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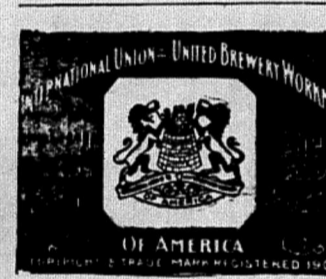
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RETROGRESSIVE PROGRESSIVES

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...

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.

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...

PRACTICAL MONOPOLY.

"We have now obtained practically all the large and attractive power and light enterprises in that part of the Inland Empire extending from the Columbia River Valley to Pendleton, and westward to North Yakima and the Naches River.

TEN MILLIONS INVESTED.

Approximately \$10,000,000 will have been invested in Washington and Oregon power and light enterprises by the Electric Bond & Shares Co. when the merger is completed.

COLUMBIA RIVER ANNEXED.

As told in yesterday's issue of The Times, a majority of stock in the Columbia River Irrigation & Power Co. is now an 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.

Mr. Maxwell refused to discuss the Hanford deal, except to say that there had been no transfer of control so yet

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.

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...

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.

COREY

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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.

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.

RICHEST TERRITORY.

Alaska covers 590,884 square miles, and within its borders could be placed the following states of the Union:

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.

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.

COLUMBIA RIVER ANNEXED.

As told in yesterday's issue of The Times, a majority of stock in the Columbia River Irrigation & Power Co. is now an 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.

half of double track street railway connecting Corey and Birmingham thousands of shade trees, and fifty model houses are being built costing from \$1,500 to \$6,000 each, a fifty-room hotel, a bank building and two rows of stores.

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 Ensey will be used for operating the plants.

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.

MONOPOLY—SAYS PINCHOT. 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.

Editor's Note: The only way Pinchot can succeed is through politics and legislation. Even if his Middle Class, the small investors, the so-called "Common People," stand by him and T. R. at the ballot box, elect their representatives, appoint their judges and marshals, then two questions remain: (1) Can they win out against the vast unopposed interests of Morgan and Schiff, and (2) Would it be in line of progress if the Middle Class do win, that is: Is it desirable that they win? See our Editorial on "Retrogressive Progressives."

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 country 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.

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

Mr. Schiff returns other and even bigger schemes of development and exploitation may be announced.

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

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 wack."

PERCY C. BURBASTON, Orca Cannery, Prince William Sound, Alaska.

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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 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 history, and an equally miraculous ideal, if literary only. In either case, those who believe in him profess to follow him. He is their great exemplar.

What a miracle of inconsistency is John D. Rockefeller as a disciple of the meek and lowly Nazarene; or Archbishop Ireland; or the ordinary business man, let alone the soldier or policeman. It actually seems inconceivable, this acceptance of the ideals of morality contained in the Sermon on the Mount and this practice of jungle morality in the fierce competition of the commercial world. Yet the Christians seem unconscious of the hideous incongruity. Rockefeller continues to "love Jesus" and kill his competitors. Millions go to church every Sunday, and practice "The Devil take the hindmost," every week day.

In a precisely similar way, the professed followers of Karl Marx treat their master's main idea. They praise Marx to the skies as the greatest of all scientific economists, as the only man who has revealed the true secret of Capitalist society. They rejoice at the translation of the last volumes of his masterpiece, "Capital," into English, and hasten to put all his works on their bookshelves. Socialists are just as proud to be Marxians as churchmen are to be Christians.

Now, what is the main idea from end to end of Marx's "Capital"? In a single phrase, it is Unpaid Labor. That is his own favorite expression, as such as Love is the keynote of Jesus. According to Marx, Capital itself is produced and reproduced in continuous cycle from Unpaid Labor. According to Marx, when a man is paid his wages, a surplus product of his labor, over and above his wages, is withheld from him by his employer without any compensation, taken from the wage-worker for nothing. In simplest form, if you are paid Two Dollars for your day's work, your employer retains a surplus for himself out of your day's product equal to another Two Dollars, more or less. This Surplus Product, this Unpaid Labor of the immense number of Proletarians, or Wage-Workers, is the very source and secret of Capitalist accumulation. Here is the real confiscation, the real robbery, compared with which all the so-called graft and thievery and corruption are the merest drops in the bucket. In fact, all these other forms of graft are only subdivisions of this one original graft.

