

THE WORKINGMAN'S PAPER

OUR TASK—To Remove His Bandage



To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Win Their Own Emancipation

THE SOCIALIST

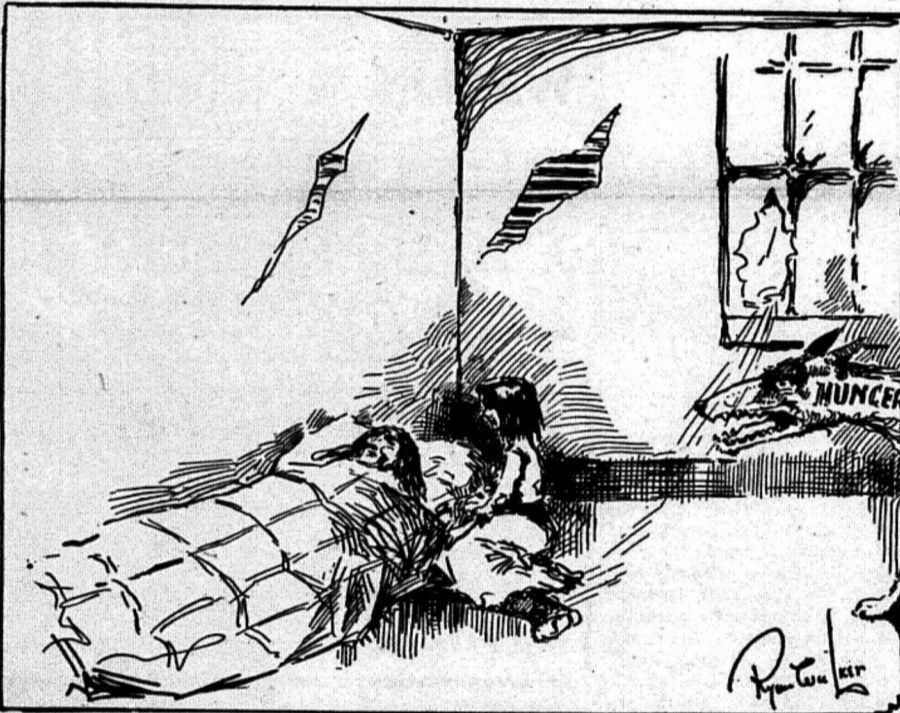
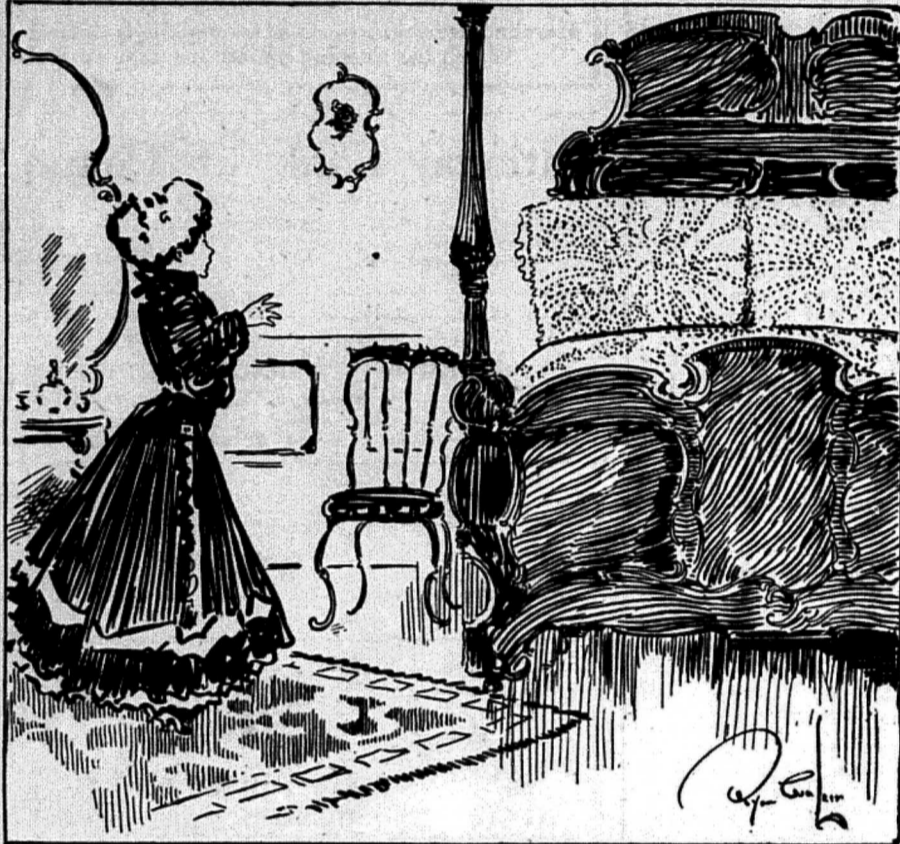
Tenth Year—No. 473



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Price Five Cents

IF THE THEORY OF "SURPLUS VALUE" IS NOT CORRECT—



how do you account for contrasts such as this, Mr. Gompers?

THE RAT

A True Story of a Thief and the Chance He Had By THURSTON WELTON

(It is a known fact, among those whose work takes them to the many New York police precinct stations, that in the secrecy of the back room and in the cells many brutalities are practiced. The list of fractured skulls caused by the police, and entered in the records as drunks, etc., will never be known. The incidents and facts used in this story have, for the most part, been drawn from my own personal experiences as an ambulance surgeon in New York.—T. S. Welton, M. D.)

He was known to the police as the Rat. He had several aliases, but his real Christian and surnames had never been put into the records. His home was likewise a mystery. The Rat never told. Headquarters knew that he had served two terms "up the river."

His pals called him a dip, because he could lift a watch or a wallet from an inner pocket with marvelous swiftness and skill. Others termed him a bum. A bum is an individual who sleeps in his shoes. He was further classed as a tramp, because in summer he beat his way on sidewalk Pullmans to Chicago and then down the valley to New Orleans, or else made the hop-country his residence. Tramps select their tours as carefully as a Cooks' agency.

