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WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

The WESTERN CLARION

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS ALONE

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PIPE DREAMS AND CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS

Youthful Imagination Not So Readily Inflamed Today as Formerly.

One still occasionally meets with the optimistic individual who professes to believe that "there is still room at the top" of the social ladder, and with the capitalist scribbler who is paid to foster the contemplation of such a beautiful mirage by the youth of the day, particularly by the youth of the higher ranks of the working class and that hybrid assortment known as "the great middle class." One can still occasionally run across a prominent paragraph in the daily press or an article in the magazines from the pen of a Carnegie or a Rockefeller, recounting with unctuous satisfaction their early struggle to get a foothold on the social ladder, and dwelling with pride on their virtuous self-denial of sleep and recreation, and prodigality in the use of candles in the effort of fitting themselves for the positions they now so gracefully adorn. Fond parents, whose view of contemporary conditions is taken from the standpoint of things as they were in their youth, and who unconsciously assume that what is truth once is truth for eternity, still indulge in pipe dreams of what the future may hold in store for their son and heir, and hold up to him the examples of these "self-made" "captains of industry" and "pillars of society" as pictures of what the future has in store for the boy who is determined to "get on," and willing to forego the pleasures of youth for a season in order that he may climb out of the ruck and ultimately attain the felicity of consorting with the social "elect," an example in his turn to which future fond parents can point for the purpose of inculcating the like lesson of the virtues and rewards of youthful abstinence.

But what is truth for a time is not truth for all time and the morals, maxims and ideals of a past generation, in these days of kaleidoscopic changes in the social relations, are not applicable to a succeeding generation. Omitting more than a passing reference to the fact that the great fortunes of today were not built up by he practice of the middle class "virtues" of thrift, abstinence, and industry, but chiefly by means of theft, fraud and murder, practiced on the actual producers of wealth, and also on their fellow competitors for business supremacy, the day when aspiring youth could look forward to attaining a position of even moderate comfort and "independence" in middle age, measurable by the standards of these modern days, must be included in that vague and shadowy period so often alluded to by poets, capitalist historians, fond parents, and other pipe dreamers as the "good old days." Within the lifetime of many now living the greater and most momentous victories of man over nature have been accomplished. Science, once the pastime of a select few, has been called upon in every department of civilized man's activity to strife with natural forces and conditions, to chain those forces to do man's will, and to change conditions in accordance with man's wish. It has made possible industrial operations on a scale beyond the imagination of the last generation, forging ahead in its conquering progress at such a rate and in so many directions that what a few score years ago would be looked upon with awe and misgiving, as something in the nature of a miracle, now receives nothing but a passing notice in the daily press, and is forgotten in the announcement of a fresh discovery, a new application of science, marking another milestone passed on man's march to complete mastery over nature.

And yet—keeping pace, step by step, with the progress of society, its marvelous conquests over natural forces, growing in exact proportion as the application of science to industry endows man with the potentialities of a god in his collective mastery over nature, grows the ever-increasing sum of human misery. The fruits of the marvelous discoveries of science and the social activity resulting therefrom are enjoyed, not by the society that produced them, but by an ever decreasing fraction, who give in return for the benefits they enjoy from the activity of the social organism—nothing. The attribute of capital with which the means of wealth production are endowed ensures to the owners of the title deeds to that property ownership also of the time, the mental and physical energy, of the vast mass who, by the merciless grinding of the stones of exploitation and competition, have been ruthlessly wrenched from all secure hold on the means of life, and forced into a competitive struggle for a precarious existence in the modern slave market, a struggle getting yearly fiercer and more hopeless.

Science, while it has resulted in multiplying man's productive power a thousand fold, has necessitated production on such a vast scale that it has grown beyond the powers of the individual owner of capital to control. The trust has been evolved to meet the changing conditions, or as a result of them, and in the not distant future seems itself to be destined to be replaced by the capitalist state in the most important fields of national activity. Instead of a competence at middle age ensured to the thrifty and industrious youth by the acquisition of a title deed to some capitalist property, his ambition is now directed no higher than to the attainment of a position as a well paid slave to the owners of the dominant capital. In the same issues in which appear the magazine and newspaper articles referred to will be found, in ironical contrast, the advertisements of the modern correspondence school, in which the young man of today is pointed to the only path along which he can hope to progress by exercising the old fashioned "virtues" of thrift etc. and studying into the small hours of the morning. No pretence is made that by so doing he may attain what is termed "independence." Such a bait would no longer appeal to the young men sought for to any appreciable extent, when submitted to consideration in the light of every-day knowledge and experience. Their position is no better than that of the chattel slave who was picked out by his master on account of possessing the required capabilities, and removed from the coarse physical labor in the cotton field to keep his master's looks or clothes in order. Never at any time sure of retaining his position, the educated and highly trained modern wage slave, like his counterpart in ante-bellum days, is liable to be thrown back into the ruck by the mere whim of his master, once more to pit himself against his fellows in the beast-like struggle for existence spurred on by the ever threatening menace of the unemployed—starvation.

Such advertisements seek to attract and hold his attention by evil conceived pictures of an intelligent, ambitious looking young fellow, with grimy hands and standing in line at the pay office window, waiting for his weekly wage, and he is exhorted to "improve" himself by studying along a chosen course, with the incentive, not of attaining "independence," but, as before stated, of climbing out of the social ruck of "wage" labor and attaining to the distinction of a "salaried" worker—but nevertheless still a slave. Small wonder is it that such an incentive fails to awaken enthusiasm in an ever increasing number of the young men of the day and that they form 50 per cent of the audiences gathered to hear the Socialist analysis of the capitalist system of production.

J. H. B.

"Work for the night is coming" then sleep so you can repeat the same damnable operation the next day—for the sole benefit of that parasite class the capitalists. Then call yourselves "free citizens," and rejoice.

CLEANING CARPETS BY HAND.

Doolan me bhoy, did yez ivver play at bein' a shteam shovel? Man dear but its an illigant pastime. All yez have to do is to take a pick in th' wan hand, an' a shovel in the other, an' th' foreman 'll tell tell yez how to make th' dirrt fly. Th' was a time Doolan' when th' Oirish and th' Dagoes wuz th' uncrowned kings av excavation activities; but that was befoore th' inthroduction of th' "modern instruments of production an' disthribution," as the great Socialist orator, Mike Mulligan, used to say. Oi' tell yez, Doolan, me bhoy, Presidint Roosefelt is right, we are sure living in "shtrenuous" times. B' th' power that be Oi don't know what the wurrld is comin' to at all at all. Shtreet carrs an' carriages runnin' without horses, guns bein' fired without shmoke or repoort, and didn't Oi see th' superintindent lightin' his pipe wid a piece of glass an' th' sun lasht week, "to save matches," says he, wen I axed 'im th' reason.

I tell yez, Doolan, it. can't lasht Father Murphy was roight—the wurrld must come to an end sooner or later. An' thin, there's th' shteam shovel, Doolan. Oi can't fr' th' life of me get away frum th' brute. Didn't Oi ask Mike Mulligan wan night what'ud become of th' Oirish an' the Dagoes whin th' bosses all had shteam-shovels to do th' wurrk wid? An' what did Mike answer, says you. Well Oi'll tell yez th' answer, Doolan, seein' yer a frind uv mine an yez won't laugh at me fer axin him. He says, sez he, th' wurrkin class, he sez, havin' made the shteam-shovel, sez he, will wan day, "not yet, but soon," he says, take possession by force if necessary, of the things that they have created by their labor-power says he. An' th' crowd clapped their hands wen' 'e said it, Doolan, an' I don't know but he wus speakin' th' truth, me bhoy. But what he meant I couldn't tell yez if Oi lived as long as St. Patrick 'll be remimbered in th' ould sod.

However, its a blessin' all th' bosses haven't got shteam shovels or may be th'd be a lot more applications for our jobs on th' perlice foorce than there are at prisint, an' that's no small number, says you.

But what I was goin' to tell yez about, Doolan, was beatin carpets. Did ever yez beat carpets in yer back yarrd Doolan? Well, lasht week, my Bridget says to me, Mike, she sez I want yez to help me to beat th' carpet she sez. You see she wuz havin' her spring cleanin', an' the way th' house was turned inside out an all th' furniture in the back-yarrd made me think uv th' cursed English land-lords in ould Oireland—Wimmen do be queer creatchers entoirley, Doolan, me bhoy. They all want to be turnin' th' house inside out ivery springtime, an be jabers th' scrubbin' an' cleanin' an' dustin' an' beatin' they do beat McFadden's Physical Culcher lessons intil a shmaller quantity than th' remnants ov an Oirish wake, me bhoy, so it does. Well, I takes a shtick in me hand an' Biddy she takes wan in her hand, an' b' the powers, th' dust was risin' 'til th' sun was obliterated entirely; an' Oi tell yez, Doolan, me han's is that sore ivver since Oi wouldn't dare to thry an' put han'cuffs on a two-year-old kid, be jabers. So Oi says ter th' wife this morning, Oi says: "Biddy, dear," Oi says, "th' bees machines fer carryin' passengers," Oi says, "an' we quit walkin," Oi says. "Th' bees machines fer washin' close, an' we sends thim t' th' laundhry," Oi sez. "Th' bees machines fer makin' th' bread, and' we gets it fr'm th' baker," Oi sez. "An' be gorrer Oi'll nivver bate carpets be han' agen if Oi live ter be as old as thon ould shoemaker at number ten Hogan's Alley," Oi sez. An' be th' powers, Doolan, Oi mean it, me bhoy, so Oi do.

