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REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM AND REFORM SOCIALISM

BY HERMON F. TITUS

Foreword

This series of articles is intended to present the Principles and Tactics of Modern Socialism in so plain a way that one who has never heard of Socialism can understand, yet in so reasonable a way that the student of Socialism will be convinced.

It is written for the new Socialist, and for the old Socialist alike, as found in the American Socialist movement.

It will deal with the live facts of American society and American politics as seen and interpreted by Socialists.

No American Workman should ever cast his vote without clearly understanding the matters discussed in these articles.

And no American Socialist is qualified to stand in his place and instruct his fellow citizens during the next few years without a complete mastery of the diverse principles and methods outlined in these chapters.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

All this looks as if Socialism might soon capture America. And many people really think so. Some hopeful Socialists have even prophesied that the Socialist party would elect its president in 1908.

On the other hand, there are a great many Socialists who claim the times are not ripe for Socialist victory. They laugh at their sanguine comrades as dreamers, and urge that the working class in America is quite too ignorant of its own interests to be entrusted with political power at present.

What do these opposing outlooks mean? Why does it appear to some as if Socialism was at its very door and to others that Socialism is years and years away?

It is because they are talking of two different kinds of Socialism--some of Reform Socialism and some of Revolutionary Socialism.

FALL ELECTIONS OF 1905

A significant fact appeared in the Socialist returns for the fall election of 1905. Generally, the Socialist vote of 1905 fell far below that of 1904. The vote for Debs and Hanford in 1904 was nearly twice that cast for Socialist candidates in many city and state elections one year later.

But there were exceptions to this rule. In some localities the Socialist vote held its own, and even gained largely. In nearly all these places where gains occurred it is the Reform kind of Socialism which prevails. In striking contrast with this, where Revolutionary Socialism was put forward most strongly, in platform and campaign, there were distinct losses in votes, or only slight gains.

WHY REFORM SOCIALISM SUCCEEDS NOW

All over the country just now there is a great wave of Reform sentiment. President Roosevelt represents it, and it makes him popular. He is against railroad rebates; he would check monopoly; he is down on "graft."

Hearst represented this Reform sentiment in his candidacy as Mayor of New York. He was openly for municipal ownership. He was charged by his opponents with being a Socialist. He captured a great many Reform Socialist votes which had been given to Debs and Hanford in 1904.

In New York City, notice, the Socialist ticket lost votes to Hearst.

Now the New York Socialist party was controlled by Revolutionary Socialists.

Had the New York Socialist party stood for Reform Socialism, it would undoubtedly have held many votes which it lost to Hearst.

THIS SHOWS THE DIFFERENCE

In New York City, Hearst stood for Reform Socialism. As a consequence, he captured the Reform Socialist vote. It was claimed by some Socialists that the New York Socialist Party made a great mistake. They ought to have put forward a Reform Socialist platform and captured the Hearst thunder, so the Reform Socialists maintain. Then they might have equalled or exceeded the Debs vote. In this claim the Reform Socialists are probably correct.

If the Socialists take advantage of the great tidal wave toward Public Ownership as a preventive of Monopoly and Graft, they can undoubtedly gain thousands of votes, and many municipal offices.

(The above was written in 1906. The results of the na-

tional election in 1908 illustrated the same truth. The Reform Socialists voted for Bryan under the influence of Gompers, while the Revolutionary Socialists held their own in their best centers. But the general vote for the fell far below expectations. The consequence is a renewed demand for a Program of Reforms.)

WOULD THIS BE SOCIALISM?

That is the question. The Revolutionary Socialist denies that such victories would be Socialist victories. He claims that Reform Socialism is not Socialism at all.

The Revolutionary socialist claims that "Municipal Socialism" is not true Socialism.

The Revolutionary Socialist claims that Public Ownership is not Socialism. He says they have had that in Russia for years, but no Socialism by a long shot.

So then you see there are two kinds of Socialism in this country, Reform and Revolutionary. The question is, which kind is the real kind? Which kind deserves the name "Socialism"?

In the following chapters we shall take up first one kind and then the other, their principles and their tactics, so as to make perfectly plain what they both stand for and which is most likely to win.

Colonies or Churches but into a Political Party to capture the powers of government.

Revolutionary Socialism proposes to win possession of all the offices in the nation, state and city, of the Presidency, the House of Representatives, the Senate, the Supreme Court, the Army and Navy, the Treasury, the power of taxation, the power of life and death, the control of property; in a word, the Power to Rule, now known as the State or the government.

Revolutionary Socialism means more than this, as we shall explain later. But it has no meaning at all if it does not mean the overthrow of the present government and the substitution of another government in its place.

It expects to do all this by the ballot, in a peaceful manner. Only in case of armed and unlawful resistance by the government defeated at the polls, do Socialists anticipate a Revolutionary War.

When once the people of the United States have voted that a Working Class Government shall take the place of a Capitalist Class Government, revolutionary Socialists expect the old government to retire peacefully and to yield lawfully to the will of the majority. But if the old Class Government refuses to surrender to the new, then unquestionably there will be a War of Revolution.

FOUR GREAT PRINCIPLES.

Revolutionary Socialism covers a multitude of details, as wide as life itself, but four great questions include all the rest.

- First. The Question of Science.
- Second. The Question of Property.
- Third. The Question of Classes.
- Fourth. The Question of Government.

Mark these four! If you accept what Revolutionary Socialism has to say about the first question, namely, the Science Question, you will have to accept what it says on the Property Question.

And if you accept its principles on the Property Question, you will inevitably understand the Class Question and the Class Question increases the Government Question.

The whole four stand or fall together.

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM IS SCIENTIFIC.

The very first principle of Revolutionary Socialism includes all the rest. It is this: YOU MUST BE SCIENTIFIC IN YOUR METHOD.

This does not mean, you must be learned in the school learning, highly educated, able to explain scientific terms, skilled in chemistry or astronomy, or even able to spell every word in the English language.

It only means that the attitude of the Revolutionary Socialist toward all subjects is the scientific attitude, the modern scientific attitude in contrast with the ancient superstitious attitude.

