



WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SWEDISH STRIKE

Stockholm, Sweden, Aug. 1.—(By mail.)—Put on the defensive by the numerous lockouts that have been declared by the employers' associations of Sweden during the last year, the workmen were compelled to resort to the general strike as the only retaliatory measure left to them.

This is the story of the labor troubles now involving the entire country and which bid fair to mark another step in advance of the power of the laboring class against the predatory capitalists.

Workers Gain Ballot.

While capitalism had practically gone to sleep for a moment, the workman of Sweden was granted the ballot. Using this power in its attempt to secure some of the rights to which it deemed itself entitled under the government under which it lived, the laboring class through the Social Democratic Party put thirty-five Socialists into the riksdag and have elected the mayor of Stockholm.

Still possessing a majority in the riksdag and with the courts and other instruments of the government still remaining in their control, the capitalists of Sweden are now making a last stand in an effort to win back the power they have lost and put the workmen under submission, once more.

The general strike that was declared during the latter part of July has been in the making for over a year past. The present time has been chosen by the capitalists as the best for their purposes because the consumption of the necessities of life seemed to have fallen off considerably, and they are hoping that the large class of unemployed labor that will be seeking work during the coming winter will aid them in breaking the strike. It is a case where the capitalist hopes to starve the workmen into submission.

Causes of the Strike.

Some of the incidents leading up to a general strike are found in the 'Proclamation for a General Strike,' issued on July 27, 'To all the members of the National Labor Union.' It is in part as follows: 'The unscrupulous attack of the employers of labor against our unions has now gone so far that the officials of the national labor organizations find themselves compelled to issue an appeal to the union labor of the nation to answer this attack on a given day by a general strike.'

'It is only after a complete consideration of the circumstances and since it has become clearly apparent that the brutal influence of politics, which our employers' associations are now making use of, cannot now be met in any other way, that the national committee has found itself in duty bound to take this procedure against the continued outrage of the employers' lockout.'

Use Unscrupulous Methods

'For more than a year past the organized employers of this nation have utilized the most unscrupulous and aggressive tactics. On the first occasion that offered itself the employers have come forth with their declarations of a lockout. Time after time, without any cessation, their lockout proclamations have been practically thrown at us. Even the smallest disputes have been seized upon as occasions for the declaring of new lockouts, and always of a comprehensive nature, so that for the past year any negotiations have been carried on under the threat of a general lockout.'

'During the entire past year we have sought from the standpoint of the national labor organizations, in spite of these difficulties, to come to an understanding without resorting to a general strike. The employers saw clearly for their part that the time for a war with labor during the present year would be greatly in their favor, on account of the heavy decrease in consumption and an already evident large number of unemployed workers for the coming winter.'

Hopes Proved Futile

'Through the energetic and persistent offers of peace, the alternative of a general strike has been put off from time to time during the past year, and we had hoped on the side of the workers that the outrages resulting from the lockouts imposed by the employers would finally come to an end, but nothing has come of it.'

'In the same manner continued declarations of lockouts have been hurled against the national labor organizations during the months of this year already past. This was the situation this spring when we faced a general lockout threatened by the Central Employers' association, that involved all the building industries in the nation. The lockout was finally avoided, however, on account of the staunch position taken by the workers with the help of the powerful and intelligent aid of the arbiter. Simultaneously, however, an even larger lockout was declared and enforced in the building material industries, but this was also finally declared off as a result of new negotiations.'

Negotiations Are Thwarted.

'It was finally decided in favor of the workers, as a result of the peace negotiations that had been carried on, that there should be no further declarations of lockouts. Hardly had this latest agreement been reached before the Swedish Employers' association, the most warlike organization among the employers, threw itself into the battle with all its resources.'

'Negotiations had proceeded for a time looking toward the fixing of the wage scale in two branches of the tailors' unions. The grocers and delivery men's branches of the delicatessen trades desired the fixing of a national wage scale upon which they were presented with a considerable reduction from their previous wages. When the workers would not agree to the proposed reductions a lockout was declared by the Grocers and Confectioners' association on May 24, and of the Delivery and Confectioners' association on July 5.'

Lockout After Lockout

'Even with the inducement of a wage agreement at the Skutskar's celluloid factory, which would result in a reduction in the previous wages of the workers, an entire lockout of the paper manufacturing industry was declared on July 12. There was a wage dispute at Mackford's power station, and when this could not be decided after lengthy negotiations, the men quit work on April 1, with the result that the employers, through another lockout, suspended all work in the industries involved in improvements along the roads and rivers.'