Let th' machines do th' wurrk, Oi sez. Divil th' odds who owns thim.

J. B.

Timothy's Epistle

Timothy, to the brethren which are scattered abroad, and especially to those who inhabit the wild and inaccessible places of the west. Greeting.

It seemed good to us to once again mail unto thee our lastest catalogue brethren, inasmuch as there are those among you who say, "beware of false teaching." "Fight shy of Timothy." "Boost your own town;" and many other such vain babblings in their desire to confuse your minds and to turn your hearts from the truth of the gospel of the perfect law of liberty and evolution of which we are the humble and unworthy ministers (some manuscripts of late date have "most unworthy—ahem!" but this is thought to be merely the interpolation of some cynical translator).

But we rejoice to know that your faith remains steadfast and that, daily, many saved and repentant sinners are being added to the fold, as is witnessed by the many free-will offerings which are flowing in from the brethren to the church at Winnipeg. (Some older manuscripts have "Jerusalem").

Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote; of the profane babblings and oppositions of certain of your own scribes, I would not have you ignorant brethren that these men are but hirelings of the small capitalist and petty tradesman of your city, and cannot, therefore, know the freedom that maketh for truth, nor the truth that maketh free. Exhort and reprove them with all authority, but with gentleness, knowing that thou also art a slave of the conditions under which thou livest.

We have read with much pain and sorrow the dissimulation of one who says "who pays all Timothy's expenses of inscribing these gorgeous catalogs? Why not deal with your own town and so cut out all this waste of advertising, and proclamations from the housetops?" And on another page this false prophet, whose soul shall be seared with a hot iron, saith "we believe in advertising so we advertise our advertising." Out of his own mouth doth he stand condemned. While we are in the capitalist flesh brethren there is no escape from the abomination of advertising. If these profane men were to study the scriptures more, and especially Marx' Gospel, they would know of a surety that your small trader is but a pawn in the game of life. It is inevitable that he be swallowed up by the big capitalist, who in turn must bend to the trusts and combines, who in turn must bow the knee to the state, and finally, brethren, that the state also may dissolve that the people may be all in all.

There be many things, brethren, which show us that the day of salvation is drawing nigh and of these we shall speak at another season. Meanwhile be diligent in your teaching and continue to point out the great and silent workers who are steadily but surely working out our salvation, ever remembering with joy and gratitude that one of the greatest of these is Timothy.

GEO. F. STIRLING.

IN UNION IS STRENGTH

See those poor deluded creatures,
Working there with might and main;
Calloused hands and care-worn features,
Bending down beneath the strain.

Life to them is full of sorrow,
Ceaseless grinding every day,
Nothing brighter for the morrow,
Work or starve the masters say.

Think of all the wives and mothers,
Who can tales of sorrow tell;
Think of all our luckless brothers,
Bearing tortures worse than hell.

Shall we still be meek and humble,
Trembling at the least command,
And with all our fellow workers,
Beat and robbed on every hand.

Shall we take the sops they fling us,
And in tones submissive send
Praises to the great Creator,
While in toil our lives we spend?

No! a host indignant answer,
Such a system soon must cease;
We'll unite to win the battle,
And our class from bonds release.

Fellow-workers join the chorus,
Let our watch-word be, unite;
We can sweep the world before us,
If in harmony we fight.

J. A. M.

PREPARING FOR SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

Clearing the Ground for Settlement of the Agricultural Question.

The problem of the farmer appears, on the surface at least, a hard one. It is to the credit of the Socialist Party of Canada, its members and the Western Clarion that they and we are going after the proposition in a determined way. The S. P. of C. will have to do much propaganda during the next few years amongst the prairie provinces, and it is well that we start as "right" as possible.

In order to clear the ground, it might just as well be stated that the writer is not putting up as a profound economist, is not looking for an economic scrap with any one and is not going into the thing with the idea of making a fool of anyone. Neither, in this article, do I intend to do much more than perhaps clear the ground a little. For myself I have been mostly an industrial worker, and would perhaps be considered by some as getting outside my own particular sphere in taking up the farmer at all. But a man does not always need to be right in the game to understand it. Very frequently it is the onlooker who sees the most of the play and I am inclined to think that an understanding of the art of butter-making or even a knowledge of the science of grain-growing may not be necessary to the understanding of economics as they effect the agricultural section of the working class. That this question has not been thoroughly, or even superficially gone into need not cause us any fear. The writers of the Socialist Party of America, almost without exception, it is true, dodge it—this, be it remarked parenthetically, is not said because of any personal spite against either the Socialist Party of America or its writers; but simply because it is a fact. A. M. Simon's book on Socialism and the Farmer has a certain value, but helps us very little so far as arriving at any conclusions are concerned. Also some others with whom no, or little, fault can be found along other lines become ambiguous and appear to be attempting to say nothing as ponderously as possible on this subject. None of them have even done as well as a member of the S. P. of C. in his (avowedly) superficial statement of the case—in fact for its size and scope Com. Budden's "Slave of the Farm" is to my mind the best yet. But to get on with the subject, and to put it in shape for others to follow.

What is a farmer? is undoubtedly the first question to ask ourselves. And right here is an important point. We must at all times distinguish between "working farmers" and "land capitalists." Nobody has so little sense as to call the owner of a colliery a coal miner; but it appears to be quite the fashion to refer to individuals who have three or four farms rented to tenants as "farmers." Such, however, is not the case. These individuals may have been farmers once (just as the owner of the colliery may have been a genuine coal miner), but as soon as they start to rent out their farms and live on the rental, they become "land capitalists," and must be treated as such.

Below the land capitalist comes that economic hermaphrodite the "capitalist farmer." I fancy I hear some of the economists snort at this term. Nevertheless, I fancy it is a fairly correct one. The position of the capitalist farmer—one, say, who owns a good many hundred acres and employs a couple or more wage workers the year round. I am of opinion with comrade Lestor, that such are best left alone in a general sense. They will in the near future either become "land capitalists" pure and simple or through the failure to keep up the pace demanded by the evolution of farm machinery or the investment of much capital in agriculture by the capitalist class (which has already it appears, almost run industrial production into the ground) be forced back to the ranks. We can safely leave them, as we leave the petty bourgeois industry, to evolution. Of course there are odd members of this subdivision who will come to our party by reason of past experiences or through the possession of an acute mentality which will enable them to grasp the scientific exactitude of Socialist theory, and we may also get a few "sympathizers" through sentimental reasons, but taking it all round, a revolutionary party and programme will not appeal to them, and to repeat Com. Lestor's words, they can safely be left alone.

Below the various grades of capitalist farmer comes the main body of the farmers proper. These can, I think, be considered as rightly belonging to the workingclass and will be more so in the future, in as much as it is always becoming harder, through the increased cost of farm machinery, for them to develop into land capitalists or even "capitalist farmers" and in fact the tendency is for such to become renters, or (as agriculture develops still further), farm wage workers. I do not think, as do some comrades that the fact that a "farmer" employs a man or even a couple of men, for, say, two weeks in the year at harvest time, is likely to render him less susceptible to revolutionary propaganda. The fact that he figures as a "boss" two weeks in the year is offset by the fact that he (and his) work like blazes all the rest. Of course it may be pointed out that the working farmer is different to the average wage worker in as far as he may "own" the land and machinery he uses to work the land. Com. O'Brien gets round this by taking social production. This is all right. But when it comes to telling the agriculturalist that it is simply because they do not control the railroads that they are "exploited" (as I have heard him do) then, with all due respect (however much that may be), to the Rocky Mountaineer, I beg to state that his economics and his logic will neither of them stand investigation. Ownership of the means of transportation is not necessary to ensure large profits. Hundreds of members of the capitalist class have, and do, extract large amounts in profit without ownership or control of the transportation system. Neither will it do, as has been done, to say that the ownership of the farm is "purely nominal" because the farmer, on the average, simply gets a living. It would perhaps, be nearer the truth to say that there are certain tools of production which on account of their primitive character bring little or no profit to their owners because they are not sufficiently large or up-to-date enough to give rapid or large production (production of large quantities of commodities) with little expenditure of labor power. Com. Lestor has touched on this proposition in his mention of the quantitative relation of constant and variable capital as it affects the production of commodities However, Mr. Editor, I find I am pressed for time. Next week, with your permission, we will follow up the thing a little farther and in the meantime the bunch can chew this over and sharpen the axe for your,

"HIBERNICUS."

"ANTITHESIS"

The heart of Man is full o' hope
For Heaven, ne'er a Hell.
He drinks too deep o' priestly dope
And canna save himsel'.
Enthralled by superstition's chains,
A meek and humble slave,
Free thought can't stir his addled brains,
His fitting place—the grave.

But some there are who do not fear
The tyrant master's voice.
With ire, return the traitor's sneer
And take the "manly" choice.
The whole earth shall their kingdom be,
With body, and with mind
They dare and do, and will be free,
This hope of humankind.

—J. S. Robertson.

Medicine Hat.

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SATURDAY, MARCH 25th, 1911.

LABOR'S SHARE

Not the least amusing, not to say ridiculous, characteristic of those who take it upon themselves to better the lot of the workers, is their cheerful disregard of any knowledge of what the workers lot actually is. One would suppose that the first thing that would occur to any one undertaking such a task would be to inform himself more or less thoroughly of the facts of the case. But, as a matter of fact, this seems to be the very last thing that occurs to him, if it ever occurs to him at all.

For instance, it has of late become quite fashionable for labor unions and kindred organizations to declare it their high purpose to secure for the worker "a larger share of his product." Than which nothing could more clearly display their absurd lack of understanding of the workers position.

