

The Workingman's Paper

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ANALYZE MILWAUKEEISM

By Courtenay Lemon, of New York

(Reprinted from his letter in the N. Y. Daily "Call" of June 24.)
"Nothing succeeds like success" is one of those glibly short-sighted proverbs which seems to be no longer confined to the practical bourgeois and the cynical politician, but has become the unworthy and apologetic motto of many sincere but overawed Socialists, who hasten to sprinkle holy water on the hitherto distrusted Milwaukee movement, merely because it has achieved "success" by political "victory."

For years the Milwaukee movement has been regarded with doubt and adverse criticism by what was once the revolutionary majority of the Socialist party, on account of the insidious spirit of vote-catching conciliation and opportunism which shone through the utterances of its spokesman and its official organ. But now it has been sanctified over night by "victory," and is decorously greeted everywhere with safe-and-sane hurrahs, sometimes shouted in a louder tone to drown the doubt within.

The essence of the criticism directed against the Milwaukee movement has been, and is, that it sacrifices the revolutionary spirit, and compromises the fundamental principles of the Socialist movement to gain immediate political victory. In reply to this, the chief points made by the spokesman of the "Milwaukee Idea" are that on the contrary the movement there has been denounced by the bourgeois press and politicians as "red-flag revolutionism," that "it is impossible to abolish capitalism in one city," and that the city charter and the state laws prevent radical action in behalf of the working class.

The fact that the Milwaukee Socialists were attacked (before election) by the capitalist press as red-flag wavers and dangerous revolutionists, signifies nothing. Any opposition party, however innocuous, will be so characterized if it has a chance to win. Even so harmless and futile a middle-class reformer as Bryan was repeatedly attacked in this way. Look, rather, to the attitude of the capitalist press since the "victory." Does the Milwaukee election inspire any deep-seated fear within the bourgeois press? On the contrary, it is (after election) made the best of as the sort of "reasonable," "common sense," mild, reform Socialism which, however distasteful to them it may be, the bourgeoisie at once recognize as preferable to a really revolutionary social movement, and look upon as an offset to the dangerous sort of revolutionism which occasionally haunts them. The capitalists, of course, don't like the Milwaukee election, as compared with a conservative victory, but they much prefer it to the revolutionary spirit, which they fondly hope to emasculate and sidetrack.

As regards the second point of the Milwaukee apologists:
"We can't do anything revolutionary in Milwaukee; the laws forbid it; we can't abolish capitalism in one city." The reply of the Milwaukee opportunists begs the question. No one expects them "to abolish capitalism in one city." But we do demand them to show something besides supine acquiescence to existing laws and conditions. Whence this reverence for capitalist-made law imposed on the popular will by fraud and coercion? In the face of such law, has the Socialist movement nothing to do but to lie down and await the will of legislators selected by capitalists who frame laws in the interests of capital, which the capitalists themselves never hesitate to break for one-tenth of 1 per cent additional profit? Shame on such an attitude! Let the Milwaukee movement—if it really has the backing of the working people—let it smash through the capitalist laws, meanwhile fighting the issue in the courts, seizing what advantage it can from "the law's delay," making propaganda out of the adverse decisions of the courts, and carrying the fight to the state election, appealing to the people to elect representatives who will change these laws. If such a course cannot now succeed, then the Milwaukee victory was at present illusory and futile, and the Milwaukee movement could have accomplished more by the maintenance of a revolutionary attitude out of office, and the exercise of external revolutionary pressure against the existing state!

As it is, no doubt, the Milwaukee Socialists will give an honest administration, and accomplish some petty reforms. But what will this amount to. Graft is a vicious and ugly thing and we all wish to see it abolished, but it does not touch the real issue between capital and labor. **ABOLISH ALL GRAFT, AND YOU WILL PUT NO MORE WAGES IN THE WORKINGMAN'S POCKET.** The workingman has a merely platonic interest in the abolition of graft. The abolition of political graft is chiefly of interest to the capitalist, who wishes to escape the exorbitant demands of politicians for those things which he considers his natural right. The graft which the workingman is primarily interested in abolishing is the industrial graft which is levied by his employer on pay day.

Therefore, every revolutionary movement should drive directly at the question of wages and hours; should center its attention on the fundamental exploitation which takes place in the workshop, and is concealed in the pay envelope. But this the Milwaukee movement does not do—the eight-hour day and the union wage are secondary to a long string of other immediate demands.

There is something lacking in a Socialist mayor, who, immediately after his election by a big plurality, and while confronted with the opportunity to deliver a historic message to the working class of America, can think of nothing better than to reassure the corporations that business conditions will not be disturbed!

Three-cent fares and municipal economy on the by-products of garbage, however estimable these things may be, are not the stuff of which revolutionists and revolution are made; they do not make anybody's blood circulate, nor appeal to the imagination of the people. These little reforms are the natural work of the bourgeoisie—to be carried out by them as concessions to the pressure of revolutionary discontent—they are not the primary mission of the Socialist movement. Yet it is these things that Socialists are now asked to become enthusiastic over, while the idea of revolution is relegated to the position of a mere pious wish, useful for purposes of incidental after-dinner eloquence.

But the Comrades who think of something more than social reforms and electoral victories will not forever be put off with this attitude. Understanding Socialists will not remain satisfied with the pious platitudes of elementary propaganda, and the easy witticisms, with which Comrade Berger attempts to meet these questions.

They have seen the Socialist movements of Europe provide berths for such men as Briand and Burns by these identical tactics. The potential American Briands and Burnses of the future can already be foreseen in the movement, and if the opportunist tactics which are now coming into vogue continue to increase, the ultimate result will be to disgust the working class with political action altogether. This would be most unfortunate, as political power is a weapon which a revolutionary working class can use with immense effect, hand in hand with direct action by revolutionary economic unions.

But if opportunism continues to develop at the present rate the inevitable result will be eventually to split the party into two organizations, one standing for ministerialism and social reform, with the rigor of the class struggle deprecated as non-respectable and inexpedient, and with the revolution remaining platonic in the background as a pious wish; and the other standing for revolutionary propaganda by means of the political forum in co-operation with the direct action of the future revolutionary unionism. Such a future division can be avoided only by strenuous effort directed to keeping the present party organization true to the principles of uncompromising Socialism.

All talk about the advertisement value and educational value of the Milwaukee victory is beside the point. It reminds one of the commercial fakery who advertise something "just as good." Its educational value

amounts to just this: Milwaukee Socialism misleads the voters as to what Socialism really is, and we have to laboriously begin all over again to teach them what Socialism really is; we have to unlearn what they imagine they have learned from Milwaukee.

In view of the eulogies with which the Milwaukee movement has been swallowed by "The Call," it seems strange that so little attention has been paid to the struggles of really revolutionary Comrades in New Castle. These Comrades are not respectable opportunists. They are workers who are hated and despised by the bourgeoisie. (When a powerful Socialist movement in any locality is not hated, and despised by the bourgeoisie there is something suspicious about it.) Yet their struggle has been comparatively neglected by "The Call," both editorially, and in the news columns, where their struggle for a free press against capitalist courts has been inconspicuously "buried," instead of being "played up" and editorially supported in a manner commensurate with its national importance.

