

THE WORKINGMAN'S UNPAID LABOR PAPER

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Win Their Own Emancipation

THE SOCIALIST

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MY FAITH



By JACK LONDON

Glen Ellen, Sonoma Co., Cal., June 5, 1910.
Editor THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER.

Dear Comrade: In your issue of May 28, you have an article entitled A LITTLE DEBATE, in which Comrade Armstrong holds that I am a Socialist, and in which L. Manley insists, from his reading of my book, MARTIN EDEN, that I am not. Wherefore, I am impelled to send you the reply I made to the Rev. Charles Brown, when he misinterpreted MARTIN EDEN. Please return this copy.

Yours for the Revolution,
JACK LONDON.

The Letter

Oakland, Cal., January 17, 1909.

Since hearing the Rev. Charles Brown's sermon last night on MARTIN EDEN, I can understand why for two thousand years the Church has been rent with dissension over the interpretation of the Scriptures. Mr. Brown gave last night a splendid sample of the churchman's capacity for misinterpretation.

Mr. Brown interpreted MARTIN EDEN as a man who failed because of lack of faith in God. I wrote MARTIN EDEN, not as an autobiography, nor as a parable of what dire end awaits an unbeliever in God, but as an indictment of that pleasant, wild-beast struggle of Individualism of which Mr. Brown is not among the least of the protagonists.

Contrary to Mr. Brown's misinterpretation last night, Martin Eden was not a Socialist. Mr. Brown, in order to effect a parallel with my own life, said that Martin Eden was a Socialist. On the contrary, I drew him a temperamental, and, later on, an intellectual, Individualist. So much so was he an Individualist, that he characterized Mr. Brown's kind of ethics as ghetto-ethics and Mr. Brown's kind of Individualism as half-baked Socialism. Martin Eden was a proper Individualist of the extreme Nietzschean type.

Now to my parable, which I thought I had expounded lucidly in the pages of this novel. Being an Individualist, being unaware of the needs of others, of the whole human collective need, Martin Eden lived only for himself, fought only for himself, and, if you please, died only for himself. He fought for entrance into the bourgeois circles where he expected to find refinement, culture, high-living and high-thinking. He won his way into those circles and was appalled by the colossal, unlovely mediocrity of the bourgeoisie. He fought for a woman he loved and had idealized. He found that love had tricked him and failed

him, and that he had loved his idealization more than the woman herself. These were the things he had found life worth living in order to fight for. When they failed him, being a consistent Individualist, being unaware of the collective human need, there remained nothing for which to live and fight. And so he died.

All this is so clearly stated in the pages of the book that I am compelled to quote the following, which occurs when Brissenden asks Martin to go down with him to the Sunday night meeting of the Socialists. Brissenden says to Martin:

"Outsiders are allowed five-minute speeches. Get up and spout. Tell them what you think about them and their ghetto-ethics. Slam Nietzsche into them and get walloped for your pains. Make a scrap of it. It will do them good. Discussion is what they want, and what you want you want, too. You see, I'd like to see you a Socialist before I am gone. It will give you a sanction for your existence. It is the one thing that will save you in the time of disappointment that is coming to you. You have health and much to live for, and you must be handcuffed to life somehow."

I cannot comprehend how, after reading such lines, that Mr. Brown conceives Martin Eden to be a Socialist, nor how Mr. Brown failed so lamentably in grasping the thesis I have expounded.

Martin Eden failed and died, in my parable, not because of his lack of faith in God, but because of his lack of faith in man. Even Mr. Brown will agree that he cannot get to God except through man. Martin Eden failed because he did not get even to man. He got only as far as himself, and the rest of humanity did not count.

Unfortunately, Mr. Brown's sermon was not on MARTIN EDEN, but on Jack London, and Mr. Brown was woefully unacquainted with the subject. He said that I was Martin Eden. Let me point out the vital weakness of his parallel—Martin Eden killed himself; I am still alive.

Why am I alive? Because of my faith in man, a faith which Martin Eden never achieved, and a faith which Mr. Brown evidently did not know appertained to his subject, namely, Jack London. Yet my faith is most readily accessible to all men; my books are in the Public Library. Mr. Brown should have read up on the subject before he expounded it. Let me here quote some of my faith. I take the following from my WHAT LIFE MEANS TO ME:

"I look forward to a time when man shall progress upon something worthwhile and higher than his stomach, when there will be a finer incentive to impel man to action than the incentive of

today, which is the incentive of the stomach. I retain my belief in the nobility and excellence of the human. I believe that spiritual sweetness and unselfishness will conquer the gross gluttony of today. And last of all, my faith is in the working class. As some Frenchman has said, 'The stairway of time is ever echoing with the wooden shoe going up, the polished boot descending.'"

Again I quote my faith, this time from the preface of my WAR OF THE CLASSES:

"I must learn that Socialism deals with what is, not with what ought to be; and that the material with which it deals is the clay of the common road, the warm human, fallible and frail, sordid and petty, absurd and contradictory, even grotesque, and yet, withal, shot through with flashes and glimmerings of something finer and Godlike, with here and there sweet-nesses of service and unselfishness, desires for goodness, for renunciation and sacrifice, and with conscience stern and awful, at times blinding imperious, demanding the right—the right, nothing more nor less than the right."

JACK LONDON.

STELZLE

Just listen to this coming from the Rev. Charles Stelzle, he who is boasting of doing so much for the working people: "Where we shall work and what we shall work at, are matters which we generally decide for ourselves. There are exceptions, of course, but as a usual thing we have the decision in our own hands." A man who does not know industrial conditions better than that had better quit trying to "teach" the working class. Why every schoolboy who attempts to learn the trade which he has decided on, knows better than that, after he has gone from factory to factory and from store to store, with his hat in his hand, begging for a job, and can't find one.

