayor. Dr. Schmidt was a popular noted Marxian scholar, and a stead fast friend of the cause of labor. He received over 12,000 votes.

In Cincinnati the Socialist Labo party polled 9,000 votes in the fall elections of 1877 and in Cleveland it received 3,000 votes. In St. Louis the party received 7,000 votes at the same time, and elected five members of the school board and two aldermen.

THE SAND LOTS

In California the organized working men, under the leadership of the of its own, "deeming it unwise and imprudent to divide the forces of the labor movement."

The Kearney agitation forms one of the most picturesque pages in the history of the American labor move ment. In 1877 the State of California presented a most critical economic and Pacific Coast much later, and its effects were still felt very keenly in 1877. The crisis was rendered still more acute by the wild stock speculations in which almost all social strata in California had engaged during the little work there was was done principally by Chinese, who were at times ready to work for half of the custom

The needs and sufferings of the population were intense, and the nooriously corrupt and incompetent State officials showed themselves un able or unwilling to devise any efficient measures of relief. The army of unemployed working men in California, and particularly in the city of San Francisco, swelled on to tremendous proportions. Their discontent with the existing state of affairs grew louder and louder, and finally it found expression in the formation of the Working Men's Party of California.' The leading spirit of the party was wers of reasoning, but endowed with the gift of popular oratory and possessed of indefatigable energy. Under the leadership of Kearney the party soon became a power in local politics. Its open-air meetcisco were attended by thousands of mittee of the party issued a call to enthusiastic listeners, its agitation beall of its sections and to all tradecame the all-absorbing topic of discame the all-absorbing topic of dis-cussion in the press, its adherents delegates to a conference to be held "9. 7 grew daily, and when the city elec-in Chicago on August 8, 1880. The graphs, tions in San Francisco arrived the party carried the majority of offices. It was the Working-Men's Party of the same city on the 9th day of Audecided that a new State constitution should be framed, and when the Con-stitutional Convention assembled in 1879 the party exercised a controlling ace in the framing of the docu-

The new State constitution of Cali-fornia introduced a number of radical

From 1877 till 1879, during which of the State administration, legisla time the labor excitements continued, ture, and judiciary; the curbing of the the party conducted many spirited powers of corporate capital, and the campaigns in state and local elections, abolition of Chinese labor. This inand in some of its strongholds it met strument for a time occasioned a good city of Chicago about 7,000 votes were classes, but subsequent events proved

the fall of 1877, and in the spring of | The Kearney movement was but the the following year one of its members, expression of a vague and unenlightened discontent. It was not based on mon Council. In the fall of 1878 the any definite social theory; it offered Chicago Socialists elected three State no constructive measures; its battle Representatives-C. Ehrhardt, C. cry was: "Down with the rich!" and as the industrial crisis continued, and as soon as the first signs of return leaving little, if any, traces behind it. The Working-Men's Party of California disbanded, and the new State constitution, which was its principal achievement, was so circumvented by suc ceeding legislatures and so "con strued" and "trimmed" by the courts as to render it quite insignificant.-Hillquit's "History of Socialism in U.

The Greenback **Labor Party**

The "Greenback" movement was alost exploded, when the great strikes new life into it and gave it an enthe demands of labor took their place. In 1878 the national convention of the party, held at Toledo, Ohio, was attended by a number of labor leaders. and the party name was changed to 'Greenback Labor Party."

The movement gained popularity among the industrial workers in the East, and in the ensuing congressional elections the party polled about representatives to Congress. In the presidential elections of 1880 the Greenback Labor party nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, and B. J. Chambers, of Texas, as its candidates for President and Vice-President. But Hellquit's "History of Socialism in U. the popular excitement had already subsided, and the Greenback vote sank to 300,000. Henceforward the party was declining steadily. The last national ticket nominated by it was that of 1884, when Gen. B. F. Butler, ex congressman and ex-governor of Mass achusetts, who had in turn been Demo Butler also received the indorsement of the anti-monopolists, and polled a vote of about 175,000. After that elec tion the Greenbackers drifted gradually into the ranks of the old parties and ceased to exist as an independent political factor.

SOCIALIST LABOR FUSION.

As long as the Greenback Party had limited its agitation to currency re form, the Socialist Labor Party streng ously 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. Some sections of the party had supported the Green backers in the elections of 1878 and 1879, but this support was given unofficially, and was tolerated, but no encouraged, by the party administra- jury to health, body, or life; tion. It was only in 1880 that the Sc cialist Labor Party, as such, officially decided to support the Greenback Party. As soon as the decision was reached, the national executive comnational nominating convention of the Greenback Party was to be held in so which, by its votes, gust, and it was understood that the conference of August 8th would prac tically be a caucus meeting of the ocialist elements expected to attend the Greenback convention. Abo ninety delegates responded to the call Of these, more than half were Chiidents who had received cre-The new State constitution of Cali-cago residents who had received cre-basis of a political labor movement be rais introduced a number of radical dentials as proxies from various minor forms intended for the purification sections, and thirty-eight were direct sideration of the labor organisations of

abor Party.

