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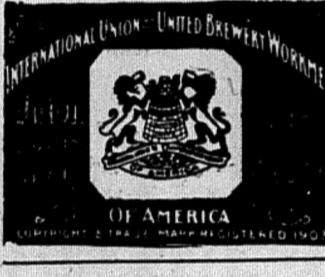
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MILWAUKEE AND TAMPA

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

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

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

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

Yet we suppose a good many workmen will read these criticisms of ours and wonder what is our grouch. They will see nothing in this Tampa Platform to kick about. They will even declare that this Socialism of Milwaukee and Tampa is something they can understand and would be willing to vote for.

Sure thing. Most workmen are led by the nose through what they read in the daily papers. They haven't the faintest idea that the daily papers are run in the interest of the employers exclusively, nor that the Working Class is not interested in lower taxes, nor that the cry of "Special Privileges to

None" is an attempt to down the Trusts and to restore the good old days of universal competition, when wage workers were robbed just as freely as at present.

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

What real Socialism demands and must get is the Abolition of Wages, the stoppage of the robbery that always has and always will occur in the payment of wages. Real Socialism means the Emancipation of the Wage Class from this necessity of accepting the mere necessities of life as wages, and handing over all the surplus to those who enjoy the luxuries of life. The one "Special Privilege" which the Wage Worker is interested in suppressing is the Special Privilege which the Capitalist Class enjoys, of skinning him. But that Special Privilege the Muckrakers never say a word about, and the Tampa Socialist Party Socialists fight as shy of as the Devil of holy water.

Advanced Socialism

Port Inglis, Fla., June 14, 1910.

"The Socialist,"
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrades:

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

Vague rumors of victory in Wisconsin, approaching success in Connecticut and New York have reached me and I have several times been on the point of seeking further and more accurate information; but this! and from Tampa, where we once had a few real socialists among the party members—enough, I had hoped, to leave the whole lump—this is the limit. I have got to know the worst. Is the grain all husk? Some stamps enclosed. Send me a few copies of "The Socialist," or whatever else you call the paper now providing by that other name, it smells as sweet, and if you have not also taken up with this new advanced Socialism which is a little beyond my depth I will subscribe later. Yours for a working class party,

HERBERT C. DAVIS.

Socialist Municipal Platform

TO THE CITIZENS OF TAMPA:

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

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

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

THIRD: We advocate and urge the adoption of a more concentrated form of government directly responsible to the people, who shall have the power to remove any officer whose conduct in office is contrary to the best interests of the whole City.

FOURTH: We shall use our best efforts to secure the repeal of the State Law, which allows a Political Graftor to escape prosecution after two years.

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

SIXTH: And as a bridge across the Hillsborough River at Lafayette Street is a pressing and absolute necessity, we shall use every means within our power to secure this much needed improvement with all convenient haste.

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

EIGHTH: Realizing as we do the supreme necessity of quick and intelligent action at a time of fire, we pledge our sacred word that this important department shall be organized upon the basis of capacity and ability alone.

NINTH: We shall use our best endeavors to secure for the city a site of not less than a City Block upon which to build a City Hall as soon as funds can be secured for that purpose.

TENTH: We shall under no circumstances allow any sub-division to be added to the City if it is within our power to prevent it unless the streets are wide enough for all reasonable purposes and for a row of trees on each side.

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

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

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

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

FIFTEENTH: The right of free speech and the right of assembly as provided by the Constitution of the United States shall not be interfered with.

SIXTEENTH: And whereas, the City government is, or ought to be, a huge corporation organized for the benefit of its individual members; and whereas no private corporation could long escape bankruptcy if it farmed out to private persons the only branches of its business which paid a profit and kept for itself only those lines which were expensive to maintain; And whereas, it requires huge sums of money to secure for the City those improvements which are crying out hourly for attention; And whereas, under the present incompetent system, there are no means of securing this money except by direct taxation upon an already overtaxed citizenship; and whereas, the public utilities of Tampa are paying huge sums of money each year, as profits into the coffers of the private individuals who own them, and as every dollar of these profits are collected from our own people; and whereas, if the city owned these utilities with the profits growing out of their administration, we could extend our sewer system, pave our streets and provide such improvements as are made necessary, because of the City's continued growth and development without increasing the City's debt or issuing interest bearing bonds.

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

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

The nominees are as follows:

For Mayor, - - - S. ELLIOTT (Proprietor cider factory)
For Councilman at Large, ANGELO LETO
For Councilman at Large, ALBION M. WINDHORST (Proprietor stenographic Agency)

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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 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 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 Essentialness of Love to the Christian Community, so the Conventions of political Socialists gather and debate and adjourn without once mentioning the foundation principle of Proletarian Emancipation, namely, the Abolition of Unpaid Labor.