The fact of the matter is that the worker is entitled to no share whatever in the product of his labor, and, by the same token, gets none of it. He works for wages—that is, he sells his power to labor, and delivers it on the job. His boss buys that labor power and pays for it, on the average, its market price—wages. Whose labor power is it? Most assuredly it belongs to the buyer—the boss. He sets his boughten labor power to work producing and whatever it produces must certainly belong to him. What claim has the laborer to any share of it?

There can be no dispute whatever, and is none, about their respective shares of the wealth produced. The only matter in dispute is as to the price of the labor power—the wages. The boss wants more labor power for less money, the worker wants more money for less labor power. It is purely a matter of haggling over the price of a commodity. The buyers of labor power try to beat the price down the sellers try to keep it up. In trying to do this the latter are compelled, by necessity, to combine. And a combination of the sellers of labor power is just what a labor union is; in no way different to a retail grocer's association or the like.

That is the stand the Clarion took before we arrived on the job, and that is the stand it will continue to take for a minute or two yet. At first a most woeful wail went up that this would utterly blast the hopes of the S. P. of C. That such a doctrine was nothing short of an insult to "organized labor." That the unions were being wilfully antagonized. This wail has died down some in view of the fact that, in the west at any rate, the relations between the S. P. of C. and the unions are better than where a careful policy of not antagonizing the unions and of assisting them in their class struggle on the industrial field has been in vogue.

From being insulted at being pointed to as more or less unsuccessful combinations of commodity peddlers, the western unions have gradually been turned to regarding themselves as such and, accepting the situation, and have consciously sought to acquit themselves as such, where they previously did so unconsciously. So far so that, to no small extent, they now study the conditions of the market in taking action and what measure of success has attended their efforts has been attained thereby. Moreover, as the leaven of Socialism permeates their ranks, they begin more and more to appreciate the odds that confront them on the industrial field, and to see that their salvation lies in supporting political action along class lines. Action looking, not to obtaining a greater share of the wealth they produce, but to seizing the means of production that they may produce for themselves.

Comrade Olsen has asked if friendly relations, such as prevail between the S. P. of C., and the Miners' unions, could not be established between the S. P. of C. and the "Grain Growers' Association." Possibly, but only in the same way and by taking towards the G. G. A. the same uncompromising stand as towards the unions.

Bring your dull razors to
SMITH'S BARBER SHOP
Clarendon Pool Room, opposite car barns
Westminster Avenue
Vancouver, B.C.

REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

Canada's nautical pugnacity, as exemplified in H. M. C. S. Rainbow succeeds in making itself exceedingly noisy, so much so that a stranger who was subject to hysteria might almost be led into imagining it dangerous. When the said Rainbow is not engaged in the serious task of making herself and the Laurier administration ridiculous, somebody very kindly does it for her.

A strike has been in progress at Prince Rupert for some time, conducted by the Prince Rupert Industrial Association, a branch of the I. W. W. against the contractors engaged in city work. The men have, as usual, been perfectly orderly and peaceful, there being nothing to fight physically with or about; and certainly there is nothing there worth the trouble of destroying.

The bunch of mentally undersized, would-be bourgeois pettifoggers comprising the council of that embryonic burg, however, saw in the strike what they considered an opportunity to get themselves on the map as a full-grown capitalist organization by adopting "suppressive" measures. Gathering together, therefore, in solemn and "secret" conclave, they decided to send for the navy to quell any disorder that might possibly arise. Wherein they displayed almost human intelligence, for they must have realized that the Rainbow would be at her best pursuing the misty wraith of a phantom riot, or savagely threatening a body of unarmed men peacefully "snagging herring at the wharf, or digging for clams at Lighthouse Point as "The Optimist" has it.

We recognize that conditions produce men. To be deeply deplored are the unhappy conditions which foisted such a set of insufferable creatures upon a long suffering world as the present ruling class. Jealous of one another and squabbling among themselves they will yet bawl in complete unison to their beloved State for "protection" from anything that threatens all their pocketbooks. Ye Gods! but the working class stomach is a strong one to tolerate their unlovely presence even for a moment.

HARD TO EXPLAIN.

The toughest task ever presented to a ruling class in any civilization will be that with which the capitalists will be confronted when labor finally demands a satisfactory reason for their continued occupation of the position they now enjoy. That a capitalist is a necessary part of the production of wealth is becoming daily more apparently a myth.

As the development of industry hurries them inexorably toward obsolescence, the masters of money give increasing evidence of their fitness for that condition by displaying their mental sterility in public.

Among other inflictions, this portion of B. C. is having just now a visitation in the shape of a party of prominent persons who, presumably, are peregrinating in pursuit of profits. They are all very great and important persons, for reasons which will become very clear if you read further.

Note this:

"As a newcomer the great drawback of British Columbia seems to be the lack of cheap labor. Your urban centers seem to be growing faster than your farming sections," said Sir Edward Tennant to a representative of The Province. "How would it do if the government permitted the importation of Chinese labor to be indentured for a period of, say, three years, for building railways, the coolies to be returned home at the end of that period? That system of indenture of East Indians for a period of five years works well on my sugar and cocoa plantations in Trinidad."

Sir Edward evidently did not include Powell street in his visiting list, or he might have not had the nerve to remark on the scarcity of cheap labor. We saw a large number of men there the other day ready to sell themselves at any price, but there are not enough railways waiting to be built. The system quite manifestly works exceptionally well in this gentleman's case, as it is not necessary for him to get within some thousands of miles of his plantations in order to draw quite a respectable living therefrom. The East Indians referred to are in all probability "worked well" to ensure a sufficient quantity of their life energy being transferred into shekels for Sir Ed. in five years. The same proposition also works well in B. C., witness another of the party:

"It's beyond comprehension," said one of the members of the party as the workings of the different sections of the great mills were explained. "The lumber industry of the Pacific Coast is certainly tremendous. Very few in Great Britain have had the privilege of observing for themselves the inside workings of this great industry in British Columbia and the remainder can not realize the magnitude of it."

Yet these mills are owned largely in Great Britain, by people who admit that they do not know a circular saw from a peavy and who would be astounded by a sight of their own possessions.

In the same party were an eminent entomologist and botanist who were able to tell a fir tree from a gooseberry bush by their pictures, to the astonishment of everybody. Verily, the workingman who admires and respects these persons, is an amusin' critter.

MAY DAY

A special edition of the Clarion will be issued for the May Day celebration. Extra effort will be put forth to make this an excellent propaganda number. International Labor Day this year will bring forth an expression of advance toward proletarian triumph unequalled in the history of the working class, and the Clarion will not be backward in voicing that expression. It is not too early to order NOW.

MIGHT IS RIGHT.

The Philosophy of the Revolutionary

The Duke of Westminster receives from rents alone £3,000,000 per annum.

Shame!

No, no, not a bit of it. Who can blame him?

Thirteen millions of people in this country are living always on the verge of starvation!

Again shame!

But why?

By all the logic of nature the former is entitled to as much as he has the power to grasp, while the latter deserve no more than they are willing to fight for—ay, and to conquer for themselves.

Man has a right to live only—if he can. The mightiest beast and the meanest parasite have as much right to live—and as little.

The hungry tiger strikes down the hunter and devours him—if he can, and nobody says shame! or thinks it wrong. The maggots burrow deep into the nostrils of the hartebeaste, and we say simply "Nature is cruel."

Yet Nature is not cruel; she knows nothing of emotions. She leaves her children to fight things out for themselves, giving them one universal law: Might is right.

"The race is to the swift,
The battle to the strong."

Let us be strong, then, for the weak have neither right nor portion in Nature's economy.

Those wolves in sheep's clothing, the Christian priesthood, commonly profess to hold that man has other right to live than this right of might—this elementary right of the tiger and the maggot. Of such jealous guardians of the rights of man this question may be asked:

What becomes of the "right" to live if the means by which alone it is possible to live are in the hands of others?

Clearly in this case man cannot live by any heaven bestowed "right," but only on sufferance. So the logic of their own ethic places the Christian in contradiction to the social system which they uphold, and whose central principle — private property in the means of life—is the very denial and negation of their fundamental belief, that God having created man, man has a "right" to live.

Far nearer to the truth of things was that London magistrate who answered the pilferer's plea that one "must live," with the sententious announcement: "Not necessarily." Two words sufficed to reveal the naked truth in all its frank brutality. Capitalist society recognizes no "right" to live, and the cynical lawyer gives the lie to the sycophantic priest.

Logic in the Making

If man has a God-given right to live, as Christians commonly hold, then it devolves upon men to secure for themselves the means by which alone they can live, in the first place, and in the second place it sets the mark of Cain upon the brows of those who have taken "the earth and the fullness thereof" from the people.

If, on the other hand, man has but the right of might—the right of tiger and of the maggot—to live, then Westminster, with his vast rent-roll, is justified, in the face of starving millions.

If it appears strange that only the ethic of the revolutionary can justify the lords of capitalism, whilst the logical conclusion of the creed that bolsters them up in their high place on their mountain of spoils, condemns them, this is only because the first is the true ethic, both of capitalism and of the revolution it is producing,—aye, and of all life, for all time—while the second is false, a soporofic, the chloroform rag in the hands of the social footpad.

However, under both philosophies we proceed to the same action—to live, by our "right" or our might—and therefore to seize all those things necessary for the fullest enjoyment of life; in the one case because common property is the first essential to living by "right," in the other case simply because it is expedient.

Down With the Meekling!

The revolutionary requires no other justification than that of expediency. No revolutionary in history ever really did. True, they have paid much lip service to Justice and other figments of the popular mind, but that has been only because they have required the assistance of those who were to gain nothing from revolution, and who had therefore to be inspired with empty phrases and confused with humbug. But the highest sanction revolutionaries ever have required has been—opportunity.

