

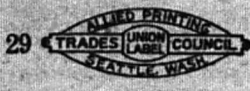
# THE WORKINGMAN'S UNPAID LABOR PAPER

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Win Their Own Emancipation

THE SOCIALIST

Tenth Year—No. 475

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, June 25, 1910



Price Five Cents

## Abolish It -- It Is the One Graft, Source of all Grafts

### ORGANIZED LABOR DEFIED

#### Fierce Notices Posted at Moran's Shipyard—Incidents of Machinists' Strike In Seattle

By ARTHUR JENSEN

##### NOTICE.

This plant is and will continue an OPEN SHOP, which means that FREE AMERICANS and others do not need the consent either of a Trades Union or a Walking Delegate before they can get work at this plant.

Any attempt to coerce or intimidate will be dealt with according to law.

THE MORAN CO.

J. V. Paterson, General Manager.

##### NOTICE.

For the protection of our employees 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 Trade Association of the Pacific Coast.

THE MORAN CO.

(Signed) J. V. Paterson, General Manager.

The first of these two notices has been displayed on signboards in several conspicuous places about the Moran plant for about three years. It contains the usual misleading definition of the open shop principle, the definition always used by Post, Parry, and the late Van Cleave, the chief champion of the "free, independent American workmen."

The second notice was placed over a week ago in all shops along the coast holding membership in the United Metal Trades Association of the Pacific Coast. It expresses the real meaning of the open shop principle. The employers' "open shop" means a closed shop for the union man.

However, the open shop is not the issue in the machinists' strike now on in this city. The strike is for an eight-hour day.

In the machine shops of San Francisco the machinists have been working an eight-hour day since the first of this month and the machinists in all the other cities along the coast think that they are entitled to the same. They also consider it their duty to their fellows in San Francisco to demand the same conditions as are being enjoyed by them. Failure to establish the eight-hour day along the coast would undoubtedly mean that the San Francisco employers would make a fight to return to the nine-hour system in order to be in a better position to compete with the shops in the other cities.

Therefore, this fight is not merely a local fight for the machinists, but the entire coast is vitally concerned. And it is a fight which merits the support of every Wage Worker, as shorter hours always means more strength to the Working Class.

The Metal Trades Association, the chief spokesmen of which are J. V. Paterson of The Moran Co. and F. G. Frink of the Washington Iron Works and the daily press, especially The Times are doing a great deal of howling against the San Francisco labor agitators who are attempting to put a damper on the warm friendship for well-behaved unions, hitherto held by The Moran Co. and other friends of the Workingman. A great deal has been said by these mouthpieces of Capital about their inability to compete with eastern shops if forced to adopt the eight hour basis. As a matter of fact, machinists in many shops in Eastern cities are working eight hours now. In Chicago there are 500 machinists employed at a rate of \$5.20 for an eight hour day, or sixty-five cents per hour, as compared with \$3.60, or forty-five cents per hour as demanded by the local union. Of course, if the local shops are unable to compete under these conditions, the machinists can not be expected to declare them-

If the machinists lose it will only be because of lack of support from their fellow workers in the other unions. Therefore, it is the duty of every workingman to support this strike. It is Labor's fight.

#### The PORTLAND STRIKE

In Portland, as well as Seattle, there is a strike of the Machinists for an eight-hour day. The Teamsters of Portland are also out for a 25-cent advance in wages. Our Portland correspondent sends a few notes.

Under "Help Wanted" the Portland papers contain the following: "Independent or Non-Union MACHINISTS. Steady Work, Good Wages, Nine Hours; apply United Metal Trades Association, 222 Commercial Club Building."

One Corbett, an employer in Portland, advertises for "Scabs with Red Blood in their veins." He don't know that Scabs contain no blood but Dead Blood—and Pus.

Someone interested in the welfare of their brothers has taken a fancy to a number of Open Shop Signs.

Police are now in every wagon having scab drivers.

Teamsters want 25 cents more a day; machinists want 45 cents an hour and eight hours.

A young machinist I. W. W. and A. F. of L. enters Scab Employment office in Commercial building. Machinist—"Maybe you have a job?"

Secretary—"Yes; yes; lots of jobs, steady work."

Machinist—"What wages?" Secretary—"\$3.50 per day, nine hours."

Machinist—"Maybe you have some job out of town?" Secretary—"Yes, Astoria, Ore., Seattle, Tacoma. Strike on everywhere."

Machinist—"Oh, strike on. Then I have to be a scab? Maybe there is some danger?" Secretary—"No! No! No danger."

Machinist—"In my country, Russia, if a man goes near a shop when a strike is on someone kills him before he gets to shop."

Secretary—"Oh, not in this country; there's no danger. Take this card and see how you like the job."

Machinist goes to shop, finds one apprentice and the boss.

Boss offers \$4 per day.

