

# The Workingman's Paper

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## SEATTLE LABOR PARTY

The "United Labor Party" of last Spring has been succeeded in Seattle by the "Labor Party" organized for the Fall elections. The first was a sort of go-as-you-please affair, everybody being welcomed to its membership. The new Party of Labor is strictly what its name signifies, being based on the only organization of Wage Workers existing here, namely, the Labor Unions of the city.

Started by the Bricklayers, one of the most conservative Unions, this political expression of Labor in Seattle has now spread to nearly all the rest of the Unions, each Union electing five delegates to the "Labor Party Central Committee." Every member of this Central Committee, therefore, must carry a Union Card, and be a bona fide Wage Worker. Not only so, but the Party has rejected from its councils men carrying cards, yet not actually engaged in their trade, as well as all card-carrying men who call themselves Republicans or Democrats or anything but Labor Party men.

The United Labor party of last Spring, hastily and indiscriminately organized as it was, nevertheless polled 1,500 votes in Seattle, more than the Socialist Party ever polled here, and without the sentimental and Middle Class votes which always support the Socialist Party.

At the same time, it was opposed by many of the Union men who were not yet emancipated from the old parties and who did not think the organization was properly and regularly formed by the Unions themselves.

The Spring party accepted as its candidates several who practically named themselves and lost public confidence by that action. The new party does not make this mistake. It proposes to select men for their fitness to represent labor, not because they want office. As one of the speakers at the first rally said: "This new party is seeking the man; the man is not seeking the office."

In this issue of "The Workingman's Paper" will be found a report of the meeting just referred to, held in the Labor Temple Friday evening, August 12th. There was a good attendance of some two hundred earnest-looking men and women, who all stayed to the end, listening to speeches, as the handbills announced, by Wage Workers to Wage Workers. This note of Labor Consciousness was the most striking and encouraging thing about the discussion. In spite of some glaring breaks in economic knowledge, every speaker appealed

### THEIR FIRST RALLY

President Lowe of the Painters' Union, presided at the Labor Party Meeting in The Labor Temple at 8 o'clock, Friday night, August 12th. In a few direct sentences the Chairman announced the purposes of the new political party. Among other things, he said: "We workingmen want to have some say as to the disposition of what we produce. For that purpose, we shall send men of our own class to the legislature. This Labor Party was organized by probably the most conservative men in the Unions, but who are tired of trying to get anything from the old parties. It has been started under fairly good auspices, the best ever seen in Seattle."

### Bricklayers Pledged

The first speaker introduced by Chairman Lowe was Pike of the Bricklayers' Union. He referred at once to the Conservative Men mentioned by the Chairman and said those "Conservatives" were in the Bricklayers' Union. Now, he declared, amid applause, "95 per cent. of the members of the Bricklayers' Union are pledged to support the Labor Party."

Mr. Pike's remarks were delivered in a straightforward, matter of fact way, which commanded attention, and carried conviction.

He said: "I have voted 38 years for my 'friends' and in nine cases out of ten their election expenses were paid by some corporation or other. Now, who owns them after their election? Not I, though they are my friends, but the corporation which paid for them. They were under obligations to those who paid their election expenses. If we laboring men want men to be under obligation to us and to work for our interest after they are elected, we have got to select them and pay for them and hold them responsible to us alone."

"We don't want lawyers to draw up bills for us. Such bills are always so cunningly worded that the Supreme Court of lawyers can always declare them unconstitutional. Lawyers work for the interest of lawyers. We want workingmen to work for the interest of workingmen."

"This party is seeking the man. We will select our own men. We don't want men who are after office. Not a single man among us has yet asked for a nomination."

"One law we want is the Recall, so when a man don't suit us, we can recall him, and he'll never get anything from Labor again (applause)."

"In one legislative district, we already have 50 to 100 men working for our party. We can easily make that number up to 200 or 250, not hirelings like the old parties have, and we could not help winning with such a body of men working for their own workingmen candidates."

"We have 22,000 votes, we workers, in this city, out of a total of 38,000 and yet we let these people run us."

"The Chamber of Commerce lately declared for the 'Open Shop.' What do you think of that? That's what the old parties stand for. And the Commercial Club comes along and says,

Eight hours a day is too short, nine hours is the proper thing. How do you like that for old party stuff?"

"Why, a laboring man may yet be President. We can do it. Why not get together and do it?" (Applause.)

### A Spontaneous Movement

J. A. McCorkle, of the Carpenters' Union, was the next speaker. He spoke briefly, saying he did not know he was to speak till he entered the hall.

McCorkle said: "I have always believed in Labor Politics. We cannot accept promises from men of other classes."