'Since the employers have taken up this antagonistic position toward labor, a meeting of the full membership of the Swedish Employers' association was called on July 14, and after it was decided to declare war against the workmen of Sweden, it was determined that a monster lockout should be instituted against the Association of National Labor Unions if propositions not acceptable to the employers' associations in the questions at issue had been presented by July 26.'

General Strike Declared

'It was under these conditions that a general strike was declared which is involving every industry in Sweden, stopping the trains so that food cannot be brought into Stockholm, preventing the crops from being harvested and generally precipitating the country into the greatest war between capitalism and labor that it has ever seen.—Daily Socialist.'

A large number of elevators in Canada have transferred their insurance from Canadian to United States insurance companies, so that about a quarter of a million dollars in commissions has been lost to Canadian brokers. Here is another cause for a new outbreak of patriotism.

BLOODY NICHOLAS!

If the Labor Party engages in strenuous agitation, it is always for something that is utterly useless to the working class. It is so in its agitation in favor of the capitalist budget, and so it was also in its protest against the visit of the Tsar. Whenever the boom of the "Labor" drum is heard it betokens an attempt to divert the attention of the workers from things that really matter, and to rally them in support of the class that fattens upon their misery. This is the characteristic of the "Labor" and reform parties, and it is the reason why, even in the matter of the Tsar's visit, we are compelled to join issue with them.

The visit of Nicholas Romanoff will doubtless have taken place before these lines appear; but supposing it had been prevented, would the working class, or even the middle class, of Russia, have been benefited in the slightest? Obviously they would no more have benefited on this occasion than they did after his cowardly majesty abandoned his visit to Italy through dread of a hostile demonstration. Moreover, we read in the Labor Party's advertisement of their "Protest" (in the I. L. P. and S. D. P. organs) that the Tsar is "our guest"! And it is asked "Will the hand of England be stained by grasping his?" We, in turn, protest against these "protesters." We deny that the Tsar is "our guest." He is solely the guest of our enemies, the capitalist class. And the "hand of England" (which, today, is that of the class who own and rule) can hardly be further or deeper stained by grasping the bloody hand of a brother in exploitation and repression.

True the "middle" class and their hangers-on often speak as though this country were the peaceful haven of freedom and happiness, and Tsardom the only repressive State in the world. But that is only because the middle class have yet to achieve their complete emancipation in Russia, while in England they are the ruling class, and themselves make use of "Russian" methods in governing dependencies, and even in crushing workers and

strikers at home. It naturally makes all the difference to the "middle" class whether they are the upper or under dogs; but the worker is under dog all the time, and is crushed under both forms of class rule.

The capitalists of Western Europe are equally guilty with Russian despotism. Germany in S. W. Africa and Poland; Belgium on the Congo; France in Morocco; England in India and Ireland; each can parallel Russian atrocities. To take England as typical in internal affairs, capitalist rule condemns one-third of the population to slow starvation, while thousands are killed or maimed yearly for the profit of the capitalist, and the mass of the people are condemned to leisureless joyless lives of poverty, toil and suffering.

This progressive crushing of humanity by class rule is international, not local; and Russia's stain is of scarcely darker hue than the rest. It is, therefore, sheer hypocrisy to pretend that the ruling class of this country would be contaminated by the presence of the Tsar. On the other hand, in the welcome to bloody Nicholas that is given by a Government responsible for Featherstone and Belfast, there is a peculiar fitness that aptly illustrates the international character of class oppression. The ruling class of each country use the surest and most deadly means of repression that are suited to their circumstances, and the Government here would repeat the worst Russian atrocities in England if it could thus strengthen its position.

We are of and for the workers, hence as distinct from the Labor Party, we do not protest against oppression abroad and actively support the oppressor at home. We recognize (as members of a subject class) that the only effective help we can at present give to our Russian comrades is to push on faster the work of making Socialists and of exposing the rascality of the international ruling class. Indeed, before England can aid working class emancipation in Russia, England herself must be conquered by those who produce.—Socialist Standard.

CAPITALISM THE LEVELLER

Who ever would have thought it? There are but few craftsmen who can boast of such ancient lineage as the blacksmith—immortalized in song and story. "The blacksmith fashioneth with his hammer" was the tribute of the ancient prophet. But machinery and invention is robbing our swartzy craftsman of his calling; ere long the thrill of his music and the magic of his fire and anvil will be gone, and the old refrain,—

"With a bang and a clang and a ringing-dong,

The work goes merrily rolling along" will be meaningless.