Rat, a small, thin, long-fingered, hawk-nosed, pig-eyed thief. It was one of those evenings referred to in the morning papers as "the coldest night since December 27, 1872." A wind drove the fine snow into the late-comer's face, making the flesh sting as if pierced by so many white-hot needles. The Rat wandered down the deserted street, shivering and chilled to the marrow.

He came to a midnight mission, which he entered. There he could thaw out and catch a few winks of sleep. I do not know the reasons, but when he again sought the street he had decided to live differently, to work, to be decent. Perhaps he would never have lived up to his good resolutions; others have, in the past, who were no better than he. To-day they are respected citizens. You have but to read the reports of the New York missions to know the histories of these men. It showed, however, that the Rat had a small bit of a heart.

Not having the ten cents with which to procure a night's lodging in a filthy, evil-smelling abode called The Bedford House, he sought out a corner bakery, and threw himself upon the warm flagging under the windows. Like most bums, he was soon fast asleep. Not long after there chanced by Burns, an officer of the law, eight months on the force. He had just been

stimulated with a good "three fingers" at the family entrance of a saloon, "in right" with those higher up. Like most young "cops," he was out to make a record, and earn a star or two for bravery. He saw the form of the sleeping man, and, going over to him, rapped the soles of his feet with a weighted nightstick.

The Rat, partly because of his previous environment, and partly from surprise, for it is not a soothing sensation to have one's half-frozen feet flayed, was up in a second with his fists closed.

In the dim light Burns saw and recognized his features. With a howl of delight, he slashed his nightstick across the side of the Rat's jaw. "Hit a thief first, talk afterward," is a slogan of the department. Ask the officer on your beat and he will tell you.

Five minutes later Doctor Adams, ambulance surgeon of the Charity Hospital, turned in his bed, and took up the telephone receiver of the police wire, which was on a stand within reach.

"Hello, Charity Hospital," asked the desk man at headquarters.

"Yes. This you, Pete?" Doctor Adams answered.

"Say, Doc, beat it to the 700th Precinct. They've got a tough guy down there who needs fixin' up."

Doctor Adams was what is commonly termed a good fellow. He came from a good family, his mother was an ardent church worker, sister did settlement work, and the nurses said that he was "awfully kind." So you see he must have been very sympathetic and humane.

Twenty-odd minutes later, the collar of his big ulster over his ears, Doctor Adams entered the precinct house,

greeted the lieutenant with a "rotten night," and made his way to the "back room."

Do you know about the back room, a feature of every New York station house? It is usually situated on the ground floor, in the rear, next to the cells. There the patrolmen and those on reserve duty loiter, read, smoke, and play their favorite game, dominoes. Surely mild men with simple pastimes. One part of the walls of this room is devoted to circulars with pictures and descriptions of people "Wanted" for various reasons, and of "Deserters from the Army." On hooks along the rest of the walls hang the belts, clubs, and uniforms of the men.

In this room ambulance surgeons perform their professional duties, and gaze, without blinking, at the seamy side of life.

The Rat sat huddled on a chair, his face red with blood. Some eleven guardians of the commonwealth stood about in their shirt sleeves.

Doctor Adams opened his bag, and asked for a basin of warm water.

"Got a tough guy here, Doc," said one of the bystanders. "Been up twice."

"Oh," said Adams, "we can eat these wise members alive. Say, you bum, keep your head on the side or I'll put a swift one on your eye."

The Rat was dazed and little heeded the words of the worthy medico. So the kind-hearted disciple of Aesculapius shoved the Rat's head back, hitting it against the wall with a thud.

A knife of pain shot through the Rat's brain; he felt a sensation of choking, and saw the flickering gas-light far away through blood-dimmed eyes. He did not reason the why; he only knew he suffered, that he wanted air, that he was hungry. So he tried to rise from the chair.

To attempt to change a position when once so placed by the police and an ambulance surgeon is one of the worst of crimes. The letter and spirit of an unwritten law is broken and trampled in the dust.

"Look out, he may have a knife hid," cried the doorman.

Three "cops" rushed forward, but Adams dropped his needle and silk-worm gut, and, with a yell, hit the Rat on the point of the chin.

"Put him away that time," laughed the surgeon.

Then the doctor finished his work. It is much easier to suture deep lacerations when the patient is unconscious.

After it was over they lighted their cigars and clay pipes, and showed their empty vanity by praising their valorous deed.

"Guess I'd better make him breathe a little ammonia," said Adams. "He is still out."

In a few minutes the Rat was able to crawl to a cell, assisted by the jailer, who dragged him by the collar. After being thrown, for no other word can describe it, into a cell, Burns, the ambitious officer, went in and dealt him an ugly blow for good measure.

Perhaps you are also unfamiliar with the cells attached to the precinct houses. They are about three by seven feet in size. On the floor slats run longitudinally, as in a horse's stall. Nothing else is there to disturb the mental attitude of the inmate. Once in a great while the cells are cleansed, but usually they swarm with vermin. It was in one of these living hells the Rat was to spend the night.

Doctor Adams was in the lieutenant's room, washing his hands, when Patrolman Schmidt put in his head, and in an expectant voice asked, "Think he can stand the water cure, Doc?"

"Sure thing," replied Adams. "Wait for me. I want to see the show."

Five large-sized pails of cold water were carried to the lock-up room. Then all hands assembled.

"Here's where you get the bath of your life, you rummy," one laughed.

With great glee, pail by pail the contents went through the bars, soaking the Rat to the skin. The Rat, having fallen into a comatose state, never moved. This caused great disappointment, and, cursing their luck, the officers returned to the back room, resumed their games, and Doctor Adams, bag in hand, went out into the night, jumped upon the rear seat of the ambulance, and was hurried back to the hospital.

At four A. M. headquarters told Adams that the 700th Precinct wanted to talk with him. In a few minutes he was again on his way to the station house.

"He's in bad shape," the doorman said.

Doctor Adams went to the cell, examined the Rat, and returned to the lieutenant at the desk. "He's piked. Gone."

"Dead?" asked the lieutenant, with a frown.

"Cold," answered Adams, with a wave of the hand.

"Say, Charley," from the lieutenant, "fix up that report. Make it a fight. Some unknown trimmed the bum. Send me Smith and O'Brien. I'll detail them to investigate. That covers us. That guy was a hard proposition, all right."