The scientific man never guesses at anything. He always requires proof. He will believe anything if the facts prove it to him. He will believe nothing unsupported by facts.

The superstitious man believes what looks to him reasonable without waiting for the slow proof of facts.

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Chapter I -- Two Kinds of Socialism

Perhaps you thought there was only one kind of Socialism; or perhaps you think there are as many kinds of Socialism as there are Socialists.

The truth is there are just two kinds, and only two kinds.

You may have heard of "Fabian Socialism" and "Christian Socialism," and "State Socialism" and "Municipal Socialism," and "Utopian Socialism" and "Scientific Socialism."

But these can all be belted down to two. Some belong to one and some to the other, but all the different kinds can be called either "Revolutionary Socialism" or "Reform Socialism." If we understand these two, we understand all the rest.

MOST TALKED-OF SUBJECT

Socialism is the one thing everybody is talking about now, though almost nobody knows what it is he is talking about.

A few years ago 99 out of 100 thought that Socialism was the same as an Anarchist. When McKinley was shot, the Socialists were charged up with the deed, though Czolgosz was an avowed Anarchist.

Now the pendulum of public opinion has swung over to the other extreme, and every radical Democrat, like Tom Johnson or Hearst, is dubbed a Socialist.

It is even becoming popular to be a Socialist. It is not the Russian struggle for liberty, which now engrosses the world's attention and commands the world's admiration, led by Socialists? Socialists are becoming recognized as the world's heroes. If the tide keeps on running, Jack London will be lionized more for being a Socialist than for being a successful story writer.

The Hearst newspapers tell us in flaming editorials that if we Americans lived in Germany, three-quarters of us would be Social Democrats--the German name for Socialists. And so stated a Republican Journal as Harvey Scott's "Portland Oregonian" not long ago boldly declared in a leading editorial that it preferred Socialism to Trust Monopoly. If it came to a choice between the two.

THE WOLVES

"Wolves are always hidden," said Mayor Miller of Seattle the other day.

"Every animal that preys on other animals is in hiding."

Every animal, perhaps, except the human animal.

The men and women of prey fang themselves in automobiles, in the box at the theater. In the grand stand at the race course.

The boss of the department store struts, fat and pompous, before his quarry. In the factory he boldly swears before his prey.

The wolf, Mayor Miller, may be hidden, but not so the human wolf. He comes boldly forth as the plaintiff in injunction suits, as a member of the Citizens Alliance, as a member of the Employers Association. He holds his head high, and throws his chest out and speaks of "my business."

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but the strong employer who growl fat upon the profits of her toil when she was a working girl living miserably upon a pittance.

I wish, Mayor, that you were right. The wolf hides not from some innate conscience making him ashamed, but because the plundered farmer knows who steals his sheep and devours his calves. The human wolf may sometimes hide, Mayor Miller, not because squandering labor is an infraction of love and equity; but because class consciousness DOES grow, and your "far sighted patriots" can go hang.

ARTHUR B. CALLAHAN.

You are hereby notified that a General Meeting of the Stockholders of the Trustee Printing Company will be held at the office of the Company, 1529 Fourth Avenue, Rear, Seattle, Washington, 7:30 p. m., Monday, May 17, 1909.

You are requested to be present as important matters will come before the meeting.

All Stockholders not able to attend personally may be represented by proxy.

All stock subscribed for is now due and payable. Delinquent Stockholders are requested to remit immediately.

FRANKLYN.

ARTHUR JENSEN.

SECRETARY.

BURGESS' PAPER.

Burgess and Parks, assisted by Brown, print a second issue of "Suppressed Facts" in which Burgess actually defends Walter Thomas Mills and celebrates the union of the Opportunist "Independents" and Impostor "Anarchists."

As a sample of the truthfulness of the publication, we notice it calls McCorkle "the boss of scabs"; the fact being that McCorkle under the direction of the Carpenters' Union, itself took charge of a non-union job and unionized it by going on a "one man strike" for that purpose, a most respectable and commendable performance, which defeated and enraged his employer, J. M. Frink, one of the worst union haters in Seattle.

A second sample of "Suppressed Facts" is found in a letter to Ed. J. Lewis, of Portland, written by Parks as representative of all the "Independents," in which they actually attempt to threaten and bribe Lewis to take sides with themselves, by offering to withdraw Parks' suit against Lewis for assault and battery. Pretty raw! Evidently they mistook their man!

A third sample is seen by the republication of the charge against E. R. Hunt in this, we believe Ault should at once institute an action for criminal libel against every one of the stewers of this charge and against the editors and publishers of the paper itself. The only way to protect one's self against such malicious lies is to hold them responsible in the eyes of the law.

Mr. Hermon F. Titus, Seattle, Wash. Dear Comrade: Some of our honest-handed son-of-a-bitch from the Round country tarried in these ends of the earth long enough last summer to shape a souvenir behind him in the shape of a rumor to the effect that, during the street fight in Seattle last winter Tom Sladen "got away with money collected from widows and

orphans." One of our members, being happily (?) "inspired," referred to the matter in the presence of visitors at the last meeting of the Local. Therefore, the Local desires me to write to some of the Seattle comrades, with a view to knocking this lying rumor in the head--for such we know it is--and burying it so effectually that neither here, nor hereafter shall other men or angels "roll the stone from its grave away."

With the possible "exception" that exists in every Local in every land, the members of Local Klamath Falls have the utmost confidence in the sincerity, honesty and loyalty of Comrade Sladen.

We should be glad to hear from you in regard to the above mentioned matter. Hoping to hear from you at the earliest date possible, I am, yours for the Revolution in the shortest space of time possible.

KIBBY SPARGUR HULSE. N. B. Should be greatly obliged if you could send me a copy of the issue of "The Socialist" containing a picture of Comrade Sladen taken while in jail in Seattle. Came out during Christmas week, 1908, I think.

Editor's Reply: Tom Sladen got nothing in Seattle Street Fight except about 40 cents in the fiftiest jail bag from the earth. We are ashamed to say that he was not paid enough from the Street Fight Fund even to cover his expenses. He went destitute rather than let his needs be known. The author of said "rumor" belongs to those who called Jesus Christ a devil.