In his May report, the general secretary of the Associated Blacksmiths dilated on the departing glory, thus: "Owing to the introduction of shaping tools, drop hammer forgings, malleable and steel castings, we are afraid that the glory of the trade is departing, which, without doubt, is one that stands easily first for constructive ability and inventive genius. In no other trade have we so many failures; therefore, we would appeal to all aspirants who are yearning to learn our ancient and honorable craft, to weigh well the situation. If no more blacksmiths were turned out during the next decade, we would still have sufficient to meet the industrial requirements."

But the onward march of labor-saving and dividend-making appliances in all industries, dulls the voices which call out solicitously on behalf of handicraft, art, and the human race itself, and the fostering care and attention which should be given to man is accorded to machinery instead.

A subsequent perusal of the annual report of the Bricklayers' Society conveys much the same idea concerning the avocation of the bricklayer. He had got accustomed to rumors concerning schemes for laying bricks by machinery, but now he is faced with schemes and actual practice for building without bricks at all. Mr. Batche-

lor, the general secretary, deals with the question at some length, and his conclusions respecting the prospects of the trade are pessimistic in the extreme. He points out how that steel construction in place of the old system of solid brickwork for buildings reduces the number of bricklayers required, and "concrete" construction is also responsible for a less number of men being required. Down this way where they make you tired by talking about "safe and better relations with the employers," they should let the above passages sink into their brains.

Say, what relation have you got when you are displaced by the machine and new ideas and inventions? With the march of capitalistic production skilled work becomes unskilled, more competition for jobs takes place, an over-abundance of labor power on hand wages fall lower and faster than before. Strikers' places are more and more easily filled, as good men are on tap for scab labor as there were formerly in the shop, and after every long and severe strike, a still greater number of "skilled" men have been developed, and the unions are forced to take them in as members, or else they create their own scabs.

With modern production the one-time "aristocrats of labor" find themselves thrown on the same level as every worker; they become the real proletariat. Beaten in all directions in the endeavor to raise the price of their particular brand of labor-power, the union men must recognize that they can only rise as a class and not as a craft. That their struggles should be not for "safe or better relations," but for the overthrow of all relations existing between master and slave, for the working class to own all the wealth they produce. To do this they must own what is displacing them, the machine tool, and they will never own the tools they work with so long as they leave political power in the hands of a master class.

THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS

Fellow Workers: Soon you will be called upon to exercise the franchise. That you may for once do it intelligently, the Socialist Party wishes to make its aims known to you. We do not ask your vote; we simply wish to make our point clear. If you find truth in what we have to say, and consider our interpretation of society is right, and that the propagation of these principles will be to your benefit, and to the benefit of your class, then get up, make a noise like a man and do a man's portion; vote for them. If, on the contrary, you think these principles are to your detriment, and to the detriment of your class, it is your duty to vote against them. That you should be able to do either intelligently is our object in issuing this manifesto.

We take it for granted that you are human, and have human feelings and aspirations. We believe that you would like a good home, good clothes, good food; would like to be able to educate your children well, and above all, would like to be sure of a job. We know that you have these thoughts, because we have them ourselves. We also know that you think that you are not entitled to them, because you have been taught that such things are not good for you and your kind.

We wish to disagree with the ideas imparted to you from the master class, because they are wrong. You are entitled to the good things of this world. The workers of the world have produced all the good things of this world and are entitled to them all. Labor produces all wealth, and what can be more right than that the producers should own it all? At present they own practically none.

Go wherever you will, and you will find the workers living in miserable shacks, wearing shoddy clothes, and eating adulterated food. On the other hand, we find that those that do not work have good homes, good clothes and good food. Evidently the secret of success is not work, but in the ownership of the means of wealth production. Knowing this to be so, the Socialist Party wishes you to understand its platform.

Society, ever since the dissolution of the primitive tribal communities, has consisted of two classes. The one class, that owned the means of wealth production; the other class, that owned nothing but their power to labor. The benefits of all property goes to the owners.

Consequently those that owned the means of production in every stage of society have reaped all the benefits. The non-owners in order to live, have had to sell their only commodity, labor power. Like all commodities, its price is governed by supply and demand, subject only to its cost of production. Being a perishable commodity, it must be sold.