There are thousands of men the country over who have given up many years of study for a professional career to their liking who found when they got out into the world that they could not make a living at the profession and who are today common laborers or common tramps. There are very few men at work today who have had the choice of what they shall do left to themselves, and even the most ignorant economic student knows this to be true.

This is on a par with lots of other rot which Rev. Stelzle has been dishing up for labor consumption during the past few years, but the hopeful thing is the sign that the workers are now spewing him and his doctrines out of their mouths and lives. He is another example of the worker graduating into a parasitical position and keeping his place at the expense of those whom he boasts of trying to help.

Out on such hypocrites!—"Labor World," Spokane.

The answer of the railroads to the federal government's interference to prevent the raising of rates on the Western roads is to lay off 12,000 men, with more to follow. Just another illustration of Labor being forced to pull Small Capital's chestnuts out of the fire. Small Capital (farmers and manufacturers) wants rates lowered and Labor, being without a knowledge of the law of wages, jumps in to help Brother Capital and gets it in the neck by having his job taken away from him.

There is another point in this railroad business that is worthy of note. With the control of the government in hands presumably adverse to the railroads and rate regulation threatened, the railroads calmly stop work. Another illustration of what political action alone may be able to do. Labor must be so organized as to be able to take advantage of every point and to force the battle on every side if it is to win anything tangible in this struggle with Capital. Labor's industrial organizations must not be neglected to engage in a wild scramble after political advantages which will only be nullified by action similar to that taken by the railroads.

A news dispatch says that Roosevelt, on his trip home across the Atlantic, went into the stoke hole and even passed a few shovelful of coal—afterwards shaking hands all around. And—presumably to take the bad taste out of his mouth—he "formally received the first and second-class passengers." This week "Life" nominates him for "world's referee," a position recently sought after by our erstwhile "friend and comrade," Dr. Brown, of Seattle Socialist Party fame. It is reported the latter is about to sue "Life" for infringement of copyright.

Most of the important undertakings of the world—and particularly those of labor—are first broached and planned in deliberative assemblies, more or less orderly. It has been demonstrated that the more orderly an assembly is the quicker and more effective its work. During all the years that men have been discussing their affairs in meetings "rules of order" have been developed—not "capitalist" rules, but rules designed to most easily and quickly get at the exact will of any body of men trying to decide any point. They are used by capitalists and by laborers. But many workmen, without a knowledge of these rules, are not able to hold their own in their own union meetings against their slicker brethren and the paid emissaries of capital because of a lack of knowledge of these very rules. "Rules of order" are something no working man is "wasting time" to study. They are most essential to that workman who desires to be of some practical benefit to himself and his class. That compilation of rules most in vogue in this country—most up-to-date and precise—is known as "Robert's Rules of Order" and retails for 75 cents. We have just made arrangements to handle this book and can fill all orders postpaid at the regular retail price of 75 cents. Get a copy and begin to get posted so as to be able to head off that reactionary move in your next union meeting.

A correspondent of the "New York Call" takes to task the national executive committee of the Socialist Party for overstating the ratio of wage exploitation in a leaflet recently issued. The correspondent's point is well taken as is amply proven by the figures he submits. This is a fault to which uninformed Socialists are subject and it is something which does much more harm than can be easily

WILL THE UNIONS ACCEPT THIS CHALLENGE?

NOTICE

For the protection of our employes and the business upon which they and we depend for our living, we have decided that from today this plant will employ only independent non-union workmen.

This measure has been adopted by the United Metal Trades Association of the Pacific Coast.

The foregoing notice was posted Wednesday morning in every machine shop, shipbuilding yard, foundry and other works connected with the metal trades, where the employing individuals or corporations are members of the Metal Trades Association.

As all but three or four of the employers in this city are in the association this means that if the unions fail the entire industry will be run on a scab basis.

AULT'S JUNK

Those of our readers—and we hope all are in that class—who read more than one paper, are requested to send their subscriptions through us. We have made arrangements with most of the Socialist papers to secure a commission on all subs sent in, and anything turned our way on this account helps to pay the printer every week, and buy more white paper. Think it over.

You ought to take this paper and go over to the man who is next best posted to you in the town and get him to subscribe. He will not be able to make things interesting for you when you are arguing unless he takes this paper and keeps posted. We know he doesn't like the paper. We are not printing it for him to like it, but to teach him something he doesn't know, and in order to keep on learning ourselves the things we should know. Point out to him the necessity for reading something he doesn't agree with in order to be able to meet the arguments of all sides. Our paper is a non-sectarian, proletarian newspaper, open to all sides of any proposition directly affecting the working class and closed to everything else. It is a paper that every working man should read whether he agrees with it or not, as we are publishing every week matter that you cannot find in any other paper, and discussions of subjects vitally important to the working class that for all other papers say about them, do not exist. And we are hammering home, week after week, the one great, all-important fact of wage exploitation as the basis of the capitalist system, the abolition of which must be the immediate work of the proletariat.

These two paragraphs have not been written on the spur of the moment. They represent careful deliberation and well studied efforts. Their "revolutionary" feature is that "society is dividing into the capitalist class and the proletariat." But now comes that old irritating question: "Who is a proletarian?" Berger, or whoever framed the platform, attempted to preclude this question by several inferences. First by inferring that "rich and poor" are terms synonymous with "capitalists and proletarians." Second, by substituting "producers" for "Proletarians, thereby slipping in the farmers with the Wage Workers.