"REVOLUTIONARY" BUT NOT "BLOODY."

What the word "Revolutionary" means will appear before this discussion is ended. But we want to say now it is not the same as "bloody." There may be such things as a Revolution without war, without resort to arms.

But there can be no revolution such as Socialists expect without a change in the government. With or without war, the Socialist Revolution will be a political Revolution.

Revolutionary Socialism aims first of all to capture the state, to effect a Revolution in the government. Socialists are in politics. They are organizing first, not into Labor Unions or Co-operative Associations or

"LYING RUMOR."

Klamath Falls, Or., April 28, 1909. Mr. Hermon F. Titus, Seattle, Wash. Dear Comrade: Some of our honest-handed son-of-a-bitch from the Round country tarried in these ends of the earth long enough last summer to shape a souvenir behind him in the shape of a rumor to the effect that, during the street fight in Seattle last winter Tom Sladen "got away with money collected from widows and

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NOW'S THE TIME

Two thousand four hundred extra copies of the May Day edition of "The Socialist" were printed and distributed.

Five thousand extra copies of this issue are being printed to fill present and prospective orders. Since the resumption of regular publication subscriptions and orders for literature and printing have taken a decided turn for the better. A general interest in the welfare of the paper seems to have been aroused which if maintained will carry us through to permanent success.

"Still fighting!"

Haywood is due in this state on the 20th and will speak in Seattle either on the 30th or June 6th, or both.

Hall and definite date for Haywood given next week.

APPROPOS GEN. HAMILTON.

Republicans officials of the State of Washington, including Supreme Court Judge, Secretary of State and Adjutant General are resigning to escape prosecution. Workmen are not specially concerned in this fighting among the robbers over their loot from the Proletariat, but it is good to prod 'em a bit, as our Bellingham correspondent does here--Rd.

"Grin-visaged war hath smoothed his wrinkled front; And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds To fright the souls of fearful adversaries, He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber To the lascivious pleasing of a lute."

There is a picture in our mind's eye of the Investigating Committee sipping blushing and sweetly: "Oh, Hamilton, are there any more honest bunches just like you," while throwing side glances at Schively, Nichols, Ross and Mead.

Who said "war is hell and you can't devitalize it?" The saying must be reviled. War is a joke.

H. G. CUPPLES.

2505 D St., Bellingham.

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

Continued from Page 1

If he sees something he cannot explain, like the lifting of a shooting star, or a financial panic, or a municipal ownership case, the superstitious man begins to work out some explanation in his mind, or he accepts, without any thinking at all, the explanation of the crowd he is with. But the scientific man forms no opinion whatever. He waits for an investigation which will bring out the facts.

FACTS EVERYTHING, THEORIES NOTHING.

To the scientific man, facts are everything, theories nothing, even though they may be his own or those of his mother's theories.

To the superstitious man, theories, especially if connected by centuries of belief and universally accepted, are regarded with respect and even reverence. He is horrified, indignant, vindictive at the scientific man who discovers new facts and disproves his ancient pet theories.

This has been the history of modern science. It is only a matter of fifty years since Darwinism, or the Evolutionary Theory of the Universe, was received with horror, anger and vituperation, by the superstitious and unscientific masses of men.

Why has the theory of Evolution won its way to belief? BECAUSE IT IS SUPPORTED BY THE FACTS!

Darwin spent years hunting for facts; he laboriously studied the habits of pigeons and recorded accurately all he observed of pigeon life, before he published his book on the Origin of Species.

The facts were with Darwin. Nobody could deny his facts. He formed his theory from observed and recorded facts.

Therefore, the world has come to agree with Darwin. You cannot fight a fact. The superstitious man, with all his beautiful and hoary theories, must always give way to the scientific man who has no preconceived theories to establish, but only a host of established facts from which to derive any theory which will best explain those facts.

ABREAST OF THE MODERN ERA.

This scientific attitude toward all subjects, which forces a man to believe what the facts support, even against all his cherished theories and against his own interests also, an attitude which characterizes the modern era of thought as compared with the ancient era, this is the attitude of Revolutionary Socialism. It finds all its theories and beliefs and principles upon the facts of society as discovered by the most rigid investigation.

This is the foundation principle. By the Scientific Method Revolutionary Socialism stands or falls. All its principles are derived like the law of gravitation, from observed and recorded and accepted facts, the facts of history and of human life. It has no dreams, no schemes, no Utopias.

The foundation of the structure of the nineteenth century was Utopian, unscientific, with ready-made plans to reorganize society unbased upon the facts of social history. Many Socialists of the twentieth century really belong to this ancient school of early Socialists. They think and dream and idealize according to inherited myths and prejudices. They do not belong in the modern scientific era. They brush aside facts if they don't fit theories. But the Scientific Socialist brushes aside all theories that don't fit the facts.

ALL PRINCIPLES TESTED BY FACTS.

What the Revolutionary Socialist believes on the Property Question stands or falls by the actual property relations discovered in ancient or modern society.

What the Revolutionary Socialist believes on the Question of Classes in Society, is not theory based on the Declaration of Independence or on the demands of justice or fraternity or on popular rights, but wholly and only on an exhaustive study and analysis of society, ancient and modern.

The Revolutionary Socialist announces his principles on the subject of Government, he does not assume that any particular form of government is right and just, and then proceed to fight to obtain that which is right and just in government. He takes nothing at all for granted. He studies history to find out facts. If he finds that the American government has never been "of, by and for the people," and was never intended to be such; if he finds that there never was on earth any approach to such a popular government; if he finds the facts of history disprove all the current fine theories about democracy, the Revolutionary Socialist stands on all scientific and will strike his principles on the question of government conform strictly to the ascertained facts.

DARWINISM AND MARXISM.

The first principle, then, of Revolutionary Socialism is that it accepts the Modern Scientific Method. It stands in the front rank of progress.