In all stages of society there have been more workers than owners, consequently the supply has exceeded the demand, and the workers' commodity has been forced down to its lowest price, namely, the cost of its production, which is the amount necessary for the worker to keep alive and leave somebody to work after he is worn out working for the master class.

In all stages of society the owner has been master and the worker a slave. The forms have changed, but the principle is there just the same.

The present system, wage slavery, is the most perfect form of slavery

The master class want as big a share of the wealth that the workers produce as they can possibly get. The workers want a share also; in fact, the writer, who has been termed "a blood and thunder Socialist," wants it all (how awful!). To establish any sort of relation with a struggle like that going on is a waste of energy. To wrest from the hands of the master class political power, and to enable the workers to own collectively the means of production, is the sole aim of the Socialist Party of Canada. W. GREEN.

that ever existed. In the chattel form of slavery the owner had to buy his slave and after buying him had to provide him with food, clothing and shelter, both in busy times and slack times; if sick, the master cared for him, because he had a property interest in him. In the present system the master does not pay a large sum for his slave (but rather the slave, through the employment agent, buys a master), but just buys him from day to day as he needs him, and only gives him what he gave his chattel slave (after paying a large sum for him) food, clothing and shelter. In slack times instead of feeding you, the master just doesn't buy you any more, and it's the soup kitchen for yours.

Your power to produce has increased one hundred fold, but you receive no more for your product than did the chattel slave, the owners of the means of production getting the benefit, which is only right, because when you are sufficiently intelligent to be entitled to the product you will have sense enough to own the means of production yourself.

Believing that all the ills present in society today arise from economic causes, due to the ownership of the means of production by one class and their operation by another class, and that no amount of reform will benefit the working class while this baneful ownership continues, the Socialist Party purposes to secure for the working class the ownership of the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, mines, railroads, etc.) in order that the producers may become owners of their own product.

These things are private property no longer. They are the collective property of a class. Individualism is a thing of the past. We no longer produce individually, but collectively. Collectively as a class we are enslaved, and robbed of our product. Our freedom must come through collectivism, and collectively we must fight to gain it.

EDMUND FULCHER.

COMRADES OF OKANAGAN.

Vernon, Aug. 16, 1909.

Dear Comrades,—

As most of you will know, the convention held at Vernon on the 12th of July, nominated Comrade J. F. Johnson of Enderby, as the standard bearer of our Party in the coming elections. Now you all know that we cannot run a campaign without the necessary dough, neither can we push the propaganda now, with contributions which come in the day before election. So kindly start contributing right now, so we may open the ball.

Comrades in isolated localities will please communicate with the undersigned, so they may act as agents in their locality.

Address all communications to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Campaign Committee.

Yours in Revolt,

H. C. D. GILDEMEESTER,
Vernon, B. C.

The Cause of Revolutions.

"The times of that superstition which attributed revolutions to the ill-will of a few agitators have long passed away. Everyone knows nowadays that wherever there is a revolutionary convulsion, there must be some social want in the background, which is prevented, by outworn institutions, from satisfying itself. The want may not yet be felt as strongly, as generally, as might ensure immediate success; but every attempt at forcible repression will only bring it forth stronger, until it bursts its fetters."—Marx "Revolution and Counter-Revolution."

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CAPITALISM AND CANNIBALISM.

Tariffs, Budgets, and graft-revelations seem to be the order of the day. These of course are matters, though perhaps of interest, at any rate of no concern to the working class.

When the workers meet the tax collector face to face occasionally, to their exceeding regret, and are gently but firmly separated from three dollars, or the like sum, in the way of a tax etc. Also there are duties payable on their tobaccos and other things. But this merely serves to enhance their cost of living therefore the price of their labor power and reduces by that much the surplus value they produce. So that taxes are paid out of the surplus in the long run.

Hence they need worry themselves not at all over the intricacies of Budgets and tariffs or the shamelessness of the grafters. Indeed they may, if they have the knowledge and are in the humor, derive therefrom some little amusement. To the cry of help from the unfortunate taxpayer and the long-suffering consumer, they should be as deaf as the proverbial adder.

It is quite edifying to behold the scramble for the titbits of the wealth among the thieves large and petty. And as Capitalism develops and wealth concentrates into fewer hands, the numbers of the hungry are multiplied and the scramble becomes mad. It is further accentuated when the fickle Prosperity jilts us and depression reigns, reducing the amount of booty to be scrambled for, and a demand that is ever being still further reduced by the steady restriction of the market.