"There seems to be a spontaneous movement in the working class all over the United States toward independent political action and I am delighted to see it. It is most encouraging."

"I did not anticipate that the Conference called by the Bricklayers would amount to anything practical, but I have been disappointed most happily."

"I am against the Open Shop principle in politics as well as in the industries."

"This party is for the unorganized wage workers as much as for the organized, but there was no way for Labor to express itself politically except through an organization of Labor and the only organization of Labor is the Labor Unions. Only through these Unions acting as Organized Labor can we be assured that the movement is really workingclass. The candidates will now be responsible to 'Organized Labor' which stands as a guarantee behind this party."

"I am glad to report that the Central Labor Council refused to endorse even a card man on the Republican ticket." (Applause.)

### Yellow Streaked Asiatics

W. H. Smith, of the Cement Workers' Union, was then introduced. "After 37 years," he said; "I have learned that Clergymen, Lawyers, Saloonkeepers, bankers, stockbrokers, and all exploiters, are our enemies. (Applause)."

"The capitalists have taken from us about everything but the ballot. They dare not take that, all you have left."

"The time was when the aristocracy of labor, like the Bricklayers, with their Six Dollars a day, thought they did not need the common laborer. But the time has come when they need us, and they are men enough to acknowledge it (pointing to Pike). (Laughter and Applause)."

"Lawyers and bankers will legislate for lawyers and bankers, of course. Men selected by Labor will enact legislation for labor. Creators of all wealth ought to decide how it should be distributed. Labor now gets about one fifth, hardly enough to keep him till the next day."

"Do you want to compete with the yellow-streaked Asiatic?" (Applause.)

### Equal Suffrage

Miss Greening then spoke for Equal Suffrage. She said: "The ballot will come to women from men who appreciate its value for themselves, and you men have shown tonight you realize the worth of the ballot. We women are not regarded as any account

to Labor for Labor's sake, and boldly renounced the old parties. Some of the most positive men and best fighters developed in the Seattle Unions during the last twenty years, were on the platform and among the officials of the new Labor Party, and it is plain that there will be no lack of backbone. They mean business."

Another evidence of the power of the new Labor Party is the opposition and abuse it has provoked among those, like "The Daily Star," who only support Labor in words and for Middle Class ends. Whenever Labor decides to stand for itself, and itself alone, you will see the Middle Class spokesmen froth at the mouth. They will praise the dear workingman to the skies while he votes for their Middle Class policies and swallows their Middle Class preachments. But let this same worker venture to disregard their advice, do his own thinking, and organize to get what he wants for himself, and then hear them denounce him for a fool and a victim of agitators."

The men behind this Labor Party seem to believe they will get more and get it sooner, by uniting together and fighting together for what they want, even if they do not win offices right away, than by throwing away their votes between the old parties and getting nothing but police and injunctions and bullets and more promises just before the next election."

In this they are undoubtedly right. One thousand wage workers in Seattle, acting solidly for themselves on all occasions, will soon win a second thousand to their way of thinking and then other thousands, until they put the Fear of the Lord into the hearts of the old parties."

If the Labor Party were to cast even twice as many votes this Fall as they did last Spring, that is, if they cast 3,000 votes for their candidates, they will get more legislation for Labor in the next Legislature than all their lobbying and pledging of Capitalist party candidates ever got for them in the past. For even the Judges on the Bench will hear the ominous rumble of that three thousand votes and rush in some favorable decisions to head off the time when the Three Thousand shall become Six Thousand or Twelve Thousand."

As Lincoln used to say to the detractors of Grant, "He fights," so this Labor Party says, "We fight," and the result is, their opponents respect them and fear them, as Grant's opponents always did him."

in politics, because we have no votes. In New York, I was arrested among the striking Shirtwaist Workers. I was not a real striker; I wish I was. But I was arrested for looking on, watching to see what would happen. Five hundred of those girls were arrested and 85 per cent. of them were fine or imprisoned. But when the teamsters were arrested, being men with votes, only a small percentage of them were sentenced. We want you workers to vote this fall for women to have the franchise like yourselves."

### A Class Movement

P. K. Mohr, of the Bakers' Union, was then introduced. He made many good points and was liberally applauded.

"This is distinctly a class movement," Mohr said. "It is different from last Spring. Now the Unions are officially behind it."

"Gradually through the last half century, the idea has been getting into the head of Labor that there is a class distinction in society. Reform movements, like the People's Party, paved the way. We see now that the People's Party was really a Middle-Class organization, striving to accomplish the impossible, hoping to reproduce that old-fogy idea, 'Competition is the life of trade.'"

