Not The Middle Class Socialist nor The Christian Socialist nor any other mixed kind of Socialist, but The Wage Class Socialist.

As soon as the Postoffice Department will allow, The Workingman's Paper will be our permanent heading.

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, July 24, 1910

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### POSSESSORS NOT OWNERS

Tenth Year-No. 479

### By Karl Marx

"That it is only the title of a number of persons to the possession of the globe which enables them to appropriate a portion of the Surplus Labor of society to themselves, and to do so to an increasing extent with the development of production, is concealed by the fact that the capitalized rent, this capitalized tribute, appears as the price of the land, and that the land may be sold like any other article of commerce.

The buyer, therefore, does not feel that his title to the rent is obtained gratis, and without the labor, the risk, and the spirit of enterprise of the capitalist, but rather that he has paid for it with an equivalent. To the buyer, as we have previously remarked, the rent appears merely as the interest on the capital, with which he has bought the land and consequently his title to the rent.

"In the same way, the slaveholder considers a negro, whom he has bought, his property, not because slavery as such entitles him to that negro, but because he has acquired him just as he does any other com modity, by means of sale and purchase; but the title itself is only transferred, not created, by sale. The title must exist before it can be sold, and a series of sales cannot create this title by repetition any more than

"THE TITLE WAS CREATED IN THE FIRST PLACE BY THE CONDITIONS OF PRODUCTION. As soon as these have arrived at a point where they must shed their skin, the material source of the title, justified economically and historically and arising from the process which creates the material requirements of life, falls to the ground, and with it all transactions based upon it.

"FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A HIGHER ECONOMIC FORM OF SOCIETY. THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF THE GLOBE ON THE PART OF SOME INDIVIDUALS WILL APPEAR QUITE AS ABSURD

not the OWNERS of the globe. They are only its POSSESSORS, its users, and they have to hand it down to the coming generations in an improved condition, like good fathers of families."-(In "Capital," Vol.

### **B. F.'S JUNKET**

At least for this one time Labor

seems to have awakened to its own

interests, and the organized men and

women of the working class of Seat

tle are starting in to boycott the men

an exception here or back down there

Business men are used to the con-

flicts and it is like the bite of a mos

quito when the ordinary Labor Union

attack comes at them, but with the

professional men it is different, and it

will be a splendid thing if Labor stands

Keep it going! Already the pres

sounding the note of warning and tell-

On the main floor of the Cobb Build-

ing is a most beautiful storeroom. Ap-

Hansen, Seattle's finest jeweler, but

been unable to move. There is no

of its meaning, the sooner will things

**Street Meetings** 

By Alexander Frazer.

(In N. Y. Call.)

I should like to say a word abou

our street meetings, and, incidentally,

about some other things. They have

received rather severe treatment at

the hands of Comrades Gaylord and

Spargo. Comrade Gaylord supplied

us with such a complete analysis of

Ben Hanford appears to be the only

in their favor. As far as my recol

in the party, and the vote show

steady increase. I am inclined to think

this is the correct view, and many of the Comrades will be grateful for the

word spoken. I am willing to admit

however, that there may be no neces

sary connection between the one and

If our Wisconsin Comrades run

Wisconsin

the other.

industrial come to a head.

In every place, whether large or until it threatens to be a veritable small, we find a small part of the popu- storm cloud. lation to be composed of men and wo men with a "broad" outlook on life who will agree with us that the present scheme of things is all wrong that there must be some way to regu late the distribution of wealth whereby the man; who now suffer from want keep it going! If only they don't make may have at least the necessities; and that the forces at work today (though they haven't a clear idea just what those forces are), but, anyhow, that the forces that are moving us onward so rapidly are bound to bring about some sort of a change for the betterment of the conditions of mankind. When confronted with an argument or when compelled to put their "beliefs" into words, we find that for the mos part these good people are not just clear as to the causes that have brought about these conditions or the methods that will remove them, but ing them to stay away. And it is havthat they are about ripe enough to ing its effect. fall into the insurgent ranks, or some other ranks that are harmless, but semi-mildly exciting to the passive middle-class brain. Occasionally these good, highly respectable citizens hear such was the pressure brought to bear rumors of conflicts between Capital upon him by his employees that he has and Labor, and they are all quite sure there is a Labor Movement, but like need to go into details over it. Every Prosecuting Attorney Pugh, they are one knows what it means—and the inclined to ask, "What is this Labor sooner Labor realizes the full extent

Chiefest among these "broad" but respectable members of society are Get a bundle of our Tenth Anniverprobably the physicians. Possibly because of all the fraternity of Middle per copy in bundles of ten or more. Class Guilds, they are in a position to Finest thing possible for posting on see more clearly than the rest the re- bill boards and in union halls. sults of our much vaunted civilization upon the masses of suffering humanity But even to them the war song of Labor is a far cry, and in their busy lives they have little time (or inclina-tion) to stop for a moment and note

For the first time, to my knowledge are the Western physicians and den tists running up against the "Labor Movement," and if I am not mistaken, they will, before long, have no need to ask the question, "What is this La-

The Metropolitan Company-composed of moneyed men all over the the street auditor that one can undercountry—with the able assistance of stand why they have been abolished in the Stone-Webster Construction and Engineering Corporation, have erectedin Seattle several gigantic monuments one to have the temerity to say a word to scab labor. The last and not the least of these is known as the Cobb lection of Comrade Hanford's article Building, situated on the corner of goes, the idea which he meant to con-Fourth Avenue and Union Street. The vey was that when our street meetings Cobb Building is to be used exclusively were the principal means of prop by physicians and dentists with every ganda, there was more evidence of life equipment imaginable for the use of both the doctors and their patients.

From the baths and massage rooms for both men and women, in the base ment, to the roof garden on the eleventh floor, the office building is ideal. Consequently, many of our mos

reputable men have moved into the Cobb Building and have been flattering themselves upon having such quaraway with the idea that the absence

But a cloud no bigger than a man's they must not be surprised if we dearose during the last few days, mand better proof. A little reflection s gradually growing and growing ought to show that this is the merest

AS THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF ONE MAN BY ANOTHER. "Even a whole society, a nation, or even all societies together, are

III., p. 901. Kerr's Edition.)

### Farm Hands Union

Suppose Millions of Them Come

mportance to the great industry of in the Cobb Building. If only they salmon canning is overlooked or passed lightly over, and that is the dearth of Chinamen in this country. It is a well-known fact that the Chi-namen in this county are few and old and are dying off, and there are few young men to take their places. It is a necessity to have Chinamen

For instance, a Chinaman is bound by contract and unless he is sick will point for a cannery to have a crew that can be depended upon to stick the season through, for the fish only run a short time during the year and the crew must be there to handle plication was made for it by Albert

Besides, the criticism has been will be up against a serious proposition.

If was talking to a big Chinese cannery contractor today, who assured me that in a short time it would be lord and Spargo have been guilty of an ungracious act. The Comrades who conducted our street meetings carried on their work against great odds with the only means available. One cannot help entertaining just the slightest suspicion that much of the hostility lately displayed toward the street meeting is due to its being a street meeting is due to its being a purely proletarian institution. It may be that it jars on our finer sensibilities. However that may be, at least

let us be fair.