Now, it is true that the tendency of society is to become divided into two

classes, the Capitalist Class and the Proletariat. But the division is by no means complete yet. The middle class is still a large portion of present-day society, including the farmers, the retail merchants and many other groups who may be classed as "producers," but certainly not as Proletarians. By the same token, all poor people are not proletarians, there being a large number of poverty-stricken, mortgaged or even tenant farmers who are Proletarians no more than their more well-to-do brothers. These "poor, producing" farmers oppose the reduction of hours and increase of wages of their proletarian farm hands as intensely as any trust magnate, and it is hardly to be expected that they will assist in breaking the chains of wage slavery when they so ardently oppose the removing of just a link or two.

Engels, in a footnote in the "Communist Manifesto," defines the "Proletariat" as follows: "That class of modern Wage Laborers, who, having no means of production of their own, are compelled to sell their labor power in order to secure a livelihood."

It is the modern Wage Class which is the revolutionary force in society. This class does not include all the "poor," nor all the "producers," as we have already seen. The Social-Democratic Party of Wisconsin is no more courageous in analyzing capitalist society than the La Follette "Insurgents."

The statement that the wage earners "are again exploited in the purchase of practically all the necessities of life," is utterly erroneous, and is the middle class cry for cheaper freight rates, cheaper farm implements, cheaper cost of living, etc., and is nothing but a trap for the modern Wage Class which, on an average, is being exploited in the production of commodities, of everything above a bare living. Here exploitation ceases, as there is nothing more left to exploit.

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THE WISCONSIN PLATFORM ANALYZED

By Arthur Jensen

Not very long ago, J. G. Phelps-Stokes, of New York, criticized, in a speech, the Milwaukee Socialist movement as being a middle class reform movement.

Phelps-Stokes has by this action made himself one of the most unpopulous individuals in the American Socialist Party.

Victor L. Berger, the Hero of American Socialism, scores him; Rev. Frederick Strickland, easily the first Socialist in the "Hoosier" state, "resents his aspersions"; Emil Seidel, the first and only Socialist mayor of a large American city, tells him to mind his own business, while Walter Thomas Mills, second to none in the world as far as experience in misyided and practical "Socialism" is concerned, almost calls Stokes a liar.

Henry T. Jones, whose fame does not extend beyond the city limits of Milwaukee, is careful not to dispute the contentions of Stokes by mere words, but refers him to the recently adopted Wisconsin Social-Democratic platform in this wise:

"Comrade Stokes, if you are still of the opinion that the Wisconsin comrades are not revolutionary, just take a peep at the state platform. If that doesn't convince you of the error of your tangled opinion, then you are as hopeless a case as an elephant trying to make successful use of an aeroplane."

But that is where Jones "put his foot in it," even though he thought he was careful. When I read Stokes' criticism I was inclined to think that he was correct, in that the Milwaukee victory was not a Socialist victory, but a victory for middle class reform. But since Henry Jones has advised Stokes to "take a peep" at the state platform, I have been "peeping" a little myself, and am now thoroughly convinced that the Wisconsin movement is not revolutionary, but only a middle class reform movement, if we are to judge it by the state platform.

Below are quoted portions of this document tending to show its "revolutionary" character. After stating that "the Social-Democratic Party is the American expression of the international movement of the modern Working Class for better food, better houses, sufficient sleep, more leisure, more education and more culture," it proceeds:

"Under the present system society is rapidly dividing into two classes—the rich and the poor, the capitalist class and the proletariat. The one toils without enjoying, the other enjoys without toiling.

"The wage earners of the cities and the farmers are the principal producers of this country. Under our present economic system both are exploited for the benefit of the capitalist class, the laborer on the sale of his labor power and the farmer on the sale of his products. Both are again exploited in the purchase of practically all the necessities of life."

"Private monopoly is a curse to the nation. Thus we see the coal trust making untold millions out of the suffering of the poor; the oil trust piling up the greatest fortune the world has ever seen upon the ruin of innumerable small dealers, and in defiance of all laws and courts of justice; the meat trust sending thousands of unsuspecting human beings to an early grave by selling diseased meat, simply to make dividends and heap up millions. Similar statements could be proven against all the other trusts.

"The trusts have proved that nowadays a small number of capitalists have it in their power to decide how much meat and how much bread we shall eat; how much we shall spend for coal and how much for oil; how nicely or how poorly we shall be clothed and housed; what kind of fur-

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The Insurgent Republicans as well as many Democrats would gladly endorse in full the statement on trusts and monopolies contained in the Social Democratic platform of Wisconsin. It reads as follows:

"The most characteristic expression of the present economic system is the trust and the monopoly.


"Electricity, steam and many modern inventions have struck the death blow at manufacturing on a small scale. Competition has wiped out competition. Manufacturing on a large scale makes monopoly an inevitable condition. The trust and the monopoly are here, whether we wish it or not. The only question is whether they shall be public or private monopolies.

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

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

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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 support.

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

Please do not delay but send your subscription at once to

The Subscription Dept.
THE NEW YORK CALL,
442 Pearl Street, New York City.

WHERE WE STAND

(Reprinted From Our First Issue in 1910.)

In what relation does "The Workingman's Paper" stand to the various organizations of the Wage Class, and to that class as a whole?

This question is frequently asked, now that this paper does not profess to represent any particular organization. It seems inconceivable to some that a newspaper can be non-sectarian, an organ of Proletarianism but not an organ of any exclusive branch of Proletarianism. Yet that is the critical scientific attitude this paper seeks to assume. It is the complete opposite, for example, of the De Leonist attitude, which damns every organization of workingmen which does not bear its own brand.