"Organized Capital cannot be abolished, it is too strong. The Capitalist Class is preparing for a king in America. Why, a business man said to me, and he was serious, too, 'Wealth has got to rule. It is necessary for prosperity. You fellows would drive Capital back East.' I tell you this Class Spirit is everywhere and Capital or Labor must win out."

"The way the old party candidates treat us reminds me of the way Manager Potter of the Seattle Electric Co. treated some of us in the Second ward, when we applied to him for a better car service. 'Yes,' he said, 'you have about the worst service in the city; it is a shame and it should be remedied at once.' That sounded so good that we went away feeling sure we would get our improvements within a week. But the fact is, now, after six months, the service is worse than ever. Potter had no idea of doing anything for us; he was just sidestepping. And that is how these old party politicians have been treating us laboring men; they seem to lie awake nights, not to see what they can do for us, but what they can avoid doing. But they have sidestepped us long enough. We will now put up our own candidates; no one puts himself up as our candidate and our candidates will be RESPONSIBLE TO LABOR."

### "Sapheads"

The last speaker was Harry Brown of the Painters' Union. He seemed a bit nervous at first, but soon began talking, like all the rest of the speakers at this meeting, in a business-like way free from all "orating."

Brown said: "You have a bigger fight on your hands than the big scrap at Reno. And there is a bigger stake than at Reno. Your stake is no less than the welfare of your wife and babies."

"I have travelled as an Organizer of Unions in the East and I have witnessed some awful sights. Did you ever know how your fruit jars are made? Those Ball Brothers fruit jars are made by 15,000 employees, many

of them young girls who work 10 hours at 50 cents a day. The ambulance stops at that factory two or three times a day to take a mangled victim to the hospital or grave. And Mr. Ball lives in a 200,000-dollar residence. He is worth Seven and a half Millions. Who did it? What made it? The workers in that huge factory. Those girls at half a dollar a day. "Yet many of you sap-heads voted for those poor girls, working girls like your own daughters, giving their life-blood for Ball Brothers at Muncie, Indiana. You are chumps, all you Democrats and Republicans, and the blood and shame of those girls is on your breast." (Great Applause.)

### No Spellbinders

The meeting adjourned without any excitement or cheers, such as you hear at Capitalist party rallies. There was no hand present, no worked-up enthusiasm, no spell-binding orators, no lawyers with their polished periods, no richly dressed people of any sort, just straightforward workingmen talking to each other exactly as they do in their Unions, about the best way to conduct their own business."

"The drift of all the speeches was much in advance of the 'Platform,' which was distributed at the meeting and which seems afraid to use the word, Workingclass. The platform was written some time ago, and the Party must have developed rapidly since it was written. Certainly, no one of the speakers at this meeting could have had a hand in the construction of the platform, unless his views have developed—what is not at all unlikely—almost inevitably, indeed."

A better index of the present temper of the party is given by the pamphlet reproduced on this page, entitled "A Party of Labor," which was also distributed at the Labor Temple Rally. The main fact about this organization is, IT IS A PARTY OF LABOR AND CANNOT BE ANYTHING ELSE, so long as it confines its membership and management to Wage Workers."

### What Is a Government

A government is an institution established by an entire nation for the purpose of determining what part of the nation shall make money out of the other part.

By tariff schedules and rates the government decides to what extent dealers in protected articles shall prosper.

By franchises and land grants it decides who shall reap the benefit of transporting people and goods.

By patents and copyrights it places itself on the side of the inventor and the writer.

By building battleships it shows a friendly interest in the owners of the steel mines and mills.

By depositing public money in banks it materially reduces the financial difficulties of financiers.

A good government is one which does all these things in such a way as to satisfy both the beneficiaries and the victims.—Ellis O. Jones, in "Life."

## CAPITALIST FARMING

As Suggested to the Author During a Few Weeks' Experience as a Harvest Hand.

BY ARTHUR JENSEN

Have you ever heard workingmen talk about the duty of Organized Labor joining hands with the farmer in "fighting" the trusts? Well, next time when you hear them talk in that manner, suggest to them that if they went to Eastern Washington and took in the harvest some season they might change their minds.

The average farmer in Eastern Washington will place his stamp of approval on Organized Labor as long as we will confine our activities to advocating political reforms, such as direct legislation, government ownership of the railroads, "graft," investigations and other middle class reforms. But if we go to the harvest fields and demand decent wages, decent hours and better conditions in general, the farmer will denounce us as lazy, good-for-nothings who wouldn't work if we had a chance.

In the daily papers in the cities we see almost daily lamentations over the fact that the wage earner who is out of employment is unwilling to go to the country where he can always get remunerative employment. The fact is that work in the country is not plentiful.

The wheat harvest which a few years ago required thousands of "hands," has of late become "modernized" so that where it formerly required twenty-five men to harvest and thresh a season's crop five men now do the work.