To be told to get to hell out of a non-union shop during working hours by a lackey of the Capitalist Class is not so bad; every agitator expects that and a great deal more. The spirit of brave, the nerve, the courage one can sum up to defy the lickspittles of the Capitalist Class give way, and there comes a feeling that hurts as an arrow shot from afar, when a brother working eight hours (which the agitator helped obtain for him) in a good union shop tells you in language all too plain, "Get to hell out of here, you're taking up the boss' time."

When I go into a good union shop and find many of the good union men busy playing cards during lunch hour. And when they are asked to buy five-cent books and papers, published in their interest; and they seldom take their eyes from the cards, much less take a look at the papers, one sometimes wonders if their dreams of the workers rising as one man and breaking the heavy chains which bind us will not be shattered by such cowardly indifference to our own interests.

AGNES THECLA FAIR.

If so, please notify this paper. So far as I can learn prostrations and deaths have been confined to the working class. What is the matter—can't the working class afford leisure, care, ice, parasols, for pity's sake?

If anyone started in to study medicine, bookkeeping, geography, anything, in fact, and used text books 2,000 years old, you'd think he was demented, wouldn't you? And yet the church people are shocked when you don't study the Bible as a guide to the profession of living. Certainly if progress and science should be applied to anything it should be applied to this business of living. It seems to me. But then the Devil's got me, so maybe I'm not responsible for my opinions.

We all somehow hate to be told the naked truth—it is so much pleasanter to imagine a thing is what we would like it to be. But if the Proletariat would simply look the naked truth squarely in the face without blushing and admit the fact that under present conditions it (the Proletariat) is only a thing—the meanest and lowest of all things—to be forever deprived of every comfort, every pleasure, every advancement (unless by sheer intellectual or physical force it wrests these things from its master), and hang onto that one idea until it either gets its "human rights," as Ben Lindsey says, or is exterminated, we would see a new heaven and a new earth. Will we ever see it? Well, I haven't lost faith yet.

If Harry Ault's stuff is called "Ault's Junk" this should be called "Middle Class Junket." B. F.

#### SEIDEL ON SOCIALISM.

It is not essential that the workers be instructed in Socialism. Socialism is a phase of civilization, a growth anyway. Talk to the people in their own language, not inisms and dogmas. Show the people the reason there are boulevards in front of the homes of the rich is because the rich furnish graft for the politicians and the politicians furnish the boulevards in return.—Mayor Seidel, of Milwaukee, in a speech at Chicago, Sunday, June 19, before a meeting at a North Side Amusement Park, estimated at 50,000 people, as reported by the "Associated Press."

It was also reported the keynote of all the speeches was, "Make Chicago a Socialist City like Milwaukee."

#### BROUGHT UP TO DATE.

"And what are we to understand by the Biblical expression, 'the four corners of the earth'?" asks the instructor in theology. " Rockefeller's corner in oil, Havemeyer's corner in sugar, Carnegie's corner in steel and Patten's corner in wheat," answers the new student.—Saturday Evening Post.

### AULT'S JUNK

The principal industry of the Social Democrats of Milwaukee at the present time seems to be explaining why they cannot dispose of 4 per cent. bonds, and proving that they have not "ruined the credit of the city," whatever that is. May they prosper in the good work, and may the capitalist be everlastingly confounded who says the Socialists will not do his business for him better than he can do it himself. (But they raised the interest rate on the bonds to 4 1/2 per cent.)

One of the best things I have seen recently is the statement of Secretary Germer of the United Mine Workers of Illinois that the miners had "lost their awe of the law, as such, and consider it an honor to have been in jail for the cause." When the workers get to that point, they are about ready to see their cause triumphant and the time of going to jail passed.

Another lesson for the workingman who hopes to get rich is given in the expose of the United Wireless Swindle going the rounds of the press. A large number of the stockholders who are done out of their money are working men and women who were at the old game of looking for something for nothing and getting it—in the neck. The working class ought to realize by this time that though some of them do at most infrequent intervals, get ahead of the game to the extent of becoming comfortably rich, the only chance for the vast mass of us is to get organized in some way and stop our exploitation through wages. What we want is the full value of what we produce and not the doubtful chance of beating the other fellow at his own game. Think it over.

#### CAPITAL'S MOTTO.

Whoever is worth doing, is worth doing well.—"Life."

And often—particularly workingmen.

#### SPECIFIC DIRECTIONS FOR GETTING YOUR DAUGHTER TO ELOPE WITH YOUR CHAUFFEUR.

Surround her, from her earliest youth, by religious influences. Be engaged, during the time of adolescence, in making so much money yourself that you have no time to supervise her education personally. Make a rule never to let her see any young man who isn't a member of some Y. M. C. A. Never permit her to associate with men, anyway. When you hire your chauffeur be sure and get one of the kind known

as "husky." It makes no difference how much or little education he has. If he is "husky" he will answer. Then let nature do the rest.—"Life."

