

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

The Socialist

Not The Middle Class Socialist nor The Christian Socialist nor any other mixed kind of Socialist, but The Wage Class Socialist.
As soon as the Postoffice Department will allow, The Workingman's Paper will be our permanent heading.

Eleventh Year—No. 481

Seattle, Washington, Saturday, August 13, 1910

Price Five Cents

LABOR'S ANNUAL PRODUCT

(Represented by all the space below inside the Red Lines.)

Labor Produces Twenty-Four Billion Dollars Worth of Goods per Year

(See U. S. Census Reports for 1900)

\$24,000,000,000

Enough to give every person, man, woman and child, in all our Seventy-five Millions of Population \$300 apiece. Every family of five—father, mother and 3 children—would have \$1,500 a year.

What Labor Gets -- One Quarter

(Represented by this upper portion of the Red Box)

Six Billions Worth -- \$6,000,000,000

Twenty Million Productive Laborers (with one or more others, children or aged, dependent on each) average \$300 a year, \$6 a week. Barely enough to live on.

This is all the laborers can get because they compete with one another for the chance to work.

The Law of Wages works incessantly to keep their pay close down to the existence line. High prices or low prices make no difference. They get a living—no more, no less.

What Capital Gets -- Three Quarters

(Represented by this lower portion of the Diagram)

Eighteen Billions Worth -- \$18,000,000,000

Ten Million Capitalists, who do no productive labor, get this three-quarters of Labor's Product for nothing. It is Unpaid Labor, the Surplus over the laborer's necessities of life.

This Surplus of Unpaid Labor, Eighteen Billions a year, is what all the world is fighting over. The Big Capitalists, the Plutocrats, a million or so of them, get the most of it. The Little Capitalists, the Middle Class, eight to ten millions of them, are fighting hard to get more of it for themselves. The "Insurgents" represent the Little Capitalists. The "Standpatters" represent the Big Capitalists.

But the Working Class, who produce all this wealth, have no interest in "Insurgents" or "Standpatters," Republicans or Democrats, or any other Capitalist Class struggles over this mass of Unpaid Labor.

The only interest of the Working Class is to keep the Wealth they create, to perform no Unpaid Labor, to save themselves being robbed of this vast Surplus of Eighteen Billions a year.

This is the one Great Red Fact for the Workingman to learn.

No other issue counts.

The Tariff, high or low, will not prevent Unpaid Labor.

Direct Legislation will not stop Unpaid Labor.

Co-operative Stores will not abolish Unpaid Labor.

Postal Savings Banks will not touch Unpaid Labor.

Conservation will not reach Unpaid Labor.

No Capitalist platform will ever mention Unpaid Labor; for without Unpaid Labor there would be no Capitalist Class.

No one but the Working Class, those whose labor goes unpaid, will ever stop this stupendous robbery.

Workingmen, you millions on millions of workingmen, how long will you go unpaid? Stand up together and take your own. The world waits for your united strength. You can do what you will, if you only recognize your power.

"Ye are many. They are few."

HALFMILLION WON

United Mine Workers

Tenth District

Leads

The 10th District, U. M. W. of A., adjourned its convention, Wednesday, August 10th, after five weeks' sessions. The regular business was transacted in ten days, but the Joint Conference with the operators for the adjustment of terms for the next two years, occupied over three weeks. All the delegates stayed on the ground till the Joint Committee's report was received and ratified.

Those three weeks were pretty expensive for the Locals, but the results seem to justify the outlay. President Gatz and National Board Member Tom Russell, constituting the Mine Workers' representatives on the Joint Conference Committee, bore a heavy responsibility, but the Convention adjourned with victory achieved.

Best Terms in U. S.

THE BEST TERMS WERE SECURED FROM THE OPERATORS IN THIS DISTRICT OF ALL THE DISTRICTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Under "General Provisions," the men are protected from arbitrary discharge as they never have been before, only fifteen days being allowed the employer to prove his charges against the discharged miner, the latter to recover up to ten days' wages for his idle time, if the charges are not sustained. A miner cannot now be "fired" for political reasons, or as an "agitator."

Another "General Provision" gained is that a mistake in calculating a miner's monthly pay must be rectified within four days and at the place where the mine is located. Heretofore, the company might keep the miner out of his pay for a whole month, and make him travel miles and miles to their office in order to find out whether the error had been corrected.

Unpaid Labor Half Million Less

The Wage Scale demands made by the Unions were granted by the operators. THAT IS, 5.55 PER CENT ADVANCE FOR ALL CLASSES OF WORKMEN, ABOVE GROUND AND BELOW, HAS BEEN WON FOR THE NEW SCALE.