One thing can be said of the Comrades who did this work, that they were faithful in the performance of Orca Cannery, Prince William Sound, their task. I have never yet known them to fail when an assignment was made. You could reckon with toler able certainty to find them at their sary Unpaid Labor Special. Two cents posts. They sold and gave away literature, accepting all the slights without a murmur. They carried on their bill boards and in union halls. work in a quiet, persistent way, receiving no recognition, and expecting no reward. For them there was no possibility of sharing in the limelight Their names never appeared in print, and when they pass away they go to forgotten graves over which no eulogy will ever be spoken. And this great silent work is going on everywhere While we shall all be glad to adopt methods which will be more effective and make the task less hard, I believe we shall make a great mistake if give up our street meetings.

California Farmers Want Them to Pick Fruit-Lumber Mills Want

Editor The Times: A thing of vital

for a cannery, just as much as it is to have fish. The white man, for many reasons, will not do the work in a cannery that a Chinaman will do. them when they arrive or else the season is a fallure for everyone. Again, a Chinaman is a cheap man and will

As to the desirability of the Chinese

as citizens, this much can be said— they are preferable to Japanese. Un-less this question is put to the Legis-lature in the immediate future the

Get a bundle of our Tenth Anniver per copy in bundles of ten or more Finest thing possible for posting on

### Wanted—Chinese

Chinamen Called for to Meet It.

(Capitalist Press Dispatch.) WALLA WALLA, June 23.—A farm WALLA WALLA, June 23.—A farm hands' union may complicate the harvesting of the wheat crop in the Walla Walla valley this year. Although it has been tried and has falled several times, the organizers declare they have profited from their failures, and that with the scarcity of labor this year they will have no trouble in obtaining higher waves from the farm taining higher wages from the farm-

The price for a day's work in harrules of forcing the demands of the

assumption. In permitting this idea to take possession of them they appear to be determined to entirely ignore the controlling influences which have been at work, both here and there.

Besides, the criticism has been made in such manner as to cast a slur.

Besides, the manner as to cast a slur.

Besides, the criticism has been made in such manner as to cast a slur.

Besides, the criticism has been will be up against a serious proposition.

Least alking to a big Chinase can.

Farmers of this section are making an extra effort to get their harvest crews before harvest operations actually begin. There are several reasons for the scarcity of labor, all centered in the one fact that the good men are going where they can find steady employment. This gives the farmers nothing but the scum of the laborers, and with such help they may be compelled to reap their harvest this year.

Construction work and general improvement activities in cities, raliroad and bridge work, an increase of help ally begin. There are several reason and bridge work, an increase of help needed in the fruit belts, and othe progressive work, all of which is tak-ing men, are some of the reasons to which the trouble in getting men may be attributed. Where last year the streets of Walla Walla were lined with men looking for employment, this year there are practically none, and it would be hard to predict conditions with the harvest not more than three eeks away.

According to W. A. Ritz, a well-According to W. A. Ritz, a well-known farmer and fruit grower of this city, the local truck gardeners and fruit producers are planning a nation-wide campaign for a repeal of the Chinese exclusion act. Ritz says Walla Walla could use several hundred coolies in the gardens in this vicinity this year, and he says 100,000 would not be too large a number to find work on the Coast. White laborers refuse to do truck gardening says Ritz, and to do truck gardening, says Ritz, and he declares the only solution of the difficulty is to import the celestials. The gardeners prefer Chinese to any other Orientals.

The daily news reports that delegates representing the trades unions of all the principal towns of Arizons voted down a proposition to support the candidates of any party who would subscribe to the principles of organized labor, organized the Union Labor party and decided to put up a full ticket, for labor all over the country vest now ranges from \$2 to \$7. Under is waking up to its political opportunities and will soon present a solid, to \$3.50 to \$10.00, and regular union class-conscious front on both the inclass-conscious front on both the in-

tion of one William Hickman Moore police and "The Star" is filled with of causing trouble to candidates whose reports of burglaries, and statements records are an appeal to workingmen, of the easy times thieves are having, such a ticket would amount to little Wappenstein, the suppressor of free it would cause more injury to the speech, is probably living up to the union labor cause than anything else reputation he made in the East be- that could be done. fore coming here, and taking things as they come. The solution is a labor administration. The Equity Co-operative Society,

which many union men were very en- men are banding together to defeat thusiastic over some time ago is now making overtures to the Seattle Hotel so-called politicians in union labor cir-Keepers' Association for support and cles. has promised that the manager, the treasurer, and two members of the board of trustees may be appointed by that body if they will purchase 325,000 worth of stock. The promise of union control is thus sent glimmer ing, and those union men who were so sanguine as to invest their hardearned dollars will have the opportunity to hold the sack while the cap italists in control run the business Better stick to industrial and polit ical action and raise your wages in stead of trying to reduce prices.

The eminent Dr. Matthews gave away a couple of dollars a short time ago in a way that was not public and for fear that the people at large would not get to hear of it and give him proper credit for his generosity, he conceived the brilliant idea that he in labor circles" was about here. might charge the unfortunate to whom he gave with being an imposter and genuine nobility. We are pleased to state that up to the present writing the so-called imposter has not been

An instance of the growing class solidarity that is being manifested amongst the workers is the reported strike of seven policemen in Fort Worth, Texas, last week, who were detailed to protect strike breakers. They gave up their badges to the chief and declared they would rather give up their jobs than protect men who were taking the places of laborers who were fighting for a higher wage and a better living for themselves and agination done anything for the workfamilies. They did not act on the ing class. request of the strikers, but by their own initiative. Let us remember the next time we are reviling the indi- my readers that we are going to get vidual policemen that they are also out one of the best propaganda papers members of the working class and for our tenth anniversary that we that it is no more a crime in the eyes have ever issued-and that is going of labor to be a part of an armed force some. The paper will be in poster of the capitalist class than it is to form, suitable for posting on bill manufacture the arms themselves.

Tuck of the Socialist party of Califor, and show up the facts of wage exploitnia has truckled in every possible way ation as they have never been shown to the opportunist element in the state before. This paper will be a model of since his removal and has even so far clearness and brevity, any anyone who fallen as to support in every way pos- fails to order a bundle for posting sible the middle class candidate for now will never forgive himself when Governors, Stitt Wilson, whom he he sees the paper. The regular buna party member, the opportunists do we will know how many to print. Out not trust him. Tuck has been trying August 13. to make a living out of "The World" of Oakland by supporting Wilson and having the paper sold in bundles, but the opportunists have arranged with sary Unpaid Labor Special. Two cents the publishers of "The People's Press" of Santa Barbara, the oldest and most pronounced opportunist center in the bill boards and in union halls. state, to remove to Los Angeles and get out his paper there. That means that the full support of the present administration of the party will go to the new paper and that Tuck is left out in the cold. Thus fares the rene Victor Berger is beginning to be

class-conscious, are not able to act ist Party Congress at Chicago voted class consciously. A recent editorial to allow members of the party to cast in the "Social-Democratic Herald" their ballots for Capitalist candidates calls three of the gentlemen to task in the second elections under the Comfor voting to expunge from the min- mission Form of Government. The utes of the council some reference by fact is, the Committee on Commission a Machinists' union in New York to Form of Government recommended previous administrations as graft ad- such compromise voting, but the Conministrations. How can you expect gress would not stand for it, anything else, Victor, when you have failed to teach the first principles of little injustice in our inadvertent error. revolutionary Socialism to your followers?

inion labor circles if the few agita- of the Chicago ors who are scheming to have a sep- Milwaukeelam stood for the compro arate county union labor ticket put in mise, and Milwaukeelsm is the ascend-the field persist in their activity. The ant influence in the Socialist Party of ment of the opponents of the frame-up promising second ballots. Watch and is the object sought to be attained.