We call this the Eclipse of Marx, as we might call the practice of the modern church the Eclipse of Jesus. Of course the reason the church ignores Jesus and his ethics is that the theory of non-resistance can not be 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 robbers 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 Poindexter in the House, with their Small Business backing of Farmers and Merchants in the West, are only another manifestation of this Middle Class Rebellion.

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

The vast growth and success of the cheaper Magazines in the last five years is directly due to the fact that they voice the popular discontent with the unparalleled development of the monopolistic trusts. "Everybody's" jumped to a half-million circulation on the strength of Tom Lawson's fierce attacks on "Standard Oil." The swarm of "Mock-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 cases of the Sugar Trust and Beef Packers, they injure the average man without good reason, and they are guilty of a moral wrong."

Such a call, addressed to the expropriated masses of the Middle Class, appealing to their interests and conscience alike, is certain to be received with militant fervor. What right, it will be demanded, have the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Guggenheims, the Armours, to segregate the vast wealth produced by this Industrial Age and to use it to debauch municipal councils, state legislatures and courts, and even national officials, creating a Reign of 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 Railways to effect a combination which will be able to crush and absorb all the other Railroads in the United States? Attorney F. B. Kellogg, arguing for the Government

before the U. S. Supreme Court, stated recently: "The Standard Oil Co., if permitted to go on undissolved, will own the business of the Nation in five 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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HERMON F. TITUS, Editor; ERWIN B. AULT, Associate Editor; ARTHUR JENSEN, Assistant Editor; BESSY FISKE, Assistant Editor; HATTIE W. TITUS, Business Manager.

Significant Silence

Gompers seems to have silenced the Socialist Party. If its spokesmen have attempted to reply to his attack on Karl Marx, we have failed to notice the fact.

The "Chicago Daily Socialist," for example, published Robert Hunter's letter to Gompers, which drew out the Gompers Attack on Marx, with big first page headlines, and it also published with equal spread the Attack itself.

Has the other Socialist Party Daily, the New York "Call," done any better? Not so that you could notice it.

Or even suppose Gompers had chosen to attack that other Marxian Law, Economic Determinism in History.

Therefore Professor Seligman in his able work explicitly disclaimed, as Gompers does, the Marxian Law of Surplus Value.

We say this silence by Socialist Party organs is significant. If a man stands idly by when his wife's honor is assailed, you call him a coward, or you suspect she is not his wife.

The old story of wise King Solomon is quite to the point here. Two women claimed one child. Both were brought before the king for him to decide which was the real mother.

The first born and only blood offspring of Proletarian Science is the Fact of Surplus Wealth extracted without payment from the Wage Class by the Capitalist Class.

The mother knows and defends her own child. But the Socialist Party of America disowns the fact of Wage Robbery, of Unpaid Labor, of Surplus Value, when it is threatened with oblivion in the highest tribunal of its own race.

By that silence the Socialist Party stands self-judged.

Unscientific Socialists

Facts, that is, phenomena correctly observed and correctly reported, form the basis of Science. Therefore truth telling is a prerequisite in a man of science.

But without reliable facts, no science; it is a house without a foundation, bricks without even clay, a tree without roots.

We are led just now to this criticism because a book has been sent to us for review which made us "hot under the collar" when we read it.

Yet De Leon should be given credit where credit is due. And here is where Bohn sins. For this book from Kerr's press, for which Kerr also must be held responsible, bears on its title page these words:

This inexcusable use of De Leon's translation without a word of acknowledgment in title page or preface puts both translator and publisher under suspicion for the future.

It is no excuse to say that others have done the same, even with respect to these very "Kautsky Pamphlets."

Still another instance of this perversion of fact or suppression of fact is to be found in the recent biographical work by John Spargo concerning Karl Marx.

It is not pleasant to put these conditions before the public. But the Cause of Proletarian Science is far more important than the reputations of a few of its allies.

Retrogressive Progressives

They call the Insurgent Republicans "Progressives," and Mr. Roosevelt is alleged to have broken his rule to say nothing for publication on the present political situation.

By this word, Progressive, they mean, of course, in line with progress, or they think they mean that. In fact, what they propose is to prevent a certain kind of progress which is now progressing pretty fast.

The question is, Are these Progressives progressive? Are they not rather Retrogressives? It sounds strange to claim that Taft and not Pinchot, Morgan and not La Follette, Rockefeller and not Lawson, Guggenheim and not Lindsay, are the true and genuine Progressives.

You may call it a Slave City. Yet you must admit the industrial organization described in this article, of which the city of Corey is the mere dwelling place, displays the greatest possible economy of force in the production of steel.

tion, perfect power, perfect sanitation, perfect accessibility to raw materials, perfect surroundings to make workmen contented, libraries, games, parks, an ideal city, such as in a clumsy way and against insuperable difficulties, the "Socialist" government is trying to produce in Milwaukee.