The Socialist asks no more. Let who will grovel at the feet of Justice, or slobber over the "natural rights of man"—the Socialist has no use for such meaningless vaporings. Expediency is his justification for all things, and opportunity finds him always in the right.

Notwithstanding the prevailing cant, Machiavelism is inherent in every "state." Wherever a "state" exists, wherever, in short, society is founded upon the subjugation of a class, there the suppression of that class follows as a matter of course, and utterly without scruple.

In the name of law and order, and of freedom and justice and equality, as befits a world of commodities whose freedom of motion and equality become nature, becomes at least a fictitious freedom and equality for their owners. And in the name of Christ, too, as behooves men who must seek some higher sanction than that of commodity owners to suppress commodity owners.

Any Means That Are Means

The feudal lord appeared as a different order of being to the serf. They were not commensurable in the flesh, for heaven had made one noble and the other base. But under capitalism all are commodity owners—the man who holds untold stores, and the man who has only his labor-power to sell. As commodity owners they stand equal. Hence suppression in the name of equality—but not on the authority of all commodity owners: oh dear, no; that would never do. Nor on the authority of some commodity owners, for that would be contrary to that beautiful capitalist ideal—the equality of all possessors of commodities.

So Christ is their refuge and their salvation; Christ the meek and lowly and submissive, who recognized "constituted" authority in the command, "Render unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's."

But under all this, might is right. A great show of "moral suasion" is exemplified in 40,000 parsons, it is true; but for every parson there is a policeman and three bluejackets and half a dozen soldiers—for every "man of peace" ten "dogs of war."

Much talk of loyalty and honesty and honor. Loyalty, indeed, in the thieves' kitchen of capitalism; honor where nothing is trusted to honor!

Honor and force are contradictory terms, mutually exclusive. Capitalism has no need for the first (except as a piece of humbug); it relies upon force. Among equals honor is the voluntary observance of the rules of the game; but in present day society we are not equals, hence honor is replaced by force.

The tradesman, in his thirst for profit, gives credit. Does he trust to honor? No. He makes a calculation based on the fact that he has all the forces of the law behind him. Can I make him pay? is the only question he is concerned with, and he acts according to his judgment of that problem, and if, leaning upon the force of the law, he finds it a broken reed, he has made a mistake, that is all.

The rules of the game—who made the rules of the game? Those who say we shall observe them. But if a hooligan or a footpad jumps us in the street are we slavishly careful of Marquis of Queensbury rules? Not if a brick is handy. No, any means that are means!

So with the revolutionary. He takes his stand upon the same code that has served to carry so many exploiters to power, and which at last must help the workers to their emancipation. There is no right but might. We deserve nothing but what we can get with our teeth and claws.

The Ethic of Socialism

Against the might of the strong few shall be put the might of the many weak ones. Before that might capitalism and private ownership will go down forever. Then, when society founded upon common property in the means of life, has become one harmonious whole, the brutal dictum, might is right, will hold good only between the social organism and external nature, while between man and man a new ethic will arise—or rather the old ethic of gentile society under a new form—that only the social good is right.—A. E. Jacomb in Socialist Standard.

The prevalence of humped backs among the working class is due mainly to long ages of bowing to "superiors."

Socialist Directory

Every local of the Socialist Party of Canada should run a card under this head. $1.00 per month. Secretaries please note.

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday. D. G. McKenzie, Secretary, Box 1688, Vancouver, B. C.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday. D. G. McKenzie, Secretary, Box 1688 Vancouver, B. C.

ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday in Labor Hall, Eighth Ave. East, opposite postoffice. Secretary will be pleased to answer any communications regarding the movement in the province. F. Danby, Sec., Box 647 Calgary, Alta.

MANITOBA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee: Notice—This card is inserted for the purpose of getting "YOU" interested in the Socialist movement. SOCIALISTS are always members of the Party; so if you are desirous of becoming a member, or wish to get any information, write the secretary, W. H. Stebbings. Address, 316 Good street, Winnipeg.

LOCAL FERNIE, S. P. of C. HOLDS educational meetings in the Miners' Union Hall, Victoria Ave., Fernie, every Sunday evening at 7:45. Business meeting first Sunday in each month, same place at 2:30 p. m. David Paton, Secy., Box 101.

LOCAL GREENWOOD, B. C., NO. 9, S. P. of C., meets every Sunday evening at Miners' Union Hall, Greenwood. Visiting comrades invited to call. C. G. Johnson, Secretary.

LOCAL LADYSMITH NO. 10, S. P. of C. Business meetings every Saturday 7 p.m. in headquarters on First Ave J. H. Burrough, Box 31, Ladysmith, B. C.

LOCAL MICHEL, B. C., NO. 16, S. P. OF C., holds propaganda meetings every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 p. m. in Crahan's Hall. A hearty invitation is extended to all wage slaves within reach of us to attend our meetings. Business meetings are held the first and third Sundays of each month at 10:30 a. m. in the same hall. Party organizers take notice. A. S. Julian, Secretary.

LOCAL MARA, B. C., NO. 34, S. P. of C., Meets first Sunday in every month in Socialist Hall, Mara 2:30 p.m. Cyril Roscman, Recording Secretary.

LOCAL MOYIE, B. C., NO. 30.—MEETS second Sunday 7:30 p.m. in McGregor Hall (Miners' Hall), Thos. Roberts, Secretary.

LOCAL NANAIMO, NO. 8, S. P. of C. meets every alternate Sunday evening in Foresters Hall. Business meeting at 7:00 o'clock sharp. Propaganda meeting commences at 8:00 o'clock. A. Jordan, Secy. Box 410.

LOCAL NELSON, S. P. of C., MEETS every Friday evening at 8 p. m., in Miners' Hall, Nelson, B. C. I. A. Austin, Secy.

LOCAL PRINCE RUPERT, B. C., No. 53, S. P. of C.—Meets every Sunday in hall in Empress Theater Block at 2:00 p. m. L. H. Gorham, Secretary.

LOCAL REVELSTOKE, B. C., NO. 7, S. P. of C. Business meetings at Socialist headquarters fourth Thursdays of each month. T. S. Cassidy, Organizer; B. F. Gayman, Secretary.

LOCAL ROSSLAND, NO. 25, S. P. of C., meets in Miners' Hall every Sunday at 7:30 p.m. E. Campbell, Secy., P. O. Box 674. Rossland Finnish Branch meets in Finlanders' Hall, Sundays at 7:30 p.m. A. Sebble, Secy., P. O. Box 54 Rossland.

LOCAL SOUTH FORT GEORGE NO. 61, headquarters and public reading room, Show building, Hamilton street. Business meetings every Saturday night at 8 p. m. Neil McLean, secretary, John McInnis, organizer. Comrades contemplating coming to Fort George are earnestly requested to write for reliable information.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., NO. 45.— Finnish. Meets every second and fourth Thursdays in the month at 2237 Westminster Avenue. Secretary, Wm. Myntti.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., NO. 1.— Canada. Business meetings every Tuesday evening at headquarters, 2237 Westminster Ave. F. Perry, Secretary, Box 1688.

LOCAL VERNON B. C., No. 38, S. P of C. Meets every Tuesday, 8 p. m sharp, at L. O. L. Hall, Tronson St W. H. Gilmore, Secretary.

LOCAL VICTORIA, B. C., No. 2, S. P. of C.—Reading room and headquarters, 1319 Government St., Room 2, over Collister's Gun Store. Business meetings every Tuesday, 8 p.m. Propaganda meetings every Sunday at Crystal Theatre. T. Gray, secretary.

LOCAL COLEMAN, ALTA., NO. 9, Miners' Hall and Opera House—Propaganda meetings at 8 p. m. on the first and third Sundays of the month. Business meetings on Thursday evenings following propaganda meetings at 8. Organizer, T. Steele, Coleman, Alta.; secretary, Jas. Glendenning, Box 63, Coleman, Alta. Visitors may receive information any day at Miners' Hall from Com. W. Graham, secretary of U. M. W. of A.

LOCAL CALGARY, ALTA., No. 4, S. P. of C. Meetings every Sunday at 8 p.m. in the Labor Hall, Barber Block, Eighth Ave. E. (near postoffice). Club and Reading Room. Labor Hall, George Rossiter, Sec., Box 647, A. Macdonald, Organizer, Box 647.

LOCAL EDMONTON, ALTA., NO. 1, S. P. of C. Hearquarters 622 First St., Business and propaganda meetings every Thursday at 7:30 p.m. sharp. Our Reading Room is open to the public free, from 10 a.m. to 11 p.m. daily. Secretary, A. Farmilo, 622 First St. Organizer, W. Stephenson.

LOCAL LETHBRIDGE, ALTA., NO. 13, S. P. of C.—Meets 1st and 3rd Sunday in the month, at 4 p.m. in Miners' Hall. Secretary, Chas. Peacock, Box 1983.

LOCAL REGINA, SASK., NO. 6. MEETS every Sunday at 7:30 p.m., in Trades Hall, Scarth Street. Business meetings 2nd and 4th Fridays at 8 p.m. Trades Hall. Secretary B. Simmons, Box 1046.

LOCAL BRANDON, MAN., NO. 7, S. P. OF C., headquarters No. 10 Nation Block, Rosser Ave. Propaganda meeting, Sunday at 8 p. m.; business meeting, second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m.; economic class, Sundays at 3 p. m.; speakers' class, Wednesday at 8 p. m.; algebra class, Friday at 8 p. m.; debating class, first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. D. France, Organizer, 1126 Victoria Ave.