Last year, right around election time! "It is apparent that no union labor "The Star" was boosting for the electicket could hope for any appreciable degree of success with conditions as for mayor, and incidentally, for C. W. they are at present. With a unani-Wappenstein as chief of police, say- mous demand in union labor circles ing that during Wappenstein's pre- for such a ticket, it might be formidvious administration of that office Se- able. But with the conviction among attle had been cleaner and more free workmen that the inauguration of from criminals than at any time in its such a ticket has been conceived for history. Wappenstein is now chief of a sinister motive, for the sole purpose

**AULT'S JUNK** 

"In the spring election a similar movement met with disaster. The same men that are fathering the union labor county ticket were behind the municipal ticket. Prominent union the jobbing scheme of a few of the

The above clipping from "The Star" of July 14 would indicate that the politicians whose stock in trade is principally the "labor vote" were being a little scared by the popularity of the move for political action among the unions. "The Star," evidently thinks that "few agitators," and "political workers of the Carrigan-McConnaughey camp," and "prominent union men are banding together to defeat the scheme" will frighten the union men of the city into following the old ine politicians another term.

When more than fifty unions send delegates to a Union Labor Party, and report after report of unanimous enthese delegates it seems that the "unanimous demand for such a ticket

"The same men who are fathering the union labor party ticket," or rather thus secure publicity for his act of some of them, were behind the city ticket, because they are the men who are in labor politics for labor, and not for what they can get out of labor. But I want to give "The Star" notice right here and now that there are moen men behind the union labor counts ticket than were ever behind a union labor ticket in this city before, and something is going to drop in the next election.

Labor is in politics for labor, and neither "The Star" nor any bogeyman can frighten us into supporting "candidates whose records are an appeal to workingmen," but who have never by any stretch of the im-

But before I close I want to remind boards, in union halls, and anywhere you can get space to put it up. The Although former State Secretary front and last pages will open out me years ago declared unfit to be die rates will prevail. Order now, so

> Get a bundle of our Tenth Anniverper copy in bundles of ten or more. Finest thing possible for posting on

### **Error Corrected**

Even though long past and not particularly material, "The Workingman's Paper" wishes to correct an item of worried by his mushroom "Socialist" news published in this paper on good aldermen, who, having never been authority to the effect that the Social-Yet we now think we did the Party

For notice who supported the Committee's Compromise. The entire Milwaukee delegation, including Carl Thomp-"There will certainly be trouble in son, together with A. M. Simons, editor

# THE HAMMERERS

### (A Proletarian Type)

Clangor and jangle and bang and jar, 'mid the dingy iron-works' gloom, Day in, day out, year in, year out, in the one same smoky room,

Where the iron dust fills the choking lungs, and the ceaseless noise the ears Good God, is this how some must spend their few once-granted years? The workmen come in the tender dawn-in the fields is there dew on the grass?

By ones and twos, with no glance at the clouds, through the grimy portal they pass; Their clouds are the smoke from the furnaces, their flowers the sparks

Keep it going! Already the pressure is being felt, and men already there who are kindly disposed toward others who are thinking of going are when he likes. It is an all-important work and the spring that spring the spring that sp And the agonized cries of the beaten iron are their "sweet birds' jargoning."

The men straggle forth in silence, and creep to their crowded homes The winter goes, and the springtime, and the summer brings its heat, And the autumn comes, so golden, with days that are calm and sweet-But what of all this know the hammerers? All days for them are a strife With noise and dust and darkness-and for brothers of ours, this is Life!

-George Jay Smith, in "The Munsey" for August.



This cartoon was published in "The Socialist" nine years ago. Today the new Willie (Taft) has the same "Papa". But, after nine is being advocated by one or two postands for is sure to be accepted by more years of skinning, the Middle Class, like the worm, has turned, littical workers belonging to the Carridge of the whole party before long, including rigan-McConnaughey camp. Punish the Commission Form and its commillions strong with Insurgency. Will they down Papa.



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Beginning With Oct. 10 There is Be ing Issued a Sunday Edition of

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This Sunday paper, for which there has been a strong demand, will contain a complete condensation of the week. Being, therefore, partly of the nature of a weekly periodical it will be able to circulate to every part of

the Union.

There will be full Socialist and Trade Union news, a full page of Woman's Sphere and the best department "For Young Folks" ever printed, Early issues will contain stories and articles by Prof. Thorstein Veblen; Leonid Andreiff, "Hebe," Brigit Stanton, Max S. Hayes, Ewald, Norolenko, Ernest Poole, Robert Hunter, Charles Edward Russell, R. Rives La Monte and others.

others.

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enly, 50; week-day issue only, \$1.15;
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Bronx must pay a cent a day to cover
postage.

postage.

A Socialist Press is an absolute necessity if economic freedom is to be obtained and wage slavery abolished. It is both your privilege and your duty to help in its building and sup-

It partly depends on every one de g a little.

Will you not do your share by submibing for as long a period as you
as to the Sunday Call?

Please do not delay but send your
abscription at once to

> The Subscription Dept. THE NEW YORK CALL

# MILWAUKEE AND TAMPA

Socialist Party of Tampa, no mean city of the peninsular state. We are a little sorry this news is so late, but it reaches us only by accident. The letter of Herbert C. Davis, a former State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Florida, which we print herewith, shows that he too learned of this platform by accident. But, however late it reaches the public, it is a most significant testimony to the effect of Milwaukeeism on the Party that still claims to represent the Wage Class.

Some six years ago, this paper printed a Socialist Party platform from Olathe, Kansas, entitling it, "Brick or Cement, Which?" It was received with roars of laughter at the National Convention at Chicago in 1904; for the only issue set forth in that Kansas platform was whether the town should build its proposed new sidewalks of brick or cement, the Socialist Party advocating cement and their opponents contending for brick. We doubt if any smiles even will be provoked in 1910 by the Tampa Platform fac-similed of that law as the Tampa Socialists are of Socialism. below. For it is exactly in line with the example set by Milwaukee and so delightedly and universally acclaimed by the Socialist Party of the United

The Milwaukee motto is, "An Honest City Administration, An Economic Administration, A Clean City, A Square Deal, A Fair Day's Wage," a purely Middle Class set of measures. From Tampa to San Diego spring up the Middle Class responses to the Milwaukee slogan, revealing as with a magnetic touchstone, the real underlying Middle Class character of the Socialist Party constituency. Clearly, the Party was held to Proletarian principles and the Class Struggle theory for so long, only by the force and superior economic knowledge of a comparatively few leaders of the organization. The American Socialist Party was an outgrowth of the Middle Class Populist Party, combined with a group of anti-De Leon S. L. P. members and a number of radical and discontented people from all ranks. It is now like the sow returned to her vomit, when it adopts these Milwaukee and Tampa demands.