Needless to say, no working girl is exposed to this particular danger. Her parents would welcome some wholesome advice on how to keep her free from the degrading influences of the brother of the girl spoken of above, who probably spends most of his time "looking out" likely looking "brothers."

#### WHY WORRY ABOUT THAT FIGHT?

Why are the reverend clergy, without regard to sect or geography, so worried about that San Francisco fight? In so far as the clergy in San Francisco object to it as a local nuisance their attitude may be understood, but why do the clergy in general protest and resolute about it as though it was so awful?

Prize fights are no help to civilization; they are brutal and they draw rather hard crowds. They are almost out of date and can never become common again. They are fairer than football and no more dangerous. They are not particularly vicious. They are so far in these days from being a menace to morals or public deportment that to have one seems, as has been said elsewhere, to be almost like getting back to the simple life.

To have the Eastern clergy so exercised about a mere prize fight in San Francisco makes one think of the mote and the beam. Is local business so dull with our clergy—are there so few overworked children in the New Jersey factories, for example—that they can afford to clamor so hard about a prize fight three thousand miles away? The fight seems to us more likely to do San Francisco good than harm. If it is fair it will make comparatively wholesome talk there for a while. If it is not fair it will make a scandal and that will be wholesome. It is a great deal more likely to strengthen reform in San Francisco than to increase corruption there or stimulate vice. And finally, brethren, it seems to be a toss up whether the fight ever comes off. There is so much money mixed up in it that whatever there was of sport threatens to be crowded out.—"Life."

So much hysteria about the fight has been indulged in that the above bit of sanity from "Life" comes as a welcome relief. And we want to commend it particularly to those working men who are worrying their fool heads off about one thing or another about the fight. Forget it! It's a sell. Get back onto the job of getting your fellow workers together to get something more out of the boss and then when the pictures are marked down to 10 cents you can see the fight yourself.

### B. F.'S JUNKET

The rolsterfil... rritous... rrrakish... rrranting... rrrrearing... rrrrravenous... rrrrrrecurrent... rrrrrredouble... rrrrrreacatory... rrrrrrrreformer... the rrrrrrrreenerated Roosevelt has returned!—and still the earth is swinging on at the same old gait and Seattle has several thousand houses vacant and several thousand people out of jobs.

Very suggestive is the fact that an offer was sent from C. W. Post to Col. R. by wireless asking him to take a job as head of the National Trades and Workers' Association at \$100,000 a year.

All he will have to do will be to settle the differences between Labor and Capital (Mind you, that is all. Can't you just see him do it?)

Were he to accept such a job how long do you suppose it would take the Teddized members of the working class to see in whose interests he was settling Labor's and Capital's differences? Just as long as it is taking them to see that the whole bombastic-bamboozling insurgent movement now on foot is directed against their interests. Same old thing!

Those back numbers who think that all movements for uplift (?) have emanated from the church and that no good thing can come out of these nongodly organizations must get a shock when they read that the following pastimes have been tabooed by the Woman's Trade Union League: Prize fighting, saloon dances, dances at amusement parks and staying out late at night. Amusements that bear the union label are: "Dancing—folk dancing, swimming, hockey, baseball, hand ball, choral singing, opera and high-class concert music, tennis, croquet, rowing, sailing, rural walking expeditions and labor union deliberations." (They overlooked church going.)

When it comes to a show-down human nature is pretty much the same, and every healthy individual has a hankering after wholesome enjoyments.

Ben Lindsey is said to have cast in his lot with the insurgent Republicans. He says the principal struggle is between "human rights and property rights," and the "only hope of both the parties is the domination of the Republicans by the insurgent element." By human rights I suppose he means

the right to live as a human being should (life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness). But just how the "domination of the Republicans by the insurgent element" is going to give human rights to anyone who works for wages, he doesn't say.

Maybe he isn't thinking about the fellow who works for wages! You know, that is often the case. You will read and hear about the "common people" and "human rights" and the "consumer" until even the wage workers themselves get to believing they are in that category—in fact, it is hard for them to realize they are not "in it," since they make up a considerable portion of the people. We are all more or less concealed, and it does give us a turn to find that we are looked upon as too insignificant to be even considered. But the sooner we find it out the better we'll do something then.

Ever seen railway construction in the wilds of the West? Great sight. Piles of ties, cars of rail, freshly felled timber, hot stretches of yellow dirt, with freshly laid tracks, and nearby a string of cattle cars covered with tar paper to keep out the rain on the sides of these cars. At grotesque intervals glass eyes one by two feet peer out at you. They are probably doing duty for windows. What do they use these cars for? Oh, they are just dog houses (underdog houses, you know).