Because Karl Marx progressed, investigated the facts of human society and announced what he found, he is called Darwin in the life history of animals other than man, and thus Marx stands with Darwin as one of the twin scientific discoverers of the last century, Revolutionary Scientific Socialism is sometimes described as Marxian Socialism, or simply Marxism.

Marxism, like Darwinism, must be accepted and believed. We use the word, "Marxism," to designate the development which can escape the conclusions of the scientific Method, which is the first principle of Revolutionary Socialism.

THIS PRINCIPLE NOT PECULIAR TO SOCIALISM. No, this Scientific Method is not peculiar to Socialism. Every department of modern science is built upon this principle. It is the very spirit of our modern time.

But if its facts so well established, how well ordered this can be the progress of the world. To apply this method of Science to the study of human history. They are the only men who yet apply the scientific method rigorously and consistently in the domain of human society.

The reason most capitalist historians and Sociologists have not yet applied the modern method to the investigation of man's progress on earth is, THAT THE CONCLUSIONS FOR SCIENCE IN THIS FIELD ARE TOO DANGEROUS TO EXISTING INSTITUTIONS, TOO REVOLUTIONARY.

It is precisely because Karl Marx and the Revolutionary Socialists, applying the Scientific Method to the study of man's racial existence, have discovered facts and reached conclusions which, if generally known and admitted, would undermine the intellectual foundations of all civilized governments and set up new standards, ethical, educational, religious, judicial; it is for this revolutionary reason alone that economists and historians shrink from applying the Modern Scientific Method to the study of human society.

But the Working Class, as will appear in our later chapters, have every reason to welcome scientific conclusions in social history; these conclusions belong to the Working Class. They have a right to know them, for they reveal the laws of Working Class Emancipation.

When once the Working Class in general learns the conclusions of Modern Science with respect to its development and destiny, nothing can prevent its united action and victory.

Ignorance alone stays the progress of the Proletariat in America. It is to help dispel this ignorance that these chapters are written.

The next chapter will deal with the discoveries of Modern Science with respect to the great question of Property, or the second principle of Revolutionary Socialism.

Chapter III -- Second Principle of Revolutionary Socialism

Remember always the First Principle of Revolutionary Socialism: What are the facts about any subject under discussion? That is the sole question the Socialist asks.

But some kinds of facts are very hard to discover. It is easy for anyone to observe that Malaria fever is associated with swamps. But it required skilled investigators, who knew how to use chemical reagents and compound microscopes; to discover that the mosquito is the fatal cause of malarial infection. So, in the case of Social facts, that is, facts about Society, are particularly difficult to discover. If it is hard to locate the source of one such common disease as Malaria, it is a thousand times harder to trace the essential facts underlying the ills that afflict Society.

It therefore becomes every student of the great organism known as human society to be very modest and slow in reaching his conclusions.

He cannot use the microscope or telescope nor bring his mind into any physical laboratory. To ascertain his facts he must first study institutions, customs, religions, governments, laws, tribes, nations, classes, above all or rather beneath all, methods of production in all ages, agriculture, manufacturing and the Great Industry of modern times with its multitudinous utilities.

Having by patient, exhaustive study ascertained his facts, the Socialist Scientist must possess an unusual power of generalization, to deduce therefrom the laws which have controlled human development.

The facts and conclusions stated in this chapter, forming the most important principle of Revolutionary Socialism, are based upon the observations of two great Socialists of the nineteenth century, Karl Marx and Lewis H. Morgan.

Both were born in the year 1818, Marx in Prussia, Morgan in New York. Both studied and investigated for thirty years before publishing their matured conclusions. The whole scientific world now recognizes both as masters in their respective fields.

Marx studied Modern Society in London, the leading capitalist city of the world. Morgan studied Ancient Society first among the Iroquois tribes of Central New York and afterwards wherever relics of ancient social forms still lingered on the earth.

These two monumental works to which the Revolutionary Socialist refers for his facts and challenges dispute, are the following:

"CAPITAL, A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION" BY KARL MARX.

"ANCIENT SOCIETY, OR RESEARCHES IN THE LINES OF HUMAN PROGRESS FROM SAVAGERY THROUGH BARBARISM TO CIVILIZATION," BY LEWIS H. MORGAN.

Both of these works can be found in all public libraries or purchased of the booksellers. Morgan's book is summarized and supplemented in "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," by Friedrich Engels.

The central facts stated in this and the following chapters on Revolutionary Socialism are those established by Marx and Morgan.

THE FACTS OF PROPERTY, NOT THE "RIGHTS OF PROPERTY."

Capitalists concern themselves about the "Rights of Property." Socialists say the rights will take care of themselves. If we know the facts about property.

We use the word, "property," in the popular sense, as when you ask, "Has he any property?" meaning, "Is he worth anything; does he own any of this world's goods?"

In this sense, the Socialist says, the history of property is the history of the world. Tell us how any age has produced and owned its wealth, and you have told us all we need to know about that age.

In a word, the Relations of Property constitute about all we use to live. The human race is quite like any individual in that his chief concern is to be fed and clad, to live and be prosperous.

What is a whole city of people doing. In office, store and factory? It is one mighty struggle for wealth, for property. Your churches, your courts, your clubs, all revolve around the one center of Property.

It was always so since man ceased to be savages, stole they learned how to produce food and clothes and houses and all those varied riches which constitute the world's Property.

PREJUDICES MUST YIELD TO FACTS. This common sense view of history is offensive to many people who have been taught that history was made by ideas, rather than that ideas are made by history. But the modern scientific view of history has dispelled the old superstitious view that great men and great ideas control the progress of the race.

We know now that the controlling factor in the development of man on the earth is the way he makes his living.

When he made his living by agriculture, as in America a hundred years ago, his thoughts, his ideals, his ambitions, his habits, even his religion and his government, were entirely different from those of the present day, when he makes his living chiefly by machinery and the factory.

This view of things, making all history dependent on the production of property, is known as "The Materialistic Conception of History" or "The Economic Interpretation of History." It was first definitely propounded by Marx and Engels in 1848 and is now pretty generally recognized as the scientific view.