"It's a coroner's case now," said Adams, lighting a cigarette. "If he starts a rumput let me know about it. I can fix it up for you. S'long."

The next afternoon's editions gave a few lines to the incident. They said that the Rat, a notorious crook, got into a fight with one of his former pals, that the motive was revenge, that the Rat was brutally beaten, and died four hours later. The story wasn't worth much, as it had very little human interest.

The coroner did not kick up a fuss. He didn't even examine the body, but accepted the lieutenant's statements, and made out a death certificate. As no one came to claim the Rat's remains he was carted away in the city's black wagon and buried in Potter's Field.

The sightseers asked to be shown about the place.

"Charley," said the lieutenant, "take these people around, and show and explain everything—everything."

In the back room six quiet-looking men were playing dominoes. They spoke in subdued tones. The place was strangely still.

"Dear me! Such nice, peaceful souls," exclaimed one of the women visitors.—From "The American" for March, 1910.

THE WAITERS' STRIKE IN SPOKANE.

I have listened earnestly for the past two weeks to hear some preacher in the church pulpits of Spokane say at least a few words in behalf of the men and women employed in the hotels and restaurants of the city, who are on strike for the principal reason that they want one day's rest in seven—that is, they want a Sunday in the week for themselves, instead of having to stand the grind of labor every day in the week and year, unless illness or some other misfortune gives them a day off. One of the vital principles of the church is based on the assertion that the "Lord made heaven and earth and all therein in six days and rested on the seventh," and all are commanded to rest on the seventh day and to keep it holy if they hope to enter the kingdom of heaven. But not only is the seven-day grind racking the bodies of men and women beyond human endurance, but according to the teachings of the church it is robbing them of their hope in heaven. And yet these "sky pilots" are silent in the struggle. Here is a great moral issue, which lines up strictly with the principles of the church, and yet not one of its mouthpieces in Spokane has had the courage to support the striking men and women and denounce the restaurant employers who are denying the seventh day rest. Is this silence and cowardice of the church because it fears that some of these employers of labor would quit membership in the church or stop contributing financial support? This is the indictment that labor constantly brings against the church with all the proof necessary for conviction in the minds of all honest, thinking men. The church will soon have to face about in these industrial struggles or be damned by its own cowardice and hypocrisy. In the meantime, let every member of organized labor do all in their power to aid the cooks, waiters and waitresses to bring victory to their banner.—D. C. C., in Spokane "Labor World."

The stand of the I. W. W. in this fight of the Cooks and Waiters in Spokane is to me especially commendable. They are wholeheartedly doing all in their power to advance the interests of the Cooks and Waiters. This is a new thing for the I. W. W. and it makes them show up well. E. B. A.

INTERESTED THEM.

"I have here," says the inventor to the capitalists, "two plans for radical changes in sleeping cars." "Yes?" murmur the capitalists. "This plan increases the space given to each passenger and makes the berth much more comfortable by—"

"Can't consider it." "Well, the second plan makes the car uncomfortable, but it enables it to carry half as many more passengers, and—"

"Give us the complete details, with estimates of cost."—"Life."

AULT'S JUNK

My esteemed colleague, Jensen, is peeved at the title of this column. He thinks it should have been reserved for him, "Jensen's Junk" being more alliterative than "Ault's Junk." The title is so descriptive of the subject matter, however, that I have decided to retain it.

The Milwaukee "Social-Democratic Herald" refers pleasantly to J. G. Phelps Stokes' criticism of their recent victory as "The Stokes Incident" and under that heading quotes ardent defense of their position from various capitalist journals of Milwaukee. "Nuff sed."

I heard it said in the office that we had made arrangements to sell all or any of the books published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., at list prices, prepaid. If you want anything of that kind and will drop a letter to the business manager I am sure you will receive a reply immediately, and if you send the money you will get the book in about two weeks. Also, it helps to make things go.

"For the present only—a book of 150 pages, clearly explaining how things will be under Socialism, the Golden Rule Republic—No Utopia—and the Christian Socialist a whole year for only 60c. Get your acquaintances to buy them at once before the offer is withdrawn."

From a recent issue of "The Christian Socialist," one of the strong factors in the present Socialist Party. Wonder if the scheme is patented?

All this buncombe that trades unionism cannot accomplish anything—that its day is passed, and the only thing to do is vote, or do nothing till the whole working class is banded together in one industrial organization, is being shown up by the New York Bakers, who are consistently winning in their strike for better conditions in the bakeries in that city. More than 1500 new members have been added to the union since the strike began, and more are on the way. If we could once get this question of working class organization straight in our heads we might be able to accomplish more than we do. Let us recognize that so long as craft divisions exist in certain industries there will be craft unions in those industries, and just as soon as the craft divisions disappear in whole or in great part the only form of unionism possible is industrial unionism. Let the industrial unionist work to organize the unorganized unskilled worker and forget the skilled tradesman—let him go his own path and in time he will come to the industrial unionist's position. The skilled worker is ceasing to be the dominant factor in industry and the unskilled worker is taking his place. Let those of us, then, who are skilled workers, do what we can in our unions to prepare our fellows for the coming dominance of the unskilled worker and do what we can to prevent our organizations of skilled workers from becoming tools of the capitalist class when

they are most needed by the rest of the working class.

The Socialist Party in California stage where it is to be turned over body, soul and breeches to the middle class element. Up to the present time there has been a vigorous, if not very clear, working class sentiment in the movement there, but with the probable nomination of J. Stitt Wilson for Governor all hope seems to be lost. J. Stitt, by the way, has already borrowed a seven-seated automobile from one of his working class friends at Pasadena, and taken up a collection of some more than a hundred dollars to paint the car red—so that in its externals it may seem "revolutionary," since that word is becoming respectable. And—Oh, yes! J. Stitt is going to start a paper in Los Angeles, home of former failures in that line. And he got 450 subscribers at one meeting, a la Walter Thomas Mills. I will be pleased to see that paper. In the meantime, trust J. Stitt for gathering in the coin.

That Russian who threw a pot of beans at the head of the Crown Prince of Germany the other day and scared the royal scion and his party out of their boots, was surely a humorist. For further proof that we was a humorist one only has to read the further dispatches that he pleaded insanity as defense for his "crime."

By the way, don't you think this bunch of junk deserves commendation to the extent of sending in a sub or two? It takes money to run a paper. E. B. A.