Under these circumstances the cannibalistic propensities of our bourgeois become more and more pronounced, and the visible supply of suckers falling off, the sharks display a great avidity for supping off one another.

The industrial and financial groups of capitalists, being the largest sharks in the pool, are playing in these days ever greater havoc among their smaller, weaker, and more aged brethren. The temperance movement is a case in point. The most powerful and generally convincing argument of the advocates of the temperance "cause" to the business fraternity is: "Look at all the money that's spent in the saloons; if the saloons were closed that money would be spent with the mercantiles." This argument appeals most forcibly, not alone to the merchant, but to the wholesaler who supplies him with goods, and beyond him again to the manufacturer. No wonder that the problem of finance is one that fascinates the treasury department of that cause but little. To the industrial capitalist, temperance holds out two seductive allurements of power, and therefore more efficient, and an enlarged market for his wares. He therefore joyously embraces himself under the banner of temperance, fully believing of course that he is doing so from no motive any lower than the regeneration of his brother man. Thus the industrial capitalist prepares to sacrifice his brethren with capital invested in breweries and distilleries, in the fond hope that he will thereby acquire more power with his divinity, Mammon.

In Europe another group is being made ready for the altar. The pressure of taxation is become exceeding heavy, and, what with further increases in armament, and so forth, promises to become yet heavier, and the necessity of shifting the burden becomes pressing. Onto the shoulders of a penniless proletariat this burden obviously cannot be shifted, so the European industrial capitalists, who now predominate, are, as quietly and unobtrusively as maybe, shifting more of it onto the shoulders of their landed gentry and kin, who, being wise beyond their day and generation, are little minded to be led as a lamb to the

slaughter. In Britain, Lloyd George's Budget contains some very neat moves in this direction and is therefore belauded to the skies by the Liberal bourgeoisie and its faithful man Friday the Labor Party. Had the Tories won to power, the Tariff Reform would have given the burden a decided list in the other direction.

Similar to Lloyd George's was Buelow's Budget in Germany and for exactly similar reasons. The landed barons, however, proved more powerful in the Fatherland and Buelow has gone down, but not the Buelow idea. We shall see more of it.

In France there is every indication that the same tale is soon to be told, and we are very much mistaken if a "great democratic" land taxing Budget does not make its appearance under the wing of "Socialist Premier" Briand in the near future. The day of this continent will come later, but it will surely come if nothing untoward happens in the meanwhile.

LIVE AND LEARN.

From the procession of events, more especially recent events in France, Spain and Sweden, and even so near home as Cape Breton and Fort William, there are lessons to be learnt.

That, in a subconscious way, some of these lessons are being learnt is proven by the marked, though hardly noticed, change in the tone of Socialist writers and speakers. A few years ago, there was nothing of which we were more anxious than of convincing the world and his wife of the peaceableness of our intentions. Revolutionists we were of course, but before all things, peaceable revolutionists. Much time we spent and many arguments we discovered or devised proving that revolutions were not necessarily bloody. We took that popular-bogey, red revolution, in hand, drey his teeth, manicured his claws, barbered him, groomed him and presented him to the public, gentle, mild-mannered, learned-looking and thoroughly domesticated. In those days, to suggest that all this respectability might be mere veneer, that the threshold of the new society might possibly not be of pure alabaster whiteness; was to brand oneself as an Anarchist, if not a Pinkerton.

Nowadays, however, it is quite another song we sing, year by year our masters have been showing more and more of their true nature, until it is becoming clearly apparent that the chances of a peaceable revolution are exceeding slim; that they are dependent on the one unlikely circumstance that the revolutionary forces will be so strong and will present so determined and dangerous an aspect that resistance on the part of the masters will be not only hopeless but actually suicidal.

This is no matter for bluster and braggadocio. We should regard it as a matter of fact. It is rather a stern reality to be faced as best we may, than anything of a pleasure to be looked forward to. We must confess that a peaceable revolution would be much more to our liking, for, though the ultimate triumph of the working class is inevitably fore-ordained by circumstances over which nobody has any control, yet, if it be not peaceable, many of us are likely to be hanged in the process who might much prefer to hang themselves if they must hang.

However it seems as though our preferences in the matter are little likely to be considered. Therefore it behooves as many of us as possible to watch the march of events with open eyes and to garner therefrom such knowledge among our fellows now, while we may, as there is no telling how long we may be allowed to do so.