LOCAL WINNIPEG, MAN., NO. 1, S. P. of C. Headquarters, 528 1-2 Main Street, Room No. 2, next Dreamland Theatre. Business meeting every alternate Monday evening at 8 p.m.; propaganda meeting every Wednesday at 8 p.m.; economic class every Sunday afternoon, 3 p.m. Organizer, Hugh Laidlow, Room 2, 528 1-2 Main Street. Secretary, J. W. Hillings, 270 Young Street.

LOCAL NO. 24, TORONTO, ONT.— Headquarters, 10 and 12 Alice St. (near Yonge). Business meetings every 2nd and 4th Wednesday; propaganda meetings every Sunday at 3 and 8 p.m. By arrangement with Toronto University popular scientific lectures every Monday at 8 p.m. during the winter. Address all communications to Secretary, No. 10 and 12 Alice St.

LOCAL BRANTFORD, No. 16, S. P. of C. Meets at headquarters, 13 George St., every Thursday and Sunday nights. Business and Speakers' Class on Thursdays; Economic Class on Sundays. Wage workers invited. A. W. Baker, Secretary, 9 George St. W. Davenport, Organizer, 141 Nelson St.

LOCAL OTTAWA, NO. 8, S. P. of C. Business meeting 1st Sunday in month, and propaganda meetings following Sundays at 8 p.m. in Robert-Allan Hall, 78 Rideau St. John Lyons, Secretary, 43 Centre Street.

MARITIME PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee, Socialist Party of Canada, meets every second and fourth Sunday in the Cape Breton office of the Party, Commercial Street, Glace Bay, N. S. Dan Cochrane, Secretary, Box 491, Glace Bay, N. S.

LOCAL GLACE BAY NO. 1, OF N. S.— Business and Propaganda meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m. in Macdonald's hall, Union Street. All are welcome. Alfred Nash, Corresponding Secretary, Glace Bay; Wm. Sutherland, Organizer, New Aberdeen; H. G. Ross, Financial Secretary, office in D. N. Brodie Printing Co. building, Union Street.

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F. PERRY
TAILOR
834 PENDER

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LAND ACT.

New Westminster Land District, District of New Westminster.

Take notice that William McIntosh, of Vancouver, occupation real estate agent, intends to apply for permission to purchase the following described lands: Commencing at a post planted about 476 feet in a westerly direction from the southeast corner of Block 18, District Lot 196, City of Vancouver; thence northerly 120 feet; thence easterly 128 feet to old high water mark; thence south 120 feet along old high water mark; thence west to point of commencement.

WILLIAM McINTOSH.
Dated Feb. 24th, 1911 (630)

SMOKE "KURTZ'S OWN" "KURTZ'S PIONEERS" OR "SPANISH BLOSSOMS"
BEST IN B.C. CIGARS.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

This Page Is Devoted to Reports of Executive Committees, Locals and General Party Matters—Address All Communications to D. G. McKenzie, Sec., Box 1688, Vancouver, B. C.

SASKATCHEWAN EXECUTIVE.

Dear Mac.

The following is a report of the Saskatchewan (acting) Provincial Executive.

Meeting held March 8, 1911.

Present Comrades Allen, Boerma (chairman), Gildemeester, P. Budden, L. Budden and Com. Lestor.

Minutes of previous meeting held over till next meeting. Correspondence dealt with from Zelandia, Star City, Mozart, Alameda and the Dominion Executive

Com. Lestor appointed Organizer, and a tour arranged for him to take in the following places. Start at Zeandia and district, then to Haddington and surrounding district, from there to Star City and Melfort, speaking at all possible places en route.

In order to raise funds for organizing purposes, Secretary was instructed to write all Locals in the Province asking them to make a voluntary assessment of one dollar, more or less, per member.

A sub-committee was appointed to secure a building suitable for headquarters.

Receipts—
From Dominion Executive.....$50.00
Expenditures—
Organizer Lestor 25.00

Next meeting decided to be held as soon as the secretary receives the official confirmation, and supplies from the Dominion Executive.

L. BUDDEN.
Recording Secretary.

ORGANIZER'S REPORT FOR OKANAGAN

My work as organizer in this district commenced on December 17, 1910, and ended March 17, 1911. Amongst the places visited during this date were, Kamloops, Salmon Arm, Silver Creek, Malakwa, Sicamous, Mara Armstrong, Enderby, Vernon, Okanagan Centre Kelowna, Summerland, West Summerland, Naramata and Penticton.

Four new locals were organized by me, namely, Silver Creek, Malakwa, Enderby and Naramata. About 25 new members are thereby added to the party. Sixteen or seventeen public meetings were held and about the same number of economic classes.

Special attention was paid to literature work and about a hundred dollars worth was disposed of during the three months. About 40 subs and renewals for the party organ were rustled up. No territory south of Penticton was touched, owing to organizer being forced, through breakdown of vocal apparatus, to quit 8 or 9 days sooner than had been intended.

The organizer acknowledges co-operation and assistance of comrades everywhere. Much credit is due the district secretary, who worked hard to make the tour successful.

The work of future organizers will be rendered much easier, and more can be done if comrades will keep the district secretary posted. In particular let your exact location be known. On several occasions the organizer has gone to places expecting to find comrades, only to discover that they were located a long distance from the postal towns given as their address. This causes disarrangement of plans, and should be avoided.

GERALD DESMOND
Organizer.

MEDICINE HAT

Dear Comrade:—

On Friday, 10th, Comrade O'Brien gave a splendid lecture here in the Eagle's Hall, the wage beasts intellectual and manual—numbering something like two hundred, proved an attentive audience.

The speaker dealt with the science of sociology, now called Socialism, touching on the materialist conception of history, value and the class struggle.

His exposition on value was an eye-opener to some, as he showed how capitalism had had its slaves taught to measure lumber and wheat, but omitted to teach them how to measure value. Such knowledge in the possession of a slave class would be detrimental to the interests of their masters, the slaves would then be able to estimate the value of what they produced and when they saw their miserable share, it would make them think, then there would be something doing.

Comrade O'Brien is master of his subject. His power of illustration which he brought to bear on the outstanding features of his argument had an educational effect which I am sure will bring forth good results in the city that is supposed to have its foundations built over the dominions of Hell.

Yours in revolt,
J. S. ROBERTSON.

LETHBRIDGE, ALTA

Comrade Editor:—

I wish to report to the readers of the Clarion, that Com. O'Brien, on his way through here from Medicine Hat, stepped off his private pullman and spoke to a full house at the Eureka Threatre on Sunday evening, the 12th of March, and for the hour and a half he spoke had one of the most attentive audiences I have seen listening to a Socialist speaker in this town.

The general concensus of opinion was that he is a top notcher, hammering nails into the coffin thats going to hold the present system which is composed of millionaires' castles and lickspittle politicians on one end, paupers, jails and poorhouses on the other end.

No doubt the powers that be will breath easier while he is gone from Alberta, but to make up there will be many a victim with red in his eye before he reaches the Atlantic Coast, and if the comrades throughout the East fail to get dates and advertise his meetings, well they will lose a good chance to swell the ranks of the revolutionary army. Yours for the Cause.

S. L.
Lethbridge, Alta.

SHORT WEIGHTS

Comrade Editor:—

I am loath to take up more space in the Clarion, yet I feel that a few words of explanation are due Com, Budden.

You appear to think, Com. Budden, that I have taken the "Slave of the Farm" as a joke. The fact that I assumed that you were in a humorous mood while writing a paragraph, did not necessarily imply that you were in that mood while or during the writing of the entire work.

The fact is that up to page 14 you appeared to me to have shown yourself to have a thorough understanding of the nature of production, not only under capitalism, but under the different systems that preceded capitalism, also the laws governing the exchange of commodities. I therefore was at a loss to discover why you so suddenly broke loose and made it appear that one section of the working class, namely the small farmers, did not get the value of his production.

In your reply to my criticism of this portion of your pamphlet, you in fact admit the error but further on attempt in part to justify your position by comparing primitive methods of production with modern.

Now, both the elevators and railways handle your produce for far less than you could have done in those days you speak of, and granting all sorts of trickeries in the shape of false grading, heavy dockage etc., being practiced (which is no fake for I lived on a farm on the prairie for eighteen years and have seen my share of it) yet you will admit that that in no appreciable measure accounts for the poverty of the farmer.

Such things as the above occupy the attention of the grain growers and their societies, but have no place in the Socialist movement, as they are only effects, the cause of which we are fighting and should the G. G. A's succeed in getting proper grades, full weights, etc., they will have accomplished little.

Now it would be a foolish thing for me to maintain that because I had to pay more for a suit of clothes from the local store keeper than what I could have got the suit for elsewhere, or that I got less flour than I paid for, that that was where my class was robbed; yet that is as sound as the elevator short-weight argument. The conclusion in either case would lead us to believe that commodities did not exchange at their value. Whither "Old Friend" would this line of reasoning lead us? Into a sea of confusion, I venture to say. As for taxes, well, make your own roads and educate your own children in some other way and pocket the taxes you now pay and watch yourself grow rich.

Yes, I have seen wealth drawn out as well as into the country via the railroads, and have helped produce some of it, and though I at one time indulged in all kinds of fancied causes for the farmer's hardships, such as paying too much for the implements I used, and getting too little for my produce, yet it was not until I got in touch with the Socialist movement in B. C. that I at last grasped the truth, and though I might continue to write all night, I could not put my own view of the farmer's position under capitalism in a plainer or more concise manner than Com. Lestor has done in the last edition. However, I am only a youngster in the study of economics, and if my reasoning is erroneous, by all means come down on me heavily, and I will readily admit my error when I am shown it, and profit thereby.