NEXT WEEK

Article by Jack London

After reading the debate between L. Stanley and Geo. Armstrong in our issue of May 28, Jack London has sent us an article showing his exact position as a Socialist and also interpreting "Martin Eden", which many have taken to be his autobiography. This is a rare treat and our readers are asked to give next week's issue as large a circulation as possible.

Do Not Fail to Get It NEXT WEEK

The Socialist

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WHERE WE STAND

(Reprinted From Our First Issue in 1910.)

In what relation does "The Workingman's Paper" stand to the various organizations of the Wage Class, and to that class as a whole?

This question is frequently asked, now that this paper does not profess to represent any particular organization. It seems inconceivable to some that a newspaper can be non-sectarian, an organ of Proletarianism but not an organ of any exclusive branch of Proletarianism.

"The Workingman's Paper" sees good in the I. W. W., sees good in the "I'm a Bum" song; but it also sees good in the A. F. of L., and even in De Leon's S. L. P. It also sees evil in all of them.

The following outlines our position exactly: "The Workingman's Paper" does not seek to form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. It supports the UNION of Wage-Workers.

We advocate no interests separate and apart from those of the Proletariat as a whole. All policies are decided from this standpoint.

We do not set up any sectarian principles of our own by which to shape and mould the Proletarian Movement. We follow, not force, that Movement.

"The Workingman's Paper" is distinguished from partisan journals of the working class by this only: 1. In the various struggles of the wage class organizations with the capitalists, this paper will point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire Proletariat, independently of all apparent divisions, national, industrial or personal.

The immediate aim of "The Workingman's Paper" is the same as that of all other really Proletarian organs, namely: FORMATION OF THE PROLETARIAT INTO ONE CLASS, OVERTHROW OF BOURGEOIS SUPREMACY, CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER BY THE PROLETARIAT.

Our theoretical conclusions are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

These conclusions merely express the actual relations springing from an existing Class Struggle, from an historical movement going on under our very eyes.

We disdain to conceal our revolutionary views and aims. We openly declare that Proletarian ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social foundations.

To assist in organizing the Wage Slaves of Capital into a union capable of winning such an emancipation, this paper was founded in 1900. It has no other policy in 1910.

The Proletarian elements now scattered in A. F. of L., I. W. W., W. F. of M., S. P., S. L. P., U. W. W., and other bodies, together with multitudes now unorganized in the United States, must some time come together as a UNITED LABOR PARTY. To that end this paper is devoted.

What to Do

Here is a letter from one of our oldest and best supporters, Austin Boudreau, of Attleboro, Mass.: "Please find Money Order for Fifty Cents, to pay up my arrears. Please discontinue sending your paper. Believe me, I am very sorry for this, but I do not like your present policy. Yours with Regret."

We are not receiving very many such letters, not nearly as many as we expected. Most of our readers seem to look at our changed policy as the worker from Minneapolis, quoted last week: "I don't agree with you, but I want to hear all sides."

We are not sure what particular position our present correspondent occupies, though we think he is a good Socialist Party man. We wish he had designated his point of disagreement.

Surely, Boudreau does not disagree with this paper in its fight for the Emancipation of the Wage Workers. It always stood for that, when he was working to get us subscribers in the years we supported the S. P.

Is it that we want the Wage Workers to emancipate themselves, that we do not believe the Middle Class can emancipate the Wage Class? This paper always stood for that also; it has consistently opposed all compromises with Capitalist parties and principles. Those who are behind "The Workingman's Paper" were expelled from the Socialist Party for maintaining this very principle, that the Socialist Party must be a Wage Class organization, at least fundamentally. It was for this that Walter Thomas Mills came to this state and founded a paper to run us out of existence. It was for our criticism of the "Appeal" nine years ago because it stood for a Middle Class program, "Public Ownership of Monopolies," that Wayland denounced and slandered this paper when it was unknown, using his great circulation in an attempt to kill us off. It is because we have not hesitated to name names, when they represented Middle Class tendencies, as Victor Berger for instance, that we have incurred the hostility of every one in the Proletarian Movement who stands for such tendencies. And now that the Socialist Party has actually ceased to be a Proletarian organization and is making its main appeal to the Middle Class interests, as in Milwaukee, this paper is absolutely consistent in its criticism of that party as not fitted to be the organ of Proletarian Emancipation.

In what does Austin Boudreau, or others like him, disagree with us in this attitude? Would they have us support the Socialist Party, just because it is called Socialist; would they have us call a wolf a sheep because it calls itself a sheep; would they have us accept Dr. Cook as a hero, just because he labels himself, Discoverer of the North Pole?

It is a great disappointment to us that the Socialist Party has failed to occupy the magnificent battle ground offered to it. We have put in nine years of the hardest kind of work in connection with that party. We have many of our personal friends in that party, with who mit is hard to disagree. We have not a word of invidious criticism to offer against a single one of them. But it is the province of "The Workingman's Paper" to serve the Class of Workingmen and not any individual in that class, however valued as a friend. It is solely because we believe the Socialist Party is misleading the Wage Class that we now follow a policy opposed to that party.

Or perhaps Boudreau and others are not satisfied with a policy which is not sufficiently positive to support any Proletarian organization without reservation. They say, Why don't you advocate something for us to do? Your proletarianism is all right, but how do you propose to put it into practice? Do you want us merely to stand around and wait for something to turn up? Is there nothing, in your opinion, good enough for us to join and work with?

Our answer will be found on the inside pages, which we have kept standing week after week for the very purpose of making our new policy emphatic and plain. In the last paragraph on page three, find these words: "We believe it to be the duty of every wage worker to ally himself with whatever organization will soonest promote the unification of the working class to abolish Capital and its accompanying Wage Slavery." That is definite enough. You are a wage worker; then join a wage workers' organization, such as your Trade Union. In that Union you have access to your fellow workers; can help educate them in scientific, proletarian principles; can antagonize all bourgeois propositions arising in that Union or allied Unions; can work unceasingly to develop Class Consciousness and toward Class Action; can be the best Unionist among your fellows, always ready to defeat Capitalist attempts to control the Labor organizations for their own interests; can become a leader and guide to the less informed workingmen; in short, in the

present state of unrest and investigation among the Union men everywhere, you can further working class unity to the end of abolishing Capital itself and its attendant wage slavery.