Notice in this Tampa production: (1) It is addressed "To Citizens," not To Wage Workers, nor even, To Workingmen. (2) It hastens to state in the very first sentence, We address you "Citizens," "WITHOUT FAVORING ANY CLASS." Search every one of the sixteen planks in this telltale platform and see if you can discover any suspicion that the Socialist Party favors the Wageclass except the single and inconspicuous Number Fourteen, "An 8-hou day and the Union scale," a mere sop to the votes of the cigar makers. (4) The burden of the platform appears, in such expressions as "Wasting the People's Money." Punish the Grafter, Relieve "an already overtaxed citizenship," "Special Privileges to None" (the very words of all the Rebels of the Pincho Middle Class army). (5) According to the interlinings of ex-Secretary Davis, two of the three candidates signing the platform are small business men in Phone Ind. 506 whose mouths such insurgent sentiments sound as natural as the muck rakers themselves.

vote for.

run in the interest of the employers exclusively, nor that the Working Class subscribe later. Yours for a working class party, Phone, ind. 4871 is not interested in lower taxes, nor that the cry of "Special Privileges to

Milwaukee Socialism has reached to Florida, as witness the document | None" is an attempt to down the Trusts and to restore the good old days reproduced by photographic process on this page. It is the Platform of the of universal competition, when wage workers were robbed just as freely as

> Those who are thus blind to our meaning in this criticism of Milwaukeeisn must agree with the brutally frank editorial we saw in a Spokane Daily this very week. It said, in so many words, "There is no possibility of the laboring man ever receiving anything more than the wage scale." Do you believe that? This Spokane editor knew what he was talking about, for he says, "The laboring man must expect to spend his days in the one task of merely securing the necessities of life." Do you agree to that? Have you given up hope of ever having any compensation but wages, which means, as this editor says, "merely the necessities of life"? Why are you concerned about taxes, or grafters, when all you can get or "expect" to get is merely, merely, MERELY, "the necessities of life." You couldn't very well get along with less than the "necessities," could you? And you won't get any more if taxes are lower. For remember, "There is no possibility of your receiving anything more than the wage scale, taxes low or taxes high, grafters or no grafters. That editor spoke the gospel truth when he gave utterance to this Law of Wages, which lies at the basis of political economy, though most workingmen are as ignorant

What real Socialism demands and must get is the Abolition of Wages the stoppage of the robbery that always has and always will occur in the payment of wages. Real Socialism means the Emancipation of the Wage Class from this necessity of accepting the mere necessities of life as wages, and handing over all the surplus to those who enjoy the luxuries of life. The one "Special Privilege" which the Wage Worker is interested in suppressing is the Special Privilege which the Capitalist Class enjoys, of skinning him.

But that Special Privilege the Muckrakers never say a word about, and the Tampa Socialist Party Socialists fight as shy of as the Poult of Tampa Socialist Party Socialists fight as shy of as the Devil of holy water

## **Advanced Socialism**

Port Inglis, Fla., June 14, 1910.

'The Socialist," Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrades:

I have been kept on the eternal "hustle for grub" in points remote from the conveniences of civilization for the past two years, and have not kept up with the growth of the movement in this country. You can imagine the effec on my nerves when I received yesterday a private letter written on the back of the enclosed document.

Vague rumors of victory in Wisconsin, approaching success in Connecti-Yet we suppose a good many workingmen will read these criticisms of point of seeking further and more accurate information; but this! and from ours and wonder what is our grouch. They will see nothing in this Tampa Tampa, where we once had a few real socialists among the party members-Platform to kick about. They will even declare that this Socialism of Milwau-enough, I had hoped, to leaven the whole lump—this is the limit. I have got kee and Tampa is something they can understand and would be willing to know the worst. Is the grain all husk? Some stamps enclosed. Send me a few copies of "The Socialist," or whatever else you call the paper now pro Sure thing. Most workingmen are led by the nose through what they read viding by that other name, it smells as sweet, and if you have not also taken in the daily papers. They haven't the faintest idea that the daily papers are up with this new advanced Socialism which is a little beyond my depth I will

HERBERT C. DAVIS.

### Socialist Municipal Platform

TO THE CITIZENS OF TAMPA:

WE the Socialist Party of Tampa, in Convention Assembled, have nominated candidates for the various City Offices to be

WE the Socialist Party of Tampa, in Convention Assembled, have nominated candidates for the various City Omces to be filled at the general city elections to be held June 7th, 1910, and declaring ourselves to be in full sympath) with socialist principles and philosophy, we feel that we can especially solicit the aid of all good Citizens, upon the following issues:

FIRST: We demand the faithful, capable, honest and economical Administration of the City's Affairs without favoring any class or clique, and in view of the City's pressing needs for all kinds of improvements we especially denounce the present vicious practice of wasting the peoples money by supporting a horde of useless officers and paying office rent in expensive buildings, when the City Hall can assily be made sufficient for all practical supposes. ings, when the City Hall can easily be made sufficient for all practical purposes.

SECOND: We favor and urge the immediate adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall.

THIRD: We advocate and urge the adoption of a more concentrated form of government directly responsible to the the shall have the power to remove any officer whose conduct in office is contrary the best interests of the whole City. FOURTH: We shall use our best efforts to secure the repeal of the State Law, which allows a Political Grafter to escape prosecution after two years.

FIFTH: We demand the immediate and wide extension of the sewer system in order to promote and protect the health and comfort of our citizens, and realizing as we do that a healthy city must first be a clean city, we pledge ourselves to maintain an active and vicorous sanitary department.

SIXTH: And as a bridge across the Hillsborough River at Lafayette Street is a pressing and absolute necessity, we shall

use every means within our power to secure this much needed improvement with all convenient haste.

SEVENTH: And as it is almost impossible to move the heavy apparatus of the fire department over most of our sandy streets with the speed and haste demanded in a time of fire:—And as the City's traffic and the peoples growing needs denediate paving of additional streets, we promise to carry on this much needed improvement with unremitting vigor.

sacred word that this important department shall be organized upon the basis of capacity and ability alone NINTH: We shall use our best endeavors to secure for the city a site of not less than a City Block upon which to build a City Hall as soon as funds can be secured for that purpose.

TENTH: We shall under no circumstances allow any sub-division to be added to the City if it is within our power

prevent it unless the streets are wide enough for all reasonable purposes and for a row of trees on each side.