A few years ago the grain would be cut with reapers and stacked. This work would require a force of about nine men. Later a threshing outfit would come in and thresh the grain. This process required about twenty men.

This method is still used in some places. But in the older settled communities the combined harvester and thresher is now doing more of the work than the old-time reaper.

The "Combine," as this machine is called, is simply a header where the grain is fed directly from the header into a threshing machine which threshes the grain while the machinery moves along. The threshed grain runs into sacks attached to the machine while a man sews the sacks and places them on a platform until there are four to six sacks of wheat piled up, when he lets them drop to the ground in very much the same manner as the binders in the Middle West drop the bundles.

It requires from twenty to thirty-eight horses to haul the "Combine." One man drives this team. Another sews the sacks, a third one looks after the header while a fourth man attends to the separator. There is sometimes a fifth man to help the "sack sewer."

It will readily be seen that with such a method any farmer with a hired man and a fair-sized family does not need any help for the harvest.

Last month hundreds of men were gathered at Walla Walla, waiting to go to work in the wheat fields. But hundreds had to leave without getting any work.

The Spokane Spokesman-Review and other papers printed stories and editorials, complaining of the shortage of Labor in the harvest fields, while hundreds of men were waiting in Walla Walla and other places, anxious to go to work.

Perhaps the most interesting fact about modern wheat raising is the introduction of modern industrial methods. Socialists have written and talked about agriculture as being something apart from the other branches of industry, not subject to the laws of concentration, etc. It has often been asserted that farming on a small scale would always be the successful method.

Developments in the industry of wheat raising tend to disprove this theory. Here we see the big farmer more and more approaching the status of the modern capitalist.

Thirty to forty years ago when the land surrounding Walla Walla was being settled, a man owning a section of land was considered a big farmer. Now it is hardly considered worth while to farm as little as one section of wheat land. Most wheat farmers own from two to six sections, while one man close to Walla Walla owns over thirty-five sections of land in one body, or very nearly a whole township. These farmers own automobiles, live in the cities during the winter and send their sons and daughters to the universities and colleges.

## AULT'S JUNK

Another of the many examples of the identity of interests of the farmers and wage workers is shown by the fact that the official organ of the State Grange is being printed in a non-union print shop, and the secretary of the Grange has declared that it is of no particular interest to him whether the printing is union or non-union so long as it is well done. And some honest, misguided souls in the labor movement want organized labor to go into cahoots with the Grange in politics, and also in the establishment of a co-operative store. Let's keep out of business and devote ourselves to raising our wages and reducing our hours of labor by action on the industrial and political field.

And in this connection, the address of Mr. Stuart Reid, District Organizer for the American Federation of Labor, before the Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity at the meeting last Wednesday night was particularly encouraging to those of us in that body who have been endeavoring to get organized labor to take independent political action. Mr. Reid was fresh from the Los Angeles strike field, where there are two thousand or more men on strike in the metal trades.

These metal mechanics were not all union men before the strike, in fact, not more than a fourth of the total were members of the union at the time of the walk-out, but they joined immediately after, and are standing firm as a rock, to a man.

Conditions, according to Mr. Reid, had become so that in Los Angeles a man could not work if he dared to declare himself a union man. In order to secure permission to ask for work, a man had to apply to the central office of the manufacturers' association, where he was closely questioned, particularly as to his union affiliations or lack of them. If he admitted his union membership he might just as well skip the town for all the work he could get. In order to secure permission to hunt for work, the applicant had to take oath that he would never join a union. He was then sent to a shop and perhaps got work. No mention was made of wages—at the end of a week or two, when he got his pay, he would find that he, a skilled mechanic, was getting common laborers' wages. He would object and quit, and be compelled to go back to the same manufacturers' association office to look for another opening and would be given a fine opportunity to starve or leave town. No agitators were allowed.

After giving further details of the Los Angeles situation, Mr. Reid said in effect: "Only by a closely united labor movement can we meet these conditions. I am firmly convinced that the union movement will inevitably emancipate the working class from the thralldom of our unjust capitalist system. But we will have to quit our petty quarrelling and get together industrially and politically to effect this result."

"I believe in politics. And I say this, acting under instructions. The time has come for labor to quit monkeying with the old rotting political parties and go into working class politics."

"There must be no compromise! No lawyer will ever represent you properly, he will be compelled to represent those who furnish his campaign funds and put him in office."

Most of the big farmers around Walla Walla ascribe their prosperity to the panic of 1893. Those who had a little money were enabled to buy land from their less fortunate neighbors for a song. While the latter were being transformed into modern wage slaves, those who remained as farmers were on the road to financial success.