The instinct of the bourgeoisie in these matters is rather sure. They persecute "The Appeal," because it now takes a revolutionary attitude, persecute the Spokane speakers, and the New Castle Comrades, because they instinctively sense the fact that such uncompromising agitation is a fundamental menace to the existing order, while they tolerate Milwaukee, and even welcome it as "safe" and "common sense," because they recognize that it is comparatively harmless.

AULT'S JUNK

One of the most encouraging things I have heard in recent times in connection with the union movement was the statement of the president of the State Federation of Labor that not more than one out of every five unions in this city had replied to a circular letter he had sent out asking for support for the direct legislation movement. He also stated at the same time that the farmers were much in favor of the movement and were making strenuous efforts toward its success. I do not suppose that it ever occurred to the president of the State Federation of Labor that the fact that the farmers are for a thing may be a very good reason for the industrial workers to be against it, but the significance of his statement struck me as being momentous. Does it really mean that Labor is at last beginning to cease chasing after things that can mean no benefit to it either now or in the future? If this is true, may we not hope that Labor will go one step further and begin to look around for something to do that will benefit it?

The Seattle "Times" of Monday has an account of the murder of a union longshoreman named Ryan by a scab-herd named Horn which was so palpably doctored up to suit the capitalist masters of both men that I took a little time to investigate the matter and get something like a true version of the affair. The "Times" states that Horn was peacefully wending his way homeward when he was attacked by three or four union thugs with knives and in self-defense was forced to pull a gun and fire at them, killing one. The truth of the matter, so far as I could find from a conversation with several parties close to the affair, is that Horn has been foreman for the Citizens Industrial Association (bosses') union and caretaker of the headquarters for scabs on the waterfront. He was a former member of the union, and when the union went on strike some two years ago refused to go out and so lost membership. Since then he has more or less consistently scabbed on the longshoremen. Meeting some of the members of the union in a saloon he made some insulting remarks which led to an altercation culminating in his pulling a gun and shooting a man entirely innocent of any connection with the squabble but whom he knew to be a union man. At the coroner's inquest Horn was defended by the attorney for the Pacific Coast Steamship Co., one Gorham, showing the intention of the bosses to protect their hireling to the limit. He has been bound over for manslaughter, instead of murder, but the union men held as witnesses against whom a charge of attempted murder was threatened have been released.

One of the most disgraceful acts of any part of organized labor in this city in recent years is the reported return of the molders to a nine-hour day without being requested by the bosses in the face of the strike of the machinists for eight hours. If the report is true it is my opinion that the rest of organized labor should take some steps to discipline the Molders' Union. It is no wonder, in the face of such actions, that the spirit has gone out of the unionism in this city and the employers are gleefully looking forward to the return to the nine and ten-hour day in many establishments now enjoying eight hours. And it is no wonder, either, that there is a tendency on the part of many to desert the old line unions and brave the chances of success of the I. W. W.

Probably the most important labor matter under way in this city at the present time is the Machinists' strike, yet in its latest issue the "Union Record," official organ of the Central Labor Council, had not a single word about the strike and the machinists were forced to send out a small circular stating their side of the case. I am gratified to learn from this statement that the union's demands have been granted by about twenty employers to date, with more in prospect, but the chances of the machinists would be much greater if the rest of organized labor would, as Organizer Cornelius, of the Carmen's Union of San Francisco, told the Central Labor Council, "Stop talking about the identity of interests of all workers and act accordingly."

The Socialist Party of Washington held its annual state convention at Tacoma July 4. I learn from reliable sources that of the eighty or more delegates entitled to be present, not more than forty-five appeared. About seventy-five per cent of the delegates were entirely new to my informant (who has attended all the conventions of the party for the past ten years) and about the same proportion were either business men, professional men or farmers. The wage workers were so scarce as to be noticeable. From start to finish D. C. Coates of Spokane, M. J. Kennedy of Seattle, and Frans Bostrom of Bellingham, State Secretary, were the guiding hands of the convention.

But little of importance to anyone, and nothing of importance to the working class was transacted—except it be that it is important to the working class to know that the Socialist party is emphatically not their party, but the party of the farmer and the small business man. There was a little discussion over whether a resolution reciting that the Socialists did not propose collective ownership of the land except that used for speculation or exploitation should be made a part of the platform, or be passed separately. Coates insisted that the best way was to pass the resolution separately, so that nothing need be said about it in the industrial centers, and in the farming districts it could be stated that it really was a part of the platform. But the farmers did not want to be in doubt in the least about the matter, so it was made a part of the platform.

It was also decided to assess the membership a dollar each to put two organizers in the field—one in the east and one in the west. Both Coates and Kennedy stated that they did not want the job, but that the intention was to send out "men of ability, and not the soap-box hoboes who have been sent out previously by the Socialist party in this state," so it is an easy guess as to who is to get the three dollars a day and expenses and railroad fare as long as the dollar per member holds out. There was some little objection from one of the wage workers present to the three per and "expenses," but it went through with a whoop.

It was resolved to hereafter pay particular attention to the distribution of literature "calculated to reach the people in general" and when a motion was made to have it read "to reach the working class," Coates asked suavely, "Don't the working class comprise ninety per cent of the people in general?" After which the resolution was amended to read "reach the people in general and the working class."

If anything more is needed to convince the ordinary worker in this state that the Socialist party does not rep-

resent his interests we can trust those at present in control to furnish what further reasons may be necessary.

Organizer Cornelius of the Carmen's Union made a talk to the Central Labor Council last Wednesday night in which he told some truths about the Philadelphia car strike which are not generally known. Among other things he said, "I must take my hat off to the Socialists for getting out the workers in the Baldwin Locomotive Works. Not a union man in the city except the Socialists believed it could be done, but they did it. The Baldwin works had six thousand workers totally disorganized and they came out in a body. The employers in Philadelphia said, 'What, our employees strike? If they do, they will not get another day's work from us.' But despite that statement of the bosses, more than forty thousand unorganized workers went out on sympathetic strike with the carmen and organized, attended meetings, and when the time came to go back to work, went back, and told the bosses they had come back in order to secure funds to finance the street car men in their fight. This entire forty thousand are now members of organized labor in Philadelphia, and from being one of the poorest cities in the country from the standpoint of union organization, Philadelphia has become one of the best organized. Many people say the Philadelphia strike was lost, but when it is known that the carmen are back at work, have their union, the scabs displaced, and forty thousand members added to organized labor in that city, it can hardly be said that the strike was a failure."

"Harmony of Interests"

Extract of Speech of Fred. W. Heeswood, Before Convention U. M. W. of Washington, Seattle, July 5, 1910.

You have heard of this doctrine and this law of harmony of interests between labor and capital. You might as well try to harmonize the louse and the dog. The dog will at least try to scratch the louse off of him. The intelligent working men will make the strongest kind of organization possible to take the louse off their back so they can get the product of their toil.

You have heard about this "Fair Day's Pay for a Fair Day's Work," and I ask any miner in this room to tell me what the fair day's pay for the fair day's work is. If you get 60c for getting out a ton of coal, or 80c, I don't know what it is, and the boss gets \$9 or \$10 or \$18 for a ton of coal, I ask you out of that \$10, what would be "fair"? Is it \$3 or \$4 a day, or where are you going to draw the line on this fair day's pay for a fair day's work?

There is only one fair day's pay and that is the fair product of our toil. The natural resources of this country should belong to the people.

Now the whole world will go crazy over a nigger fighting a white man. They will blow their fingers off celebrating something which they do not possess here on the Fourth of July.