In this connection attention might be called to the fact that in some of the recent disturbances, just as a man when attacked will instinctively seek to guard his most vulnerable parts, so the master class has discovered to us one of its vulnerable points by the promptitude with which cordons of troops have been fung around their banking institutions. Wherefrom we may conclude that the Communards of Paris committed one of the gravest of errors when they allowed the fetish of bourgeois morality to so pervert their judgment that they held the treasures in the banks inviolate instead of seizing them and dispersing them among the proletariat.

Another point which has shown itself, always more or less, but particularly lately, is that the endurance of the workers is limited by the scantiness of their larders. To break the Swedish strike, workers were readily obtained in England. Not from any love of strike-breaking or any sympathy with the master class, but simply because their own immediate necessities forced them to hail as a deliverance any chance to obtain their bread.

Hunger is a powerful ally and an almost invincible foe. Therefore in the case of the Capitalist class appealing from an adverse decision at the ballot box to a grimmer arbiter, the workers should not fall to take such steps as will keep their own larders full whosoever else's be empty.

Of course, as the Swedish workers were not in revolt against property laws but merely against the aggressions of their employers in the industrial field, they could not be expected to do otherwise than to respect the legal property rights of the proprietors of the food supplies. A revolutionary proletariat would hardly be expected to be so scrupulous. As was shown after the Commune, the retribution following upon failure could have been no more dire had the Communards been less scrupulous, and the chances of success would certainly have been no less.

While it is of course futile to lay down even an outline of a plan of action for the future, as the events and circumstances that will then dictate our actions are not revealed to us, yet we should be neglectful not to study the events that are leading up to those and to draw therefrom such conclusions as may prove invaluable in making victory more speedy and less costly.

Of one thing we should never lose sight. That is, that the control of the State is the key to our enemies' position. Once that is ours we are the Law. So we must win that at all costs and, at the same time, at as little cost to ourselves as possible.

Martyrdom may have its attractions for those who toil for the regeneration of humanity, or some other such praiseworthy object, but for us, who seek our own emancipation, the role of victors, even in a bloodless victory, is glory sufficient. And the more thoroughly we understand our position, the more uncompromising our attitude, the more drastic our methods, the more speedy will be our triumph, whether it be peaceably attained or not.

We had never expected that our shunk of editorial wisdom on the false Creek Improvement Scheme would have attracted the attention of Vancouver's City Fathers. The fact that it has, seems to us to prove that we came close enough to the truth, for always, when somebody squeals, somebody is hurt. One alderman, at the last council meeting, suggests that he ought to be prosecuted. Possibly he is right, too. It was none of our business.

O'BRIEN GETS HIS

Organizer O'Brien, M. L. A., was jorked up for speaking on the streets of Regina and refusing to move, on the 15th. On being convicted he declined to pay his fine or to be bound over to hold his peace for twelve months, so is now serving seven days in jail. This will give his throat a nice rest, and by the time Regina gets through with him, the powers that be will be sorry they got gay.

THE CZAR'S NIGHTMARE.

For the publication of the following article copies of London "Justice" were confiscated by the police at a protest meeting against the Czar's visit held in Trafalgar Square. To questions raised subsequently in the House of Commons no satisfactory answer was vouchsafed. Why should there have been? The confiscation may have been "illegal," but what is to compel a ruling class to obey its own laws?

It was after one of the many pompous functions held at Tsarkoe Selo that Czar Nicholas had retired for the night to his bedchamber. The laughter and music of the voluptuous scene he had just left still buzzed in his brain; the fumes of the wine and perfumes of the women still filled his senses; the gay and glistening throng—the lights—the color and blazonry—still stared in the camera obscura of his vision. But he felt strangely hot, exhausted, depressed. A fit of morbid gloom had seized upon him.

His obsequious attendants—after putting him carefully to bed—had gently retired.

For a long, long time he lay in the vain endeavor to obtain sleep. The effects of the excitement and wine clung tenaciously. He became nervous and irritable; he turned restlessly from side to side; he grew afraid of the shadows in the corners of the room and the pale moonlight streaming in at the windows.

When, at last, the softness of the bed and physical weariness induced sleep, he became a prey to a fearful nightmare. Terrible dreams, let loose by a stifled conscience, arose out of the bosom of darkness.