"The Workingman's Paper" sees good in the I. W. W., sees good in the "I'm a Bum" song; but it also sees good in the A. F. of L., and even in De Leon's S. L. P. It also sees evil in all of them. This critical method is also constructive, for the paper seeks to promote the good in all and to remove the evil in all. And on every occasion, this paper seeks the solidarity of all Proletarians.

The following outlines our position exactly:
"The Workingman's Paper" does not seek to form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. It supports the UNION of Wage-Workers.

We advocate no interests separate and apart from those of the Proletariat as a whole. All policies are decided from this standpoint.

We do not set up any sectarian principles of our own by which to shape and mould the Proletarian Movement. We follow, not force, that Movement.

"The Workingman's Paper" is distinguished from partisan journals of the working class by this only: 1. In the various struggles of the wage class organizations with the capitalists, this paper will point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire Proletariat, independently of all apparent divisions, national, industrial or personal. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the Working Class against the Bourgeoisie has to pass through, this paper will always and everywhere, in the future, as in the past ten years, strive to represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

"The Workingman's Paper" therefore, encourages, on the one hand, practically every advanced and resolute organization of Wage Workers wherever found, those organizations which push forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, like all scientific Proletarian publications, we have the advantage over many Labor papers, of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions and the ultimate general results of the Proletarian movement.

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

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

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

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

Workingmen of all countries, unite!

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

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

What to Do

Here is a letter from one of our oldest and best supporters, Austin Boudreau, of Attleboro, Mass.: "Please find Money Order for Fifty Cents, to pay up my arrears. Please discontinue sending your paper. Believe me, I am very sorry for this, but I do not like your present policy. Yours with Regret."

We are not receiving very many such letters, not nearly as many as we expected. Most of our readers seem to look at our changed policy as the worker from Minneapolis, quoted last week: "I don't agree with you, but I want to hear all sides."

We are not sure what particular position our present correspondent occupies, though we think he is a good Socialist Party man. We wish he had designated his point of disagreement.

Surely, Boudreau does not disagree with this paper in its fight for the Emancipation of the Wage Workers. It always stood for that, when he was working to get us subscribers in the years we supported the S. P.

Is it that we want the Wage Workers to emancipate themselves, that we do not believe the Middle Class can emancipate the Wage Class? This paper always stood for that also; it has consistently opposed all compromises with Capitalist parties and principles. Those who are behind "The Workingman's Paper" were expelled from the Socialist Party for maintaining this very principle, that the Socialist Party must be a Wage Class organization, at least fundamentally. It was for this that Walter Thomas Mills came to this state and founded a paper to run us out of existence. It was for our criticism of the "Appeal" nine years ago because it stood for a Middle Class program, "Public Ownership of Monopolies," that Wayland denounced and slandered this paper when it was unknown, using his great circulation in an attempt to kill us off. It is because we have not hesitated to name names, when they represented Middle Class tendencies, as Victor Berger for instance, that we have incurred the hostility of every one in the Proletarian Movement who stands for such tendencies: And now that the Socialist Party has actually ceased to be a Proletarian organization and is making its main appeal to the Middle Class interests, as in Milwaukee, this paper is absolutely consistent in its criticism of that party as not fitted to be the organ of Proletarian Emancipation.

In what does Austin Boudreau, or others like him, disagree with us in this attitude? Would they have us support the Socialist Party, just because it is called Socialist; would they have us call a wolf a sheep because it calls itself a sheep; would they have us accept Dr. Cook as a hero, just because he labels himself, Discoverer of the North Pole?

It is a great disappointment to us that the Socialist Party has failed to occupy the magnificent battle ground offered to it. We have put in nine years of the hardest kind of work in connection with that party. We have many of our personal friends in that party, with who mit is hard to disagree. We have not a word of invidious criticism to offer against a single one of them. But it is the province of "The Workingman's Paper" to serve the Class of Workingmen and not any individual in that class, however valued as a friend. It is solely because we believe the Socialist Party is misleading the Wage Class that we now follow a policy opposed to that party.

Or perhaps Boudreau and others are not satisfied with a policy which is not sufficiently positive to support any Proletarian organization without reservation. They say, Why don't you advocate something for us to do? Your proletarianism is all right, but how do you propose to put it into practice? Do you want us merely to stand around and wait for something to turn up? Is there nothing, in your opinion, good enough for us to join and work with?

Our answer will be found on the inside pages, which we have kept standing week after week for the very purpose of making our new policy emphatic and plain. In the last paragraph on page three, find these words: "We believe it to be the duty of every wage worker to ally himself with whatever organization will soonest promote the unification of the working class to abolish Capital and its accompanying Wage Slavery." That is definite enough. You are a wage worker; then join a wage workers' organization, such as your Trade Union. In that Union you have access to your fellow workers; can help educate them in scientific, proletarian principles; can antagonize all bourgeois propositions arising in that Union or allied Unions; can work unceasingly to develop Class Consciousness and toward Class Action; can be the best Unionist among your fellows, always ready to defeat Capitalist attempts to control the Labor organizations for their own interests; can become a leader and guide to the less informed workingmen; in short, in the

present state of unrest and investigation among the Union men everywhere, you can further working class unity to the end of abolishing Capital itself and its attendant wage slavery.

You can join the I. W. W. too. Why not? It may be there is no other Union covering your occupation, as the Loggers, for example. It may be there is no Union at all where you are. Then organize one, even if you do not affiliate with any national body. Get together, even if you do lose your job for your pains. What are you on earth for, anyway? Just simply to wear chains in contentment? By all means get together with your fellow workers against the Capitalists, wherever you are. If you are a Farm Hand, for instance, organize for shorter hours and better beds and better food. And always educate about your Class Interests, about the Unpaid Labor upon which Capital is built, about the Robbery in Wages, about the Revolution committed to the Wage Class.