Abraham Lincoln told a body of working men not long before he was assassinated, he says: "Fellow workers, I have more fear for the success and prosperity of this commonwealth at the present time than I had when it was right in the throes of the Civil War, because the interests of this country are beginning to corral the land and the property and take up the natural resources and credit it up to themselves." He says: "If you do not bind together to withstand these properties and fight it out, in time the natural resources will get into the hands of the monied men."

I contend on the whole, we, the working class, today are more degraded in America than the negro who was sold on the block for two thousand dollars. He was at least looked after—he was kept like a good horse.

Had you looked at the horse parade yesterday you would find the lumber trust horses were fat, sleek, shining, great, round eyes on them. They looked beautiful going down the street. Some hump-back, didn't look like he had the price of a meal to eat; he was dragging the horse. There was money wringing up in the horses, nothing in the white slave.

I say there is no such thing as a "Fair Day's Pay for a Fair Day's Work," except it be a fair product of the working class themselves who produce the wealth themselves, who railroad on the transportation department themselves, who slave in the mines of the mining department of this country themselves, the fair product of the mines, mills and factories of this country that produce the wealth.

The sooner we can get an intelligent organization and base our organization on intelligence and learn to think for ourselves, the sooner we will get our economic freedom, and as long as we are divided, as Mrs. Titus said this morning, she said: "One thing I don't particularly know, just which tactics will be the best. One thing I do know, that you have got to have solidarity, you have got to unite some place before you get your freedom."

THE FIGHT

The blessed old fight is over and the soreheads are still sore.

There may be some members of the Proletariat who will object to comparing the Working Class to Jack Johnson; nevertheless the comparison is there, no matter how odious it may be, likewise some other comparisons, and the fighters for Proletarian supremacy can very well take an object lesson from the doings of Monday.

The blind faith in Jeffries and the unreasonable attitude toward every one who dared venture the idea that the despised darky could overthrow the idol that the sporting lords had erected is near kin to the same blind faith in existing institutions. They can't even listen to the suggestion that a lowlier one can bring down the idol and when the thing is done it is wormwood and gall.

There are those who look upon the victory of Johnson as prophetic, as symbolic of the overthrow of our so-called "civilization" by the under dog, that mighty giant who is now in training for the most wonderful and most stupendous fight of all times.

The training is just begun. The mighty fellow is just finding out that the muscle is there, that the clear headedness is there, that the size is there, that the strength is there, that the intellect is there; in fact that every requisite for the successful fighter is there, needing only that steady day after day training to bring everyone of these qualities together

In order to be able to give the knock-out blow!

And what of the other giant, who is to stand or fall before that formidable enemy? He, too, is beginning to prepare for the battle, but his strength is being overestimated. He has lived his six years of ease, subsisting off the gains stolen from his opponent and when the fight is on it will be found that he is simply a shell. The size is there, the huge bulk, but the intelligence, the muscle, the clear headedness—these things he has passed on to the other man. Out of the very conditions he has imposed upon his adversary have been born the qualities that bring victory.

Already the stakes are up, and the odds—money against life. The date is still open, but the arena is the world and there is no limit to the rounds.

But there is rumor of Middle Class interference, and in that event there will be indefinite postponement of the fight. However, it will be only postponement, for sooner or later the battle between the Proletaire and the Master will be fought, and the victor will be, not, as now, representing the enslaved and despised, but will be the enslaved and despised. Will not represent a race that has been born to servitude, but will be a world-wide class that for untold years has been forced into poverty and degradation. Made arrangements for your seats? Better hustle! Standing room will be at a premium. B. F.

JENSEN'S JABS

The Wheat Harvest is on in the state of Washington. Workingmen are beginning to move their homes (blankets) to the harvest fields in order to get an opportunity to assist the farmer in gathering his golden crop.

While talking about harvesting, I would like to suggest to those members of Organized Labor who think that Wage Workers and farmers should join hands in politics as well as other undertakings, such as co-operative stores, that if they want to see the identity of interests between Labor and Farmers in action, all they have to do is to spend a month or so working for some poor Palouse farmer during the harvest.

I will guarantee that anyone who follows my suggestion will never again advocate that Farmers should be permitted to "help" Labor. There are two things a harvest hand always has in plenty, namely, Work and space on which to sleep. If you are used to the eight-hour system you will be given a chance to work on a double eight-hour basis—eight hours in the morning and eight in the afternoon. If you, after the first day's work, should happen to inquire of the farmer which portion of his house he has reserved for your sleeping accommodations, he will point to four quarter sections of land, giving you the choice of any of these four, providing you do not come near any of the buildings.

Many of these farmers are "Socialists." They swear by the "Appeal to Reason." In fact, a very large percentage of the 13-14,000 "Appeal" subscribers in this state is found among the farmers of Eastern Washington. They will tell you that the government should own the railroads so that their wheat could be carried to the market more cheaply. "Isn't the Post-office run on a Socialist basis? Well, why not have all other public utilities owned by the government?"

On a certain night of the week some of these farmers will attend the meeting of their Socialist Local, planning for the "emancipation" of the tollers. The next day they would gladly sign a petition to the governor asking to have convicts come and work on the roads. If one of their "hands" should have the audacity to quit after having worked eight hours, the shock would kill them.

I have been working eight hours per day here in Seattle so long now that I have come to the conclusion that a month or so in the harvest fields might be a refreshing change. If, after arriving there, I find that I have been unjust in my criticism of the farmer, I promise to let you know.

That "Socialism" is becoming a force among the farmers is evidenced by the large number of "Socialist" papers springing up in Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas and Nebraska. One of these is "The Farmers' Journal," Abilene, Texas. Just at

present one of its chief demands is the impeachment of President Taft for being a tool of the trusts. At the same time it is inviting Wm. J. Bryan to apply for membership in the Socialist Party. The following is an editorial from "The Farmers' Journal":
"When Democrats deny William Jennings Bryan a court house in his own state for the purpose of making a speech in favor of democracy as expressed in the initiative and referendum, then indeed doth it seem that the Peerless should make haste to get out of the camp of aliens and sinners and make application for membership in the Socialist Party, the only party that even pretends to be democratic."

Well, I used to pride myself in being a Socialist but now if anyone asks me if I am a Socialist, I always answer by asking: "It depends on what you mean by 'Socialist.' Do you mean a follower of La Follette, a Bryanite, a Hearst man, an 'Insurgent,' a 'Milwaukee Socialist,' a 'De Leon Socialist,' or do you mean a Wage Worker who wants his class to stop the master class in its robbery of the products of their toil?"

The term "Socialism" has come to be much overworked. Some term, less popular, is needed. A. J.

"MY GREATEST ADMIRATION."

Odesa, Wash., June 28, 1910.
E. B. Ault:—
Friend Harry: It's been so long since I saw the old town and any of the bunch at "The Socialist" office that I expect I'll be queer, there as here. Here among my friends my economics are quite a joke. The farmer and store keeper middle class will not be interested in the subject. They are watching Milwaukee and when that mess begins to smell they will sniff around me and sarcastically nod and smile while I rant. I expect to get over to the State Medical meet next month at Bellingham and will probably see you. Send the Paper for six months to —, and charge the same to me.