This means, for instance, that the regular underground scale is advanced from \$3.60 per day to \$3.80. To be sure, this is not much, compared to the big amount of Unpaid Labor the coal companies appropriate from these Mine Workers. It is only 20 cents a day, while the owners (mostly Northern Pacific R. R. concerns) extract \$4 to \$5 worth of coal for nothing out of every one of the workers every day they work.

Yet 4,000 miners gain 20 cents a day by the new agreement, and that is Eight Hundred Dollars a day and Two Hundred and Forty Thousand Dollars a year of 300 days, or a half a million during the next two years while this agreement lasts.

We say, Bully for the boys who won a half million more dollars for their exploited class out of the profits of the bloated bondholders of the Capitalist class.

7 1-2 Millions Still Unpaid

But look at the other side, the mine owners' side, of that half million. Roslyn coal retails in Seattle for 5 and 6 dollars a ton at the N. P. bunkers. The Miners' scale per ton is less than one dollar. Suppose it costs another dollar of wage labor to get the coal from the mine to the bunkers. There is 3 to 4 dollars' worth of Unpaid Labor (or "Surplus Value," Mr. Gompers) from every miner every day. For 4,000 miners that amounts to Twelve Thousand Dollars every day of Unpaid Labor appropriated, stolen, from the Organized Miners of District No. 10 alone. That means Four Millions a year of 300 days, or Eight Millions in two years. That is Graft, if you please; quite a bit of "Something for Nothing."

Poor Jim Hill

Our boys of the 10th District got one-half of a million out of this Eight Million, all of which belonged to them—and left 7½ Millions to the operators—for nothing; for nothing, remember. You miners produced it, all this seven and a half million dollars' worth of coal, but you made a present of all those millions to the Northern Pacific, the poor Jim Hills and his German capitalist backers, Kaiser Wilhelm among them, it is said.

Yet they say many miners in this district were afraid to ask for more than 5.55 advance, and some of them too timid to ask for even that. But Gatz and Russell, luckily, didn't belong to the timid lot.

No wonder the Mine Owners and their "Labor Commissioner" Burke (a former mine worker, now on \$4,000 salary from the operators to fight his own brothers), no wonder these owners want to get rid of the radicals, like Gatz and Russell, who believe in forcing every possible concession from their employers.


Again we say, Bully for the Boys who beat Burke and his Bunch! May their tribe increase.

Published weekly at 1620 4th Ave. Rear, Seattle, Washington, at One Dollar a year.

Published ten years as "The Socialist," beginning August 12, 1900. Last entered as second-class matter, April 13, 1907, at the postoffice at Seattle, Washington, under the act of Congress of March 3, 1907.

Notice of application for re-entry as "The Workingman's Paper" has been acknowledged by the Postoffice Department at Washington.

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Beginning With Oct. 10 There is Being issued a Sunday Edition of

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This Sunday paper, for which there has been a strong demand, will contain a complete condensation of the week's news, 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," Brigst Stanton, Max S. Hayes, Ewald, Norenko, 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.

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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, to the extent that he does say he hopes the Republicans will everywhere favor "Progressive" measures.

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

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

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.

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

You may call it a Slave City. Yet you must admit the industrial organization described in this article, of which the city of Corey is the mere dwelling place, displays the greatest possible economy of force in the production of steel. Compare it with the U. S. Post Office, for example, in the matter of efficiency of administration. In Corey we have no doubt ten men will accomplish as much as twenty in the Seattle P. O.—and the men will be no harder worked and as well paid, too. In one case there is perfect organization, no wasted labor. Perfect machinery, perfect transportation, 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. These Capitalists are doing in an effective way and without obstruction

ELECTRIC MERGER

Seattle "Daily Times" Proves "Electric Trust" Exists in Northwest—Pinchot Condemned by its Agent.

In a territory extending from Pendleton, Or., northward through the valley of the Columbia River more than 100 miles, with ranches reaching westward to the canyon of the Naches River in this state, the Electric Bond & Shares Company, the financial sub-corporation of the General Electric Company and allied interests of New York, has obtained control of every large private hydro-electric power enterprise, except the Burbank plant, near Pasco.

The Electric Bond & Shares Company is the big financial institution of the group of allied electric corporations controlled by J. P. Morgan and Standard Oil interests and dubbed by "Forme" Forester Gifford Pinchot the "electric trust."

Confirming in all essential details previous accounts of the merger of gigantic electric and power interests, published in The Times, C. M. Maxwell, brother-in-law of S. Z. Mitchell, president of the Electric Bond & Shares Company, this morning at The New Washington gave further particulars of the consolidation of Eastern Washington corporations.