One of the results of this development is that the wheat regions of Eastern Washington and Oregon are losing in population. There are large tracts around Walla Walla where the population to the square mile is less than five.

Before closing I wish to reiterate that any workingman who feels like appealing to the farmer for co-operation, with the idea that their interests are identical, needs to spend a few weeks around Walla Walla during the wheat harvest.

Note.—After writing the above, I happened to notice a dispatch in the "P-I" of August 17th, dated Dayton, Columbia County, with the following headlines:

"BIG FARMS FREEZE OUT SCHOOL CHILDREN."

"A Desire to Create Great Producing District."

This indicates the general tendency of the movement for farming on a large scale.

You can only trust those men who are a part of your daily life, who know your needs and your desires because they are part of you. You must elect to office men out of your own ranks, pledged to your interests. Men who will do what you want done because they cannot do anything else.

"I am glad you have organized a labor party here.

"In Los Angeles the union movement has until now been under the domination of those who did not believe in the discussion of political matters in the unions. They did 'keep politics out of the union.' The man who tried to introduce politics into the labor movement was called and thought an anarchist. What was the result? When the workers in the metal trades went out on strike, they found the executive, the legislative and the judicial power of the city and state in the hands of the capitalist class. The city council passed an ordinance that made it a crime for a man to go to the home of a strike-breaker and try to induce him to quit work. Ordinary picketing was, of course, not tolerated. As a result, the jails of Los Angeles are full of union men who found the only alternative to enduring a condition worse than peonage to become lawbreakers in an attempt to compel their capitalist masters to give them decent working conditions."

"And as it was and is in Los Angeles, it is and will be more and more in San Francisco, Portland, Spokane, Tacoma, and Seattle. Capitalist politicians are the same in all cities, and capitalist masters are the same in all cities. You can expect nothing better here than those other working men are getting in Los Angeles, unless you get together and act as a unit politically and industrially."

"The greatest drawback of the labor movement is the idiotic idea, ingrained into the American, that he as an individual amounts to something. That spirit must be driven out and a consciousness take its place that only by united action with his class can the worker secure redress for his wrongs."

Mr. Reid's remarks were received with a spirit that shows that in Seattle, at least, Labor is beginning to wake to its possibilities and will take advantage of them.

One result of the political awakening of Labor has been a change in the editorial management of the "Daily Star," the local Scripps-McRae paper. The former editor, Kenneth C. Beaton, who has consistently opposed the Labor Party and has derided it in every way as the work of a few agitators, has been displaced with a man in closer touch with labor affairs and the play of the "Star" will now be to keep on the good side of Labor. Shrewd political observers are already forecasting that the Labor Party will be as successful as in San Francisco and the "Star" is just trying to get in out of the rain before it is too late. Labor must not trust too much to its "friends," even if they be newspapers, and depend on its own resources for its news, as well as for its candidates for public office. The labor press has fought Labor's battles in the past in times of adversity and it alone can be depended on. "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts," and remember that the "Star" is owned by what is probably the richest newspaper corporation in the world.

### THE IMPROVED CATECHISM.

- (To be read, inwardly digested and often repeated by all foolish little Americans.)
- Question. Who made the world? Answer. Roosevelt.
- Q. Who was the First Man? A. Theodore Roosevelt.
- Q. Who was the Wisest Man? A. Governor Roosevelt.
- Q. Who was the Strongest Man? A. Elephant-Killer Roosevelt.
- Q. Who was the Meekest Man? A. Vice-President Roosevelt.
- Q. Who was the Champion Boxer at Harvard? A. Student Roosevelt.
- Q. What President Couldn't Tell a Lie? A. President Roosevelt.
- Q. Who Lived Three Days in the Belly of a Whale? A. Roosevelt, the Faunal Naturalist.
- Q. Who won the Spanish-American War? A. Rough-Rider Roosevelt.
- Q. Who wrote the Letters of Julius? A. Editor Roosevelt.
- Q. Who killed Cock Robin? A. Teddy.
- Q. Who struck Billy Patterson? A. The Colonel.
- Q. Who Was, Is, and Always Will Be the Most Modest Man? A. T. R.—"Life."

# LABOR'S ANNUAL PRODUCT

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

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(See U. S. Census Reports for 1900)

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## What Labor Gets -- One Quarter

(Represented by this upper portion of the Box)

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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.

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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."

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

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

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

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

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

Why, then, is not this Prime Economic Fact, which is the pivot of all the scientific achievement of Karl Marx, pushed to the front by his professed followers? Why, for instance, in the Platform of the Socialist Party of the U. S. in 1904, was there only a single reference to the fact of Unpaid Labor, and this reference dragged in as a subordinate clause, "above its 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, Malloy, Herron, Hillquitt and Berger. Precisely as an Ecclesiastical Conference or Synod will pass through a week's sessions and omit all reference to the Essentialism of Love to the Christian Community, so the Conventions of political Socialists gather and debate and adjourn without once mentioning the foundation principle of Proletarian Emancipation, namely, the Abolition of Unpaid Labor.