Best regards to the Dr. and Mrs. Titus and with my greatest admiration for your noble work, I remain, yours for the wage class supremacy in the impending revolution.
LEE GANSON.

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MILWAUKEE AND TAMPA

Milwaukee Socialism has reached to Florida, as witness the document reproduced by photographic process on this page.

Some six years ago, this paper printed a Socialist Party platform from Olathe, Kansas, entitling it, "Brick or Cement, Which?"

The Milwaukee motto is, "An Honest City Administration, An Economic Administration, A Clean City, A Square Deal, A Fair Day's Wage."

Notice in this Tampa production: (1) It is addressed "To Citizens," not, To Wage Workers, nor even, To Workingmen.

Yet we suppose a good many workingmen will read these criticisms of ours and wonder what is our grouch.

Sure thing. Most workingmen are led by the nose through what they read in the daily papers.

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

Those who are thus blind to our meaning in this criticism of Milwaukeeism must agree with the brutally frank editorial we saw in a Spokane Daily this very week.

What real Socialism demands and must get is the Abolition of Wages, the stoppage of the robbery that always has and always will occur in the payment of wages.

Advanced Socialism

"The Socialist," Seattle, Wash.

Dear Comrades: I have been kept on the eternal "hustle for grub" in points remote from the conveniences of civilization for the past two years.

Vague rumors of victory in Wisconsin, approaching success in Connecticut and New York have reached me and I have several times been on the point of seeking further and more accurate information.

HERBERT C. DAVIS.

Socialist Municipal Platform

TO THE CITIZENS OF TAMPA: WE the Socialist Party of Tampa, in Convention Assembled, have nominated candidates for the various City Offices to be filled at the general city election to be held June 7th, 1910, and declaring ourselves to be in full sympathy with socialist principles and philosophy.

The nominees are as follows: For Mayor, S. ELLIOTT (Proprietor cider factory); For Councilman at Large, ANGELO LETO; For Councilman at Large, ALBION M. WINDHORST (Proprietor stenographic Agency).

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THE PROLETARIAN

By Friedrich Engels

"Far more demoralizing than even poverty in its influence upon the workingman, is the insecurity of his position, the necessity of living upon wages from hand to mouth, that in short which makes a proletarian of him.

"The smaller peasants are usually poor and often suffer want, but they are less at the mercy of accident; they have at least something secure. The proletarian, who has nothing but his two hands, who consumes today what he earned yesterday, who is subject to every possible chance, and has not the slightest guarantee for being able to earn the bare necessities of life, whom every crisis, every whim of his employer may deprive of bread, this proletarian is placed in the most revolting, inhuman position conceivable for a human being.

"The slave is assured of a bare livelihood by the self-interest of his master, the serf has at least a scrap of land on which to live; each has, at worst, a guarantee for life itself. But the proletarian must depend upon himself alone, and is yet prevented from so applying his abilities as to be able to rely upon them.

"Everything that the proletarian can do to improve his position is but a drop in the ocean compared with the floods of varying chances to which he is exposed, over which he has not the slightest control. He is the passive subject of all possible combinations of circumstances, and must count himself fortunate when he has saved his life even for a short time; and his character and way of living are naturally shaped by these conditions.

"Either he seeks to keep his head above water in this whirlpool, to rescue his manhood, and this he can do solely in rebellion against the class which plunders him and then abandons him to his fate, which strives to hold him in this position so demoralizing to a human being; or he gives up the struggle against his fate as hopeless, and strives to profit, so far as he can, by the most favorable moment.

"To save is unavailing, for at the utmost he cannot save more than suffices to sustain life for a short time, while if he falls out of work, it is for no brief period. To accumulate lasting property for himself is impossible; and, if it were not, he would only cease to be a workingman, and another would take his place. What better thing can he do, then, when he gets high wages, than live well upon them?

"The bourgeoisie is violently scandalized at the extravagant living of the workers when the wages are high; yet it is not only very living 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 Tolstoy to show. His "Turn the other cheek," and his "Love your Neighbor," were embodied in his life and pre-eminently in his death. He was a real miracle of sympathy, if historic, and an equally miraculous ideal, if literary only. In either case, those who believe in him profess to follow him. He is their great exemplar.

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

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

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

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

Why, then, is not this Prime Economic Fact, which is the pivot of all the scientific achievement of Karl Marx, pushed to the front by his professed followers? Why, for instance, in the Platform of the Socialist Party of the U. S. in 1904, was there only a single reference to the fact of Unpaid Labor, and this reference dragged in as a subordinate clause, "above its substance wage"? And it may be said here, that this clause was only inserted at the instance of the writer of the present editorial. The omission of the whole fundamental Theory of Socialism was entirely and quite unconsciously overlooked by all the rest of the Platform Committee, consisting of such representative Socialists as Debs, Mally, Herron, Hillquit and Berger. Precisely as an Ecclesiastical Conference or Synod will pass through a week's sessions and omit all reference to the Essentialism of Love to the Christian Community, so the Conventions of political Socialists gather and debate and adjourn without once mentioning the foundation principle of Proletarian Emancipation, namely, the Abolition of Unpaid Labor.

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

the modern Socialist organizations. Such a battle would necessarily be a Wage Workers' battle; for the Middle Class, including Business Men and Farmers, are not robbed as Producers, but as Consumers. The Wage Class never even gets its hands on its own product, but passes it in the very process of production into the possession of the Capitalist employer. Marx knew all this perfectly, and therefore he had no time to spend on any but the Proletarian Class. All other classes may be disregarded in comparison with this Class of Wage Workers, particularly in view of its recent amazing growth in number and keenness.

No political organization dares to take the Marxian position. Therefore we are saying in another article this week that, until a Wage Workers' Party appears, there is nothing for Proletarians to do but to join such Proletarian bodies as already exist, to fight with them for such temporary advantages as are obtainable from the Capitalist Class at present, and more especially to force to the front of the battle-line that tremendous issue, The Abolition of Unpaid Labor, the Total Abolition of Unpaid Labor.

Thus, too, will Karl Marx come into his own and no longer be betrayed in the house of his friends.

The Middle Class Rebellion

(Reprinted from our issue of April 9, 1910.)

Aside from the Trusts themselves, the most conspicuous phenomenon in the United States today is the Rebellion of Small Business against Big Business.

Pinchot versus Ballinger is at bottom Small Business rebelling against its exclusion by Big Business from all business. Gifford Pinchot himself said last Christmas: "For whose benefit shall the national resources be conserved, for the benefit of the many or for the use and profit of the few? The great conflict now being fought will decide."

Ballinger and Taft have Big Business behind them. There is no practical doubt Ballinger was selected for his cabinet position by and for the enormous Capital invested in Metal Mines, in order to insure to the Guggenheims and their associates the possession of the Alaskan treasures of copper and coal. Pinchot's contention is that these treasures should be retained by the Government so as to give equal opportunity for their use to the "American People"; that is, to the small investor and prospector. He inveighs against "Excessive Profits from the Control of Natural Resources Monopolized by a Few."

There are many theorists who, following Marx slavishly, claim the Middle Class is too timid to put up a fight for itself, that it is disintegrating and has no future. But the American Middle Class has different traditions and training from the "Petty Bourgeoisie" and small traders referred to by Marx. The best representative of this American Middle Class is Theodore Roosevelt, the Strenuous. No one will deny that he is a good fighter. Other words of Gifford Pinchot have the ring of battle in them, as follows: "We have allowed the great corporations to occupy with their own men the strategic points in business, in social and in political life." "The only thing to do with them is to fight them and to beat them." That does not sound like timidity and incapacity.