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

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. This will give Mitchell and his associates control of every large and practicable private hydro-electric interest in the Columbia River Valley.

Mr. Maxwell refused to discuss the Hanford deal, except to say that there had been no transfer of control as yet of that property. In speaking of the electric and water power resources of the state, he said:

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

"I consider the policy of the government inaugurated by Gifford Pinchot as ruinous to this state. I have not followed the Pinchot-Ballinger matter closely, but it is plain that it is a very bad thing for the state for the national government to prevent the further development of electric and water power resources."

Wanted—Chinese

Suppose Millions of Them Came—California Farmers Want Them to Pick Fruit—Lumber Mills Want Them, Too.

Editor The Times: A thing of vital importance to the great industry of salmon canning is overlooked or passed lightly over, and that is the dearth of Chinamen in this country. It is a well-known fact that the Chinamen in this county are few and old and are dying off, and there are few young men to take their places.

It is a necessity to have Chinamen for a cannery, just as much as it is to have fish. The white man, for many reasons, will not do the work in a cannery that a Chinaman will do. For instance, a Chinaman is bound by contract and unless he is sick will do his season's work. A white man will not bind himself to contract and rightly reserves his privilege to quit when he likes. It is an all-important point for a cannery to have a crew that can be depended upon to stick the season through, for the fish only run a short time during the year and the crew must be there to handle them when they arrive or else the season is a failure for everyone. Again, a Chinaman is a cheap man and will do dirty work that a white man will not do even at big wages.

The law prohibits Chinese from coming into this country and in a few years Chinamen will be at a premium. If this happens, the cannery owners will be up against a serious proposition.

I was talking to a big Chinese cannery contractor today, who assured me that in a short time it would be impossible to get enough Chinamen to work in the canneries. The vastness of the industry calls for immediate action on the part of the Legislature and it is up to cannery owners to look to their own affairs, get together and face what seems to be an immediate difficulty. It is not only a private but a commercial question at large.

As to the desirability of the Chinese as citizens, this much can be said—they are preferable to Japanese. Unless this question is put to the Legislature in the immediate future the owners will make up one fine season to the fact that "the fish is willing, but the Chinaman is weak."

PERCY C. BURRSTON,
Oreca Cannery, Prince William Sound, Alaska.

A Class Conscience

Class Consciousness is good, but a Class Conscience is better. Many men who are class-conscious are class-conscienceless. To be class-conscious without being class-conscienceless is to be simply a Pharisee.

For consider, you probably know at least one man who is horribly "class-conscious," but who does not hesitate to scab when he takes a notion. It is, indeed, rather common to find men who are forever talking about the Working Class and will not even join a Labor Union of any kind. When a strike is on these men curse the "A. F. of Hell" and never lift a finger in

what the Middle Class is bungling at by means of its boasted municipal democracies.

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

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

In the United States the Trusts ignore and transcend all State Lines and consequently all "State Rights." The Railroad Trust, the Oil Trust, the Steel Trust, the Meat Trust, the Smelting Trust, the Power Trust, the Shipping Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Harvester Trust, the Tobacco Trust, the Corn Products Trust, the Leather Trust, the Copper Trust, the Rubber Trust, the Biscuit Trust, the Paper Trust, all interlocking one with another and all interdependent with the Money Trust, do you imagine for an instant these combinations of Billions of Constant Capital and hundreds of Millions of Wage Capital, controlling practically every line of business in the country, can or will pay any attention to a fancied geographical line drawn between Washington and Oregon or Massachusetts or Connecticut?

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

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

aid of the strikers. If they happen to be members of a Union themselves they keep in the background when a sympathetic strike is proposed, as their own jobs might be lost.

So-called Class Consciousness may be exaggerated self-consciousness, puffed-up egotism, swaggering selfishness. True Class Consciousness can not be selfish, for CLASS Consciousness, by its very name, implies that Self is superseded by Class in your consciousness. To be conscious of your Class is more than to know your Class. You have learned there is a separate class in modern society, the Wage Class or Proletariat, whose interests are opposed to the Employing or Capitalist Class, and you proceed to parade your superior knowledge and call your fellow workmen fools. That is not Class Consciousness; that is only Class Knowledge. It makes a pedant and a Pharisee out of you—the cheapest and meanest sort of a man.

A truly Class Conscious man will have a Class Conscience. That is, he who becomes conscious of his class interests will subordinate his individual interests to those of his class. He is no longer a pure egotist. His enlarged egotism identifies him with the whole class of which he has discovered at last the true significance. The workingman who gains only knowledge of his class but not consciousness of it, becomes simply a bigger I, an offensive, strutting peacock of a man. Whereas, if he became class-conscious in reality, he would consider himself a smaller I, a mere fraction or limb of the vast organism destined to control Society, the Proletariat.