You can join the I. W. W. too. Why not? It may be there is no other Union covering your occupation, as the Loggers, for example. It may be there is no Union at all where you are. Then organize one, even if you do not affiliate with any national body. Get together, even if you do lose your job for your pains. What are you on earth for, anyway? Just simply to wear chains in contentment? By all means get together with your fellow workers against the Capitalists, wherever you are. If you are a Farm Hand, for instance, organize for shorter hours and better beds and better food. And always educate about your Class Interests, about the Unpaid Labor upon which Capital is built, about the Robbery in Wages, about the Revolution committed to the Wage Class.

What political party shall you support? That is a much harder question. For there is at present no Proletarian Political Party in existence. And you will recollect we cannot advise you to support anything that is not Proletarian in its tendencies.

Both the so-called Socialist parties are led by Middle Class people, whatever their pretensions. They have practically no following among the wage class—outside Milwaukee. Think of it. There are Sixteen Million Voters in the U. S. The two "Socialist" parties have less than Fifty Thousand members altogether, and these are constantly dropping out and replaced by new recruits. That means there is not one constant Socialist voter, who can be depended on, to every 300 voters in the country. Counting all the votes secured at the last election, they amount to less than 3 per cent. It is as nothing, after at least Twenty Years of work. If you reckon the proportion of enlightened, revolutionary Proletarians to be found in the country, those who cannot be misled by any temporary, makeshift, Middle Class political attempts, whether called "Socialist," or "Labor," or "Democratic," why, this number is an exceedingly small per cent.

Yet there is a rising, unformed Class Consciousness pervading the Wage Class everywhere, which must soon take shape in combined action for political ends, that is, to get control of the power now lodged in Government.

We freely admit we do not see at present any organization along political lines worthy of proletarian support. We also admit we cannot see the force of the oft-asserted maxim that there must be two wings to the wage class, the Economic and the Political. We cannot see why there should be a double organization of the Proletariat.

What is needed, is United Class Action, of whatever kind, for Class ends. Therefore, this paper supports all action looking in that direction. It supports the A. F. of L., because it is composed of Proletarians organized as such, and more and more driven, in spite of reactionary leadership, toward Industrial Unity. It supports the I. W. W., because, in spite of much irresponsible leadership, it is organizing the unskilled workers and is fighting and exposing the short-sighted selfishness of mere Trades-Unionism.

We esteem it the duty of every wage worker to be a member of one or both of these organizations, and to work day and night therein, for the Union of all wage workers to overthrow Capital itself, that is, to take possession of Capitalist property in the most practicable way.

BASIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

By Friedrich Engels

"More and more evident becomes the great central fact, that the cause of the miserable condition of the working class is to be sought, not in minor grievances, but in the Capitalist System itself.

"The wage-worker sells to the Capitalist his labor-force for a certain daily sum. After a few hours' work he has reproduced the value of that sum; but the substance of his contract is, that he has to work another series of hours to complete his working day; and the value he produces during those additional hours of surplus labor is surplus value, which costs the capitalist nothing, but yet goes into his pocket.

"This is the basis of the system which tends more and more to split up civilized society into a few Rothschilds and Vanderbilts, the owners of all the means of production and subsistence on the one hand, and an immense number of wage workers, the owners of nothing but their labor-force, on the other. And that this result is caused, not by this or that secondary grievance, but by the system itself—this fact has been brought out in bold relief by the development of Capitalism in the last half century."—Written in 1892.

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

What a miracle of inconceivable 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 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 keeness.

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 Pendergast 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. Tar 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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MR. GOMPERS DENIES A FACT

Mr. Samuel Gompers, besides being President of the American Federation of Labor, is editor of its official organ, "The Federationist." In the June number, his leading article is devoted to flirtation with Robert Hunter as an "Ameliorative Socialist," not at all unattractive to Mr. Gompers; but its main purpose is to discredit Karl Marx, more especially to repudiate the Marxian Law of Surplus Value.

These are the exact words of Gompers: "The foundation of Marx's theories—the idea of surplus value—is demonstrably an error." Again and again, in the course of his eight-page attack on Marx, he hits savagely at this same "Surplus Value," like a bull at a red rag.

The only trouble with this Gompers onslaught is, that, in attacking Surplus Value, he is attacking a Fact. What is the use of denying a Fact? The fact remains. You might as well deny that there is such an organization as the A. F. of L. in America. The A. F. of L. remains a fact for all your denial. You simply make a fool of yourself by denying a fact. Now, if Surplus Value is a fact, Mr. Gompers, as we propose to show you it is, why make yourself look foolish by denying it?

Mr. Gompers cannot excuse himself on the plea that he does not know what Surplus Value is; for he quotes a very fair definition from Kirkup, as follows: "After the laborer has been paid the wage necessary for the subsistence of himself and family, the Surplus of his labor is appropriated by the capitalist who exploits it." That Surplus Labor, the Unpaid Labor, over and above what is paid for in wages, is the basis of Surplus Value. Marx defines it in a thousand places. He writes of nothing else. If the production of Surplus Value is not a fact, then Karl Marx is indeed a "dead one." The first volume of his masterpiece, "Capital," is devoted to the scientific proof of this one fact, and the other two volumes are only illustrations and proofs in detail of the identical fact of Surplus Value generalized in Volume I.

Take this vivid statement of Marx as a single instance: "Capital pumps a certain quantity of surplus labor out of the direct producer or laborer. It extorts this surplus without returning an equivalent. This surplus labor always remains forced labor in essence, no matter how much it may seem to be the result of free contract. This surplus labor is represented by a surplus value, and this surplus value is materialized in a surplus product. It must always remain surplus labor, in the sense that it is labor performed above the normal requirements of the producer."

Will Samuel Gompers deny the statement just quoted from Karl Marx? Will he deliberately deny that the employer does take a surplus from the employee, above what he pays in wages? If so, he denies what none of the greatest writers on political economy ever thought of denying.