In accord with this view of history, difficult and distressing as it may seem to the reverent holder of old theories it must be said that the discovery of the steam engine and power loom and all the related modern machinery, has done far more to change the face of the world than the birth of Jesus or the campaigns of Napoleon.

If we hold to the scientific method, which is the first principle of Revolutionary Socialism, our theories, however dear and cherished, must yield to the facts.

THE NEW LAW OF HISTORY. We repeat, the history of the world is the history of property.

It may be termed the Law of History and is frequently named as one of the main principles of Socialism.

It is true it was first formulated by those twin Socialist investigators, Marx and Engels. But it is capable of a more extensive application, as Prof. Seligman has applied it in his recent book on the subject.

Besides, the Revolutionary Socialist can confine himself to the naked, concrete facts of life, which nobody can deny or deny lightly.

It is the property relations of the present day with which we of the present day are chiefly concerned. We illustrate and fortify our observations by reference to the past out of which the present has been born, but the economic conditions of the nations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries furnish our field of study.

In all this great modern society, there is one independent fact, towering like a mountain peak above the multitude of ordinary facts. This Fact of Facts constitutes the Second Principle of Revolutionary Socialism.

SECOND PRINCIPLE STATED.

IN OUR AGE, AS IN ALL AGES SINCE THE EARLIEST, PROPERTY IS NOT HELD BY THE WORKERS WHO CREATED IT.

This is the second great principle of Revolutionary Socialism. This seems a very simple fact. It is very simple. So is a man's cerebro-spinal column. But it is central and when you understand it, you understand about all there is to a man.

Let us state again this second principle, in different words. "THE WEALTH OF THE WORLD IS NOT POSSESSED BY THOSE WHO MADE IT."

This was not always so. Assuming human beings to have lived on the earth for one hundred thousand years, a moderate estimate, then for ninety-five thousand of those years, the men and women who produced the property possessed the property.

It is only during the last five thousand years, more or less, that property has passed out of the hands of those who have created it.

All races of men that survive pass through certain stages, Savagery, Barbarism, Civilization, the latter itself including three stages, Slave Labor, Serf Labor, Wage Labor. So in Russia, but England passed out of Serf Labor two centuries ago, the transition to Wage Labor being almost a century earlier in England than anywhere else. That is why Marx studied Wage Labor and its counterpart, Capital, in London.

SLAVE LABOR, SERF LABOR, WAGE LABOR.

It is evident to everybody that Slave Labor did not possess its own product. The slave produced food and armor and palaces and luxuries for his masters, but never had any surplus of his own. All the slave got was his "keep."

So with Serf Labor in the age of Feudalism. The serf was bound to the soil on which he labored for himself a certain number of days and the balance of the time for his lord. All the serf got was his living, like the slave. The lord got the balance of the product and was thus the only property holder.

It is no different with Wage Labor in the present day. The wage worker gets his living, no more, like the slave and the serf. The balance of his product goes to his employer, the capitalist, who this, and thus only, becomes the holder of property, wealth which he did not himself create.

WHAT OF THE FARMER?

It will be said we have taken no account of the farmer in this sketch of history.

But the independent farmer, owning his farm and producing wealth for his family, who has himself been the greatest product of the very landed domain thrown open to the old world by the discovery of America, this noble race of independent farmers form an exception, a sporadic out-thrust in the world's history.

He was due to special conditions and he is no longer the dominant factor in American life. Already in 1860, the U. S. census showed the agricultural products to be only about one-third the manufactured products.

America has now become a land of wage labor, even the farmers themselves employing an increasing number of wage workers year by year.

THE PRINCIPLE STATED AGAIN.

More definitely let us now state our Revolutionary Fact. THE PRODUCT OF WAGE LABOR PASSES IMMEDIATELY INTO THE HANDS OF CAPITAL.

The wage worker never gets the product of his own toil. In the very act of producing property, he delivers it all to his employer—save only his wages, barely enough to support him.

MODERN PROPERTY IS THEREFORE UNPAID LABOR.

The Socialist asserts, this is the most stupendous fact of modern times. It explains all other social facts. Without it, no other social fact can be explained.

With this fact as guide and key, you will understand much of the world which you will understand "Drift," you will understand Trusts and Rockefeller and Lawson and even Hearst and Tammany and the "Red Light District."

THE TRUE "FRENZIED FINANCE."

Then, W. Lawson is easy to explain in the light of this central fact. He is a stock broker and his famous exposure of the methods of Wall street, showing up what he

called "The System," by which "Standard Oil" and Rogers and Clark and Lawson made millions in a day, roused the American public to indignant protest against such methods of "making wealth."

But nobody claims that Rogers or Lawson or Wall street create the millions of value they gamble with. It is "Made Wealth" indeed, to use Lawson's expression. But these brokers did not make it.

Who did make it? The men who built the world's work of course. LABOR CREATES ALL WEALTH, BUT DOES NOT GET IT. That is our Revolutionary Fact.

These colossal struggles in the business world, by which the enormous fortunes of America have been piled up, are struggles among Property holders for the mass of Property which its creators have never had a chance to possess.

You, the workers, made all the millions these business men fight over, who get what? Your living, your wages. That and only.

This is the "System" Lawson said nothing about. This is the "Made Wealth" you never read of in all the Magazines and Dailies. This is the Revolutionary Fact the whole capitalist world is hiding from the workers.

State it in still another form: WHILE WAGE LABOR LASTS, THE WORKERS CAN NEVER GET ANY MORE OF THE PROPERTY THEY CREATE THAN A BARE LIVING. CAPITAL GETS ALL THE REST.

A SIMPLE SUM IN ARITHMETIC.

Compute what this means for the U. S. Steel Corporation, for example. Suppose they employ a hundred thousand workers at one dollar a day wages, a total of One Hundred Thousand Dollars a day paid in wages. These workers each create a value of two dollars a day, that is, Property enough to be worth the market value of an average of two dollars a day for every worker or Two Hundred Thousand Dollars a day.

These workers for the Steel Corporation therefore create Property to the amount of Two Hundred Thousand Dollars a day, but receive only One Hundred Thousand Dollars per day for themselves, leaving the Second Hundred Thousand Dollars' worth of the wealth they created in the hands of the Steel Corporation.