What political party shall you support? That is a much harder question. For there is at present no Proletarian Political Party in existence. And you will recollect we cannot advise you to support anything that is not Proletarian in its tendencies.

Both the so-called Socialist parties are led by Middle Class people, whatever their pretensions. They have practically no following among the wage class—outside Milwaukee. Think of it. There are Sixteen Million Voters in the U. S. The two "Socialist" parties have less than Fifty Thousand members altogether, and these are constantly dropping out and replaced by raw recruits. That means there is not one constant Socialist voter, who can be depended on, to every 300 voters in the country. Counting all the votes secured at the last election, they amount to less than 3 per cent. It is as nothing, after at least Twenty Years of work. If you reckon the proportion of enlightened, revolutionary Proletarians to be found in the country, those who cannot be misled by any temporary, makeshift, Middle Class political attempts, whether called "Socialist," or "Labor," or "Democratic," why, this number is an exceedingly small per cent.

Yet there is a rising, unformed Class Consciousness pervading the Wage Class everywhere, which must soon take shape in combined action for political ends, that is, to get control of the power now lodged in Government.

We freely admit we do not see at present any organization along political lines worthy of proletarian support. We also admit we cannot see the force of the oft-asserted maxim that there must be two wings to the wage class, the Economic and the Political. We cannot see why there should be a double organization of the Proletariat.

What is needed, is United Class Action, of whatever kind, for Class ends. Therefore, this paper supports all action looking in that direction. It supports the A. F. of L., because it is composed of Proletarians organized as such, and more and more driven, in spite of reactionary leadership, toward Industrial Unity. It supports the I. W. W., because, in spite of much irresponsible leadership, it is organizing the unskilled workers and is fighting and exposing the short-sighted selfishness of mere Trades-Unionism.

We esteem it the duty of every wage worker to be a member of one or both of these organizations, and to work day and night therein, for the Union of all wage workers to overthrow Capital itself, that is, to take possession of Capitalistic property in the most practicable way.

BASIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

By Friedrich Engels

"More and more evident becomes the great central fact, that the cause of the miserable condition of the working class is to be sought, not in minor grievances, but in the Capitalist System itself.

"The wage-worker sells to the Capitalist his labor-force for a certain daily sum. After a few hours' work he has reproduced the value of that sum; but the substance of his contract is, that he has to work another series of hours to complete his working day; and the value he produces during those additional hours of surplus labor is surplus value, which costs the capitalist nothing, but yet goes into his pocket.

"This is the basis of the system which tends more and more to split up civilized society into a few Rothschilds and Vanderbilts, the owners of all the means of production and subsistence on the one hand, and an immense number of wage workers, the owners of nothing but their labor-force, on the other. And that this result is caused, not by this or that secondary grievance, but by the system itself—this fact has been brought out in bold relief by the development of Capitalism in the last half century."—Written in 1832.

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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 is short which makes a proletarian of him.

"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 bare 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 workingman, 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 must 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 Economic Master, but ignores the central teaching of Marx.

That Jesus was an altruist it did not need Tolstol 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 inconceivable, 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 recondite, 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 concerned to get, and that all Unions fight to obtain. Unconscious of the Great Economic Fact that Marx wrote his masterpiece to elucidate, and which he 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 professed 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 unconsciously overlooked by all the rest of the Platform Committee, consisting of such representative Socialists as Debs, Mailly, Herron, Hillquit and Berger. Precisely as an Ecclesiastical Conference or Synod will pass through a week's sessions and omit all reference to the Essentialism 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 practiced 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

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. Marx knew 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 this Class of Wage Workers, particularly in view of its recent amazing growth in number and heftiness.

No political organization dares to take the Marxian position. Therefore 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 advantages as are obtainable from the Capitalist Class at present, and more especially to force to the front of the battle-line that tremendous issue, The Abolition of Unpaid Labor, the Total Abolition of Unpaid Labor.

Thus, too, will Karl Marx come into his own and no longer be betrayed in the house of his friends.

The Middle Class Rebellion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

before the U. S. Supreme Court, stated recently: "The Standard Oil Co., if permitted to go on undissolved, will own the business of the Nation in five years."

It may be that even now their economic power is so great that no possible union of Middle Class elements in society can be effected strong enough to withstand the purchasing and disintegrating influences of wholesale bribery. The well known alliance of Big Capital and the Slum in our cities, like New York and San Francisco, point in this direction.

If such an economic supremacy of Great Capital has already been achieved, and hence, if the Middle Class Rebellion shall prove abortive, then Aldrich and Cannon and Taft and Ballinger, and all the rest of the tools of Great Capital in the State, are indeed the servants of Progress, unconsciously hastening the industrial organization of American society under the lead of the Captains of Industry.

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

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

When the Trusts have developed into The Trust, when all productive industry in the United States has been unified under one management, and the Government is nothing but the repressive power of this centralized, syndicated Oligarchy of Wealth, then the "Common People" and the exploited Proletariat will be identical and have identical interests, and consequently will form a vast and irresistible Revolutionary Class.

The sooner this centralization of economic and political power is accomplished, the better the prospect for such an exploited class being competent for united and revolutionary action; for the present American Middle Class or their children will make poor slaves and rebellious subjects.

Consequently, we regard it as desirable and progressive that the Present Middle Class Rebellion should not succeed, that Bourgeois Socialism should be exposed for what it is, an attempt to help the Class of Little Business to perpetuate itself and to postpone indefinitely the day of Wage Labor's Emancipation.

The key to the immediate situation lies with the American Working Class.

The Middle Class Rebellion depends for its success on the co-operation of the Wage Class.

The victory of Big Business and the abolition of Little Business also depends upon the action of the Proletarians.