But to return. Yes, what little the small farmer, with his crude tools, is able to produce over and above what it takes to keep him from year to year, is drawn out by the railroads, but not in the box car that contains his wheat etc., for that he has received value in the shape of money, but rather it will be found in the mail car in the shape of banks drafts payable to the mortgage companies and Machine Co's for interest due them. This obtains today, but tomorrow even you Mr. farmer who have your farm and implements paid for, unless said implements be of the larger and most modern style, capable of producing a vast amount of wealth with a minimum amount of labor, enabling you to compete your competitor out of existence, then you are gone; never again to gain a foot hold while this competitive system lasts. Thus, my fellow slave of the farm, whether you would or would not, you are forced to look to Socialism to save you from a pauper's grave.

And now, my orthodox friend, who denies that your material interest determines your actions; have I not seen you after coming home from prayer meeting, when you fancied you were filled with brotherly love, pick up your daily paper and upon reading of bumper crops all over the world, have I not seen, I say, the frown upon your brow, very different to what I expected from one who loves his brother. Why was it? Was it because you were a sinner? If so, I guess we are all such. No, it was because your material interests were at stake, and the big crop for the other fellow meant a low price for you, consequently more struggles for existence. If you develop that faculty that you say a supreme being gave you, your power to reason, and clear the atmosphere of all superstitous nonsense, and trace all your actions down as far as the mind is capable of going, you will be convinced that your economic condition has determined your actions. Don't stop by saying I know the cause of such and such a thing, for the said cause is only an effect of some other cause, and the primary cause can only be found in the last analysis.

In conclusion, let me say, that if you trace all the vexing problems that have been confronting you my fellow farmer in your struggle for a living, and which have appeared to debar you from the fruits of your toil, you will find the cause in capitalism.

J. PILKINGTON.

SOCIALISM AND THE FARMER

By a Farmer.

To the Socialist the only subject worth discussing is Socialism. The reason is because in studying economics he has come to the conclusion that it is a better theory than the capitalistic system is based upon, as far as his own interests are concerned. That is the reason why he is throwing off so much "hot air," as some folks call it; trying to get others to see eye to eye with himself, for he knows that the only way to free himself is to get the balance of his class to help 'im. That is the reason I am writing this to the farmers.

It is very necessary to get the farmers educated in economics for they are about 45 per cent of the population and we need their help to free ourselves. I wish to show the farmers who read this, 1st that Socialism is not the horrible thing the capitalistic press paint it to be. 2nd that the interests of the farmers and the industrial wage slaves are identical. 3rd how Socialism can be ushered in by political action. 1st, Socialism does not mean dividing up, it aims to stop it. The capitalist does that when he causes the products of labor to be divided up and he gets all that is left after the laborers get what it costs them to live. It is estimated that the laborer receives about one-fifth of the wealth he and his class produces. Socialism is not Anarchy, it is strictly opposed to any man being a law unto himself, it aims to organize society in the most democratic manner possible so that every one can have the greatest amount of personal liberty possible. Socialism is co-operation in its truest sense; every worker should co-operate with his fellow, thereby eliminating waste and obtaining the greatest returns to the individual. Socialism stands for the abolition of wage slavery and as soon as the workers are ready to abolish it they can do so by political action.

2nd, The interests of the farmers and the industrial wage slaves are identical. Labor power is a commodity and sells in the market at so much per hour, day or year, like so much wheat, pigs, etc., and, on the average, the cost of production, or in other words, what it costs the slaves to produce more labor power and furnish the market with more slaves to take their places when thrown on the industrial scrap pile. Somstimes supply and demand comes into the price, viz, when there is more labor than laborers the price goes up and vice-versa. Farmers of the west are now organizing themselves on the economic field. All the permanent good they will do themselves is to learn that the powers that be will take no more notice of their demands than they did of the trades union demands. Farmers have an idea that some day they will become capitalists, that is the reason why they hold aloof from the wage slave. Some of them are waking up to the fact tnat they are not so well off as the wage slave, and are casting about for ways to stop the robbery of the poor farmer, some are talking of putting up independent farmers to run in the coming elections, but their hope is not there.

Farmers coin their labor power into wheat, beef, butter, eggs etc., and then think these commodities are produced by themselves, when all they do is to add their quota of labor power to them, for, remember nothing is produced until in the hands or the consumer. These things have to go into numerous other hands, also into elevators, through mills, over railways, etc., and finally back into the hands of the much dispised store keeper who the farmer thinks is robbing him right and left, which he is not, for he has done a socially necessary labor and has received wages for his trouble.

Society produces everything, the tailor, the clerk, the schoolmistress and every other useful worker helps to raise the produce of the farm, the farmer helps to produce a suit of clothes as much as the tailor does, for does he not help to raise sheep, and does not the engine driver, fireman, section men and a host of other workers take that wool to the woolen mills and does not every other line of industrial workers enter into the building of that factory? When the farmer has helped to raise the products of a farm, he has to have access to capitalistic property to exchange these products so that he can get his pay out of it and that is where he is robbed to a frazzle. I doubt if a farmer gets as much money per year to live on as the steady working wage slave.

Seeing that there is practically no difference between the farmer and the wage slave, it is up to the farmer to study up what the wage slaves are doing and get into the game with them and own the means of life collectively. That is their only hope, if they would study economics instead of party politics they would cease voting for politicians and would come out for a man wh stands on the platform of "Labor produces all wealth and to labor it should belong." The industrial slaves have entered the political arena with the idea of eventually seizing the reins of government, and if the revolt of labor grows in the next decade as it has done in the last, it will be up to the farmers to take sides. Will they have learnt by then that, (as I have shown) their interests are identical with the industrial workers and not the capitalist class.

3rd, How can Socialism be ushered in by political action? There is at present in the field a political party called the Socialist Party of Canada of which I am proud to be a member. This party is the political expression of reflex of the revolutionary workers. To put this reflex into action necessitates their organization into locals of the party then conventions can be held in each constituency and candidates nominated to run in the elections. After a majority of Socialists are elected to the legislative halls they will put into practice the platform of the party.

C. W. SPRINGFORD
Kitscoty, Alta.

THE CLERGY.

Nearly all clergymen are in bondage to capitalism. They believe that capitalist private property, based on the labor of others, should be upheld and maintained. They believe that capitalism with its accumulation of wealth, out of unpaid labor should continue. They believe that wage slavery with its accumulation of misery, agony of toil, agony of the fear of want, ignorance, brutality and mental degradation must continue also, and so they give it a religious consecration by the worship of sorrow. Socialists know the secret of free trade yet in English history we have a striking illustration of the clergymen being on the side of the ruling class.

In 1846 a struggle for supremacy was on between the aristocratic landlords and the commercial middle class. The whole of the established Church of England was in bondage to the High Tory Party.

The Rev. Thos. Spencer, uncle of Spencer the philosopher, (with one exception) was the only clergyman out of 15,000, who voted for the repeal of the corn laws.

He was the only one out of all these thousands who contended that the people of England, mostly poor, should not be compelled to buy corn at high prices to enrich English landlords.

He was a tee-to-taller when the temperance movement was looked upon as a subtle form of Atheism. In these days it would be difficult to find many of our black sheep who are Socialists.

The other day a Socialist came into collision with a Doctor of Divinity, president of a Moral and Social Reform League. Citizens had been invited to discuss the matter and the Socialist was giving his opinion when up jumps the D. D| and protested vigorously against the Socialist being heard. The Socialist ignored the D. D. but the chairman appealed to the meeting and the Socialist was voted down. The D. D. by his attitude implied divinity and Socialism are opposed to each other. He implied—O my kind Christian friends, do be careful.

However we see, in the past, divinity has been on the side of the ruling class, and so it is today. So the Socialist says to Divinity: Take to yourself wings and fly away.

CLIFFORD BUTTLER.

* * *

What is it that causes you to delight to hear the love-song of the spring birds, and to admire their beautiful plumage? Is it not because you long to be free, and because you are clothed in such shoddy, and rags yourself; and your wife and family also? Then why don't you study up Socialism and learn how all mankind can become as free, and as beautiful, and sing as sweet love-songs as those birds.

* * *

Some comrades are scratching their manes and wondering where the farm er gets robbed.

The farmer is no different from any other laborer (that is of course the working farmer and not the capitalist farm owner). The ordinary laborer sells only his labor power, or surrenders it in return for the opportunity to labor all day and keep enough values out of his day's labor to reproduce his labor power; the working farmer simply does the same thing, only he has a permanent job at one place called "his farm." He, like the worker in other lines is merely instrumental in the production of commodities. After these leave his hands they go through many more hands before they are produced. The farmer merely produces his labor power and gets out of his work enough to reproduce that labor power.

P. ROSOMAN

LINCOLN, ILL.

I heard a lecture on Socialism here the other day, delivered by F. W. Ries, Toledo. In describing the future Socialistic state he has Bellamy beaten to a frazzle. I would like our organizers up in Canada to take a few points from Ries in the art of lecturing. In the first place, have the chairman, when he introduces you, tell the audience what university turned you out, how much you gave to the cause in hard cash, how much you are going to give in the future, etc., etc. Then if you happen to be the author of a book, start right in to spout about your book. Tell the audience that the book explains Socialism from A. to Z., and that if they want to understand socialism they must read your book—a course in Blatchford's "Merry England" will give them the finishing touch and they are graduated.