We have often wondered how much Mr. Gompers really did know about Scientific Socialism. When he hurried defiance in the National Convention of the A. F. of L. at some Socialist delegate on the floor, he said: "I understand your theories of Socialism. I studied them and outgrew them twenty years ago." That made us think, perhaps Gompers is an honest and intelligent opponent of Socialism. But this article of his has undeceived us. We are here allowed, or forced, to see exactly, not how much, but how little he understands what he is talking about when he tries to criticize Karl Marx.

For example, Gompers makes a string of quotations from early American authors, like Godwin and Arthur Brisbane, to show that the notion of Surplus Value was known long before Marx; and he quotes with approval a "New York editor," writing 20 years ago: "There is no German Socialism. It is pure and simple American Socialism formulated and published in New York City by an American, when Karl Marx was eleven years of age." Now Gompers ought to know that the notion of Surplus Value is as old as Adam Smith, at least. This notion was fully accepted by Ricardo in 1817. The so-called Socialists in England and even Proudhon in France, all of them prior to Marx's "Capital," built up their entire Systems of Reform from this notion of Surplus Value. All of which facts were fully stated by Marx himself as early as 1847.

And Samuel Gompers does know a little of this; for he lets drop the remark that Marx himself says the notion of Surplus Value was familiar to economists for 50 years before Marx elaborated it in "Capital" (1867). If Gompers knew that historic fact, why make all those quotations from American authors of 75 years ago? Utopian "Socialists" and others, both English and American, were then attempting to apply this very theory of Surplus Value, so far as they comprehended it, in certain forced reforms. No; I would appear that Mr. Gompers really knows about as much about Marx and Surplus Value as any ordinary man might learn by looking through the three volumes of "Capital" for a half day, and not as much as many an ordinary workman has learned in a hundredth part of the time which Samuel Gompers has had to find out.

In reality, Marx takes to task all these Utopians, English, American and French, who, in the first half of the 19th century, were trying to overthrow the new Capitalist System, in which, as Godwin said, "Blind competition tends to the formation of gigantic monopolies in every branch of labor." Instead of Karl Marx, as Gompers claims, endeavoring to manufacture an "artificial system of society," it was Marx himself who all his life long exposed and ridiculed the application of the Ricardian Law of Value, prevailing in the present Capitalist order, to any future society.

For instance, in Marx's brilliant reply to Proudhon's "Philosophy of Poverty," in 1847, he shows, by ample quotations, how Proudhon's proposals were those of "an unintelligible poet," and had been far more logically stated by many English writers before 1840. He quotes J. F. Bray's remarkable work, "Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy," (1839), in which Bray protests eloquently against "this most unjust system of exchanges," wherein "the workmen have given the capitalist the labour of a whole year in exchange for the value of only half a year."

That is a much clearer statement of Surplus Value than any of the extracts given by Mr. Gompers from his American pre-Marxites. It is therefore very foolish of Mr. Gompers to cast slurs at Marx as lacking in originality because some American imitators of English Utopian Socialists had talked, like Horace Greeley in 1846, about the present system as one "under which capital is everything, man nothing, except as a means of accumulating capital." In these criticisms of the present system they were right and Marx was right, just as Adam Smith and David Ricardo were right years before all of them.

It was not Marx, as Gompers ignorantly asserts, who advocated "your universal slave pen co-operative commonwealth," but it was Marx himself who derided such equalitarian communism, as "illusions," "Robinsonades," "a society of Peters and Pauls."

Now the real question is to be put. What does Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, editor of "The Federationist," official representative of more wage-workers than any other one man, what does this man hold with respect to the fact of Surplus Value? That is a question of immense significance. It is as important as to ask whether, for example, Commander Peary, when leading an expedition to discover the North Pole, does in fact deny the accuracy and usefulness of the Magnetic Compass. Or, does the General of the Army deny and reject the Machine Gun and the Wireless?

It is of small consequence whether Gompers makes a point against Hunter as inconsistent with Marxism. It is of enormous consequence whether there is such a thing as Surplus Value or not. If Gompers is right when he says "the idea of Surplus Value is demonstrably an error," then the sooner the world of labor finds out the fact, the better for us all. If the Law of Gravitation, accepted for a century or two though it has been, is "demonstrably an error," we should certainly be worse than fools to reject any astrologer-Gompers who can "demonstrate" that Newton and all his imitators, from Laplace to Newcomb, were "in error."

This idea of Surplus Value is as simple as ABC. There is a certain sum of wealth produced each year. Who produces it? The workmen, of course. Do they get it all? Evidently not. If they did, nobody else would have anything. But the fact is, others besides the workmen have more

than the workmen themselves. Where do they get it? Rockefeller and Carnegie and Taft and Hearst and Low and Ireland and all the others who create nothing of wealth, where do they get their vast possessions? There is only one possible place they can get it, namely, from the workmen who did create it by their labor. That is, the workmen who create all wealth get only a portion of it for themselves, and the class of non-workers get the balance, or the Surplus. And that is "Surplus Value." Does Mr. Gompers deny its existence? If so, why is he the head of an organization of wage workers whose avowed purpose is to get "more and more" of their product, until they get it all?

In his anxiety to discredit Karl Marx, Samuel Gompers denies the most fundamental fact of modern society, that the workers get only a part of their product and the capitalists get the Surplus over and above the wages of the workers, which average only a bare living for the Class of Proletarians, or Wage Workers, whom Mr. Gompers represents. Mr. Gompers might as well deny that the sun sets or that there is such a thing as Typhoid Fever as to deny this fact, without which his organization would have no meaning or reason for existence. For why have an organization to get "more and still more" (Gompers' own words), if you get it all now, if there is no Surplus that you don't get? To deny the existence of this Surplus Value, pumped out of the laborer without an equivalent, as Marx says, seems like the denial of the existence of the Bacillus Tuberculosis by the "Christian Scientist." Has Gompers really joined the ranks of those "Scientists" who deny what the microscope and other instruments of science reveal? Has he become the Economist of Christian Science, denying the Existence of Economic Evil?

The optimism of Gompers certainly approaches that climax of unreason where nothing can be seen that one does not wish to see, where one's theory controls his vision. He is especially angry at Marx for prophesying that "along with the constantly diminishing number of Magnates of Capital who usurp and monopolize all the advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation," which engenders the rebellion of the working class, "a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself." Here again Gompers fights against facts. He labors to assert that the present society is "gathering momentum in an upward direction" and "away from Marx's prophesied necessity for an overturning of the fundamental principles of our existing social order." Notice in this quotation, that Gompers distinctly upholds "the fundamental principles of our existing social order." That is, he favors the Wage System, by which and under which the Capitalist Class pays the Wage Class enough to live on and appropriate to itself everything over that, for nothing.