All that seems simple enough. There is nothing mysterious or recondite, profound, philosophical, learned, in that plain proposition, that the surplus a laborer produces above his wages is captured by his employer without the payment of a cent. That is indeed the very proposition which every wage worker will understand most naturally. For it is more and more of his product, higher wages and less hours of labor, that every worker is concerned to get, and that all Unions fight to obtain. Unconscious of the Great Economic Fact that Marx wrote his masterpiece to elucidate, and which he spent his life to get the Working Class to understand, the Working Class itself has organized its industrial armies to attack this Citadel of Capital. In truth, there is no better confirmation of the Marxian economic analysis of society, than this agreement of his theory with the actual development of the Proletarian tactics.

Why, then, is not this Prime Economic Fact, which is the pivot of all the scientific achievement of Karl Marx, pushed to the front by his professed followers? Why, for instance, in the Platform of the Socialist Party of the U. S. in 1904, was there only a single reference to the fact of Unpaid Labor, and this reference dragged in as a subordinate clause, "above its subsistence wage"? And it may be said here, that this clause was only inserted at the instance of the writer of the present editorial. The omission of the whole fundamental Theory of Socialism was entirely and quite unconsciously overlooked by all the rest of the Platform Committee, consisting of such representative Socialists as Debs, Mally, Herron, Hillquitt 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 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 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 "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. E. Kellogg, arguing for the Government

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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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.

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Continued on Page One

Mary showed her teeth. "Don't you know he was back?" "Your pap? When?" "Yesterday. Everybody knows that."

"He came closer, whispering softly. "So the man come back, eh?—You see, I was on the night shift. He come back, eh? Did he hit her?"

"The woman leaned forward, crying sharply. "No take my baby, no!" Her voice rose to a wild cry. "No! No!"

"The man looked at her pityingly, rubbing his neck with the towel. "Don't you cry any more, Tressa. It's all talk. Don't you cry, Tressa, any more."

"The Irishman stooped and chucked the baby under the chin. "And a man he is, sure enough. I've got that will make him laugh!"

"She had been in America four years. Her husband had been a peddler in Austro-Hungary, but here he worked in the mills and made a dollar and a half a day."

"It happened one glorious night of spring, when through the smoky air and over the barren hills drifted a faint stirring of new life—a beckoning quiver that hinted to the heart of glories hidden, a trembling in the soft air that gave glimpses of a world other than the world of the mill, the starved life, the hand-to-hand fight with trap-nage."

"Then came the harshness of the life of this world. She had no money. There was the rent, five dollars a month, there was food, three dollars a week for potatoes and coffee and oatmeal, with now and then a scrap of meat."

"Five months later, one of the first cold nights of autumn—a night that drove the world indoors, the first night for a coal-fire—the husband slouched in. She took him in without a murmur and he stayed a week. Then he beat her again and vanished. It was three months this time. He came back in December, around Christmas-time—that time when above all others the tramp looks for the glow behind the window, the warmth of people

A WOMAN

gathered about a table, the touch of hands, the words of the home. He came in bedraggled, torn, hairy. Again without question she took him in, and Mary slept on a bundle of clothes on the floor.

"She ceased to love him then. With all the energy in her fierce nature she turned her passions into mother love, and fed her heart and soul upon her baby. To have the little one feed at her breast was her divine moment as she sat there under the gaudy Madonna and Child."

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gathered about a table, the touch of hands, the words of the home. He came in bedraggled, torn, hairy. Again without question she took him in, and Mary slept on a bundle of clothes on the floor.

"Warner said nothing. He had a curious sense of intruding. He wished he had not come. Behind him in the doorway crowded the neighbors, women and men and children. The flare played shadow over their absorbed faces. Before him stood Mary, animated, excited and beside her crouched the dim alien woman with the whimpering child. He could see through the window those terrible fires, fires strong enough to burn iron into steel, and he felt sharply that life too may burn into souls."

"There was a deep silence, save that the child was whimpering. Warner cleared his throat. "Do you understand?"

"The mother's head moved a little, and then came words, broken, breathless, gasping: "Mrs. Durish, do you understand?"

"Warner cleared his throat again. "But see how she cares for that child."

"Tressa, with a low cry, leaped up. She stood straight. She held the child at her breast. She raised her head. Her black eyes lived, her nostrils quivered and her lips moved. She was a splendid tigress, defending her cub. And then the very depths of human nature, the deers below the deers, swept up to her lips, and the words came packed with strength:

"There was a breathless silence, and the room seemed to palpitate with the mystery of life. The listeners seemed to be witnesses of the human struggle of this earth. They were swept with the glory of her superb courage. And then she went on:

"The switchmen went out the 30th day of November and stayed out five long months, and the trainmen came in and took their places and now they are reaping the benefit of what the switchmen should have."