In explaining the present and future states of society, use a chart with figures written all over it. The audience won't understand the figures but will get a deep impression of your scholarship. Tell them that as soon as we have a majority of the voters we are going to take over the means of production by buying out the trusts.

If you try to explain the class struggle, tell the audience that it is a known fact to the best of your knowledge. If you ask the boss for more wages and he is not willing to dig up and you are forced to go on strike, that is the class struggle pure and simple. Make your closing remarks pathetic with your hands and eyes lifted upward (if possible make the sign of the cross).

Well, Mac., I hope you will give our organizers some pointers on this. For instance, Gribble would cut a good figure by conducting his lectures in this manner.

H. ELMER.

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THE INCEPTION OF SLAVERY

So far removed in the dim past is the period of human development previous to the appearance of slavery that it has left little historic trace beyond the scattered remains of primitive handiwork that have been unearthed from time to time, and any conception of that period would be almost impossible were it not for its present day survivals—the races yet existing in a state of primitive savagery.

By piecing together the information derived from a study of these races, with what can be gathered or guessed from the prehistoric remains, such knowledge as we have on the subject has been attained.

The characteristic that marks the ante-slavery period from ours is the non-existence of property in the true sense of the word. Personal possessions the primitive savage has, such as his weapons and his dwelling, but the resources of the earth, being free of access to all, are the property of none. For property is not so much the assertion of the claim of the individual as owner as a denial of the claim of all others to ownership.

THE ECONOMICS OF SAVAGERY.

The economics of this period are as simple and crude as its tools, but are nevertheless worthy of attention, as, owing to that very simplicity, they afford a clearer conception of the fact that labor is the determining factor in comparing the values of articles, a fact of supreme importance to the Socialist conception.

Production under savagery differs from that of today in being hand production instead of machine, and individual instead of social production. That is to say, each article produced is completed by one individual instead of being, as it is today, the result of the toil of a whole army of workers, each one doing a little to it. Furthermore, under savagery, articles are produced for use; under capitalism, for profit.

The elimination of these three factors—social production, machinery, and profit—reduces economics to their simplest form.

What exchange, or barter, of articles would take place under savagery would be carried on clearly upon the basis of the labor involved in producing the respective articles. Thus a savage wishing to barter, say, ornaments for weapons, would exchange them upon the basis of the labor it would cost him to produce either. He would know how long it took him to make the ornaments, and he would have a pretty good idea how many of the weapons he could make in the same time, and would therefore insist on just so many in exchange for his ornaments. To accept any less would be foolish, as he would be better off to make them himself. And, be it noted, that this standard of value has endured through all the succeeding changes in the methods of production and exchange.

The resources of the earth have no value, a fact which is quite clear under savagery, but obscured under capitalism by the fact that they are bought and sold on the strength of their potentialities. It is only when the hand of labor is applied to the natural resources to convert them into articles usable by man, that anything of value is created.

THE PASSING OF SAVAGERY.

The primitive savage's method of life is predatory. He lives by hunting and fishing, and upon wild fruits and roots. Such a method of life is, at any time, precarious and becomes more so with the increase of population and the consequent restriction of the tribal hunting grounds. As time goes on the savage is driven to domesticate animals and to cultivate the soil in order that his means of life may be more certain. Once this becomes general, the way to slavery is open.

The primitive savage kills his enemies on the battlefield—perhaps eats them. He has no incentive to make them captive, as it would only mean so many more mouths to feed. He cannot even compel them to maintain themselves by sending them to hunt, as, obviously, they would escape.

But with the cultivation of the soil it becomes at length possible for an individual to produce more than is necessary for his own keep. It then becomes well worth while to make captives. They can be compelled to toil in the fields and produce for their masters; their escape can be prevented by armed guards. So property, the slave and the soldier make their advent upon the scene of events together, never to leave it till they leave it together—when the slaves shall emancipate themselves.

A COMPARISON.

Be it noted that the slave of old toiled in his master's fields and the fruits of his toil belonged to his master, and that the worker of today toils in his master's factory or farm, and the fruits of his toil belong to his master. The slave of old received for his toil enough for his own subsistence, just what the worker of today receives at the best. The slave was bought and sold bodily and, being so much invested wealth, was more or less well cared for whether he worked or not. The worker of today sells himself from day to day, and, being a "freeman" and nobody's property, nobody is under any obligation to care for him or to feed him when there is no work for him to do. The slave was generally an unwilling slave, but the worker votes for a continuance of his servitude. His freedom lies in his own hands, but he refuses to be free. Which is the baser slave?

To sum up, the savage came upon the scene endowed with power to labor, which he applied to the natural resources, and produced for himself wealth—articles of use to him. The chattel slave was owned by a master, who compelled him to apply his labor-power to the natural resources, and took the wealth he produced. The worker of today sells his labor-power to an employer, to whom belongs the wealth produced by the application of that labor-power.

THE SLAVE EMPIRES.

It is noticeable that those people among whom slavery of one sort or another does not exist are not very far advanced in the arts and sciences. This would point to the fact that slavery is essential to human progress, and such is actually the case.

While the savage is living by fishing and hunting he has little leisure for the pursuit of knowledge. All his time is taken up with the economic problem, how to provide for his wants.

When, however, the agricultural stage is reached, and it becomes possible for an individual to live upon the fruits of another's labor, society becomes divided into two classes, the slaves and their masters, the working class and the leisured class. This master class then has leisure to turn its attention to other things besides its immediate necessities.

Upon this basis the civilizations of the ancient world were built. Upon the labor of slaves Babylon upraised her temples and gardens, Egypt her pyramids and tombs, Greece her colonades and statuary. The armies of Xerxes and Hannibal, the mighty empire of Rome, were all maintained out of the surplus product of vast armies of chattel slaves.

Built thus upon the backs of toiling millions, empire after empire arose, attained its zenith and crumbled to decay, some of them leaving scarce a trace to mark their place in history. The course of each one was in many respects similar, and for the reason that they were slave civilizations.

Commencing as an aggregation of rude husbandmen conquering their neighbors until, becoming great, and having overcome all dangerous rivals the masters degenerate into a mere horde of parasites living upon the ever-increasing product of their slaves. Wealth tends ever to accumulate into the hands of the most wealthy, and, as the wealthy become fewer the slaves become more numerous, until the disproportion becomes so great that the wealthy few, with all their luxurious extravagance and wastefulness, are no longer able to consume the volume of wealth, and there are more slaves than employment can be found for. As the slave thus becomes of little value his condition becomes more and more precarious and miserable. Society is no longer able to provide for the wants of the useful portion of it, and, there being no possibility, at the time, of any new form of society to take its place, the slave civilization perishes, its extinction as a general rule being hastened by the inroads of some younger and more virile race.

The fall of the decadent Roman empire marked the dawn of a new era. For thousands of years chattel slavery had been the only form of slavery. In endless rotation civilizations founded upon that basis had succeeded one another, but now, at last, conditions were ripe for a change for which these cycles of chattel slavery had been but a preparation.

The drying out of the uplands of Asia displaced the population of that continent, and a great westward migration commenced. Goth, Frank, Vandal and Hun swept wave on wave across Europe. Before the inrush of these rude barbarians, Rome, already tottering, could not stand. Gnawing at her vitals was the old disease common to all slave civilizations—"where wealth accumulates and men decay." The wealth of Rome had concentrated into the hands of a very small percentage of her population; the number of slaves was greatly out of all proportion to the masters; their productivity beyond even the wasting capacity of the dissolute Roman patricians. Roman society had reached the brink of destruction. The barbarians had but to push it over.

THE INSTITUTION OF FEUDALISM.

Western Europe, formerly one great forest, had now become populous. The incoming races amalgamated with the former inhabitants who had, under Roman rule, been reduced to some semblance of order. Conditions became so settled that it was no longer easy for a slave to escape. It was no longer necessary to own and guard him. Therefore, gradually, a new system of slavery evolved. The slave was attached to the land; he became a serf. His master was now the owner of the land—the lord. The serf toiled on his lord's land, producing wealth for him, in return for which he was permitted to toil in his own behalf upon a piece of land set apart for that purpose. The wealth he thus produced was just sufficient to meet his necessities so that he might continue to live and produce more wealth for his lord.

The difference between the chattel slave and the serf is more one of form than of reality. Each produced the wealth that maintained both himself and his master. Each received of that wealth only sufficient, at the best, to maintain him in good working condition. While the chattel slave, being generally bought, represented so much cash laid out, and was therefore worth taking a certain amount of care of, the personal welfare of the serf was a matter of little concern to the lord beyond that it was to the lord's interest to protect him from other robbers in order that he himself might get the full benefit of the serf's labor. The reason serfdom displaced chattel slavery was that it was a more economical and less troublesome method of exploiting the workers. The point best worth remembering about the feudal system is that the serf worked a part of his time for himself and the rest of his time for his lord, much as the worker today works a part of his working day producing his own wages and the rest of the time producing profit for his employer.

THE PASSING OF FEUDALISM.

It had taken several thousands of years of chattel slavery to prepare the way for serfdom. And it took several centuries of feudalism to prepare the way for a new form of society—capitalism—the kernel of which already existed in the feudal society. While the agricultural districts were under the sway of the nobility, the towns and cities of the Middle Ages were, to a certain extent, free from their domination. Here were congregated the merchants, artisans and handicraftsmen, whose interests were at all times more or less antagonistic to those of the land-barons, who naturally sought to place restrictions on the manufacture and marketing of the city products. This antagonism was accentuated by the discovery of America and of the Southwest Passage to the Orient, and the consequent expansion of trade.