Instead of an isolated unit, a meaningless ego, struggling to fulfill his own private destiny and often going crazy at it, he gains a place, a significance, a relation, a mission, in life and in the universe, which transforms and elevates him. In a word, he gains a consciousness of a larger, social self, which makes him at once both smaller and bigger. He will not overvalue his puny personal ideas and efforts, and he will not undervalue his importance as a member of the Historic Class now advancing to take the Headship of Humanity.

One of the saddest and most hopeless human specimens is the proletarian megalomaniac. He has simply gone daffy with his new knowledge. Instead of a conscience, which would render him responsible to his class, he develops an inhuman, irresponsible spirit, sacrificing everybody and everything to his overmastering vanity. The essence of insanity is hyper-egotism. The class-conscious, class-conscienceless workingman is really insane, though often too cowardly to injure anyone but himself.

On the other hand, the wage-man who possesses and is possessed by a Class Conscience is the most normal, useful, noble member of society. He is in line with Evolution and therefore truly moral. He is responsible. He is loyal. He is incapable of being a scab. He is true to his class, even at the expense of his reputation, his income, his family, his life.

This is no dream. Witness the supreme loyalty of the Japanese to his country. Patriotism is a Race Conscience and imparts a moral quality to the actions of men. The savages who die for their tribe possess a nobility universally recognized; they are controlled by a Tribe Conscience. The Communes of Barbarism, described by Morgan, developed this Social Conscience to a high degree. Every individual held his services, his acquisitions, his life itself, subject to the call of the whole community, of which he was as much a part as the leaf is of the tree; exactly as the Japanese soldier, or citizen even, will commit suicide unhesitatingly for Japan, the society of which he is an integral, vital, responsible member.

Charles W. Elliot, ex-President of Harvard; J. W. Van Cleave, late President of the Manufacturers' Association; C. W. Post, of Battle Creek, Theodore Roosevelt, denouncing Haywood on trial as an "Undesirable Citizen," and all other good Capitalists, are controlled by a Class Conscience. Their morality is a Class Morality. They are loyal to the class to which they belong. To them a scab is moral, a moral hero, as Elliot says, because he is loyal to the class which they regard as essential to the integrity of society. We do not blame them. We admire them for their loyalty. But we face them with another and equal loyalty, a Class Conscience more valuable and more potent than theirs, because it represents the Coming Age while theirs represents the Departing Age.

The Proletarian Class Conscience makes a scab the most despicable, contemptible, traitorous thing on earth, for he is disloyal, untrue, to his own class. He is irresponsible, an individualist who violates the Sanctity of Social Obligation, the highest human quality.

Old obligations perish in the flame of this Proletarian Conscience. The individual, to whatever class he may be born, or even economically belong, who recognizes the fact that the normal growth of society demands the Reign of Proletarianism, can become really moral only as he accepts the situation and conforms his practice to the interests of the Proletarian Class.

This rule of the Capitalist Class Conscience is passing. It is confronted with the new Wage Class Conscience. A New Nation grows up within the old and with a new patriotism, an obligation to a new class. What used to be moral becomes immoral. What things were legal, because enacted in the interests of the ruling class when it was also the progressive class, including all property relations, even religious and domestic relations, are under the light of this New Conscience, gradually transformed into illegalities, monstrosities, violations of human "rights."

It is the first privilege and duty, consequently, of every wage worker to develop within himself a Wage Class Conscience, to emancipate himself from those old obligations which the Capitalist Class Conscience would impose upon him and thus to hold himself loyal and responsible to the Wage Class against the world. Ben Hanford used to repeat, "The Working Class, right or wrong." We say more than that, the Working Class is right, it cannot be wrong, for its interests are the world's interests.

The supreme test of every man, therefore, now is, What kind of a conscience have you, a Capitalist Class Conscience or a Wage Class Conscience? For you certainly have one or the other, if you have any at all. And if you haven't any at all, get one or go out and die.

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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 Tolstoid 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 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 compose 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 Poindeexter in the House, with their Small Business backing of Farmers and Merchants in the West, are only another manifestation of this Middle Class Rebellion.

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

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

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

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

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

Bear in mind again what Pinchot said in that remarkable interview of his last December: "The Conservation issue is a great moral issue. When a few men get possession of one of the necessities of life, either through ownership of a natural resource or through unfair business methods, and use that control to extort undue profits, as in the recent 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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