The fantastic imagery of his brain conjured up the previous occupants of the bloody throne of Russia, they crowded on his fancy in a series of hideous horror. Ivan the Terrible taking delight in poisoning his guests; Peter—the brutal and bestial Peter—killing his brother Alexis; the harlot Catherine I. putting her discarded lovers living into tombs of ice; the drunken prostitute Elizabeth sticking pins into the breasts of her serving girls; Catherine II.—the disolute—murdering the infant son John of the courtesan Anna Ivanovna; the half-witted Paul in his mad debaucheries; the murder of Paul by his son; the vile beast Nicholas I. knouting courtiers to death; Alexanders II. and III.

committing monstrously cruel barbarities—all these ravenous tigers and tigresses in the mad excesses of their blood passion, clothed in the habiliments of the past, came out of the night and committed their most atrocious crimes in his dreams.

He shivers in an agony of terror.

Then they gathered all together, and, pointing at him, cried: You, Nicholas, last of the Czars, are the weakest, the most cowardly, the most cruel, the most bloodthirsty, the vilest of us all.

A cold sweat burst out upon him. A convulsive shudder shook him and nearly woke him up.

Then the Czars and the Czarinas disappeared from his dreams, but in their place arose the phantoms of his crimes.

They crowded thick and fast. They represented an epitome of his awful reign. Strange and wild and inexpressibly horrible, they, by their vivid reality, wrought within him fearful paroxysms of fear and terror.

Scenes of the silent snows of Saghalien; of the damp dungeons below the icy Neva in the Fortress of Peter and Paul; of the reeking cells of Schusselburg and the old Boutyrki; of the putrid typhus hells of Sevastopol, Lodz, Warsaw, and Eastern Siberia; of the torture chambers of Riga; of the whole of Russia with the demon Famine stalking through the land—clear, awful, and startling, came and went.

Fleeting murders, secret assassinations, hanging with well-soaped ropes, rapings of young and tender girls, butchering of tiny children, wholesale massacres, knoutings, beatings with nagalka and indiarubber sticks till the flesh hung in ribbons, pulling out of hairs one by one, breakings and twistings of limbs, so that all semblance of humanity was gone—such ghastly sights passed in slow, panoramic fashion. And the sounds of sobs and shrieks and awful imprecations filled his ears.

There was no end to them. Young men and old men, girls and women—little children. Of every rank, profession, creed and description.

Look! See the woman laughing, howling, praying, singing nursery rhymes as she rocks her dead baby in her arms in the fearful cold of Irkutsk—that is the poor, madwife of Ivan Cherniysky. See that man in the noiseome cell, hacking at his throat with a pair of scissors—that is the genius Zapolski. See that thin emaciated man walking as far as his chains will let him in the dungeon of Schusselburg—that is the wonderful poet Polvianoff. See that fine-looking man with the blood oozing from the pistol wound in his temples, lying in the snows of Siberia—that is the brilliant scientist Alex. Kropotkin. See that man swinging from the gibbet—that is the noble-minded Balmasshoff. See those men tearing at their throats with peices of glass—they are Leon-tovitch and Oogomoloff. See that poor dead thing bound in chains to the wall—that is the corpse of Zhutin. See that young woman just about to become a mother, being dragged to the police-station—that is Martinova. See that madman throwing kerosene over himself and setting it alight—that is the clever Gratchevsky. Look! Look again! See that beautiful girl being flogged—flogged until she drops down dead—that is Nagyeshta Sigida. See that mangled corpse—that is the body of Marie Vetrova, who was raped and murdered. So they go on.

What a murderous procession! Men and women of genius, poets, philosophers, scientists, journalists, doctors, workers, peasants, noble-minded and great-hearted; the soul of Russia; all of them the victims of the the Czar. In prison, in torture-chamber, in exile, in death does Nicholas see them. Their pale faces startle him. Their looks of sorrow, of pain, of hate, make him tremble in affright. He cries aloud in his sleep.

The visions of his crimes fade away and Nicholas sees himself as he really is. A puny second-rate Hussar officer, as Tolstoy calls him, and a criminal lunatic. He sees the Czardom—vile, horrible, wealthy, triumphant, gilded and stained. He realises what a collection of spies, swindlers, butchers, hangmen and murderers are gathered around the throne, among whom are Dubrovin, the organizer of pogroms, his uncle Vladimir, Azeff and Trepotf. What a cesspool of shame, disgrace, opprobrium and dishonor is there! What a black pit of vice and treason! He conspires with Azeff to get rid of his uncle, the Grand Duke Sergius. He shakes the bloody paws of the human beasts that carry out his criminal behests. He heaps honors and wealth upon violators of girls and butchers of babes. On the throne, in the midst of all glitter and panoply, he is stifling the light, strangling the liberty, barring the progress of the Russian people. He and his crew laugh and mock and jeer over Russia—

But suddenly there is a great blue flash and a terrible explosion.