Yes, they are there by the hundreds, unmarried men, for the main, toiling and slaving to open up a new line of transportation in order that the great wealth of the new country may pour into the laps of the masters. Where are the hundreds of corresponding unmarried women whom these men represent? In the factory, shop, red light district—Florence Crittenden Homes—everywhere! Working, struggling, starving, fighting, dying!

Yes, it's inspiring!

Those poor Milwaukee Socialists. I do feel sorry for them. They don't seem to know where they're "at." Or maybe they know, but don't want to let on. Whichever way it is they are going to have nasty things said.

Has anyone seen accounts of millionaires of Chicago dying of the heat?





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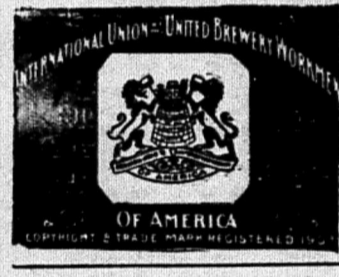
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This Sunday paper, for which there has been a strong demand, will contain a complete condensation of the week's being, therefore, partly of the nature of a weekly periodical it will be able to circulate to every part of the Union.

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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In addition to the above rates subscribers in New York City and the Bronx must pay a cent a day to cover postage.

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

It partly depends on every one doing a little.

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, 448 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!

Workers 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 whom it 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 honestly 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 1852.

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# THE PROLETARIAN

By Friedrich Engels

"Far more demoralizing than even poverty in its influence upon the workingman, is the insecurity of his position, the necessity of living upon wages from hand to mouth, that in short which makes a proletarian 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 moth and rust (that is, the bourgeoisie) get possession of."—From "Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844," three years before Engels and Marx 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 Tolstoy 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 history, 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 substance 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, Malloy, 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 keenness.

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 Poinsette 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 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 "Canonism" and "Aldrichism" and Taftism, there is no doubt he can be re-elected as the Napoleon of the Middle Class and Anti-Monopoly. What is to prevent comprehensive legislation in the direction of Middle Class Socialism? Gifford Pinchot is now on his way across the Atlantic to be the first to consult with the returning Roosevelt on the Conservation Issue.

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

Such a call, addressed to the expropriated masses of the Middle Class, appealing to their interests and conscience alike, is certain to be received with militant fervor. What right, it will be demanded, have the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Guggenheims, the Armour, 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. Tsar 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 Railroads to effect a combination which will be able to crush and absorb all the other Railroads in the United States? Attorney F. B. Kellogg, arguing for the Government

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

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

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

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

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

When the Trusts have developed into The Trust, when 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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# CHARTIST MOVEMENT

**The Socialist**  
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## The Greatest Labor Agitation in English History — Political Action Foremost — Followed by Fifty Years of Inaction — Why Chartism Failed — Instructive Parallel for American Workingmen at Present

Carlyle wrote one of his best essays on "Chartism," and the political party bearing that name cut a great figure in England sixty-five years ago. For instance, park meetings of workmen were held in Glasgow, Manchester and elsewhere, numbering hundreds of thousands, one of them attended by a half million people. Belated bourgeois revolutions were in progress all over Europe about 1848, and many English capitalists, as well as workmen and authors, looked for a bloody struggle in England. In fact, considerable blood did flow in the efforts of the working class to gain political recognition. But in 1848, the whole movement appeared to collapse suddenly, after a proposed monster demonstration in London had fizzled out.

Very few workmen, even among those well educated in economics, know anything whatever of the Chartist Movement, beyond seeing the name mentioned in the Communist Manifesto. Yet nothing so thoroughly proletarian and so really revolutionary has appeared in English history since the seventeenth century.

It should never be forgotten by any workman that England preceded America in the development of Machinery and the Appearance of the Wage Class by about fifty years; so that what happened in America in 1890, for example, had already happened in England in 1840. During the last twenty years, American development has speeded up so astonishingly, that England has been left behind in the matter of Concentration of Capital, but the American Proletariat, even in 1910, has many points of similarity to the British Wage Class in 1850. We wish to call especial attention to two of these points which should serve as warnings and guides to the workingclass in the United States.

First: The great workingclass movement in England, known as Chartism, came to an inglorious end in 1848 because the wage workers allowed the radicals of the Middle Class who only wanted Free Trade, to join hands with them in their political organization. Read carefully what Engels, who was on the ground and wrote from first hand acquaintance with the facts, has to say on this matter in the quotations which follow this introduction.

Second: The Period of Apathy for the Workingclass of England, lasting from 1850 to 1890, was due to the full stomachs of the Aristocracy of Labor,

brought about by the supremacy of England as a manufacturing nation, as is also shown by our following quotations from Engels.

The English Proletariat of 1848, like the American Proletariat of 1910, was tempted in two directions, to both of which the English workers yielded.