ELEVENTH: We promise to begin at once the systematic planting of trees along our streets, in order that our city may, as far as possible, be protected from devastations by fire, may be made more healthful, more beautiful, and more comfort-

TWELFTH: And whereas we realize it to be one of the chief objects of civilized society to establish good governments, maintain order and protect life and property, we shall use our best efforts to secure a thorough and effective police force; and as we are sure that good government cannot be secured by uniformed "thugs," we shall use our best efforts to secure men for that important department whose records are clean and who may safely be trusted worthily to wear the badge of the City's

THIRTEENTH; So far as is possible in our present state of civilized development, we shall secure to ourselves and our fellow citizens a day of rest and recreation, with no attempt to enforce a so-called Blue Sunday Law.

FOURTEENTH: We favor the 8 hour day and union scale of wages.

FIFTEENTH: The right of free speech and the right of assembly as provided by the Constitution of the United States

SIXTEENTH: And whereas, the City government is, or ought to be, a hage corporation organized for the benefit of its individual members; and whereas no private corporation could long escape bankruptcy if it farmed out to private persons the only branches of its business which paid a profit and kept for itself only those lines which were expensive to maintain; And whereonly branches of its business which paid a profit and kept for itself only those lines which were expensive to maintain; And whereas, it requires huge sums of money to secure for the City those improvements which are crying out hourly for attention; And whereas; under the present incompetent system, there are no means of securing this money except by direct taxation upon an already overtaxed citizenship, and whereas, the public utilities of Tampa are paying huge sums of money each year, as profits to the coffers of the private individuals who own them, and as every dollar of these profits are collected from our own people; and whereas, if the city owned these utilities with the profits growing out of their administration, we could extend our sewer sysem, pave our streets and provide such improvements as are made necessary, because af the City's continued growth and develop-

without increasing the City's debt or issuing interest bearing bonds.

THEREFORE:—We pledge ourselves in season and out of season and urge our fellow citizens to aid us in securing the public ownership of these utilities, in order that the profits growing out of their operation may be outs to develop and improve the city in which we live.

Upon the foregoing Bill of Rights and Platform of Principles and promising again a Square Deal to All and Spaleges to None, we sak the intelligent co-operation and support of every citizen of Tampa.

The nominees are as follows:

For Mayor, - - - S. ELLIOTT (Proprietor cider factory)

#### nan at Large, ANGELO LETO For Councilman at Large, ALBION M. WINDHORST (Proprieter Stemagraphic

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### THE PROLETARIAN

#### By Friedrich Engels

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# The Eclipse of Marx

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We call this the Eclipse of Marx, as we might call the practice of the modern church the Eclipse of Jesus. Of course the reason the church ignores Jesus and his ethics is that the theory of non-resistance can not be ed in modern society without killing that society; the two are incompatible. The same reason holds for the Socialist Parties, who hide Marx in their own shadow. For, to bring forward the Fact of Unpaid Labor, and to make the battle rage around that Fact of Facts, would be incompatible with the interests of the Middle Class which composes the active majority of

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the modern Socialist organizations. Such a battle would necessarily be a Wage Workers' battle: for the Middle Class, including Business Men and Farmers, are not robbed as Producers, but as Consumers. The Wage Class never even gets its hands on its own product, but passes it in the very process of production into the possession of the Capitalist employer. mark and all this perfectly, and therefore he had no time to spend on any but the Proletarian Class. All other classes may be disregarded in comparison with The well known alliance of Big Capital and the Slum in our cities, like New this Class of Wage Workers, particularly in view of its recent amazing growth in number and keenness

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

Thus, too, will Karl Marx come into his own and no longer be betrayed

### The Middle Class Rebellion

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

Aside from the Trusts themselves, the most conspicuous phen 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 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 "Ex cessive Profits from the Control of Natural Resources Monopolized by a Few.'

. . . .

There are many theorizers who, following Marx slavishly, claim the Mid dle 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 Referendum, as if this method of voting were not more in business, in social and in political life." "The only thing to do with them by Big Capital than the present representative system. 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 Cumming 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 mani festation of this Middle Class Rebellion.

The Bryan Democrats are another branch, though less capable and mor

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

Bear in mind again what Pinchot said in that remarkable interview o 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 own ership of a natural resource or through unfair business methods, and use that control to extort undue profits, as in the recent cases of the Sugar Trust and Beef Packers, they injure the average man without good reason, and they are guilty of a moral wrong."

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

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"

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 rep resent, and that the Socialist Parties of both Europe and America are coming

Undoubtedly, such a Socialism is reactionary both in itself and as o pared 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

Rather, their ideal is a Middle Class, capitalistic, free-for-all Paradic 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

We call this reactionary, because it practically preserves the Status Que 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 incom 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 countres where Public Ownership already finds a partial exemplification. Tear 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" nclusion, 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 Railroad 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 fiv

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. 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

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

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

When the Trusts have developed into The Trust, when all productive in dustry 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 competen 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 Prese 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 318 Union St. - - Seattle perpetuate itself and to postpone indefinitely the day of Wage Labor's Emanc

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 politica party to be composed of the Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in combination with certain Farmers' organizatons alleged to num ber 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

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

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."

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# Significant Silence

Gompers seems to have silenced the Socialist Party. If its spokesm have attempted to reply to his attack on Karl Marx, we have failed to notice the fact. We do not pretend to follow the few Socialist Party organs that remain in the field with any special degree of attention, for the Middle Class region they try to occupy is much better covered by dozens of straight Capitalist journals, and we always prefer to "take ours straight." But we should not have failed to see any conspicuous article in defense to Marx against the exceedingly conspicuous article by Samuel Gompers in the June "Federationist," directly and scornfully attacking the central teaching of the great Proletarian scientist, namely, his "Theory of Surplus Value."

The "Chicago Daily Socialist," for example, published Robert Hunter's letter to Gompers, which drew out the Gompers Attack on Marx, with big first page headlines, and it also published with equal spread the Attack itself. But has any editorial defense of Marx appeared? Editor Simons is supposed to be well read in Economics. He certainly is aware that Marx to the original than De Leon, 'hough De Leon openly designated his transla wrote his three volumes of "Capital" for no other purpose than to set forth the Fact of Surplus Value in all its relations to the Capitalist System of work and taking credit to himself therefor. Production. Yet he allows the foremost representative of the American Wage Workers in the foremost representative organ of the Proletariat in America, to publish a leading article in the June number, ridiculing "the knowledgement in title page or preface puts both translator and publisher false," which article he republishes with glaring headlines, but FAILS TO

Has the other Socialist Party Daily, the New York "Call," done any better? Not so that you could notice it. If the "Milwaukee Idea" had been the subject of Gompers' attack, these two dailies, the best and almost the only newspapers defending the Socialist Party in the U.S., would have been flooded with "Replies" by editors and correspondents. It would have been the greatest opportunity to advertise the Practical and Constructive socialism of the Socialist Party as at present organized, and every platform in the Locals throughout the land would have rung with refutations of poor and ignorant Sam Gompers.

Or even suppose Gompers had chosen to attack that other Marxian Law Economic Determinism in History. A thousand champions of that Law, from Berger and Simons to La Monte and Wilshire, would have rushed to the defense of "the greatest economist of all time," and have poured vials of contempt on the unenlightened head of poor old Gompers.