"Hilda Anderson, a young Swede girl, undoubtedly is one of those household mechanics who make the servant girl problem so terribly trying to women. Hilda was induced to come over from her peasant home to "care for the baby" in the home of a wealthy Boston family.

"The first fruit of the Civil War in the United States of North America was the eight hours agitation that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California."

OPPORTUNISM STRAIGHT

By Morris Hillquit

(For the following select sentences out of Morris Hillquit's report to the Socialist Party convention in 1908. We are indebted to Thos. J. Morgan's little paper, "The Provoker." These quotations seem hardly credible from the onetime revolutionary Hillquit, but they indicate plainly the Middle Class Slump in the S. P.—Ed.)

Hillquit says: "I will start with the fundamental proposition . . . that our movement cannot succeed unless we have the masses of the American people with us."

"Not as a matter of principle, but of expediency . . . we should appeal to the organized workers. . . . These are the most accessible . . . and susceptible, and potent force."

"I mean first of all the American Federation of Labor . . . two and a half million strong . . . the most representative and progressive workers. . . . That they are not with us is owing to our faulty tactics."

"While the Socialist movement appeals to the workers and is largely supported by them, they are by no means the only class economically interested."

"There are the Farmers, small Traders and Manufacturers; these pressed by the large capitalists are accessible to our propaganda."

"Then there are the Intellectuals and other classes and ranks of Society. . . . Without these our movement of Jimmie Higginnes would be preposterous."

"The Socialist movement must be based upon a proper division of functions. This is a Rational Application of the Marxian doctrine of the class struggle, while the party controlled by the Jimmie Higginnes is an absurd caricature of it."

Seattle, Wash., July 23, 1910. Hermon F. Titus, Editor "The Workingmen's Paper," Seattle, Wash.

Noticing today in your paper of July 9 an item which was supposed to be written by Hattie W. Titus in regard to labor unions.

"The switchmen went out the 30th day of November and stayed out five long months, and the trainmen came in and took their places and now they are reaping the benefit of what the switchmen should have."

"I am in favor of all unions in protecting those united in wages. This statement hurt me to a certain extent for I am in favor of unions, and I would not have my husband to "scab" for one thousand dollars a day, although we are working people and take all the pay nowadays to live."

"The first fruit of the Civil War in the United States of North America was the eight hours agitation that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California."

"The General Congress of Labor at Baltimore (August 16, 1866), declared: "The first and great necessity of the present, to free the labor of this country from capitalistic slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working day in all states of the American Union. We are resolved to put forth all our strength until this glorious result is attained."

Before she came she signed a contract to work for a year and was to receive as her compensation the handsome sum of \$1.50 each and every Saturday night. She got her pay all right.

And she also got more work to do. She did the chamber work, the house work, the cooking, waiting on the table, the washing, taking care of a flock of hens, milking two cows, straining the milk, making the butter, ironing, sewing, escorting the family's hopeful around, and just fiddled the rest of the time away.

What else did Hilda do?

Don't Mention the Class Struggle. Hillquit's report goes on and says: "In the struggle of labor we should take part not to explain the cause of the class struggle and thereby make converts to the Socialist philosophy, but to help them in the routine work incident to the strike, lockout or in their fight for some legislative labor measure. The success of this kind of party propaganda has been demonstrated by the New York Socialists."

Discard Revolutionary Phrases and Action. "Above all we must discard revolutionary phrases and revolutionary action."

The Soap Box Must Go. "The time for street meetings has passed. Our task is not to proclaim our existence but to enlighten the citizens with popular literature written for labor unions, farmers, traders, manufacturers, intellectuals and other classes and ranks of society."

The Guardian of Existing Institutions. "The Socialist Party is not simply the champion of labor; it is the main guardian of the purity of our existing institutions and must lead in all movements for social justice and progress."

Emphasize Present Reforms. "We need those who emphasize the importance of present day reforms. Only by the harmonious co-operation of these divergent activities in the party will it become strong and influential."

The Party is Immature. "The opposition in the party to this kind of propaganda is irrational, senseless and harmful; signs of the immaturity of our movement. The sooner this paralyzing attitude within our ranks is removed the better."

Ready for a Labor Party. "The old parties are demoralized; the labor movement is in a state of expectancy, and the only thing required of the Socialist Party is a rational and harmonious propaganda. With this change our organizers can be sent into every popular movement."

"All restrictions as to their compensation should be removed and all personal references to them be eliminated from the official bulletin."

WAS SHE RIGHT? Seattle, Wash., July 23, 1910. Hermon F. Titus, Editor "The Workingmen's Paper," Seattle, Wash.

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