First, when Free Trade was adopted and the Corn Laws repealed, the Working Class, just as they had done in the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832, picked the Middle Class chestnuts out of the fire. Exactly as they are now asked to do in voting for Railroad Regulation and Trust Suppression. The result in 1832 and 1847 was that the Wage Class, having been used as monkeys by the Middle Class, were contemptuously ignored thereafter. Just as they will be now.

Second: For nearly or quite half a century, the English Wage Class remained contented and docile, because the English Capitalist Class was wise enough, after the Chartist Agitation, to cater to the demands of the workers and distribute favors enough to keep them quiet. Precisely the temptation which is now contemplated by the Trusts for presentation to the Proletariat in America. You workmen are to be bribed by small concessions and patronizing attentions to keep your place and go on producing Surplus Wealth for your employers without a whimper. They will give you Free Libraries and Christian reading rooms, and old age pensions, and even Arbitration and Fair Wages and shorter working days. Will you be content with such a Benevolent Feudalism, as the English proletarians were for a long half century? To help the workmen understand their true situation, we are reprinting these extracts from the best account in the English language of the rise and fall of the Chartist Agitation in England. One of these extracts was written in 1844 and the second one in 1855. During all this time, the author, Friedrich Engels, was a resident and trader in Manchester, one of the greatest manufacturing centers in the world, the heart of proletarian England. He was also one of the profoundest thinkers in Europe and, after Karl Marx, the best qualified man to understand the history of his own time, who lived in the nineteenth century. These extracts are from his book, "The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844," having a Preface written in 1892.

## CHARTISM

By Friedrich Engels

(Written in 1844.)

Chartism was from the beginning in 1835 chiefly a movement among the workmen, though not yet sharply separated from the bourgeoisie. The Radicalism of the workers went hand in hand with the Radicalism of the bourgeoisie; the Charter was the shibboleth of both. They held their National Convention every year in common, seeming to be one party. The lower middle-class was just then in a very bellicose and violent state of mind in consequence of the disappointment over the Reform Bill and of the bad business years of 1837-1839, and viewed the boisterous Chartist agitation with a very favorable eye. Of the vehemence of this agitation no one in Germany has any idea. The people were called upon to arm themselves, were frequently urged to revolt; pikes were got ready, as in the French Revolution, and in 1838, one Stephens, a Methodist parson, said to the assembled working people of Manchester: "You have no need to fear the power of Government, the soldiers, bayonets, and cannon that are at the disposal of your oppressors; you have a weapon that is far mightier than all these, a weapon against which bayonets and cannon are powerless, and a child of ten years can wield it. You have only to take a couple of matches and a bundle of straw dipped in pitch, and I will see what the Government and its hundreds of thousands of soldiers will do against this one weapon if it is used boldly."

As early as that year the peculiarly social character of the workmen's Chartism manifested itself. The same Stephens said, in a meeting of 200,000 men on Kersall Moor, the Mons Sacer of Manchester: "Chartism, my friends, is no political movement, where the main point is your getting the ballot. Chartism is a knife and fork question; the Charter means a good house, good food and drink, prosperity, and short working hours."

### Working Class

The movements against the new Poor Law and for the Ten Hours' Bill were already in the closest relation to Chartism. In all the meetings of that time the Tory Oastler was active, and hundreds of petitions for improvements of the social condition of the workers were circulated along with the national petition for the People's Charter adopted in Birmingham. In 1839 the agitation continued as vigorously as ever, and when it began to relax somewhat at the end of the year, Bussey, Taylor and Frost hastened to call forth uprisings simultaneously in the North of England, in Yorkshire and Wales. Frost's plan being betrayed, he was obliged to open hostilities prematurely. Those in the North heard of the failure of his attempt in time to withdraw. Two months later, in January, 1840, several so-called spy outbreaks took place in Sheffield and Bradford, in Yorkshire, and the excitement gradually subsided.

### Middle Class

Meanwhile the bourgeoisie turned more profitable for itself, namely the Corn Laws. The Anti-Corn Law Association was formed in Manchester, and the consequence was a relaxation of the tie between the Radical bour-

geoisie and the proletariat. The workmen soon perceived that for them the abolition of the Corn Laws could be of little use, while very advantageous to the bourgeoisie; and they could therefore not be won for the project.

### They Unite

The crisis of 1842 came on. Agitation was once more as vigorous as in 1839. But this time the rich manufacturing bourgeoisie, which was suffering severely under this particular crisis, took part in it. The Anti-Corn Law League, as it was now called, assumed a decidedly revolutionary tone. Its journals and agitators used undisguisedly revolutionary language, one very good reason for which was the fact that the Conservative party had been in power since 1841. As the Chartists had previously done, these bourgeois leaders called upon the people to rebel; and the workmen who had most to suffer from the crisis were not inactive, as the year's national petition for the charter with its three and a half million signatures proves. In short, if the two Radical parties had been somewhat estranged, they allied themselves once more. At a meeting of Liberals and Chartists held in Manchester, February 15th, 1842, a petition urging the repeal of the Corn Laws and the adoption of the Charter was drawn up. The next day it was adopted by both parties.