That means, in a year's time of 300 days, the U. S. Steel Corporation receives Property which the workers created, and for which they were paid nothing, to the vast amount of Thirty Millions.

On the basis of one dollar a day, if the wages are two dollars a day, the Unpaid Labor will be sixty millions a year.

Both these estimates are on the basis of the unpaid labor being exactly equal to the paid labor. If the unpaid labor is twice the paid labor, or five times the paid labor, as under improved machinery is often the case, then the Unpaid Labor of the U. S. Steel Corporation in every year will amount to sums ranging from 60 millions to 300 million.

This is the perennial source of the fabulous accumulations of Property in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is where the capitalists get their wealth to fight over in Wall street.

HIGH PRICES, HIGH RENTS, HIGH TAXES. Under the present system of Wage Labor, exactly as under the past systems of Slave Labor and Serf Labor, the creators of wealth never possess that wealth. All the surplus above their own subsistence belongs to the class of Property holders.

Questions of rent, questions of prices, questions of taxes do not affect the question of Wages. The Law of Wages goes on working whether rents or taxes or Street car fares be high or low. These questions concern the proletariat man, but the wage man, THE WAGE MAN WILL GET NO PROPERTY SO LONG AS THE WAGE SYSTEM CONTINUES.

Of course, we speak of the Wage Man as a class. Individuals may, with utmost frugality and sacrifice, secure a "modest competence," even though that is increasingly difficult. But the class of Wage Earners can never become possessed of Property. The Law of Wages gives them only a bare living. The Capitalist Class gets all the rest.

HERE IS THE PROOF. You ask for proof of these startling assertions? We refer you to the facts which we submit at the beginning of this chapter, especially to Marx's "Capital."

There you will find that the Wage Worker creates first his own value, that is, his wages, which he gets, and then a surplus value, which the other fellow gets. This "Surplus Value" is never paid by the capitalist in any way whatever. This "Surplus Value" or "Unpaid Labor" constitutes his "profit."

Here again we speak of the Capitalist Class as a class. The wage worker sells his "Labor Power" to the capitalist as a whole entity, not as a whole person, to which he belongs.

In all this exchanging, the class of Wage Earners were no classes in Ane Class Spirit. The fact is President says, is itself. Socialists, we cannot dreamers as to seek to they are not such indivi-

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Chapter IV. People of the People

"The People!" The po always charming us with A swarm of writers in ing the battles of "The P "Railroads on Trial" for coin Steffens expressed "G benefit of "The People," over Europe to discover that is, Soldiers for "The bare "The Treason of th "The People." While Bi travel to unfold his "Re "The People!"

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It is no different in A Lawson, Steffens & Co. i die class, the sole busin stitute the backbone of t rry Socialist progress. I middle class writers i whole American people.

The Revolutionary Soci ge authors to post, b the American people a classes, separated by th

The Revolutionary Soc ge authors to post, b the American people a classes, separated by th

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But the Middle Class Wage Class has arisen to it to "The People!"

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THE PRINCIPLE OF SOCIALISM

Third Principle
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... and double-meaning modern scientific lan- guage. STATED. CIVILIZED NATIONS, IS WITH OPPOSING IN-ON OF PROPERTY, IN AS THE CAPITAL-LE PROPRIETESS OR PROLETARIAN

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... enough for all to be rich, and actually producing enough for all to be well off. On the left hand, Ten Million other people, appropriating to themselves what the Twenty Million create by their labor, allowing the Twenty Million only a bare subsistence. Just enough to keep on working and producing.

A QUESTION OF POWER.

These 20 million are more powerful than those 10 million. There is no doubt about that. Twenty million able bodied persons are stronger than ten million. This is the fact which is dangerous to the Republic. The Revolutionary Socialist does not deny it. How will Mr. Roosevelt deal with this Revolutionary Fact? Preaching at it will not change it. Even shooting at it will not change it. The Terrible Thing is there. Nothing will change it, till the 10 Million master the 10 Million, as the Capitalist Class did the Feudal Class a hundred and more years ago. The next chapter will continue this subject of Classes, outlining their subdivisions and explaining their relation to existing governments.

Chapter V. -- Fourth Principle of Revolutionary Socialism

We come now to the statement of our Fourth Great Revolutionary Fact. It is in some respects the most startling of all, because it deals with the question of government and the question of the maintenance of order. Yet, however startling or revolutionary this fact may be, no person can be foolish enough to resent it, if it is indeed a fact, every one must accept it as such, whatever the consequences.

THE PRINCIPLE STATED.

GOVERNMENT, OR THE STATE, ALWAYS WAS AND NOW IS MAINTAINED BY THE PROPRIETED CLASS TO COMPEL THE WORKING CLASS (Slaves or Serfs or Proletarians) TO CREATE WEALTH FOR THE PROPRIETED CLASS TO ENJOY.

This fact contradicts all prevalent ideas of government, especially of so-called "popular government!" Yes, it does. Just as the fact that the earth is round, when it was first discovered, contradicted all prevalent ideas that it was flat. Just as the fact that the earth revolves around the sun contradicted all prevalent ideas, but only 300 years ago that the sun revolved around the earth.

Just as the fact that the human race has existed on the earth for at least one hundred thousand years, established by science beyond all doubt during the last 50 years, contradicts the old fashioned but still prevalent idea that man was created about five thousand years ago.

Prevalent ideas, inherited and popular, are always giving way to newly discovered facts. That is the progress of science. Read the scientific works named at the beginning of Chapter III, especially Morgan's "Ancient Society" and Engels' "Origin of the State," and you will find ample proof of the Revolutionary Fact stated above as our Fourth Principle.

GOVERNMENT ONLY 5,000 YEARS OLD.

Compared with the full term of man's existence on the earth, the State or Government, is of modern origin. It started when Property started, say, 3,000 years ago. During all the earlier ages, while man was gradually creeping up through Savagery and Barbarism to Civilization, a period of some 55,000 years, there was no such thing as Property in the modern sense of privately owned wealth. No such thing as a Propertied Class living off the products of a Propertiless Class and hence no such thing needed as a State or Government to protect the possessing class and their "rights" of property against the dispossessed and propertiless class.