Even Professor Seligman, and his numerous fellow professors in Capitalist Universities, would have issued in safety from their cloisters and rebuked the presumptuous Labor Leader for attacking a Law as well established as the Law of Gravitation. Did not Professor Seligman years ago endorse and praise Karl Marx for his masterful elucidation of "The Economic Interpretation of History," the title of Seligman's own book on the subject? For that Law may be accepted without endangering the Capitalist System, out of which these professors have to make their living.

But the Law of Surplus Value, if generally known and accepted, would drive the Wage Class into Self-Consciousness and Solidarity in opposition to the Capitalist Class, the appropriators of the Unpaid-for Surplus, so quickly and so indisssolubly, that the entire Capitalist System would be overwhelmed in a decade.

Therefore Professor Seligman in his able work explicitly disclaimed, as Gompers does, the Marxian Law of Surplus Value. For Seligman there is every excuse. He is hired to be the exponent and defender of those who pay his salary. Both they and he would be fools if they advocated a theory Berger and Simpson and Gompers, and even Kerr, who pretend to be sup porting the Socialist Party for the sake of the Proletariat; how about their silence when the Economic Foundation of the Proletarian Class is as sailed by the foremost representative of that class on the American continent? For even the "International Socialist Review," which has been doing such excellent educational work for the last year or two, has nothing in its July issue to rebuke this unexampled Attack by Gompers on the very citadel

We say this silence by Socialist Party organs is significant. If a man stands idly by when his wife's honor is assailed, you call him a coward, or you suspect she is not his wife. If a wing of an army rests quietly in camp when the whole line is subjected to the enemy's assault, you suspect a Benedict Arnold is its commander. He really belongs on the other side, and his inactivity and silence betray his true allegiance. So, if the Socialist Party betrays no resentment when the fundamental Proletarian Fact is declared not a Fact, there ought to be no doubt remaining in the mind of any observer that said party, whatever its professions, has very little interest in the Wage Class. The fact of the matter is, as we have often take up claims to coal lands and gold deposits and water rights and other pointed out, the Socialist Party of the present in the U. S. is chiefly concerned to get the votes of the Wage Workers, so as to carry out the Middle Class program which the party really stands for. Nothing could display this underlying indifference to Proletarianism so naturally and unintentionally as this spontaneous Conspiracy of Silence when the central doctrine of Marx and the central fact of the Class War between the Employers and the Employees, is denied and scouted by the Chief of Organized

The old Story of wise King Solomon is quite to the point here. Two women claimed one child. Both were brought before the king for him to decide which was the real mother. Divide the child, said he, and give half to each. That will be fair. Then the true mother sprang forward, crying: "Let her have the child, but do not kill it." Thus the wise old Judge had

The first born and only blood offspring of Proletarian Science is the Fact of Surplus Wealth extracted without payment from the Wage Class "The Theory of Surplus Value" is simply the sciment of that Fact of Unpaid Labor. The clear knowledge of that fact will make a race of rebels out of the robbed class; they can only be kept in subjection by keeping them in ignorance of their slavery. Therefore when Surplus Value is attacked, the very dearest revolutionary posses

sion of the Proletariat is put in jeopardy.
Who springs forward to its defense?

Every real friend of the Working Class will be revealed by this test,

The mother knows and defends her own child. But the Socialist Party of tion, perfect power, perfect sanitation, perfect accessibility to raw ma America disowns the fact of Wage Robbery, of Unpaid Labor, of Surplus Value, when it is threatened with oblivion in the highest tribunal of its own race. Instead of being touched to the quick, roused like the lioness in defense of her young, the Socialist Party is discreetly silent, like the

By that silence the Socialist Party stands self-judged.

## **Unscientific Socialists**

Facts, that is, phenomena correctly observed and correctly reported form the basis of Science. Therefore truth telling is a prerequisite in a man of science. That is why, for instance, newspaper reporting is a poor school for a scientific student. The reporter may observe his facts cor rectly, but he must report them so as to fit the policy of his paper. The natural result of such distortion of events in the record of them is to disolve the habit of accuracy in observation. A general carelessness as to facts becomes an intellectual custom.

But without reliable facts, no science; it is a house without a found tion, bricks without even clay, a tree without roots. If men of science de liberately break faith with the scientific world by reporting a false fact, they render themselves outlaws in that world and their testimony has no more value with scientists than Dr. Cook's. This seems too commonplace to repeat, but "there is a reason." For some men posing as "Scientific Socialists," who are responsible for the repute of Socialists as scientists and who will disgrace and discredit the entire Socialist Movement by their intellectual dishonesty, some men in this position have been guilty of the highest value to the cause, if they adhered to the bottom principle of human knowledge, namely, "Be sure of your facts." - 4

> We are led just now to this criticism because a book has been sent to us for review which made us "hot under the collar" when we read it. It is a translation of Kautsky's "Erfurt Program," published by Kerr under the English title, "The Class Struggle." The translator, or alleged translator, is William E. Bohn, a professor, we understand, in the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor. We have hitherto regarded his writings as reliable and have quoted from his reports on foreign affairs in the "International Socialis Review" with considerable confidence. But heretafter we shall never know whether to rely on his statements without further investigation, or not Just as we never think of accepting any report of facts in De Leon's "Peo because we discovered years ago that partisanship and intolerance ruled in the editorial conduct of that paper so absolutely, that facts were sacrified even more ruthlessly than in the ordinary Capitalist Dailies.

> Vet De Leon should be given credit where credit is due. And here is where Bohn sins. For this book from Kerr's press, for which Kerr also must be held responsible, bears on its title page these words: CLASS STRUGGLE (Erfurt Program) By Karl Kautsky, Translated by William E. Bohn." But it is not translated by William E. Bohn. The mos of it is word for word the translation by Daniel De Leon, made and published by him some ten years ago, and still sold by the Socialist Labo Party as the "Kautsky Pamphlets." Certainly Bohn has changed De Leon has abridged the original more than De Leon did, has done less violence tion as "Andapted"; but he is none the less guilty of appropriating De Leon's

This inexcusable use of De Leon's translation without a word of a foundation of Marx's theories—the idea of Surplus Value—as demonstrably under suspicion for the future. We must hereafter go behind all credentials which they present, or rather, must require credentials for all which they

> It is no excuse to say that others have done the same, even with respec to these very "Kautsky Pamphlets." It is true "The Appeal" and the "So cialist Co-operative Publishing Company" of New York both used the exact words of De Leon without giving him any credit, and the latter used the very plates which were made for De Leon, omitting all reference to a translator as did the "Appeal." The latter paper, by the way, is one of the morst sinners in stating false facts, Shoaf's stuff being most conspicuous in this regard. We sometimes read in "The Appeal" and "The People" their respective reports of the same occurrence, trying to find out what really happened by "splitting the difference," as it were, that is, by believing only those portions of the reported facts in which both agree.

> . . . . Still another instance of this perversion of fact or suppression of fact s to be found in the recent biographical work done by John Spargo concerning Karl Marx. The editor of the "N. Y. Daily Call" has declared that this biographer, who admits he does not read German, misrepresents the language of Marx. Besides this lapse, Spargo is indebted for a large portion of his biographical material to Franz Mehring; yet we understand he gives no credit to Mehring, leaving the reader to assume that the facts have been collected by the original labors of Spargo. This puts Spargo in the same Suspected List as Bohn.