As the wealth and power of the townsmen increased, that of the nobility decreased. The invention of gunpowder sealed the fate of the mail clad knights and their chivalry. The noble became a mere parasite upon society; feudalism ran its course as other forms of society had done. It was dying when the invention of the steam engine gave it its death blow.

That invention threw wide the doors of opportunity to society's new masters, the townsmen or bourgeoisie. Heretofore the production of articles of commerce had been carried on by hand. The town worker was a craftsman who learnt his trade by a long apprenticeship, who, when he became a journeyman, worked by the side of his master, and had reasonable hopes of becoming himself a master. The tools of production were yet so primitive as to be within the purchasing power of the thrifty workman. Land alone was the sacred property of the ruling class.

The coming of the steam-driven engine changed all this. The hand tool grew step by step into the gigantic set of machines we know today. Ownership of the tools of production became more and more of an impossibility for the worker. The master workman left the bench for the office; the foreman took his place. The factory called for more labor—cheaper labor. The capitalist turned profit-hungry eyes on the brawn of the agricultural districts. Serfdom stood in the way, so serfdom was abolished. The serf was freed from his bondage to the land that he might take on a heavier yoke, that of the factory. The factory needed not brains, but "hands." The hands of the country yokel, of his wife, and of his children, would serve equally as well as those of the skilled craftsman. No apprenticeship was needed, no training. Only "hands" with hungry stomachs attached. The serf was not only freed from the land, he was driven off it by the closing in of the commons and by other measures. The freeing of the serfs was no humanitarian measure. Greed—and greed alone—was its inspiring motive.

THE NEW SLAVERY.

The conditions of the new form of slavery that has taken the place of serfdom, and now is the form prevailing throughout the "civilized" world, are somewhat different from the old.

As has been pointed out before, the essence of enslavement is that one man should be compelled to work for others, and surrender to them the product of his toil. Wage-slavery, the present form of servitude, fulfils this condition exactly as much as did chattel slavery or serfdom. The workers of today have not an atom of claim upon the wealth they produce. That is sufficiently self-evident to call for no proof! And while they may not be actually compelled to work for any given master, they must work for some master. They are therefore slaves in the proper sense of the word. And, indeed, the conditions of their servitude are in the main more severe than they were under the previous forms of slavery. They are exploited of more wealth—that is to say, the masters obtain from their labor greater returns than did the masters under any other form of slavery. In fact, were it not so, the other forms would be now in existence. But no feudal serf or chattel slave can compete with the modern wage slave at slaving. Moreover, while in favored trades and in favored localities, the modern worker may lead a more or less tolerable existence, the misery and suffering prevailing in populous centres today are undeniably worse than could have been in existence under the old forms of slavery at their worst, for the reason that the masters of old were, to a certain extent, interested in the welfare of their slaves, having, directly or indirectly, a property interest in them. The modern master, on the other hand, has no such interest in his slaves. He neither purchases nor owns them. He merely buys so much labor-power—physical energy—just as he buys electric power for his plant. The worker represents to him merely a machine capable of developing a given quantity of labor-power. When he does not need labor-power he simply refrains from buying any.

Wage slavery is the most satisfactory form of slavery that has ever come into existence, from the point of view of the masters. It gives them all the slaves they require, and relieves them of all responsibility in the matter of their housing, feeding and clothing.

The capitalist class had humble enough beginnings. Its progenitors were the bourgeois, literally townsmen, of the Middle Ages. A part of the feudal society, they were yet, in a way, apart from it. They were neither nobles nor serfs, but a species of lackeys to the nobility. From them the noble obtained his clothing and the gay trappings of his horse; they forged his weapons and his armour, built his castles, loaned him money. He stood to them in the relation of a consumer, and, as a consumer, he legislated, defining their markets, prohibiting them from enhancing prices, enacting that wages should not exceed certain figures, insisting that goods should be of such and such a quality and texture, and be sold at certain fixed prices.

Naturally these restrictions were little to the taste of the bourgeoisie. As trade and commerce increased they found these conditions less and less tolerable. As they grew in wealth and influence they became less and less inclined to tolerate them. In England they had joined with the nobles to weaken the king, and with the king to weaken the nobles. Finally they broke the power of both. In the name of freedom they crushed feudalism. But the freedom they sought was a freedom that would permit them to adulterate goods, that would allow the workers to leave the land and move where the factories needed them, their wives, and their children.

While in other lands the course of the bourgeois revolution was somewhat different than in England, the result was the same. In France, for instance, the revolution was pent up for so long a period that when it burst forth it deluged the land in blood, through which the people waded, bearing banners inscribed "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," to a new order wherein Liberty, Equality and Fraternity were the last things possible.

Once freed from the fetters of feudalism the onward march of capitalism became a mad, headlong rush. Everywhere mills, factories and furnaces sprang up. Their smoke and fumes turned fields once fertile and populous into desolate, uninhabitable wastes; their refuse poisoned and polluted the rivers until they stank to Heaven. Earth's bowels were riven for her mineral hoards. Green flourishing forests became mere acres of charred and hideous stumps. Commerce pierced all mountains, fathomed all seas, explored all lands, disturbing the age-long sleep of hermit peoples that they might buy her wares. Capital spread its tentacles over all the world. Everywhere its voice was heard, crying "Work, work, work," to the workers; "Buy, buy, buy," to all the peoples.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CAPITALISM.

Ages of chattel slavery were necessary to break ground for feudalism, centuries of feudalism to prepare the way for capitalism. In a dozen decades capitalism has brought us to the threshold of Socialism.

Capitalism has done a great work, and done it thoroughly. It found the workers, for the most part, an ignorant, voiceless peasant horde. It leaves them an organized proletarian army, industrially intelligent, and becoming politically intelligent; it found them working individually and with little co-ordination; it has made them work collectively and scientifically. It has abolished their individuality and reduced their labor to a social average, levelling their differences, until today the humble ploughman is a skilled laborer, by comparison with the mere human automata that weave cloths of intricate pattern and forge steel of fine temper. In short, it has unified the working class.

It found the means and methods of production crude, scattered and ill-ordered, the private property of individuals, very often of individuals who themselves took a part in production; it leaves them practically one gigantic machine of wealth production, orderly, highly productive, economical of labor, closely inter-related—the collective property of a class, and of a class wholly unnecessary to production, a class whose sudden extinction would not affect the speed of one wheel or the heat of one furnace.

It found the earth large, with communications difficult, divided into nations knowing little or nothing of one another, with prairies unpopulated, forests untrod, mountains unscaled; it has brought the ends of the earth within speaking distance of one another, has ploughed the prairies, hewed down the forests, tunnelled the mountains, explored all regions, developed all resources; it has largely broken down all boundaries, except on maps; it has given us an international capitalist class with interests in all lands on the one hand, on the other, an international working class with a common interest the world over.

THE PASSING OF CAPITALISM.

Aristotle, with something akin to prophetic vision, laid down the axiom that slavery was necessary until the forces of Nature were harnessed to the uses of Man. This has now been accomplished and the necessity for slavery is past. Armed with the modern machinery of production, with steam, electricity and water power at their command, the workers, a fraction of society, can produce more than all society can use or waste—so much more, that periodically the very wheels of production are clogged with the superabundance of wealth, and industrial stagnation prevails.

In the throes of just such a period we now find ourselves, and of one that promises to attain such proportions as to seal the doom of capitalist society. At the very heyday of prosperity, industry suddenly became unjointed. The wheels of industry came to a standstill. The furnaces cooled off, smoke ceased to belch forth to the skies, the belts ceased their eternal round over the pulleys. The workers, from being worked to the limit of their endurance, found themselves unexpectedly without work at all, and soon without means of subsistence. Not here and there alone, but everywhere where capitalism rules, from all quarters comes the same tale. Famine-stricken where food is plenty; ill clad where clothing lacks not; shelterless among empty houses; shivering by mountains of fuel; tramping where the car-wheels rust. And ever the tale grows! There is no promise of alleviation, but rather portents of worse to come.

Society can no longer feed itself. When the societies of old could no longer feed themselves they perished. And capitalist society is about to perish. A revolution is at hand! Another leap in the process of evolution! Society has grown too big for its shell. It must burst that shell and step forth a new society.

The means of wealth production are the collective property of the capitalist class. The operation of these means of wealth production is the collective function of the working class. The working class, working together, produce all wealth. The capitalists, owning the means of production, own all the product. They allow the working class, when working, sufficient, on the average, for their subsistence—just what the slave owner allowed his slaves, what the feudal lord allowed his serfs. But when the worker of today is not working he is allowed nothing except freedom to starve. He is the worst kind of a slave.

What stands between him and his emancipation is the collective ownership of the means of production by the capitalist class. If the means of production were the collective property of the working class that collectively operates them, the product would also be the collective property of that class, and the workers would be able to individually consume the wealth they collectively produced. They would not need to be hungry, homeless, ragged, shivering outcasts. The world is theirs for the taking. Presently they will be compelled to take it. Man cannot be equalled in endurance by any animal, but even his endurance has a limit. When that limit is reached capitalism will be at an end; its mission will have been accomplished to the final touch.

The economic problem, which to solve slavery had arisen, will have been solved. Labor shall step forth free at last from its aeons of bondage. Man shall be master of his own destiny, able with little effort to produce all that his heart desires, and with ample leisure to enjoy the fruits of his handiwork and the legacies of time. The earth shall be his and the fullness thereof. The forces of Nature his to command. The Giant Machine his tireless servitor. Speed the day.

While, on the industrial field, the workers have been steadily losing ground, a new alignment of the forces has been taking place. The battle is shifting from the industrial to the political field. Here it becomes a class struggle. No

(Continued in Next Issue)