It is announced that Gompers is contemplating the formation of a political party to be composed of the Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in combination with certain Farmers' organizations, alleged to number some three million voters. If this be true and such a party is formed, it will be in direct line with the Middle Class Rebellion outlined in this article. For these Farmers' Unions are not organizations of the Farm Laborers, but of the Small Farm owners. Their program goes no further than Public Ownership of Public Utilities, combined with the Utopian demand for the Initiative and Referendum, as if this method of voting were not more susceptible to control by Big Capital than the present representative system.

The reactionary character of a Gompers political party, composed of Proletarian Labor and Agrarian Small Capital, is sufficiently obvious. It would easily form a basis for the Middle Class Rebels to build their political rebellion on. If the American Working Class is so little enlightened as to its own interests and so lacking initiative as to follow such alien proposals, then indeed the Middle Class may succeed in saving itself and in prolonging Wage Slavery. It were far better to have the combination existing in San Francisco made national in scope, namely, that Labor should unite with Big Capital and the Slum to win political power; in which case, the Middle Class will go to the wall, the Trusts will complete their efficient organization of society and the Wage Class will be consolidated into a mighty, revolutionary and irresistible social force.

And there you are. It is up to the Proletariat.

If it follows the reactionary lead of Gompers and unites its forces with the Middle Class Rebels, it may delay for many years the abolition of Class Rule in society and its own elevation to equal participation in the benefits of human invention.

But if it works with Big Capital to destroy the Middle Class, root and branch, with the greatest possible celerity; or if, better still, the Proletariat shall act together as one man, both industrially and politically, for its own class interests exclusively, then it will display an historic initiative and militant hegemony, which will make for the most rapid evolution out of society burdened with Class Antagonism into that association, sure to come some time, "in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."



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50 MILLION UNDERDOGS

The new Census will give about Ninety Millions population in the United States. The editor of the "Cosmopolitan," in the July number, says: "More than sixty per cent. of our people are in virtual poverty, in the midst of what should be general prosperity." Sixty per cent. of Ninety Millions is Fifty-four Millions, "in virtual poverty" in this land of plenty. Hardly any wonder, is it, that several hundred thousand American citizens emigrated to Canada recently, hoping to improve their conditions?

Therefore we speak of Fifty Million Underdogs. As the editor of the "Cosmopolitan" says further: "It is an intolerable condition, one which cries out for immediate action." Under the title, "Pinching the Pocketbook," that magazine prints a series of short articles by competent capitalist writers, two of which we reproduce herewith, earnestly commending them to the careful perusal of Mr. Samuel Gompers, who claims (see page 490, "American Federationist" for June): "Capitalism, as the power to deprive the laborer of his product, gives signs of expiring," and who thinks Karl Marx's "Prophecy of Insuperable Misery" has "broken down"? Will not Mr. Gompers in his official organ for Two Million of these Underdogs, tell us whether he thinks the figures here given by Hutchins Haggood and George Lewis, show any evidence that the power to deprive the laborer of his product is expiring in the United States. The unheard-of riches which the Billionaires have, they got from somewhere, and it did not grow on bushes. Somebody created

those riches. All economists who are not apologists of the Capitalists themselves, say the workers created those riches and Karl Marx says that the Surplus above the bare living of those workers has gone into the pockets of the Capitalist Class as a whole. These Fifty Million Underdogs create the wealth and the few million Upperdogs take the most of it.

The article first given is by the editor of "The Financier," of New York, and contains some astonishing assertions. For instance, "Fully sixty per cent.," he says, "of the thirty million wage earners in this country annually find that they are steadily becoming poorer," notwithstanding Mr. Gompers' contrary assertion (page 488): "There never was a higher level of comfort among America's workers." Yet Mr. Lewis backs up his assertion with "governmental statistics" and Mr. Gompers does nothing of the kind. It is rather unfortunate for Mr. Gompers that Governmental Statistics should be found sustaining the prophecies of Karl Marx made, some of them, as many as sixty years ago. But Marx always was strong on statistics, and his first volume of "Capital" fairly bristles with Government Statistics. Gompers is up against the hardest kind of a proposition when he denies a fact which has been established by such a careful and scientific observer as Karl Marx, and which is now found to be equally established by such an observer as the editor of the New York "Financier."

of \$2.18 a day in 1897, and an average wage of \$2.50 a day in 1907. In the same time, their cost of living increased from twenty-five to thirty per cent.

THE CLERK CLASS

One-sixth to one-tenth of all wage-earners may be said to be clerical. There is no absolute line to be drawn between the wage worker and the salaried worker. The difference is social. The social demand on the clerk is greater than that on the wage worker. He must conform to standards of dress, to the higher education of his children. His ideals are, as a whole, those of his employer. His general standards of life are economically high, and the pressure exerted on him by rising prices is consequently severe. The higher in the social scale the salaried worker stands the more he feels the economic strain. His social standard of living is increasingly out of proportion to his salary.

TEACHERS AND PREACHERS

The condition of teachers, for instance, is deplorable. The efficiency of all brain-workers is directly affected for evil by mental strain or worry. The clergyman, to be most useful, ought to be in a position where he can concentrate his thought upon ethical

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family have learned to need, there is no one who is economically worse off, except the extreme proletarian—the day laborer with a large family. And those are the average salaries of the men who reach the top. The average salaries of the great majority of college teachers are very much lower. There are, for instance, a few institutions which pay annual salaries of \$200 to \$250, to full professors; and there are thirty-one institutions which pay to full professors salaries of from \$400 to \$550! At the extreme top is one institution—and one only—that pays an average salary to full professors of \$5,000 a year.