The "Insurgents" among the Republicans, like La Follette and Cummins in the Senate and Norris and Poindexter in the House, with their Small Business backing of Farmers and Merchants in the West, are only another manifestation of this Middle Class Rebellion.

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

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

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

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

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

Bear in mind again what Pinchot said in that remarkable interview of his last December: "The Conservation issue is a great moral issue. When a few men get possession of one of the necessities of life, either through ownership of a natural resource or through unfair business methods, and use that control to extort undue profits, as in the recent cases of the Sugar Trust and Beef Packers, they injure the average man without good reason, and they are guilty of a moral wrong."

Such a call, addressed to the expropriated masses of the Middle Class, appealing to their interests and conscience alike, is certain to be received with militant fervor. What right, it will be demanded, have the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Guggenheims, the Armours, to segregate the vast wealth produced by this Industrial Age and to use it to debauch municipal councils, state legislatures and courts, and even national officials, creating a Reign of Graft unexampled in all history?

To this national question, put in the name of "The Common People," and of "The Right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness," may arise an instantaneous and overwhelming Middle Class vote in favor of the Restraint of Monopoly by means of Government Ownership of the Monopolistic Trusts, including the Railroads, the Alaskan and other Coal Mines, the Oil Trust, the Meat Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Copper Syndicate, and all other "Bad" Trusts.

This will be "Bourgeois Socialism," the kind that has for its battle cry, "Let the Nation Own the Trusts," the kind of Socialism that Bryan was charged with in the last Campaign, the kind of Socialism that is growing popular, the kind of Socialism that Victor Berger and Samuel Gompers represent, and that the Socialist Parties of both Europe and America are coming to represent.

Undoubtedly, such a Socialism is reactionary both in itself and as compared with the uninterrupted development of Monopoly.

It aims to preserve the present system of Capital and Wage Labor. There is no suggestion in the program of Roosevelt or Bryan or Hearst or of any other of these "Radical" spokesmen of "The Common People," that the appropriation of profit from the employment of wage workers shall cease, that the competitive wage system shall be abolished or that there shall no longer be a Proletariat.

Rather, their ideal is a Middle Class, capitalistic, free-for-all Paradise, like the present, only the tyranny of Monopoly and of the Industrial Giants shall be prevented by Public Ownership of those which have already attained uncontrollable dimensions.

We call this reactionary, because it practically preserves the Status Quo of Wage Exploitation and puts off to some distant future the Emancipation of the Wage Class from its compulsory service to the Capitalist Class. A large competitive Middle Class, based on Capitalist Profit as at present, might maintain itself indefinitely in power, because fortified by the enormous income to be derived from the National Industries taken over from the Trusts, thus relieving the Government from all necessity of dependence on Taxation and legislative Budgets; a condition which now exists in a modified form in Russia, Prussia, Japan and in all countries where Public Ownership already finds a partial exemplification. Tsar Nicholas and Kaiser William are both enabled to sustain their oligarchies, in spite of popular dissatisfaction, because of the money obtained by their governments from the administration of the State owned Railways, Telegraphs and other "Natural Monopolies."

On the other hand, if the Trusts are allowed to proceed to their "natural" conclusion, then the organization of industry into larger and larger units, completely eliminating the "Little Fellow" by precipitating him into the Proletariat, will go on apace, with accelerating speed. At the present rate, how long will it take for the Harriman and Hill systems of Railways to effect a combination which will be able to crush and absorb all the other Railroads in the United States? Attorney F. B. Kellogg, arguing for the Government

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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UNPAID LABOR

Opening Address to the District Convention of the United Mine Workers of the State of Washington at Seattle, July 5, 1910

BY HATTIE W. TITUS

Mr. President:—I am very proud to have this opportunity to say a few words to members of the United Mine Workers' Union. I want to say at the start that many of us who have been working for years to do what we could to help the wagers to emancipate themselves from their present condition. Look to the United Mine Workers of this District and to the United Mine Workers of the United States to take the lead in bringing about the emancipation of the wagers.

Now, I just want you to remember two or three things. Of course, it is hard for me to use a few words and stop, because I am a woman. You know a woman, when she gets started, is awfully hard to stop, when she is talking. And the one thing I said to myself when I was coming up here was, "Cut it out, cut it out, just cut it out." There are so many things that are whirling about in my brain that I would like to get rid of, that if I got rid of them all, you would not get home, you would not get out of this hall tonight. So I have got to start in by cutting out a lot of the things that I wanted to say. But there are two or three things that I want you to take away with you. I want you to remember at least two of those things as long as you live, at least as long as it is necessary for you to remember them, in order for you to wake up and get to work to make things better.

Now, these three things that I want you to remember: The first you don't have to be reminded of, and that is that you are poor. You know what poverty is. Most of you know what it is to be without a dime in your pocket, sometime in your life. Many of you haven't the price to pay your railroad fare when you have to go from one town to another to get a job, but you have to hit the ties to get there. When you get to a town, you have not the price of a bed and you have got to sleep in a box car or under a wagon or stand up against the sidewalk and fall to sleep and perhaps get landed in jail for it. If you have families, then you know what it is to see your children without shoes; you know what it is to see your children without enough food to keep them healthy, without enough clothes to cover their little bodies.

You know all this, most of you. I know when I came up here to the Labor Temple I did not see any automobiles out here with your chauffeurs in the front seat waiting for this convention to get over, to take you back to your hotel or other places. I want to know how many here have automobiles. Possibly the President. He ought to have an automobile. And the Secretary and Treasurer—but Mr. Wallace here, I know where he lives and I know he comes to town on a nickel fare. So he has not an automobile. I bet you, that you can ride in is the "bubble" that runs between Roslyn and Cle Elum. I have been in that myself. For 2 bits you can be pounded to death between Cle Elum and Roslyn.

Now, I don't have to tell you about poverty, but I know perhaps more about poverty, widespread poverty, in the United States than perhaps some of you do, not from my personal experience, but because my husband and myself have been in the East side of New York in the slum districts, in the North End of Boston in the slum district there. We have seen more than one family in one room in the basement with the open sewage flowing through that basement, all sitting, eating, sleeping, a dozen or more, in that one room in the basement. We have lived in the worst district in Seattle for years. We know what it is to live down at the junction of what used to be called "White Chapel" and "Black Chapel," the worst section of this city, where people on the Grant Street Bridge were drinking water beside an open sewage. We know all this. I could tell you quite a good deal, perhaps, about poverty that some of you don't know. Poverty is the cause of all the misery and crimes of the world, is widespread. It is here. It is fact, and we cannot evade it.

Now, the next thing that I want to bring to your mind is that all of this poverty, the misery that comes from it, the crime which comes from it, is unnecessary. Don't forget that. It can't have to be poor. Just remember that. You are poor, but you don't have to be poor.

The next thing that I want you to remember is that when the wagers of this state, the wagers of the United States, the wagers of the world, make up their minds that they don't want to be poor any longer, and will stand together, that they can and they will abolish poverty from the face of the earth. (Applause.)

Now, that is where all your trouble comes from. You don't have to be in trouble. There is a way out of it, and it is up to you and the wagers to get yourself out of this fix. Nobody else is going to help you.