(This Charter was "The People's Charter," from which the Chartists or Charterists got their name. It demanded six rights: (1) Universal Manhood Suffrage; (2) Annual Parliaments; (3) Payment of Members of Parliament; (4) Voting by Secret Ballot; (5) Equal Election Districts; (6) Abolition of Property Qualification for Voting.—Ed.)

### Working Class Used

The spring and summer passed amidst violent agitation and increasing distress. The bourgeoisie was determined to carry the repeal of the Corn Laws with the help of the crisis, the want which it entailed, and the general excitement. At this time, the Liberal bourgeoisie half abandoned their law-abiding habits; they wished to bring about a revolution with the help of the workers. The workmen were to take the chestnuts from the fire to save the bourgeoisie from burning their own fingers. The old idea of a "holy month," a general strike, broached in 1839 by the Chartists, was revived. This time, however, it was not the workmen who wished to quit work, but the manufacturers who wished to close their mills and send the operatives into the country parishes upon the property of the aristocracy, thus forcing the Tory Parliament and the Tory Ministry to repeal the Corn Laws. A revolt would naturally have followed, but the bourgeoisie stood safely in the background and could await the result without compromising itself if the worst came to the worst. At the end of July business began to improve; it was high time. In order not to lose the opportunity, three firms in Staleybridge reduced wages in spite of the improvement. Whether they did so of their own motion or in agreement with other manufacturers, especially those of the League, I do not know. Two with-

drew after a time, but the third, William Bailey & Brothers, stood firm, and told the objecting operatives that "if this did not please them, they had better go and play a bit." This contemptuous answer the hands received with cheers. They left the mill, paraded through the town, and called upon all their fellows to quit work. In a few hours every mill stood idle, and the operatives marched to Mottram Moor to hold a meeting. This was on August 5th. August 8th they proceeded to Ashton and Hyde five thousand strong, closed all the mills and coal pits, and held meetings, in which, however, the question discussed was not, as the bourgeoisie had hoped, the repeal of the Corn Laws, but "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work." August 9th they proceeded to Manchester, unresisted by the authorities (all Liberals), and closed the mills; on the 11th they were in Stockport, where they met with the first resistance as they were storming the workhouse, the favorite child of the bourgeoisie.

### Divided Interests

On the same day there was a general strike and disturbance in Bolton, to which the authorities here, too, made no resistance. Soon the uprising spread throughout the whole manufacturing district, and all employments, except harvesting and the production of food, came to a standstill. But the rebellious operatives were quiet. They were driven into this revolt without wishing it. The manufacturers, by the single exception of the Tory Birley, in Manchester, had, contrary to their custom, not opposed it. The thing had begun without the workmen's having any distinct end in view, for which reason they were all united in the determination not to be shot at for the benefit of the Corn Law repealing bourgeoisie. For the rest, some wanted to carry the Charter, others who thought this premature wished merely to secure the wages rate of 1840. On this point the whole insurrection was wrecked. If it had been from the beginning an intentional, determined workmen's insurrection, it would surely have carried its point; but these crowds who had been driven into the streets by their masters, against their own will, and with no definite purpose, could do nothing. Meanwhile the bourgeoisie, which had not moved a finger to carry the alliance of February 15th into effect, soon perceived that the workmen did not propose to become its tools, and that the illogical manner in which it had abandoned its law-abiding standpoint threatened danger. It therefore resumed its law-abiding attitude, and placed itself upon the side of Government as against the workmen.

### Bourgeois Hypocrisy

It swore in trusty retainers as special constables (the German merchants in Manchester took part in this ceremony, and marched in an entirely superfluous manner through the city with their cigars in their mouths and thick truncheons in their hands). It gave the command to fire upon the crowd in Preston, so that the unintentional revolt of the people stood all at once face to face, not only with the whole military power of the Government, but with the whole property-holding class as well. The workmen, who had no especial aim, separated gradually, and the insurrection came to an end without evil results. Later, the bourgeoisie was guilty of one shameful act after another, tried to whitewash itself by expressing a horror of popular violence by no means consistent with its own revolutionary language of the spring; laid the blame of insurrection upon

Chartist instigators, whereas it had itself done more than all of them together to bring about the uprising; and resumed its old attitude of sanctifying the name of the law with a shamelessness perfectly unequalled. The Chartists, who were all but innocent of bringing about this uprising, who simply did what the bourgeoisie meant to do when they made the most of their opportunity, were prosecuted and convicted, while the bourgeoisie escaped

without loss, and had, besides, sold off its old stock of goods with advantage during the pause in work.