> It is not pleasant to put these conditions before the public. But the Cause of Proletarian Science is far more important than the reputations of few of its allies. It is not the abstract ethics of the practices mentioned which we condemn. We are by no means condemning a lie in itself, as it may be the most moral thing to do on some occasions. But in the domain of Science, truth telling is fundamental and essential. Scientific Socialists become Unscientific Socialists when, either for purposes of individual credit or for partisan propaganda, they sacrifice the Fact.

# **Progressives**

They call the Insurgent Republicans "Progressives," and Mr. Roosevelt is alleged to have broken his rule to say nothing for publication on the present political situation, to the extent that he does say he hopes the Republicans will everywhere favor "Progressive" measures.

By this word, Progressive, they mean, of course, in line with progress or they think they mean that. In fact, what they propose is to prevent a cer tain kind of progress which is now progressing pretty fast, namely, the prog ress of Trustification. The Guggenhe ms and the Standard Oil are likely to get possession of about all that is valuable in Alaska, if Ballinger and Hammond and Taft have their way. But the Progressives, under Pinchot's lead, are fighting this kind of progress. They contend The People, meaning the people who have small amounts of Capital to invest, shall be allowed to natural opportunities. According to them, the Government must step in and forbid that kind of progress which the Guggenheims are furthering.

And so all down the line. The Government must own or control the Railroads in order that The People, that is, the people who cannot command any "Special Privileges," may not be compelled to pay high traffic rates on the Railroads. For this reason the Farmers and Traders demand Public Ownership. And they call such demands in line with progress, or Pro

The question is, Are these Progressives progressive? Are they not rather Retrogressives? It sounds strange to claim that Taft and not Pin-

just as inevitably and unerringly as the real mother in Solomon's court. fect organization, no wasted labor. Perfect machinery, perfect transporta-

terials, perfect surroundings to make workmen contented, libraries, games, parks, an ideal city, such as in a clumsy way and against insuperable difficulties, the "Socialist" government is trying to produce in Milwaukee These Capitalists are doing in an effective way and without obstruction what the Middle Class is bungling at by means of its boasted municipal

But consider the other Organizations being effected by Great Capital, as described on this page. Here is the General Electric Company at work in the Pacific Northwest. That great company, born of the new force for machine power, has captured the irresistible currents of the mighty Columbia River and now claims "A Practical Monopoly." If Mr. Pinchot had suc ceeded, this combination would have been prevented. Ballinger has fur thered it. Yet "Collier's" asserts, "If the Ballinger side wins, the social clock will be set back." In this case the Ballinger side has won. Will the social clock be set back because the General Electric Company will contro street railways, lighting companies, power distribution, irrigation projects, etc., etc.?

On the contrary, is it not the mission of Great Capital to break down the petty local managements which separate communities from neighboring communities, which allow arbitrary political divisions between city and city between state and state, to limit industrial organization and compel infinite

Steel Trust, the Meat Trust, the Smelting Trust, the Power Trust, the Ship gone to Alaska to head off the Mor ping Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Harvester Trust, the Tobacco Trust, the Corn Products Trust, the Leather Trust, the Copper Trust, the Rubber Trust, the Biscuit Trust, the Paper Trust, all interlocking one with another and all interdependent with the Money Trust, do you imagine for an instant these wage Capital, controlling practically every line of business in the country, can or will pay any attention to a fancied geographical line drawn between Washington and Oregon or Massachusetts or Connecticut?

Washington and Oregon or Massachusetts or Connecticut?

It is true the Governors of States, the Legislators, Judges, Cabinet Officers, the President himself, and, of course, all Municipal Governments, are the puppets of these Masses of Property.

But they are accomplishing a tremendous service for society, unifying its Productive Forces and destroying all the old divisions among men based on a past or rapidly passing Method of Production. The trusts are a part of the New Method of Production. By them Society is complying into the New Method of Production and the Society is complying into the New Method of Production. The trusts are a part of the New Method of Production. By them Society is complying into the New Method of Production and the New Method of Production. of the New Method of Production. By them Society is combining into one immense Instrument of Wealth Production. If the Middle Class Rebellion threatened war between Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and the Guggenheims. against them, represented by the insurgents of all parties should succeed. we believe the result would be retrogression rather than progression. We RICHEST TERRITORY. say, Welcome the Trusts, Welcome the Total Disappearance of the Middle say, Welcome the Trusts, Welcome the Total Disappearance of the Middle Class, Welcome the Universal Proletariat, Welcome the Capture of the Trust- and within its borders could be placed made Society with all its opulence by the Proletarian People! Welcome that Social Revolution!

### COREY

Industrial City of South-Sixteen Mil Seattle "Daily Times" Proves "Elec lions in Constant Capital-Three Millions in Variable Capital-More Millions Later On.

The first industrial city of the south is being built adjoining Birmingham, and the two thousand acres of propcompanies.

Corey will be to the south what large programs.

Gary is to the west. At Corey all subsidiary companies will erect their southern plants, and on the two thousand acres mentioned there will probably be \$50,000,000 invested in new location. plants in the next five years.

As the beginning of this industrial As the beginning of this industrial upbuilding the American Steel and Wire Company is erecting a \$4,000,000 plant at Corey, which will cover eighteen acres under one roof. The Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company is building a by-product coke oven plant to cost \$4,000,000, using 6,500 tons of coal daily. It will produce three-fourths as much coke, 57,000,000 cubic feet of gas and immense amounts of ammonia, coal tar and amounts of ammonia, coal tar and other by-products. The same company is building a great impounding dam near Corey which will furnish water to the present steel plant furnaces an rail mills at Ensley and all the plants at Corey. This r ment of \$2,000,00 This represents an invest

### JUST A STARTER.

The construction work under prog ress at Corey includes only the first units of the American Steel and Wire Company and the coke ovens. Addi-tional units, each of which will cost \$4,000,000, will probably be added

These new industries will bring bree thousand new laborers to Birm ingham. It will require a year to build the steel and wire plant, and eighteen months to build the coke ovens. The additional payrolls these two plants will bring to Corey will amount to approximately \$10,000 daily, or \$3,000.

It is conservatively estimated that

### IDEAL HOMES

The steel corporation wants ideal home surroundings for its employees, and for that reason Corey is being

nent contract was for \$400,000, cluded several miles of asphalt, a half of gas mains, two miles and a half of double track street railway connecting Corey and Birmingham thousands of shade trees, and fifty model houses are being built costing from \$1,500 to \$6,000 each, a fifty-room hotel, a bank building and two rows of stores.

### **ELECTRIC MERGER**

tric Trust" Exists in Northwest-Pin chot Condemned by Its Agent.

In a territory extending from Pendleton, Or., northward through the valley of the Columbia River more miles, with ranches reaching westward to the canyon of the Nache erty recently bought by the United River in this state, the Electric Bond ENORMOUS RESOURCES. States Steel Corporation is to be used & Shares Company, the financial sub-for manufacturing sites for subsidiary corporation of the General Electric Company and allied interests of New

Shares Company, this morning at The New Washington gave further partic-ulars of the consolidation of Eastern Washington corporations.