Now, I want you to carry away with you, if you forget everything else, just two words—and I'm not going to tell you what those two words are, just now. How much time have I, Mr. President?

The President: All the time you want, Mrs. Titus.

Mrs. Titus: I don't want to take up too much time. I am afraid I may if I get to rambling off. Now, these two words I am not going to tell you, but I am going to tell you what they are, as long as the minutes get. That is not the kind of a union that I would like to belong to. I don't belong any more because I am not working at it, as they say. I have my pass cards at home as a past member, but I am not in the union now. Now, I don't know how this unity, this solidarity of the working class will

porter said the next morning, "Mrs. Titus appeared at the meeting, and she was short and fat. She planked herself on the platform and raised her eyes to the audience and then started in." And nobody who read the "P.I." ever found out what I said. They simply remembered that I was short and fat. Well, now, I don't think that is very important, but I can say anything today that you will remember, if I can say anything today that you cannot forget, that is going to help any one man here, why then I shall be paid for coming here.

Now, I want to tell you why you are poor. There is a reason for this widespread poverty. The reason is this, all of the wealth of the world, all of the capital, which is the part of the wealth used in producing more wealth, all the wealth and all the capital in the world has not been paid for. This building has been built out of lumber that has not been paid for. I don't mean by that that the Labor Temple Committee has not passed over money in exchange for this lumber to the mill which delivered the lumber, but I want you to remember though that this lumber has never been paid for. This table has never been paid for; the electric lamps; the globes; the fixtures; the windows. Everything that you see wherever you go has never been paid for.

Well, that seems perhaps a startling statement to some of you. Nevertheless, it is true that all of the wealth of the world has been produced by those who worked for wages, and they never have been paid for the product of their labor.

All of the product of their labor, whether it be lumber, whether it be fixtures, anything, everything—all the product of their labor has been taken away from those who produced it. All of it.

And then just enough, or the equivalent, the exchange value of just enough of that product that has been made by the wagers is returned to them to supply sufficient strength of body, food, clothing and a shelter, to enable the wagers to get out the next day, or the next week and produce more wealth, which will be taken away again.

So the people, the wagers who have made all of the wealth that we have, have never been paid for their labor. Now that is true. Don't get away from that. You have only been paid for a part of your labor, and that is a small part, very small part of your labor. The most of the wealth has been taken away from you who produce it, without paying you for it.

Now what is the reason of your poverty? The keynote to this whole situation is found in these two words, Unpaid Labor. UNPAID LABOR. That is the reason for all of the poverty, all the misery, all of the crime in the world. The reason that we have these conditions is because of UNPAID LABOR.

I hope you will never forget those two words. I hope you will understand what they mean to you and to the rest of the wagers. When you go back to Cle Elum, Roslyn, Black Diamond, Wilkeson, Carbonado and the other towns from which you come, when you ride in the cars, if you have enough money left so that you don't have to hit the ties to get home, when you look and see the beautiful finish of these cars, remember that, like the handwriting on the wall, everywhere you will see, Unpaid Labor. Look at your seats, the elegant finish, the plush on the seats, the carpets in the aisle, the fine lamps on the wall, the windows, the beautiful veneering and decorating—all of it is Unpaid Labor. I hope those two words will give you the answers. I hope that you will see those two words so that you will never forget them. Yes, that is the reason for all of the trouble in the world, Unpaid Labor. Don't forget that.

Now, if that is true, that all of the wealth of the world represents Unpaid Labor, and if that is the cause of all the poverty, misery and crime, what are we going to do about it? What are you going to do about it? What is a first-class doctor has a sick person come to him, the first thing he finds out is what is the matter with him. Well, now, that looks reasonable enough. Some doctors don't do that. They take you pulse, they look at your tongue and they guess you have got typhoid fever, and then they prescribe for typhoid fever. You may have pneumonia or smallpox or anything else. Sometimes they guess right and then, of course, you come out all right, but if they should happen to guess wrong and they give you the wrong kind of medicine, why, then, you may die as a result.

So the important thing to find out is what is the matter, and when you find out what the matter is, why, then, of course, you want to remove the cause. That is simple enough. It is logical. Even a woman can understand that; that is, if she has time enough to think—for she has to think while she is washing dishes and taking care of the babies and washing, scrubbing and ironing and doing things like that. That is the only chance we have to think. But, anyhow, it is simple enough. If you know what the cause is remove the cause.

Now we may come to some parting of the ways. My idea of the best way to remove the cause may not be your idea of the best way of removing the cause. But there is one thing that we must agree upon, whatever the matter is, you cannot do one thing unless you stand together. That is absolutely necessary. And if you stand together, you are in a position to say that we want the earth and we are going to have it, and you will get nothing short of the earth. Don't be satisfied with anything short of it. Just keep right on until you get the whole earth before you stop.

come about. It may be that we will have to see a great deal of trouble before it does come about. But of one thing I am absolutely sure, that the solidarity of the wagers must come about before you can get what you are after. (Applause.)

I had an apartment house in this town a few years ago trying to get a living out of it so that my husband could give his entire time to the labor movement. I always used to get, of course, union men if I was in a position to have something done, rooms papered or the woodwork painted, or anything of that kind. I had a lot of painters there one day when the building was being repaired by scab carpenters, or non-union carpenters in the employ of the landlord. Of course, scab, in the strictest sense, means the man who is taking the place of a union man on strike. So that we have, I believe, the three definitions of wagers—the union man, the non-union man and the man entirely outside of the unions who is fighting unions. A non-union man may not be actively fighting the union, but on this job there were non-union carpenters and union painters. I said to one painter, "Why, how is this? I thought you belonged to the union." "Oh," he says, "I do. I belong to the painters' union." "Well," I said, "this job is being done by non-union carpenters"—I called them "scab carpenters." He said, "Oh, I know that. That has nothing to do with us." He said, "The painters decided just a month or two ago that we would go it alone, and all that we would look out for was the painters; a union man might be working side by side with a carpenter; that is nothing; if the painters are union, that is all we care about."

The bricklayers were working by themselves and were not affiliated with the other unions. All they cared for was whether the bricklayers on that job were union. They did not care whether the stonemasons were or not. They don't care whether the carpenters were or not, or the plumbers. It didn't make any difference to them if all the rest were scabs if the bricklayers were union. Union carpenters could go out on strike, but that didn't affect the union bricklayers on the same job. It has happened over and over again here in Seattle that union men worked on the same job with scabs.

Now, you know that is true right now. The machinists are on strike. The molders have stayed while the machinists are on strike for an eight-hour day. The molders have decided to accept a nine-hour day right in the midst of the strike in the same industry. The boltermakers, according to the "Times"—of course, we don't know whether the "Times" is telling the truth, we never know, or how much of the truth they tell or how much is a lie. We have to discount always. But according to the "Times" the boltermakers—no, this was the report about the molders. I heard personally from a boltermaker just day before yesterday that the boltermakers had passed in their union a resolution not to help the machinists in their trouble, just let them go it alone. The boltermakers have got an eight-hour day, and they are so afraid, if they should go out with the machinists, or help them at all, that they would lose their eight-hour day, that they are not going to help the machinists in their effort to get an eight-hour day.