The reign of property introduced the reign of the State, or the government of the class possessing but not producing wealth over the class producing but not possessing wealth.

What we call ancient governments, of Greece and Rome for instance, but which are really very recent, only 2,000 or 3,000 years ago, were all Slave governments, the rule of a Master Class over a Slave Class. Prior to that, there were no governments at all, any more than there were among the American Indians when America was discovered. Property was common property. There were no classes. The People were all together, one people, no divisions along property lines and no "State."

CIVILIZATION AND THE STATE.

Government is contemporaneous with civilization. Until people became civilized, they needed no government. Perhaps you will jump to the conclusion that government must be a good thing, because civilization is a good thing. But we are not arguing the goodness or badness of anything. We are only pointing out the Facts.

And the Fact about government is that it is no older than civilization, and that, like civilization itself, it is conditioned by the existence of economic classes. The baronial governments of the "Middle Ages" in Europe and of the Feudal era in any nation, are obviously class institutions. The lords and ladies, the knights of classes, and the peasants of the church were plain workingmen, class exercising authority over the Working-Class of serfs and retainers.

NOTHING "SACRED" IN HISTORY.

The Scientific Socialist points out that history is growth. The race never stands still, is never in any one year what it was the year before. The institutions of Society are clothes put on in one century to be discarded when worn out in the next.

Civilization itself is only a passing phase of human history. There have been various phases of civilization. The Slave age of civilization has passed. The Serf age of civilization is gone. The Wage Age of Civilization is passing. The Stream of Social life flows on, ever making new history. Because there have been governments, is no reason to reverse governments. Because civilization has passed itself as man's highest achievement, is no reason we should not analyze it.

The scientific man, the man of common sense, lays aside all superstitious reverence for institutions, even if they are 5,000 years old, and faces the naked facts concerning them.

If Government is a class institution, if civilization itself is the class phase of history, we learn the facts with equality and remodel our ideas to correspond.

18TH CENTURY IDEAS.

The truth is, nearly all the present popular ideas of government are derived from the 18th Century, and the 18th Century of France at that. Rousseau, as unscientific as a savage, breathing dreams and Utopias, is the true father most of the prevalent notions about the origin of the State.

Poetical rhapsodies in praise of man's "original state of nature" and imaginary pictures of ten thousand Robinson Crusoes associating themselves to establish a government "of, and for the people," are now seen to be only childish conceits. History was not made that way.

History has been a war of economic classes and the ruling class of any age has upheld itself by an army, by laws, by magistrats, courts, officers, taxes, in a word, by a Police Force to maintain "Law and Order," that is, to protect Property and the class that held it.

This is an entirely new view of Government or the State. But it is the scientific view and the only key to history.

CAN IT BE TRUE OF THE U. S. GOVERNMENT?

We have been taught in America that our government was different from the old world monarchies. We think a Republic must be a government by the people, not the government of a class. America is the "Land of the Free," they tell us.

Again the Facts pick our bubbles of fond delusion. The Constitution of the United States is now shown by scientific historians to be a class document.

When the Constitution was first published in 1787, showed the United States Constitution to have been framed, in the words of Delegate, afterward President, Madison, in order "TO PROTECT THE MINORITY OF THE OPULENT AGAINST THE MAJORITY."

The Constitution was a reaction from the "turbulent democracy" of the Declaration of Independence. The revolutionary fervor of the Declaration in 1776 did indeed prevent the democratic spirit of a people largely agricultural and homogeneous and economically independent, among whom the modern wage class was unknown.

But the Constitution thirteen years later was made by the large land owners of the South, by the trading interests of the coast, by the rising capitalist class, in order to protect themselves against the majority of the producers. These statements can be verified by any one who will take the trouble to read Elliott's Debates of the Federal Convention, to be found in any good library.

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION ADAPTED TO CLASS RULE.

The two great modern classes defined in our last chapter were first in America when the constitution was framed. The Capitalist Class and the Wage Class have become clearly marked in America as two comprehensive warring classes only since the Civil war of 1861-65.

But the United States Constitution, framed as it was, by the "opulent minority" of that day to "protect itself against the majority," has been an admirable tool for Government by the Modern Capitalist Class over the Modern Wage Class.

The Capitalist Class is entrenched in the Senate, as every one knows. It is a Millionaire's Club. The Capitalist Class, by its intellectual servants, the professional politicians and lawyers, controls the House of Representatives.

If these two legislative bodies, representing strictly the dominant economic class, ever passed a law in any degree against the Wage workers, welded together by common interests, set at an invincible resolution to save themselves as a Propertied Class, to prevent themselves from being pre-empted into the ranks of the despised Proletariat.

PARTY GOVERNMENT EXPLAINED.

If there are but two great Social Classes in the United States, as shown in our last chapter, namely, the Capitalist Class and the Wage Class, then how is it we find two political parties, Republican and Democratic, both representing the two great economic classes?

If the Capitalists constitute one class with common interests opposed to the interests of the wage workers, why have we not two great political parties representing these two great economic classes?

There are two reasons. First, the Proletarians are ignorant of their own class interests. The Capitalists use all their vast machinery of newspaper, pulp, bullet, school, lecture, to keep the workers in ignorance and hence divided between two political parties, neither of which stands for the Wage Class.

The second reason the political parties are not yet divided along the great class lines of Bourgeois and Proletarian, is the existence of two sub-classes in the Capitalist Class itself.

Prior to the American Civil War, the Democratic Party stood for the Southern Slave-holding Class, the Republican Party stood for the Northern Capitalist Class. Wage Slavery was more profitable than Chattel Slavery, modern methods of production were prolific of Property than the more primitive processes of slave production which had been introduced into our Southern States. The modern productive process drove out the ancient process, as machinery drove out hand labor.

publican or Democratic prostrations of friendship for the workers.

PRESENT MIDDLE CLASS REACTION.