(From this point to the end of the chapter Engels in 1844 proceeds to show how Chartism was to become more and more a Proletarian movement. But his hopes were doomed to failure, as the next quotation shows, written in 1855, forty years after.—Ed.)

## ENGLAND IN 1845 AND 1855

By Friedrich Engels

(Written in 1855.)

Forty years ago England stood face to face with a crisis, solvable to all appearances by force only. The immense and rapid development of manufactures had not stripped the extension of foreign markets and the increase of demand. Every ten years the march of industry was violently interrupted by a general commercial crash, followed, after a long period of chronic depression, by a few short years of prosperity, and always ending in feverish overproduction and consequent renewed collapse. The capitalist class clamored for Free Trade in corn, and threatened to enforce it by sending the starving population of the towns back to the country districts whence they came, to invade them, as John Bright said, not as paupers begging for bread, but as an army quartered upon the enemy. The working masses of the towns demanded their share of political power—the People's Charter; they were supported by the majority of the small trading class, and the only difference between the two was whether the Charter should be carried by physical or by moral force. Then came the commercial crash of 1847 and the Irish famine, and with both the prospect of revolution.

### Chartism Collapsed

The French Revolution of 1848 saved the English middle class. The Socialistic pronouncements of the victorious French workmen frightened the small middle class of England and disorganized the narrower, but more matter of fact movement of the English working class. At the very moment when Chartism was bound to assert itself in its full strength, it collapsed internally, before even it collapsed externally on the 10th of April, 1848. The action of the working class was thrust into the background. The capitalist class triumphed along the whole line.

### Free Trade On the Throne

The Reform Bill of 1831 had been the victory of the whole capitalist class over the landed aristocracy. The repeal of the Corn Laws was the victory of the manufacturing capitalist not only over the landed aristocracy, but over those sections of capitalists, too, whose interests were more or less bound up with the landed interest—bankers, stock jobbers, fund holders, etc. Free Trade meant the readjustment of the whole home and foreign, commercial and financial policy of England in accordance with the interests of the manufacturing capitalists—the class which now represented the nation. And they set about this task with

a will. Every obstacle to industrial production was mercilessly removed. Everything was made subordinate to one end, but that end of the utmost importance to the manufacturing capitalist: the cheapening of all raw produce, and especially of the means of living of the working class; the reduction of the cost of raw material, and the keeping down—if not as yet the bringing down—of wages. England was to become the 'workshop of the world,' all other countries were to become for England what Ireland already was—markets for her manufactured goods, supplying her in return with raw materials and food. England the great manufacturing center of an agricultural world, with an ever-increasing number of corn and cotton growing Irelands revolving around her, the industrial sun. What a glorious prospect!

### Tail of Liberal Party

The manufacturing capitalists set about the realization of this their great object with that strong common sense and that contempt for traditional principles which has ever distinguished them from their more narrow minded compatriots on the Continent. Chartism was dying out. The revival of commercial prosperity, natural after the revulsion of 1847 had spent itself, was put down altogether to the credit of Free Trade. Both these circumstances had turned the English working class, politically, into the tail of the 'great Liberal party,' the party led by the manufacturers.

This advantage, once gained, had to be perpetuated. And the manufacturing capitalists, from the Chartist opposition, not to Free Trade, but to the transformation of Free Trade into the one vital national question, HAD LEARNED, AND WERE LEARNING MORE AND MORE, THAT THE MIDDLE CLASS CAN NEVER OBTAIN FULL SOCIAL AND POLITICAL POWER OVER THE NATION EXCEPT BY THE HELP OF THE WORKING CLASS.

(Just as in U. S. ever since 1890, from the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the Middle Class Rebellion has sought support from the Working Class; and just as also the Trust Class is bidding for Working Class votes.—Ed.)

Thus a gradual change came over the relations between both classes. The Factory Acts, once the bugbear of all manufacturers, were now only willingly submitted to, but their expansion into acts regulating almost all trades, was tolerated. Trades' Unions, hitherto considered inventions of the devil himself, were now petted and patronized as perfectly legitimate institutions, and as useful means of spreading sound

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economical doctrines amongst the workers.

Even strikes, than which nothing had been more nefarious up to 1848, were now gradually found out to be occasionally very useful, especially when provoked by the masters themselves, at their own time.

Of the legal enactments, placing the workman at a lower level or at a disadvantage with regard to the master, at least the most revolting were repealed.

And, practically, that horrid "People's Charter" actually became the political programme of the very manufacturers who had opposed it to the last. "The Abolition of the Property Qualification" and "Vote by Ballot" are now the law of the land. The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 make a near approach to "universal suffrage, at least such as it now exists in Germany; the Redistribution Bill now before Parliament creates "equal electoral districts"—on the whole not more unequal than those of Germany; "payment of members," and "shorter, if not actually "annual Parliaments," are visibly looming in the distance—and yet there are people who say that Chartism is dead.