You know, when the telegraphers went on strike just a few years ago, that the trainmen went to the keys and took the place of the striking telegraphers. They were members of a union and they scabbed on the members of another union. You know, when the trainmen went on strike that the switchmen's union took the places of the trainmen, and then when the switchmen went on strike the trainmen would take the places of the switchmen.

Well now, there is something the matter with that kind of union business isn't there? I will leave it to you, you men. Of course, something may be the matter with my grey matter because I am a woman and I have not had the chance, you see, of getting my brains in working order as you men have. There is no doubt about that, but it looks perfectly plain to me that there is something the matter with this kind of union business.

Until the musicians recognize you as brothers, until the United Mine Workers recognize every other member of organized labor as a brother, you are not going to get anywhere, I don't care how hard you try. You may get a little bit right now, as the boltermakers are getting. The reason for that is because of local conditions, because they cannot yet ship the big boilers from the east across to the west coast on account of the east. Those big boilers back in the east are practically built by machinery, with only a few men to handle the levers. They are not riveting the boilers in the east, the men are not doing that work any more. Machinery has taken the place of the boltermakers in the east, and just as soon as the Panama Canal is finished and they can ship these immense boilers around here to the west coast, why then the boltermakers will be out.

You may possibly win a little strike in the locality once in a while and get a little bit more of the product which you make, of the wealth that you make, for a little time; but that won't count for very much. What you want is to make up your minds that nothing short of a full product is going to satisfy you, and if you make up your minds to that, nothing short of the solidarity of the wagers can get it for you. (Applause.)

Now, you have got to have a broader unionism. That is one thing. Industrial unionism has got to take the place of craft unionism. There is no doubt about that. And the sooner the better. But what can you do? When one little union, as I have pictured, stands all by itself in fighting other unions, it cannot do much of anything. You United Mine Workers have come together here in convention to get better conditions, to get shorter days, to get a little more. What you want is to make up your minds that nothing short of a full product is going to satisfy you, and if you make up your minds to that, nothing short of the solidarity of the wagers can get it for you. (Applause.)

"Now Mr. Mine Operator, I want to have more pay. I don't want to work as long at the mine. I want you to put in safety appliances. I want you to look out for that open trolley that is light there in the Roslyn mine so near to our heads that in spite of everything someone gets killed every little while." Now, if Morgans did that, why, the mine operators would look around and look him over and say, "Well, my time is a little valuable this morning. What did you come in here for to take up my time? Twenty-three."

Now, you know that the only way that you can get better conditions and shorter hours and more pay is for every member of the United Mine Workers to stand together to get all that from the mine operators, don't you? But, if that is true of a single union, why isn't it true of all the unions? It certainly is true, simple enough.

Three years ago, I think about three years ago, I was down in Portland when the I. W. O. strike was on against the mill owners. There were about, I don't know, 2,500 men. I think, out on strike. They had come to the conclusion that if they could not get more—I don't remember what the wages were, but everybody knew in Portland that the men could not live and support their families on what they were getting. It was a reasonable strike—it came out there was a reasonable cause for this strike.

But one of the millowners there—the top one, I think, had an interview with the Portland "Oregonian" in which he made a statement similar to this: "Why, the millowners have not had a vacation for several years. We need one. We would just as soon the strike would be on as not. It will give us a rest. We have enough to take care of us. But the strikers—well, we will just let nature take its course with the strikers." Which meant, when their stomachs and their backbones met, that they would be glad to come back to work. And then he added, "We will find out who is who."

That is the attitude of the millowner. He would be glad if the strikers—the sooner the strikers came to the starving point, the sooner the strike would be settled. That is what he meant; and he was not at all worried as far as he was concerned about that "and we will find out who is who."

Now, what I wish could happen is for every wagers, for all of the wagers, to say to all of the millowners, to all of the mine operators, to those in control of the steel industry, the cotton industry, the beef industry, to all that are in control of all of the capital of the country, "We are going to show you WHO IS WHO."

That is the attitude you want to take. You don't want to take any cringing attitude towards that class, because they know your power. You have not yet found out your power; but when you do find out—and if there is any sort of a thing, I don't care what it is, that will bring you together as the capitalist class are together, for you to show them "who is who." Instead of their folding their arms and telling you that you are nobody and "we are it"—you just go to the capitalist class and say, "You are nobody and we are it."

Now, that is the development of a class spirit, but don't be afraid of that. There is a fight on. Many of you haven't found it out yet but there is a fight on. It is the biggest fight in the world's history. It is the fight between capital and labor and that fight is not going to cease until labor comes out on top.

Now, I want to give you just a few reasons why or explain to you how it is, that those who have studied the question have come to the conclusion that the reason for all of this trouble is because the workingmen, that is, wagers who have produced all of the wealth, have not been paid for what they have produced. That is the keynote of the whole difficulty, as I said before.

Now, there was a time, a hundred years ago, fifty years ago, in some industries, when those who produced practically all the labor that was represented in the product, paid for when it was finished.

That time has gone by. I am not going into the details of it but that time has long gone by. In the cotton industry, in which a weaver weaves 300 times what she could weave on the hand loom—300 times—if you are in doubt just go by the "Times" window and watch that perfecting press in the "Times" window that has displaced at least a thousand pressmen who used to use the hand press. When Benjamin Franklin was here, he used to have to get out one paper at a time with the hand press.

and because all who are at work are not paid for the product that they turn out on those machines but only get just enough to live on from day to day.

Why, the rich—just read the papers. Those people who are in possession of the fruits of production, these people who are in control of all the machinery and all of the raw material, all of the mills and all of the factories by which wealth is made; those people have such a time to try and get rid of this wealth so that they can keep you wagers making more wealth for them, that they go into all kinds of extravagances; extravagances that you would be startled at, if you knew about some of them.

What do you think of buying a diamond collar for your little black and tan, your little dog? You men who don't have shoes enough to put on your babies' feet!

What do you think of conditions whereby the ladies, who do nothing, who toil not neither do they spin, can give a dinner to a lot of pet monkeys, costing thousands of dollars? What do you think?

What would you think if you bought a hat for your wife or your sweetheart, if you can afford to have a wife—that cost two thousand dollars! I am not telling you fairy tales. These are absolute facts.

Why, right here in this town, we had a little pet dog down in the Rainier-Grand Hotel. I mean, the proprietor's wife had a little black and tan, just about that long; and this little black and tan had a French nurse with a cap to attend it. And there was an order put in to the cook—I know the cook, that is the reason I know about this—to have the breast of turkey or, if he could not get turkey, if it was out of season, that breast of chicken cut in dice just so large for the little black and tan each morning, and the French nurse would come down with a tray and take this white meat out to the black and tan. Well, this cook was A. E. Fowler. Some of you perhaps have heard of him. He is really a cartoonist. He is an artist. But he is not working at it because he has to hustle around and get bread and butter enough to live. He is now the editor of the "White Man." Perhaps some of you have seen the first issue of the "White Man" in San Francisco. Well, when he got that order Fowler said, "Well, I will be hanged if I will have a little black and tan dog for a boss. I have had all kinds of bosses but that is the limit." So he quit his job. And the reason for it was that he was afraid he could not suit the dog. I don't think he has ever been back cooking since.

Now, when the people who have taken all the wealth away from you and have used all they possibly can of this surplus product, which, always remember, represents Unpaid Labor; when all the storehouses are full, why things shut down.