Compare with Gompers' roseate acceptance of the present social order, with its alleged upward tendencies, the actual facts as recorded in any responsible publication. Let us take, first, the leading Editorial written by Mr. Gompers himself in the very June number of his magazine in which appears his attack on Marx. This editorial is headed "The Shocking Conditions at South Bethlehem." That does not sound like "The Upward Tendencies of the Present Social Order." But then we must remember that here Gompers the Fighter and not Gompers the Hater of Marx, is talking. Gompers is a good fighter, even if he is a poor theorist and economist.

In this record of actual events at the Bethlehem Steel Works, branch of the U. S. Steel Corporation, employing by itself more than half as many wage workers as Mr. Gompers represents in all his Trades Unions, we find Mr. Gompers quoting with approval the words of Father Fretz, a pastor in South Bethlehem, as follows: "I have labored among my people in this community for nineteen years, and I know that the Bethlehem Steel Company is a human slaughter house." Not a word here of the "Upward Tendencies of the Present Social Order." It sounds rather a good deal more like Marx's "Mass of Misery" which Gompers, the anti-Socialist Gompers, denies and ridicules.

Let us hear more of what Gompers, the practical Gompers, has to say of the upward tendencies at Bethlehem: "What state of health can laboring men be in who work in a blast furnace twelve hours a day during seven days a week? Of the total of 9184 men employed by the Company in January, 1910, 4,725, or 51 per cent, worked at occupations requiring twelve hours a day on the regular working days. The number working seven days a week twelve hours a day was 2,628, or 29 per cent. A force of 79 men worked 13-15 hours a day for seven days a week. For overtime no extra pay was given, whether for Sunday or otherwise; nearly 13 per cent of the entire force worked an average for the month of forty three and eight-tenths hours overtime."

This state of things, so Gompers alleges in his editorial, has been reported from an official investigation conducted by the Federal Commissioner of Labor, not from any musty old Marx, with his outworn notions of Surplus Labor, getting no equivalent. No, that notion is "demonstrably an error," you know, Mr. Gompers. You said so on page 485 of this identical magazine in which, page 507, you tell us still further: "Nearly 3,000 of these steel workers are working for 14 cents an hour or less, and more than 5,000 of them are working for 18 cents an hour or less." And you also tell us "their normal speed rate had been keyed up for a number of years by the application of a time bonus premium wage system."

But Mr. Gompers goes further still in his support, unconscious and unintentional, of Marx's prophecy of "Misery, Oppression, Slavery, Degradation, Exploitation" for the working class by the "Magnates of Capital." He quotes this from a committee of the workmen of Bethlehem in an appeal to the Governor of Pennsylvania:

"The borough of South Bethlehem has been terrorized, its citizens driven to despair, and, in fear of murder, arrest, and riot, people were compelled to arm themselves, not against a mob or an organized body of men who had made threats or had done illegal or unlawful acts, but to protect their lives, their homes, and their children against the State constabulary, which you caused to be brought here in a community where peace reigned and not a single overt act had been committed, and not a complaint received from any citizen during the three weeks in which a large number of men were idle, due to a cessation of work."

"No overt act had been committed or the peace disturbed until the hired strikebreakers, known as the State constabulary, appeared on the scene, and, finally tried under the direct supervision of Mr. C. M. Schwab's agents, immediately upon their arrival began a campaign of slugging, arrests, murder, assault, and riot without cause, the viciousness and brutality of which beggars description, and that under the authority of this great Commonwealth, done by your subordinates."

"Seventeen men are held as prisoners upon what we believe to be trumped up charges by the constabulary, for the purpose of covering up their disgraceful acts, their misconduct, their terrorism, which as herein stated resulted in murder, murderous assault, and false imprisonment."

"Incarcerated upon the steel company property, denied the right of counsel, these men were finally held under excessive bail and removed to the county prison at Easton, and all this in the year 1910, in the State of Pennsylvania."

Concerning this "Arrogance of a Schwab," Mr. Gompers, not Karl Marx, the revolutionist, but the "ameliorative" Samuel Gompers, on page 508 of his own periodical for June, announces: "There is not a factor lacking at Bethlehem necessary to fill out the conditions that precede an overturning of our statutes so that the workers, rather than the millionaires, may be favored by the government."

Really, friend Gompers, that language is almost a plagiarism on Marx, who said, "Monopoly and centralization at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their Capitalist frame work, and this is burst asunder." Marx said, the workers would wrest political power from the Capitalist Class, and Gompers says, the "statutes must be overturned" by the workers.

Gompers, the dealer in facts, agrees first rate with Marx, who dealt in nothing else but facts, however much Gompers the Contradictor and theorist, may throw mud at Marx.

But let us not forget our Surplus Value, the main fact which Gompers denies. Take this last illustration from Bethlehem, while it is fresh in our minds, and in Mr. Gompers' mind. Here are some ten thousand employees, a fair sample of the million others working for the United States Steel Corpo-

ration, which defies all Unions and practices the "Open Shop" strictly in all its branches. Their average wage is something like 16 to 18 cents an hour, say Two Dollars a week. Will Mr. Gompers contend these Ten Thousand Proletarians of Schwab create no Surplus Value for Schwab and Frick and Carnegie and Gary? If not, then where do the tremendous dividends of U. S. Steel come from? If these Ten Thousand get all they produce, so that there is no surplus left over that measly Two Dollars a day, what is Gompers kicking about, anyhow? Why that threatened "Overturning of our Statutes"?

Karl Marx says those Ten Thousand, beyond earning their Two Dollars, paid labor, are also earning each day a Surplus, for which they are paid nothing, "Unpaid Labor," from which all the dividends, all the profits, all the rents, all the interest, all the graft of all the grafters, are derived. But Mr. Gompers says that notion of Surplus Value is "demonstrably an error." Put it to a vote of the workers at Bethlehem which is right, Gompers or Marx, and Gompers may get ten votes from his organizers, if he has any there. Even the good Father Fretz would vote for the terrible Marx on that proposition.