### Astounding Production

For England, the effects of this domination of the manufacturing capitalists were at first startling. Trade revived and extended to a degree unheard of even in this cradle of modern industry; the previous astounding creations of steam and machinery dwindled into nothing compared with the immense mass of productions of the twenty years from 1850 to 1870, with the overwhelming figures of exports and imports, of wealth accumulated in the hands of capitalists and human working power concentrated in the large towns. The progress was indeed interrupted, as before, by a crisis every ten years, in 1857 as well as in 1866; but these revulsions were now considered as natural, inevitable events, which must be fatalistically submitted to, and which always set themselves right in the end.

### Working Class Conditions

And the condition of the working class during this period? There was temporary improvement even for the great mass. But this improvement always was reduced to the old level by the influx of the great body of the unemployed reserve, by the constant superseding of hands by new machinery, by the immigration of the agricultural population, now, too, more and more superseded by machines.

A permanent improvement can be recognized for two "protected" sections only of the working class. Firstly, the factory hands. The fixing by Act of Parliament of their working day within relatively rational limits has restored their physical constitution and endowed them with a moral superiority, enhanced by their local concentration. They are undoubtedly better off than before 1848. The best proof is that, out of ten strikes they make, nine are provoked by the manufacturers in their own interests, as the only means of securing a reduced production. You can never get the masters to agree to work "short time," let manufactured goods be ever so unsaleable; but get the workpeople to strike, and the masters shut their factories to a man.

### "Model Working Men"

Secondly, the great Trades Unions. They are the organizations of those trades in which the labor of grown-up men predominates, or is alone applicable. Here the competition neither of women and children nor of machinery has so far weakened their organized strength. The engineers, the carpenters and joiners, the bricklayers, are each of them a power, to that extent, as in the case of the bricklayers and bricklayers' laborers, they can even successfully resist the introduction of machinery. That their con-

dition has remarkably improved since 1848 there can be no doubt, and the best proof of this is in the fact, that for more than fifteen years not only have their employers been with them, but they with their employers, upon exceedingly good terms. They form an aristocracy among the working class; they have succeeded in enforcing for themselves a relatively comfortable position, and they accept it as final. They are the model working men of Messrs. Leone Levi & Giffen, and they are very nice people indeed nowadays to deal with, for any sensible capitalist in particular and for the whole capitalist class in general.

### Great Mass Degraded Still

But as to the great mass of working people, the state of misery and insecurity in which they live now is as low as ever, if not lower. The East End of London is an ever-spreading pool of stagnant misery and desolation, of starvation when out of work, and degradation, physical and moral, when in work. And so in all other large towns—abstraction made of the privileged minority of the workers; and so in the smaller towns and in the agricultural districts. The law which reduces the value of labor power to the value of the necessary means of subsistence, and the other law which reduces its average price, as a rule, to the minimum of those means of subsistence, these laws act upon them with the irresistible force of an automatic engine, which crushes them between its wheels.

### "Socialism Again In England"

And the working class? If even under the unparalleled commercial and industrial expansion, from 1848 to 1866, they have had to undergo such misery; if even then the great bulk of them experienced at best but a temporary improvement of their condition, while only a small, privileged, "protected" minority was permanently benefited, what will it be when this dazzling period is brought finally to a close; when the present dreary stagnation shall not only become intensified, but this, its intensified condition, shall become the permanent and normal state of English trade?

The truth is this: during the period of England's industrial monopoly the English working class have, to a certain extent, shared in the benefits of the monopoly. These benefits were very unequally parcelled out amongst them; the privileged minority pocketed most, but even the great mass had, at least, a temporary share now and then. And that is the reason why, since the dying out of Owenism, there has been no Socialism in England. With the breakdown of that monopoly, the English working class will lose that privileged position; it will find itself generally—the privileged and leading minority not excepted—on a level with its fellow workers abroad. And that is the reason why there will be Socialism again in England.

(Editor's Note.—Shortly before his death, ten years later, Engels endorsed the passage just quoted and especially rejoiced at the "East End" awakening of the "unskilled workers," the "New Unionism" which was revolutionary in spirit like Chartism, which developed "Class Hatred, which is, after all, the only moral incentive by which the worker can be brought nearer the goal.")

We commend this latter sentiment of Engels to Emil Seidel, Socialist Party Mayor of Milwaukee, who in a recent Chicago speech, counselled moderation and abandonment of all "ologies" such as "Surplus Value," "Law of Wages" and other economic truths. We even commend this sentiment to the essentially conventional De Leon who throws his vitrol at the "T'm a bum" and knows no ethics which violates bourgeois "honesty.")