In the Socialist caucus it was cided to apply for admission to the Greenback convention as a body, and insist upon the admission of twenty to fifty delegates from its midst, and upon the appointment of seven Socialists on the platform committee.

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

The demands were substantially onceded; the Socialists were given the required representation on the platform committee and were allowed forty-four votes on the floor of the onvention. At a later stage of the proceedings, however, a ruling was made that all votes be taken by states, to which ruling the Socialists refused to submit, and during the remainder of the convention they abstained from voting altogether.

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. But they had an extremely hard task. The Greenback convention was composed of many heterogeneous reform ele ments with many incongruous social land reformer, the anti-monopolist, the Chinese-exclusion advocate, and the pure and simple trade-unionist were all represented. Each of them demanded recognition of his special hobby in the platform, and in most instances the demands were acceded to with little regard to the unity and on this popular vote; their opponents consistency of the document as a thought is unmistakable in the open-tiated by proof, for, at the next coning clauses of the platform, which were as follows:

"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 nimal existence.

"Notwithstanding the enormous inchinery, and the discovery of new Hellquit's "History of Socialism in U. agents for the increase of wealth, the and labor agitation of 1877 brought task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, and the hours of toll are but little shortened, and few producers were relegated to the background, and are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence.

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

ists were not well satisfied with the platform and management of the Greenback Party, and participated in 1,000,000 votes and elected fourteen its presidential campaign in a halfhearted way.

Immediately after the campaign the alliance with the Greenbackers was dissolved, never to be renewed again. except in a few isolated instances.

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 n the most gratifying success; and · Whereas, Such independent labor politics are based upon the following program, to-wit:

- "1. Compulsory education; "2. Direct legislation;
- "3 A legal eight-hour work-day;
- "4. Sanitary inspection of work "5. Liability of employers for
- "6. The abolition of the contra
- system in all public work; "7 The abolition of the sweating
- "8. Municipal ownership of stree cars, and gas and electric plants for public distribution of light, heat, and
- "9. The nationalization of tele graphs, telephones, railroads and
- "10. The collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution;
- in all legislation; therefore, "Resolved, That this convention

of our British comrades; and "Resolved, That this program an



America, with the request that their radicalism. The working class must Labor be instructed on this most im- own valuation. portant subject."

The resolution was discussed with Milwaukee 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 op its Executive Board consisted of Euwithholding an important question gene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger, Jesse from the consideration of their conviews; the currency reformer, the stituents. The resolution was carried Heath. by a comfortable majority, and during the next year the members of the numerous labor organizations affiliated with the Federation were discussing and voting on it. The socialists have always claimed that the resolution in toto had been overwhelmingly indorsed whole. The influence of the Socialist Neither contention could be substanin the trade union movement deny it vention of the Federation in Decem ber, 1894, when the resolution came again before the delegates for a vote in accordance with their instructions. the managing powers of the convention succeeded in sidetracking the issue by a clever trick. When the vote was to be taken on plank 10, which was the very substance of the resolution, calling as it did for the collective ownership of all means of production and the wealth producers a state of per- distribution, a substitute was suddenpetual drudgery as the price of bare ly offered, calling for the grant of public lands to actual tillers of the soil only. The substitute was adopted aftcrease of productive power, the uni- er some debate, and the original mo- also elected about fifty of its candition was thus superseded by it .--

> "The Socialist" of Melbourne, Au- Indiana, Montana and Colorado, and a stralia, advertises that it is willing to score or two of other municipal officers accept contributions to enable Emma in the same places. In 1903, there Goldman to take a trip through that were three Socialist members of the country. "The Socialist" is usually Massachusetts state legislature and pretty clear-cut, and we fail to see how five in Montana.—From Hillquit's "His-

> delegates to the next annual conven- begin to "size up" its self-constituted tion of the American Federation of saviors and quit taking them at their

Not the First

"The Social Democratic Party of America" was organized at Chicago in June, 1898, as a successor and protest Cox, Seymour Stedman and Frederick

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 1899 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. The party also succeeded in electing to office a number of aldermen, councilmen and school commissioners in several towns of Massachusetts and Wisconsin.

In 1902-3, the Socialist Party electchusetts, and also in the towns of She dates to the offices of aldermen or councilmen in a number of towns in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kansas, Iowa, it can square its proletarianism to its tory of Socialism in the United support of Emma Goldman's bourgeois States."

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." Those who intend to take advantage of these offers will please notice the time limit, and get busy before it is too late.

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

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 wageworking 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 I' tle work for distribution among the multitudes even of workingmen wi. 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 advetnure. 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 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 twentyfive cents each. We make the same offer for four six-months subscriptions, or for eight three-months substriptions, 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 pamed, "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 subscrip-

tion, in order to take advantage or offer No. 1, even if you are already paid a year ahead. These special offers hold good until June 1, 1910.