Where is the peace of mind possible whereby all teachers may really teach?

spiritually, morally, and intellectually. The moral of it all is that the salaried people must get together, gradually at first, here and there, in groups, and fight, fight together, politically and economically. No matter how "good" and intelligent your employers may be, you cannot get what you need, or what you ought to need, without fighting for it, fighting for it effectively, in organization. Let those comparatively well off begin the work of organization from which the less able, the less fortunate, or rather the more unfortunate, will eventually benefit.

Wisconsin Platform

Concluded from Page One

BANK CLERKS

Not long ago a bank clerk committed suicide. He had two children in college, and his salary was \$1,600 a year. Defalcations are no more incomprehensible than suicides. The president of one of the largest banks in New York City told me that he thought bank clerks, and clerks in general, were the class of people who suffered the most. There are bank clerks worthy of trust, which to a bank is a matter of the greatest importance. Some clerks are less than the wages of good mechanics; and the social requirements of their position make the cost of living much higher than in the case of the mechanics. The bank president remarked that these trusted clerks could not be replaced—not for years—and that through organization they could enormously increase their salaries. But they do not organize.

CHILDREN AND WOMEN

A charity worker who for years has known many employees in grocery stores, butcher shops, and dry goods stores reports that the children of these people are now going to work, while their brothers and sisters, just ahead of them in age, did not. In other words, the increased cost of living has forced a large number of salaried parents to sacrifice their children's education, an education they were able to pay for a few years ago, but cannot now.

In 1906-7 the minimum expenses per annum of a single woman employed in the office of the State Charities Aid Association in New York City were found on careful detailed investigation to be \$706.88, or about sixty dollars a month. Consequently the employees' salaries were raised to meet the cost of living. Now, however, the cost of living of these girls is more than sixty-five dollars a month.

WISE CAPITALISTS

It would be unfair to imply that there is no attempt to increase the salaries of employees as prices rise. In three of the great banks of New York City there have been material advances in whole classes of employees. For instance, in one great institution bookkeepers received \$1,500 a year six years ago, \$1,800 three years ago, and are receiving \$2,000 now—an increase of 33 1/3 per cent., nearly meeting the general increase in the cost of living. In this same bank assistant bookkeepers went from salaries of \$900 six years ago to \$1,000 three years ago, and \$1,100 now; or an increase of about 22 per cent. Other employees' lower salaries were increased at about the same rate. At another large bank the increase in bookkeepers' salaries was from \$1,200 six years ago to \$1,800 now. At a third bank the method was to investigate the need of each employee with the same general result as in the cases of the other two banks.

The action of these banks was merely the result of intelligence. The employers knew that their employees could not work to good advantage without the means to maintain themselves in their general social position. Few employees show so much intelligence. They did only what from a business point of view was desirable. They wished to cut off inefficiency and dishonesty. It is probable that our captains of industry will eventually recognize the fact that labor power—represented both by laborers and clerks—needs to be preserved and cared for quite as carefully as the other natural resources.

ORGANIZE AND FIGHT

The causes of the increased cost of living are almost as numerous as the students of economics who state them; I have my own ideas about that, ideas which may be as inadequate as my neighbors'. But one thing is sure: No matter what the cause of the higher cost of living is, whether it is mainly one cause or a complex of many, our ignorance of it does not affect the need of activity on the part of the salaried people. It is deeply necessary, for them and for society, that they should work together, economically and politically, to help themselves. If they continue to "lie down" and to be utterly selfish and individualistic, they will never discover causes or bring about results. And they will neglect the most important way of benefiting themselves, not merely materially, but also

Working for Nothing and a Little Less

By George Lewis

Editor "The Financier," New York.

In this country from fifteen to twenty million people work for nothing, or less than nothing. They constitute fully sixty per cent. of the thirty million wage-earners, who annually find that they are steadily becoming poorer; that is, the end of each year shows that the cost of food, lodging, clothes, and all the necessities of life has outstripped the income from wages.

This statement may seem absurd, if not an economic impossibility. As a matter of fact, it is based on governmental statistics, and no self-respecting governmental report would be guilty of pessimism. By combining dissociated but authoritative statistics, bearing on opposite phases of the problem, one may arrive at definite and logical conclusions.

The two phases of the problem are living expenses and wage income. Everybody knows, in a general way, that commodity prices have increased tremendously in recent years. A comparison of the prices of various food products can be used roughly to compare the probable yearly living expenses of the average family of wage-workers. To ascertain the average yearly wage, in order to compare income with expenditure, involves an investigation of so complex a nature that few statisticians have attempted it. Such an investigation is necessarily confined to skilled and organized trades; it involves the question of average working hours throughout the year, which, in the case of piece-workers, bears a vital relation to the workers' aggregate income. Many causes, such as strikes, lockouts, sickness, etc., may govern the number of working hours.

An investigation of this character, described in Bulletin No. 77 of the United States Bureau of Labor, issued in 1908 and the most recent of its kind, finds that while the cost of living had advanced 20.6 per cent. in the eighteen years from 1890 to 1908, the average weekly wage paid to workers had advanced 22.4 per cent., making the wage-earning class about 2 per cent. better off, theoretically, in 1908. But when it is considered that prunes, sugar and coffee—all non-staples—formed the only items of decrease in commodity costs, while meat, fish, vegetables and dairy products moved upward 29.7 per cent., the 2 per cent. increase not only disappears but leaves the worker with a 23.7 per cent. increase in cost of living with only the 22.4 per cent. increase in wages.