We call this the Eclipse of Marx, as we might call the practice of the modern church the Eclipse of Jesus. Of course the reason the church ignores Jesus and his ethics is that the theory of non-resistance can not be practiced in modern society without killing that society; the two are incompatible. The same reason holds for the Socialist Parties, who hide Marx in their own shadow. For, to bring forward the Fact of Unpaid Labor, and to make the battle rage around that Fact of Facts, would be incompatible with the interests of the Middle Class which composes the active majority of

the modern Socialist organizations. Such a battle would necessarily be a Wage Workers' battle; for the Middle Class, including Business Men and Farmers, are not robbed as Producers, but as Consumers. The Wage Class never even gets its Lands 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 Armour's, 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 Restraining 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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Hillquit Misrepresented?

220 Broadway, N. Y. August 9th, 1910. Mr. Hermon Titus, "The Socialist," Box 1908, Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrade Titus: I notice with regret that you have swallowed Morgan's malicious distortion of my report to the recent National Congress of the Socialist Party, and have reprinted it in your paper as straight goods.

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."

What Hillquit Really Said

"While we should always direct our main efforts towards attracting the workers to our movement, we must not neglect the persons from all other classes and ranks of society whom we may be able to win for our cause. For we need them all. Our struggle is as broad as it is revolutionary—it reaches out to all fields of modern industrial, political, social and intellectual activity.

Morgan's Quotation

Doesn'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.

Hillquit's Exact Words

The Struggles of Labor. "Aside from its daily work and problems, the organized movement often finds itself thrown into acute conflicts with the powers of capital and government. Now it is an extensive and embittered strike, lockout or boycott; now it is a struggle for some important legislative labor measure, or for the protection of existing labor laws from the onslaughts of the courts.

What Morgan Says Hillquit Said

And the Intellectuals. "Then there are the intellectuals and other classes and ranks of Society. Without these our movement of Jimmie Higginnes would be preposterous." Intellectuals—Higginnes. "The Socialist movement must be

A PARTY OF LABOR

Manifesto of the Labor Party of Seattle

Labor has always had many "friends." This is particularly true in respect to politics, and more especially true just before election time.

These "friends" have been almost uniformly outside the ranks of Labor and have made their "friendship" a stepping-stone for personal aggrandizement, relying on their friend Labor to give them political position in return for more or less substantial political favors to come after election.

On the other hand, there have always been in Labor's own ranks self-seekers, who have used their position and influence in the Labor Movement for the purpose of hoisting themselves into political office and in return have either turned traitor to Labor or have kept silent under the attack of Labor's enemies.

Labor is tired of its so-called "friends."

Labor's experience in recent years with the legal machinery of the country in the Hatters' case, where a whole union was fined for boycotting; the sentencing for contempt of Mitchell, Morrison and Gompers for advocating the boycott of the Buck Stove & Range Company; the introduction in Seattle at this time by representatives of the Metal Trades Association of an ordinance to prevent picketing, and the consistent violation of the eight-hour law on public work, have convinced us that we must act politically to preserve our industrial victories.

Labor's experience with past political movements has convinced it that in order to control its representatives and make political action effective, it is necessary to have them backed and watched by an organization that has grown out of its own needs.

Labor has decided that if it wants anything done for itself, it must do it itself. From now on Labor is going to run its own business and not let it out to political contractors who stand for open-shop principles. Labor is going to apply the closed-shop to politics as well as to industry.

In response to this demand for independent political action on the part of Labor, the Labor Party has been formed out of the concerted action of various unions of the city, which have sent delegates to a conference for the purpose of devising ways and means to secure for Labor adequate representation in the legislative machinery of the county, state and nation.

The Labor Party general committee is composed of five delegates from each of—at this writing, August 1—more than fifty unions.

Old party politicians are barred from the meetings of the committee, and only those things of interest to Labor are discussed or considered. Only wage-workers, holding bona-fide membership in their unions are accepted as delegates to the party committee,

and thus there can be no question as to the composition of the party.

While the Labor Party is organized by the Trades Unions, it is not the party of the Trades Unions alone, but the party of the whole class of wage-workers, for the interests of that class are alike.

Whether organized or unorganized, the wage-worker is interested in raising his wages. Whether organized or unorganized, the wage-worker is interested in securing better hours of labor. Whether organized or unorganized, the wage-worker is interested in securing safeguards to life and limb in dangerous industrial occupations. Whether organized or unorganized, the wage-worker is interested in securing employers' liability in case of accident or death.