But consider the other Organizations being effected by Great Capital, as described on this page. Here is the General Electric Company at work in the Pacific Northwest.

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

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

COREY

Industrial City of South—Sixteen Millions in Constant Capital—Three Millions in Variable Capital—More Millions Later On.

The first industrial city of the south is being built adjoining Birmingham, and the two thousand acres of property recently bought by the United States Steel Corporation is to be used for manufacturing sites for subsidiary companies.

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

As the beginning of this industrial upbuilding the American Steel and Wire Company is erecting a \$4,000,000 plant at Corey, which will cover eighteen acres under one roof.

JUST A STARTER. The construction work under progress at Corey includes only the first units of the American Steel and Wire Company and the coke ovens.

These new industries will bring three thousand new laborers to Birmingham. It will require a year to build the steel and wire plant, and eighteen months to build the coke ovens.

It is conservatively estimated that Corey will have a population of eight thousand within ninety days and twenty thousand within two years.

IDEAL HOMES. The steel corporation wants ideal home surroundings for its employees, and for that reason Corey is being built. It will be a model city in every sense of the word.

Corey represents an investment of approximately \$1,500,000, which is being spent on road improvements, buildings, etc. The first street improvement contract was for \$400,000, and included several miles of asphalt, vitrified brick, macadam, making about 50 per cent of the street improvement work to be done at Corey.

The ore, coal and limestone, also ingredients of pig iron, were all dug within one mile of Corey. The iron was made and the steel rails rolled right at Corey and the track laid within 100 yards of the steel mills.

SMOKELESS CITY. The ore, coal and limestone, also ingredients of pig iron, were all dug within one mile of Corey. The iron was made and the steel rails rolled right at Corey and the track laid within 100 yards of the steel mills.

Corey will be a smokeless city, for electricity generated at a great power house at Ensley will be used for operating the plants.

"Of course we are in the market for any good enterprise, but I think we have about gained control of the best propositions." As to future development, we shall do our share.

ALASKA

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

NEW YORK, Saturday, July 2.—The most powerful interests in Wall Street have combined for the exploitation of Alaska. This was revealed by statements made to The New York American by Otto H. Kahn, of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., denying a report that Jacob H. Schiff, head of the firm, had gone to Alaska to head off the Morgan-Guggenheim interests in certain copper developments in the territory.

"That story is silly rubbish," declared Mr. Kahn. "Instead of their being a fight on between the Guggenheims and our house, the reverse is true. Our relations as to copper with the Guggenheim interests are not only cordial, they are intimate.

George W. Perkins, of J. P. Morgan & Co., corroborated Mr. Kahn's statement in all essential details. So did other well informed financiers to whom the report was repeated of a threatened war between Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and the Guggenheims.

Alaska covers 599,884 square miles, and within its borders could be placed the following states of the Union:

Table with 3 columns: State, Sq. Miles, and another Sq. Miles column. Lists states like New York, Vermont, Massachusetts, etc.

Explorations and surveys made by government engineers and scientists have shown that Alaska is the richest territory in gold, silver, iron, coal and other minerals as yet undeveloped on this continent.

ENORMOUS RESOURCES.

One of the chief objects of Mr. Schiff's visit to Alaska is to inspect at close range the progress being made in the construction of the Copper River and Northwestern Railroad.

Mr. Perkins spent several weeks there last summer. Soon after his return the railroad was bonded for \$50,000,000 through the Morgan bank.

Alaska is an undeveloped empire of enormous natural resources. Its mineral deposits alone contain hidden wealth of almost inestimable value.

MONOPOLY—SAYS PINCHOT.

The railroad will command the gateway to the richest possibilities of the territory. It will give an immediate impetus to the development of the mineral fields, and will also open up to agricultural settlement a considerable area of country.

With harmony among the biggest financiers of the United States in the development of Alaska, that unknown section of the national domain will be brought before the world as a land of promise, and it is expected that a great rush of settlers will soon start.

Gifford Pinchot and other leaders of the national conservation movement have for some time been crying out against attempts of a few interests to monopolize the riches of Alaska. The great coal fields that are to be tapped by the Morgan-Guggenheim-Schiff railroad have been the particular object of the solicitude of the conservationists.

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A Chicago judge has gone on record to the effect that a patron of a restaurant may call a waiter a dog in return for a ten-cent tip.

As told in yesterday's issue of The Times, a majority of stock in the Hanford Irrigation & Power Co. is now under option to the Electric Bond & Shares Co. and the big plant of that company will be included in the combination when all the details are worked out.