The late Carroll D. Wright, when commissioner of labor, wrote as follows: "In 1890 there were at least 18,000,000 wage-receivers in the United States; that is, persons employed depending entirely upon wages paid. It is safe to presume that the average wage paid this large number of persons annually was \$400." Since Bulletin No. 77 assigns a 22.4 per cent. increase in wages from 1890 to 1908, 25 per cent. increase will cover the time from 1890 to date. Basing this on Commissioner Wright's estimate, the average yearly wage today is, then, \$500. This is a general finding for the entire country.

The average yearly earnings of wage-workers at the present time are, then, in the neighborhood of \$500. Now what does it cost them to live? A recent study of the standard of living in New York City, according to a bulletin of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, showed that it was impossible for an average family of five to maintain a normal standard of living on an income under \$300 a year. In Massachusetts, where the cost of living is conceded to be less than elsewhere in the United States, the Bureau of Statistics in a recent report states that a family of five persons requires \$754 a year to live on.

These concrete illustrations, it seems to me, make clearer than do confusing comparisons of "index numbers" the situation which confronts the wage-earning class, and therefore the country as a whole. When we find that our workers are spending \$800 a year to live and are receiving only from \$300 to \$575 which to do it, we must bestir ourselves ere events happen.

(Editor's Note.—From here to the end of Mr. Lewis' argument, he overlooks the fact that most of his "wage-workers" do not have families at all, certainly not "families of five persons.") So that his attempt to shoulder this loss upon the "retailers" is not justified by the facts.)

How is it possible for a man to spend from \$225 to \$300 a year more than he earns? To use a colloquial phrase, who "stands the gas"? The answer is, the retailer. Personal research and inquiry among the retail dealers of any congested district, such as New York's East Side, shows that the retailer shoulders the burden of debt. This is the sort of experience one is likely to have:



UNDERDOGS AND UPPERDOGS

"Do any of your customers owe you money?"
"Well, I should say so! How could I do business otherwise?"
"You don't mean to say that you couldn't do business unless you kept trusting these people for what they buy from you?"
"Surely. If a man cannot pay me this week, maybe he can pay a little next week or next month. Why should I lose a customer and not get my money at all?"

The argument is unanswerable. Frequently the landlord is the creditor, and then when a family is turned out on the street some of the more fortunate brethren club together and act the part of good Samaritans. But mostly it's the butcher and the grocer. In this process of acting as the economic balance wheel, taking up the load of debt as it falls upon his customers, may not a reason be found for the mysterious selfishness of the retailer? The retailer is always the last to yield, grudgingly, the cent or two of price reduction which has traveled down from the primary market. He reduces his price two cents when the wholesale reduction is three or four, while a two-cent wholesale advance is converted by him into a three or four-cent advance. In thus taking advantage of his position as the last of the distributing agents, and the closest to the ultimate consumer, is not the retailer merely trying to compensate himself for his losses in "carrying" unprofitable custom?
There is no question that the debt of the wage-earners is now being should-

ered by the retail dealers. But the small retailer is gradually disappearing before the growth of centralized industry, not only in the production but in the distribution of goods. When the time comes that the retailer no longer occupies his present place in our economic system where will the burden fall?

(Editor's Note.—This last question is one to be deeply pondered by all thinking people. When the Middle Class, retailers and small producers, disappears, what is happening? Just at present, what is happening is an awful roar from said Middle Class, Dooliver, Berger, Bryan & Co. being their trumpets. If this roar is followed by a successful "charge" of the enraged animal on his hunter, the Trust Class, then the Wage Class will continue to get "just wages," while the hunted Middle Class will take the Surplus over Wages.

The real question is, Will the Wage Class be content to be "gunbearers" for the Trust Class Hunters on the one hand, or "warning birds" for the Middle Class Hunted on the other hand?

When the "retailers," Clerks, Preachers and others depicted in the next article by Mr. Haggood find themselves no better-off than the despised "wage workers," will they really "organize" and "fight," as Haggood recommends, or will they continue as lackeys of their masters and despoilers?)

The Real Underdog

By Hutchins Haggood

Author of "The Spirit of Labor," etc.

In the well-grounded alarm due to the greatly increased cost of living and extending to everybody except the rich, the man whose panic is most justified by the facts is the salaried man. With rising prices and increased cost of living, wages have increased, though not in proportion to the increased cost; but the tendency for salaries to increase is much less marked. Salaries in general have increased very little in the last ten years; and during that time the general cost of living has increased by about fifty per cent.

THE SALARIED WORKER.

A good instance of the situation of the large mass of salaried workers, or clerks, is that given in statistics for 1907, affecting the vast army of employees on the steam railroads of the United States. Of the 1,672,074 employees about ninety-five per cent. received wages. The great bulk of the salaried employees, the 56,700 general office clerks, received an average wage

truths and the moral needs of his congregation. But the great majority of the ministers of the country are afflicted sorely by the worry of daily bread. Few indeed can help any good cause—they have hard enough work to help themselves. They must maintain their high positions and do their best for their children's education.

REPORTERS, EDITORS

The journalist ought not to have his power of thought impaired by worry, and yet the editor who receives \$5,000 a year salary can no longer save a cent, and he sees with terror that his growing children will soon need more money for their education than he can possibly afford. What is the effect on his temperament, on his capacity for enjoyable concentration on his work?

PROFESSORS

Take the college professor. Statistics in regard to salaries of teachers in the one hundred best paying universities in America show that the teacher who has taken a postgraduate course and prepared himself thoroughly to teach may hope at the age of twenty-eight to receive a salary of \$1,250 a year, at thirty-one a salary of \$1,750, at thirty-three a salary of \$2,250, and at thirty-five, the age when the successful teacher becomes a professor, a salary of \$2,500 a year. This is the average salary of the teacher who reaches the top. And when one takes into consideration the social demand on the professor, his standard of life and of comfort, what he and his