"We are now working out the de-tails of the merger of the Northwest Corporation, organized by I. W. Anderson and controlling water and electric power interests in the Walla Walla country and in Pendleton, and the elec-tric power interests of Robert E. Strahorn extending from the Naches River MONOPOLY-SAYS PINCHOT. to Pasco," said Mr. Maxwell. "The Northwest Corporation owned the street railway and lighting systems of Walla Walla and Pendleton and to Pasco," said Mr. Maxwell. "The Northwest Corporation owned the street railway and lighting systems of Walla Walla and Pendleton and Mr. Strahorn's priject included a power station which will be greatly augmented, located on the Naches River.

BRACTICAL MONORPOLY.

### PRACTICAL MONOPOLY.

Corey will have a population of eight thousand within ninety days and friendly to General Electric. We shall twenty thousand within two years, as the new industries are built there. Estimating three people to the family. Strahorn located on the east bank of there is an immediate population at Corey of nine thousand people, three for each employee.

In Spokane, the electric power in the group that no longer is there any of a struggle between opposing interests to "get in on the ground floor" in Alaska.

Gifford Pinchot and other leaders of the national conservation movement have for some time been cryfore and employee.

### TEN MILLIONS INVESTED.

Approximately \$10,000,000 will have been invested in Washington and Ore-gon power and light enterprises by the Electric Bond & Shares Co. when and for that reason Corey is being built. It will be a model city in every sense of the word.

Corey represents an investment of approximately \$1,500,000, which is being spent on street improvements, buildings, etc. The first street improvements contract was for \$400,000. Co. of Parliand Ore.

The conservationists.

(Editor's Note. The only way Pinchot can succeed is through politics and legislation. Even if his Middle Class, the small investors, the so-called "Common People," stand by him and T. R. at the ballot box, elect their representatives. appoint their representatives.

and included several miles of asphalt, witrified brick, macadam, making about 50 per cent of the street improvement work to be done at Corey. To grade the property 186,000 cubic yards of dirt are being moved, twenty miles of cement sidewalk and twenty miles of combination curb and gutter are being id. The improvements also include eight miles and a half of storm and self-free member of the Maxwell party is F. G. Sykes, of New York, president of our Tenth Anniversalters aware from the trunk sewer. eight miles and a half of storm and is F. G. Sykes, of New York, president sanitary sewer from the trunk sewer of the American Power & Light Co., 1400 feet long and fourteen feet wide to the six-inch sanitary sewer in the residence streets, eight miles and a & Shares Co. The three men will leave half of gas mains, two miles and a half of gas mains, two miles and a balf of double track street railway in the blg merger.

"Of course we are in the market for any good enterprise, but I think we have about gained control of the best

propositions. As to future develop-ment, we shall do our share. "I consider the policy of the gov-ernment inaugurated by Gifford Pinchot as ruinous to this state. I have not followed the Pinchot-Ballinger matter closely, but it is plain that it is a very bad thing for the state for the national government to prevent the further development of electric and water power resources.'

### **ALASKA**

Vast Interests Unite-Capitalists Don't Quarrel With Each Other.

NEW YORK, Saturday, July 2.— The most powerful interests in Wall Street have combined for the exploitabetween state and state, to limit industrial organization and compel infinite duplication and waste of social forces?

In the United States the Trusts ignore and transcend all State Lines and consequently all "State Rights." The Railroad Trust, the Oil Trust, the State Rights." The Railroad Trust the State Stat gan-Guggenheim interests in certain copper developments in the territory. "That story is silly rubbish," de-clared Mr. Kahn. "Instead of their being a fight on between the Guggen-

Sq. Miles.	Sq. Miles
New York49,170	Florida58,680
N. Hampshire 9,305	Maryland12,210
Vermont 9,565	N. Carolina.52,250
Massach'ts 8,315	W. Virginia24,780
New Jersey 7,815	Indiana36,350
Connecticut . 4,990	Georgia59,475
Maine 23,040	S. Carolina 30,570
Pannsylv'a 15,215	Virginia42,450
Delaware 2,050	Ohlo41,060
Rhode Island 1,215	Wisconsin , .56,040

Explorations and surveys made by territory in gold, silver, iron, coal and other minerals as yet undeveloped on this continent.

One of the chief objects of Mr. Schiff's visit to Alaska is to inspect at York, has obtained control of every close range the progress being made large private hydro-electric power enterprise, except the Burbank plant, near Pasco.

pany is the big financial institution of the group of allied electric corporations controlled by J. P. Morgan and Standard Oll interests and dubbed by Former Forester Gifford Pinchot the "electric trust."

Confirming in all essential details previous accounts of the merger of gigantic electric and power interests, published in The Times, C. M. Maxwell, brother-in-law of S. Z. Mitchell, president of the Electric Bond & Shares Company this means the summer of development and exploitation may be accommentated.

wealth of almost inestimable value Only the gold has yet been touched and even that development has just begun. All along the line of the rail-road there are vast deposists of cop-per, and near the terminus some of the richest coal fields in the world have been located.

"We have now obtained practically it the large and attractive power and light enterprises in that part of "We have now obtained practically all the large and attractive power and light enterprises in that part of the Inland Empire extending from the Columbia River Valley to Pendleton, and westward to North Yakima and the Naches River.

"In Spokane, the electric power interests are controlled by corporations" the development of Alaska, that unknown section of the national domain will be brought before the world as land of promise, and it is expected that a great rush of settlers will soon start. The situation has now been so thoroughly mastered by this powerful group that no longer is there are controlled by corporations.

> interests to monopolize the riches of Alaska. The great coal fields that are to be tapped by the Morgan-Guggenheim-Schiff raffroad have been the particular object of the solicitude of

With Mr. Maxwell at The New Judges and marshals, then two ques-electric power constaller.

sary Unpaid Labor Special. Two cents per copy in bundles of ten or more. Finest thing possible for posting on bill boards and in union halls.

A Chicago judge has gone on record and not Lindsay, are the true and genuine Progressives.

Read two or three news items printed on this page and see what impression they produce upon you. One is a description of the now city of Corey, about to be built in Alabama by the U. S. Steel Corporation to correspond to their city of Gary in the North. Do you believe such a city in line with progress?

You may call it a Slave City. Yet you must admit the industrial organization described in this article, of which the city of Corey is the mere dwelling place, displays the greatest possible economy of force in the progress it with the U. S. Post Office, for example, in men will accomplish as much as twenty in the Seattle P. O.—and the men will accomplish as much as twenty in the Seattle P. O.—and the men will be no harder worked and as well paid, too. In one case there is perfect organization, no wasted labor. Perfect machinery, perfect transports—

thousands of shade trees, and fifty model houses are being built costing from \$1,500 to \$6,000 each, a fifty-room but the control of \$6,000 each, a fifty-room the cost of \$6,000 each, a fifty-room the cost of \$6,000 each, a fifty-room the cost in the produce upon you. One is a description of the new city of stock in the Handord From \$1,500 to \$6,000 each, a fifty-room the cost of \$6,000 each, a fifty-ro