It is becoming more and more evident to the working class of the entire world that an injury to one is an injury to all, and this sentiment is bringing these workers together to fight to protect their interests by every means in their power, and to secure more and more of their product, till they secure the full social value of their labor.

Recognizing that the system of payment of the worker for his product in wages is in itself robbery, we also recognize that only a general knowledge of this fact will result in its abolition, and as a means to increasing the power of resistance of the working class to the aggressions of unscrupulous employers, and to help develop that spirit of self-reliance which is necessary to the success of the workers in this struggle, our candidates will work for all such measures as will benefit the wage-workers, as determined from time to time by the representative bodies of wage-workers—the union organizations.

It is a party not only FOR Labor, but BY and OF Labor, and with nothing in it but Labor.

The Labor Party will enter the fall electoral campaign with a county and legislative ticket composed of wage-workers, and thus, for the first time in the history of Seattle and King county, Labor will be represented in the political field by a party and a ticket exclusively its own.

In the City of Seattle, out of 40,000 voters, 30,000 are wage-workers. By united action we can sweep the city and the county.

Think what a complete Labor administration would mean. Think how much could be accomplished for Labor by a few representatives in the State Legislature.

Will we falter when victory is in our grasp? Show your colors and stand by your fellow-workers.

to the Socialist philosophy, but with the determination to help them in their concrete fight; in the modest routine work as well as in the work of organization and propaganda."

Morgan's Quotation

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

Hillquit's Words

"The special work of labor union propaganda as outlined above should, of course, not be considered in the light of a substitute for the general propaganda as heretofore carried on by the Socialist party, but rather as an addition to it. Our efforts to carry the message of Socialism to the people as a whole should be vigorously continued, but that propaganda should be conducted on somewhat more rational and economical lines than in the past. Above all, we must discard show and demonstration for system and thoroughness, and the revolutionary phrase for revolutionary action."

Morgan's Quotation

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."

Hillquit's Words

"Street meetings, which at present probably absorb the greater part of our energies, no doubt have their legitimate place in the economy of the Socialist propaganda, but I fear their importance is frequently overestimated. Time was when socialism was so little known or heeded in this country that any device to attract public notice to the mere existence of our movement was in itself an effective means of propaganda. That time has passed. The Socialist movement has become an established and recognized factor in the United States. Our task today is not to proclaim that we exist, but to enlighten our fellow citizens on the aims and objects for

which we exist. Our street meetings as well as our hall meetings must be truly educational in their nature and effect. Our speakers on the soap box and on the lecture platform must be well prepared for their task, and above all the meetings must in every case be made the occasion for a thorough distribution of literature. Meetings hastily arranged, especially street meetings, with unprepared speakers and not accompanied by distribution of Socialist literature, are often useless and worse."

Morgan's Quotation

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."

Hillquit's Words

"Ours is an age of specialization, and the complex Socialist movement requires specialists in all branches of its work. We need the theoreticians and the practical workers; the propagandists and the organizers; those who emphasize the importance of present-day reforms on the lines of the Socialist program, and those who dwell by preference on the ultimate aims of our movement; those who do a little in every line of party work, and those who devote themselves entirely to one chosen specialty, and only through the harmonious co-operation of all these divergent activities within the party, will the party itself become strong and influential. Unfortunately our members are sometimes inclined to consider the activity which appeals most strongly to their individual bent of mind and temperament as the only legitimate and useful work of Socialism, and to depreciate all other work as senseless and harmful. This irrational attitude is largely responsible for much of the acrimonious discussion and paralyzing factionalism within our ranks. It is a sign of the immaturity of our movement, and the sooner we learn to respect and tolerate each other's work, views and inclinations, the better for the movement as a whole."

Editor's Final Comment

Hillquit is the American Kautsky. Both are like Roosevelt. They are acute representatives of the movements with which they are allied; they reflect popular sentiment as found in their respective parties,—all of them with a conservative tendency. Roosevelt, for instance, at the present moment, is really in sympathy with the insurgents, yet studiously endeavors to avoid open rupture in the party, always working toward Middle Class ends. In the same way, Kautsky and Hillquit after him, constantly aim to state the Socialist Party ends in Proletarian phrases and thus to win and hold the hosts of Wage Workers.