Within recent years, the lines of sub-class interests within the Capitalist Class have become sharply drawn. The "Middle Class" is composed of the small capitalists who are being crushed out in the fierce competition with the great capitalists.

The "Middle Class" are capitalists just the same as their competitors, the great capitalists. They all, small and great, procure their profits ultimately from the Wage Class. If the Wage class were to triumph and abolish their own exploitation by the Capitalist Class, then both small and large capitalists would lose their source of Profit and Property.

It cannot be too often repeated, nor too emphatically repeated, that the vast accumulations of wealth possessed by the Proletariat, if they were all gathered up, they only the only value producing class in the world, namely, the Workers.

These Workers alone create wealth. They do not retain the wealth they create, but deliver it to their employers, the Capitalists. Whether the capitalist be large or small, employ many or few, the source of his profit is the wage worker, the proletarian.

The fight between the large and small capitalist for possession of the wealth they both together have wrested from the wage worker, is now progressing fiercely.

A tremendous attempt is now being made by the Middle Class to save themselves from extinction sharply drawn by the great Capitalist Class. The Anti-Trust Law is one of their weapons.

Every year sees the little manufacturers dying by the thousand, surrendering their position as capitalists and bitterly accepting their fate as members of the proletariat.

The United States is now free to face with the death struggle of this modern Hercules, the Capitalist Class. It is divided against itself. It is being strangled by its own child, concentrated capital, or the Trust. It weak majority, the Middle Class, is "jitted against its strong minority, the Trust Class.

The political lines are not yet clearly drawn. The Middle Class are found in both Republican and Democratic parties. Mr. Roosevelt is one of them. So is Mr. Bryan. So is Mr. Hearst, Mr. Tom Johnson, Mr. Polk, Mr. Mayor Dunne, and a host of others in both parties.

The Middle Class are rapidly gathering themselves together about some sort of Public Ownership banner. Some of these are Mr. Roosevelt, instead of Public Ownership, favor of "Public Control," like the Railroad Rate Bill passed by Congress.

The new Democratic Party, the party of Hearst and existing trying to check the Trust and save the Middle Class by Public Ownership of the Trust. Let these titanic combinations of Capital, especially those which control the Transportation facilities of the country, the "Public Utilities," be removed from control, and put only in monopolistic control over us, by being transferred to the hands of the State, is the Middle Class cry.

WHICH CLASS SHALL WIN?

This is the political issue now before the American public: Shall the class of small capitalists known as the Middle Class, or the class of large capitalists, the Trust Owners, obtain control of the government?

Whatever the name of the Middle Class party, "Democratic," "Public Ownership," or "Social Democratic," it will not be a Wage Class party.

The very last thing which the Middle Class wants is to abolish wage slavery. For the continued existence of the wage system, with its perpetual and automatic supply of unpaid labor, is absolutely essential to the existence of any form of class government.

But the Middle Class is still a mighty class. It consists of at least seven millions of men, with trained wills and skills, the product alike of pioneer independence and capitalistic competition, welded together by common interests, set at an invincible resolution to save themselves as a Propertied Class, to prevent themselves from being pre-empted into the ranks of the despised Proletariat.

THE WORKING CLASS NOT IN IT.

It will be a royal battle for the possession of Government. The Revolutionary Socialist alone understands what it all means. It is either the victory of this battle among capitalists, the Wage Workers as a class will have no part in the Government.

The Wage System, under which the worker gets a bare living, and somebody else gets all the rest of his production will go on just the same under Public Ownership under Trust Ownership. The restored Middle Class, if it wins, even temporarily, will exploit the wage worker more ruthlessly than the Trust, because it is more needy and desperate.

The Revolutionary Socialist never loses sight of the fact that Government as an institution, so far in the history of the world, is an invention of Property Holders to extract Property from its producers.

He sees that Democracy is the same as Autocracy in this regard. He understands the Constitutional Republics of the United States and France, the non-constitutional Democracy of Great Britain with its fagwaged of a Monarchy, and the anti-constitutional oligarchy of Russia are all alike a Physical Force exercised by a wealth-holding class to extract wealth for their own use and enjoyment from the class which creates it.

TACTICS NEXT.

We have now briefly outlined three great revolutionary facts of modern Socialism. If one accepts the scientific method, he can deny none of these facts. In truth no one can deny a fact. If he does, he puts himself outside the circle of rational beings.

We do not say that these three are all the facts of Socialism. They are simply those which seem most significant to the present writer.

No conclusions have yet been drawn from these established facts, except incidentally. It will be the aim of some subsequent chapters to draw some conclusions under the title, "Tactics of Revolutionary Socialism."

(The pressure of necessary work under conditions of ill health has prevented these three years the preparation of the "Tactics of Revolutionary Socialism." It is the anticipated outline of "Reform Socialism, Its Principles and Tactics." But the author hopes during the present year (1909) to publish these as editorials in "The Socialist.")

The author will give the answers to the complex questions of "Tactics" are receiving fresh elucidation year by year in the course of economic and political development.)

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THE WOMAN

Tacoma Notes

Local Tacoma is Alive and on the Move.

At the last regular meeting it was unanimously decided to give Comrade Wm. D. Haywood a date.

Arrangements are under way for a debate between a Mr. Hughes and some member of the Local, to take place on the last Sunday in May, or the first Sunday in June.

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Raymond & Hoyt. 405 Pike St. Phone: Main 3404; Independent 39.

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By Bessy Fiset

Beginning Sunday night, May 16th, the women of Local Seattle will begin to hold weekly street meetings.

The women are going to have full charge of these meetings and it is their plan to conduct them during the entire summer.

There is a woman, a Mrs. Jean Porter, in Tacoma who has a child, and expects another soon.

Justice must have its way. The law is the law. It is the duty of every citizen to obey the law.

It is a fact that the women of Tacoma are doing a great deal of good work for their community.

The members of the Young People's Socialist League will meet promptly at 12 o'clock on Sunday at the headquarters.

There are about 300 men stranded above the Copper River rapids. The Copper River has broken up and carried away the temporary bridge.

There is a woman, a Mrs. Jean Porter, in Tacoma who has a child, and expects another soon.

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