They say it is overproduction. They say, if they can, by saying that the reason that they shut down the mills is because of overproduction; and it is overproduction for these people who cannot use up their wealth which is made so fast. They have only got one stomach apiece and they can only wear one suit of clothes at a time. And though they have extravagances, they go to Europe and they give these big receptions for dogs and monkeys, even when the wealth is piled up so fast that they cannot use it and then the mills shut down, the factories shut down, the mine shut down, everything shuts down over the country because of overproduction, so they say.

Overproduction for the few. Overproduction for perhaps twenty per cent of the population of the United States and underconsumption for all the rest. Underconsumption for eighty per cent but overproduction for about twenty per cent.

That is all. There is no such thing as overproduction as long as a child in the United States is without a pair of shoes, without clothes, without food, as long as you and your wife and your children haven't everything that is necessary to make you comfortable, there is no such thing as overproduction.

Now, they have taken all of the wealth away from you who have made it by legal process. They are supported by the Courts, by the Legislatures, by all of the laws of the United States Government; but, nevertheless, this process of forcing the wagers to produce wealth because they are in possession of the means by which all wealth is produced, this process of forcing you to produce wealth and then taking all of that wealth away from you is the greatest crime in the world's history. THERE IS NO CRIME TO COMPARE WITH IT.

Talk about stealing diamonds or stealing money or stealing a loaf of bread. That is not anything at all compared with this great crime of taking away from you at the point of a gun, figuratively speaking, all that you produce and then giving back to you just enough to bring you around the next day and produce more.

Does it make any difference to you whether the gun is a Colt's revolver or whether the gun is the pressure of the opportunities; that is, the factories, the materials, everything that gives them the opportunity of taking away from you what you make. It is the same thing. That is, in one case, the law is against you; and, in the other case, the law is with you. But the eternal justice of the thing, the reasonable right of the thing, is just the same. It does not matter how they get it away from you, if it belongs to you. In plain words, it is a big steal, is it not? It is the biggest steal that there is.

outside of the jails. There is where you find the biggest criminals.

I remember a picture in "Life" not long ago, where there were a half dozen men working on the rockpile in their stripes and their prison garbs and all, and a man went by in his automobile who looked back with disdain on these men who were working at the rockpile, and underneath it says, "Who is the greatest criminal in this picture?"

The greatest crime of the world is the confiscation of wealth that is going right on in the industries day by day. You are afraid of that word confiscation. Why, they say if the Socialists should get into power would that these people have. Oh, no. We would not confiscate it. It has already been confiscated. We would just simply take back what has been confiscated from us and we would talk about paying for it afterwards.

Now, that may seem revolutionary to you, some of you. It is revolution. There are some of us, and I hope you will all come to that conclusion, who do not hesitate to say that we are going to stop short of nothing less than getting all of the capital into our possession which is now in the possession of the capitalist class. That is, if we want it. We want it. But the principle is just the same. It belongs to the wagers. It has been taken from them and they should have it. That does not mean by any means a man's house, his automobile, his yacht or his piano, his ground, his furniture, anything of that kind. They can have all they want of that. We don't want that.

What we want is merely that part of wealth which is used in producing more wealth and which always carries with it the exploitation of the wagers who have produced that wealth. We are going to put a stop to that. That is what we care anything about. They can have all the automobiles and extravagances they want, all that they have had, that they got away from you. What we want is to stop that sort of thing from going on and then the people who do the work of the world can make enough machinery if they have the raw material, if they can get access to the mines and get the iron, if they can get the coal to make the steam; and they can make enough machinery with the raw material, machinery and labor power, which we have plenty of. Why we can make all we want, all we need, and that will settle this question of poverty once and for all.

As soon as the wagers make up their minds that that can be done by standing together and they make up their minds to stand together, that can be done and will be done. There is no doubt about that and that is all that the capitalist class is really afraid of. They are awfully afraid that the wagers will get enough light on this question to understand the real situation; that they will decide to stand together as they stand together; that the wagers will understand that their interests are never at any time identical with the interests of the capitalist class; that they will understand that this is a fight over the production of wealth; that they will understand that they never can get the product of wealth until they make up their minds to this thing, to stand together, to undertake the situation, and then to take possession.

Now, don't be afraid of that word revolution. That is, what I have been telling you would mean a bloody revolution, but not necessarily a bloody revolution. It might come about in the most peaceful way possible. It simply means a change. That is what revolution means.

As long as you are satisfied with things as they are, there will be no change, but when you wage workers wake up to this question and understand it you are going to change things; you will do it, if you stand together. That will mean revolution because the present wage system by which you only get a part of what you produce, will have to go.

The present capitalist class who are so burdened with riches that they don't know what to do with it, will not have the opportunity of taking this wealth any longer away from you, and then poverty will be abolished.

You will have enough to eat, you will have clothes and shoes for your families and for yourselves. You can even have automobiles. You can have nice houses to live in. Because for the first time in the history of the world there is raw material enough and machinery

enough and labor power enough to convert the raw material into all the kinds of wealth necessary to make everybody in the world comfortable.

If you all were at work, if you all had access to the machinery of production, if you all got all that you produced, there would be no such thing as poverty and the misery and crime that comes from poverty, any longer.

And don't be afraid of that because it spells revolution. It may not be as much of a revolution in the sense of bloodshed as we celebrated all over the United States yesterday. The Fourth of July is a celebration of a revolution and everybody is proud of it. But there is one thing about a revolution. We are never proud, or most of us are afraid, of a revolution before it happens and then after we get some daylight into our gray matter, after the revolution, we are all tickled to death that it has happened, and then we begin erecting monuments to the people who were tarred and feathered before the revolution and celebrate with pride the great victory of one set of people over another.

Now, I hope that I shall live to see, though I hardly expect it, the next great victory, and I hope it will be a peaceful revolution. I hope it will not be long before the wage workers in this country and in the United States will understand this proposition and stand together and take what belongs to them.

Remember the two words as you go back to Cle-Elum, everything you see belongs to Unpaid Labor, and that is the keynote to all the crime, misery and poverty of the whole world.

I thank you very much for your attention. (Applause.)

The President: Brother Delegates, I believe that I voice the opinion of every delegate and the members of our district, that we appreciate very much the splendid address that Mrs. Titus gave us here to-day and also for the beautiful flowers she presented to us this morning. For myself and on behalf of this district I wish to say I appreciate it very much and I believe that the time will come when the wage workers will be united in one solid organization instead of being divided as they are at present. The present condition and system that we have to live under forces us into organization, and if it was not for the present system that we have to live under, we would not have to organize. If some of these great wealthy people would have the least spark of humanity in their body they would do something for us; they would think something about us; but I don't believe they have any humanity in their bodies at all. And therefore, we have organized into labor organizations in order that we may be able to protect our rights and our lives—especially the miners, as the most dangerous place on earth is where the miners have to go to work in order that they may earn their living.

Good Words

Dear Old Comrades:

Well I guess it's about time you heard from me. I'm sending a few subs that I was able to "cop." The "Revolutionary Socialists" around here have been so accustomed to digging up 25 cents for "The Appeal" that it's a little bit hard to get them used to subscribing for a real Socialist paper that costs more than 25 cents a year, but I guess a few issues of "The Socialist" will get 'em into better habits. I'll send you a little \$ \$ help soon—next pay day.

With best wishes, I am "Yours for the Revolution Proletarian."

HARRY HOWELL.

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