Let us look a little closer yet at these Ten Thousand U. S. Steel workers. How much Surplus is it reasonable to suppose each one of them produces over his living, over the Two Dollars he has to get his living out of? U. S. Steel uses every latest process of manufacturing steel products. It owns everything, from the ore in the mine to the Railroads that use completed steel rails. There is no Labor Saving Machinery, and no economy of operation, which the richest "Magnate of Capital" has not utilized. As seen in the quotation by Gompers, its workmen are speeded up to the very highest intensity of labor. They work the longest hours and the greatest number of days. Their output is rapid and frequent. Their capital is never idle. This Corporation represents the very highest efficiency of the Capitalist New World of Machinery. It is not possible that its rate of Surplus Value can be less than 100 per cent. That is, for every Two Dollars that it pays its workers, the Corporation must secure a Surplus of another Two Dollars. It is more likely to be Four Dollars, but we will keep well within the probabilities.

How does that figure out? Ten Thousand employees at two dollars a day get wages, Paid Labor, amounting to Twenty Thousand Dollars a day. For as little as 300 days of work in a year that means 300 times \$20,000, for the year, or Six Million Dollars of Paid Labor. But the Surplus, or Unpaid Labor, amounts to the same sum, according to our reasonable assumption of each laborer's product equalling on the average Four Dollars a day.

That means, in plain black and white, the Bethlehem Steel Works, with only one shift a day, extracts a Surplus Value from their Ten Thousand employees every year of 300 days, amounting to SIX MILLION DOLLARS.

That is the perennial source of "Graft." When our Middle Class economists and apologists, including Gompers, Hunter, Russell, all the "muck-rakers" and most of the Socialists, begin exposing this Fundamental Graft with half the diligence and brilliance they now display in revealing the manner in which one "Beast" devours other beasts, but all Capitalist beasts, big and little, there will be something doing that is worth while. The Working Class, even including, let us hope, Samuel Gompers, would in such case, inevitably proceed to "wrest power from the Capitalist Class," as Marx says, or, as Gompers prefers to paraphrase it, the workers might "Overturn Our Statutes." For when once the simple proposition that every Ten Thousand Wage Workers now employed by the producing Capitalists at the average of Two Dollars a day, is creating, in addition to the Six Millions received in wages, another Six Millions of Surplus for nothing, six millions of Unpaid Labor every year to every ten thousand employees, when that plain, every-day fact is once comprehended by the working class, the days of capital are numbered. It is only because the leaders of the workers, like Mr. Gompers, play into the hands of the Capitalist Class in concealing this basic robbery of the system we live under, that the Proletarians are so divided against themselves and therefore incapable, so far, of mastering their opponents and taking possession of the wealth of life made possible by modern invention and progress.

We had intended to call the attention of Mr. Gompers to the "Mass of Misery" and consequent "Surplus Value," as predicted by Marx, to be found in other industries besides the Steel Works. But it is hardly necessary. You have only to refer to any statistics of wages received. For instance, according to the Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 311,185 "Trackmen" received in 1908 an average of One Dollar and Forty-Five Cents a day. Does Mr. Gompers think that wage scale is any evidence of his "upward tendency in our existing social order," or does it rather testify to the Marxian "Mass of Misery"? Let Samuel Gompers try to live and support his family on \$1.45 a day and then he may imagine there could not well be any further Downward Tendency and keep hold of life at all.

And what about the Four Million farm laborers in this country? Are their hours of labor any less than those at the Bethlehem Steel Plant? Do you know their conditions, Mr. Gompers? Not twelve hours, but fifteen and even eighteen hours on occasion, these harvest men put in. And at what an annual wage? Three or four months a year is all they can work at the harvest. What do the mass of them do for the rest of the year? Their average day wage must be even less than the trackmen or the R. Rs.

But take the manufacturing industries as a whole, as reported in the U. S. Census, compiled for the year 1904. The average annual wage was Four Hundred and Seventy-Six Dollars, or about a dollar and a half a day for a year of 300 working days. This is the average, Mr. Gompers, for 4,715,023 wage workers, according to capitalist statistics, which naturally make the best possible showing for Capital. Perhaps a million of these factory workers are included in the American Federation of Labor, but the most of them are not. AT LEAST FOUR MILLION WORKERS AVERAGING A DOLLAR AND A HALF A DAY. These are the most characteristic workers of the modern system, the factory workers.

These figures do not sustain Mr. Gompers' "Upward Tendency of the Modern Social Order." They look a good deal more like Karl Marx's "Mass of Misery," at least four millions of miserable human beings, to say nothing of those "dependent on them," the "old-fashioned families" of the optimistic Roosevelt.

Mr. Gompers claims to represent some two millions of workers in his Federation. But, according to his friend and Secretary, Mr. Frank Morrison, in a speech delivered in the presence of Mr. Gompers a week ago, "there are TWENTY MILLION LABORERS IN THIS COUNTRY."

What about those Eighteen Millions that are not within the A. F. of L.? When Mr. Gompers speaks, he naturally has in his mind those members of the wage class that he is most familiar with, the membership of the Trades Unions. But that is only one-tenth part of the Wage Class in the United States. But even among your best organized Unions, like the United Mine Workers, the average yearly wage of those employed is only some Six Hundred Dollars a year, or Two Dollars a day.

Among the unorganized Lumber Workers of the Northwest, the daily wage is reported by those best qualified to know, to be a Dollar and a Half a day.

Take it all in all, we leave it to our readers to decide the question between Gompers and Marx.

From a comparison of all these statistics, there must be some nineteen millions of wage workers in the U. S. who are receiving in wages an average of less than Two Dollars a day, the probability being that, counting the unemployed who make so large a portion of the Wage Class, the actual average daily income of the American workman is nearer one dollar than two.

That not only betokens and proves the "Mass of Misery and Exploitation" which Marx foretold. It also certainly marks a quantity of Unpaid Labor, or Surplus Product over necessary expenses, which totals enough to explain all the Trusts, all the Lords of Industry, all the hordes of grafters, all the luxuries and debaucheries, all the degeneracies and corruptions, which distinguish the "modern social order" whose "upward tendencies" so please Samuel Gompers.