But Roosevelt has the advantage over his Socialist Party congeners, inasmuch as the Middle Class, represented by Roosevelt, is the really dominant element in the Republican Party,—and in the Democratic Party and the whole country, for that matter. But in the organization represented by Hillquit, the Socialist Party, the Proletarians, the Wage Workers, the element toward which he leans, are not the dominant force, but rather the Middle Class, the propertied intellectuals like himself and Robert Hunter, and the farmers and merchants everywhere. The result is, while Roosevelt is succeeding, Hillquit is failing. For the same Middle Class that is winning in the Republican Party and thus giving Roosevelt his strength, is also winning in the Socialist Party and putting Hillquit in the minority.

Hillquit is thus obliged to become more and more of an Opportunist, like Berger, trying to lead the Working Class into Middle Class channels. Hillquit did not say what Morgan says he said, but the Socialist Party, as led by Hillquit, Berger, Hunter and Spargo, is essentially Middle Class and hence Opportunistic, notwithstanding its retention and emphasis of Proletarian science. Hillquit admits in this very pamphlet that the Socialist Party does not include any marked preponderance of Wage Class elements. He only claims some 20,000 out of 50,000, and this estimate is based on very meagre and unreliable statistics. The Socialist Party has banished its best Proletarian elements and is now frankly catering, under Milwaukee's lead, to Middle Class influences and adopting Middle Class measures.

It ought to be evident to all observers of facts that the Middle Class has been underestimated. It may be it is making its last fight, but it is certainly making a fight. Every party shows its influence, the Social Democratic Party

in Germany even. The "Erfurt Program" no longer represents that party as it did when adopted in 1891, and even then it was more Liebknecht than Marx. It is a well-known fact that Bebel and Kautsky are struggling against a rising tide of Middle Class Opportunism. Bebel and Singer will soon pass off the stage, and the newer Social Democracy of "Vorwaerts," Bernstein, Vollmar and Kampfmeyer will occupy the central position.

Against this political movement, attempting to fuse Middle Class and Wage Class, rises, both in Europe and America, a purely Proletarian movement, uncompromising, unpatronized, class-conscious, militant, revolutionary, far more likely to be the instrument of the Social Revolution than the Opportunistic, two-class, parliamentary, non-Marxian organizations of Kautsky, Hillquit, and the other extra-proletarian thinkers and leaders.

How Farmers Love Proletarians

(By Associated Press.) COLFAX, Wash., Saturday, Aug. 13.—Andrew Benson, state organizer of the I. W. W., for the past four days has been living on bread and water in the Whitman county jail, having been arrested at Garfield. He at once notified the I. W. W.'s attorney at Spokane, who came to Colfax, but Benson is still on bread and water. Out of fifteen men lodged in the jail four days ago, eight are thought to belong to the organization. Sheriff Carter says that the I. W. W. is trying to keep harvest hands from working, their habit is to ask \$3 or \$3.50 a day, and if offered this price they refuse to work. The sheriff has issued orders to his deputies to arrest all agitators. One I. W. W. agitator at Colton this week was ordered out of town under penalty of hanging. He moved at once.

Editor's Note.

The above clipping is from the daily "Times" of Seattle and ought to be pasted in the hat of every workingman who imagines the interests of the wage worker and the rancher are identical enough for the two to unite in one political party. Farming is becoming more and more a regular Capitalist industry, requiring wage workers and therefore exacting Unpaid Labor or Surplus Value. These Farmer Cap-

italists seem to be more savage to their employees than the city manufacturers. Certainly, even in Spokane, the I. W. W. were never threatened with hanging.

Wages

Wages are a perpetual reminder of man's inferiority to man. When all men are equal there will then be no necessity for them.

Wages are in reality a blind, introduced by the party in control to fool the party not in control into the belief that they are free.

Formerly the vassals of an Over Lord gave their allegiance to him and supplied him in kind with everything that they could make for him. Now they are just as much bound to him, only they don't know it, because he pays them wages. But these wages that he pays them he gets directly from them. What it amounts to is that, as they work for him, they take only a small part of the product for themselves—or, rather, he allows them only a small part. He takes the rest, puts it in the bank or buys securities with it, or anything else by which he can double his money in a given time. Thus he is enabled to control more, because he can pay more wages.

The only difference between the old system and the new is that in former times men were frankly slaves. They were called slaves and known as such. Now they are also slaves, but it is more expedient to give them the delusion that they are free. Thus they are apparently paid for their services in wages, which in the form of toll they themselves supply to the Captain of Industry.

When they strike they are condemned for interfering with the "rights of property."

Thus the whole system is complete, even to the voting power. For men vote only for those who are "sanctioned" by the party in control.

When anybody kicks and tells the truth he is put down as a fanatic or dreamer. If the kick is strong and attracts the attention of the "plain people," Mr. Harriman, Mr. Hill, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Gould and other lofty patriots come out with interviews in the papers, in which they say that an era of prosperity is bearing down so hard on us as to bring the tears of joy to all eyes.—"Life."