The same obsequious attendants that put him to bed discovered him the following morning, all shrivelled and purple with cold, cowering in a corner of the room, trembling like one who had passed through hell.

TOM QUELGH.

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 836, Vancouver, B. C.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday. D. G. McKenzie, Secretary, Box 836, 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. A. J. Browning, Sec., Box 51, Calgary, Alta.

MANITOBA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Meets first and third Mondays of every month, Jubilee Hall, corner of King and Alexander. The Secretary will be pleased to furnish any information and answer any correspondence relative to the movement. Secretary, H. W. James, 326 Hargrave St. Winnipeg, Man.

ONTARIO PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Meets in Finnish Hall, 214 Adelaide St. Toronto, on 2nd and 4th Wednesdays. Organizer, W. Gribble 131 Hogarth Ave., Toronto. P. C. Young, Secretary, 940 Pape Ave.; G. Colombo, Italian Org., 224 Chestnut St.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, NO. 1, S. P. OF C. Canada. Business meetings every Tuesday evening at headquarters, over Ruget's Store, 151 Hastings St. West. P. Perry, Secretary, Box 836.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., NO. 45, FINNISH. Meets every second and fourth Thursdays at 8 p. m. 151 Hastings St. W. Secretary, Matt Martilla.

LOCAL VICTORIA, NO. 2, S. P. OF C. Headquarters and Reading Room, Room 1, Eagle Building, 1313 Government St. Business meeting every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m. Propaganda meetings every Sunday at Grand Theatre. Jas. McIndoe, Secy. Room 1, 1319 Government St.

LOCAL NANAIMO, NO. 3, 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. Jack Place, Rec. Secy., Box 826.

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. J. Lancaster, Sec., Box 164.

LOCAL GREENWOOD NO. 9, S. P. OF C., meets every Sunday in Miners' Union Hall at 7:30 p. m. Business meetings, 1st and 3rd Sundays of every month. T. Y. McKay, Secretary Pro Tem.

LOCAL VERNON, B. C., NO. 38, S. P. OF C., meets every Friday night at 7:30 in Timmins' Hall, corner of Seventh and Tronson Sts. Business and propaganda combined. Geo. W. Paterson, Secretary, Vernon, B. C.

LOCAL REVELSTOKE, B. C., NO. 7, S. P. OF C. Propaganda and business meetings at 8 p. m. the fourth Thursday of each month in lodge room over old post office, near opera house. Everybody welcome. B. F. Gayman, Secretary; W. W. Lefaux, Organizer.

Directory of Western Federation of Miners in British Columbia

Executive Board Member Wm. Davidson, Sandon DISTRICT ASSOCIATION NO. 6. President Jno. A. McKinnon, Rossland Vice-President Thos. J. McKay, Greenwood Secretary-Treasurer A. Shilland, Sandon

Table with columns: No., Name, Meeting Night, Pres., Sec'y., P. O. Box, Add. Lists various local branches and their members.

NEW SOCIALIST GAME

"The Class Struggle" Good fun, good propaganda. The whole family can play it. Mailed for 25c in stamps, agents wanted. CHARLES H. EBER & CO., 155 Kinross Street, Chicago, Ill.

Photographs

Large Photos of Local Vancouver's Picnic at 76c, from Headquarters. H. Norman, P.O. Box 836.

TYOLAISET CANADASSA

Jos tahdotte jotakin tietaa tyovaen puoleesta ja sosialismin edistyksesta Canadassa, niin tilatkaa kohta.

"Tyokansa"

Box 197, Port Arthur, Ont.

Se on Canadassa ainoa Suomen kielinen sanomalehti, joka taistelee sinunkin puolesta. Edistat tyovaen luokkaa tilaamalla Tyokansan. Makaa ainoastaan, \$1.50 vuosikerta "Vakaleuka" Makaa, \$1.25

C. PETERS Practical Boot and Shoe Maker

Hand-Made Boots and Shoes to order in all styles. Repairing promptly and neatly by done. Stock of staple ready-made shoes always on hand. 2456 Westminister Ave.

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We solicit the business of Manufacturers, Engineers and others who realize the advisability of having their Patent business transacted by experts. Preliminary advice free. Charges moderate. Our Inventor's Adviser sent upon request. Marion & Marion, New York Life Bldg, Montreal and Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Propaganda Meeting

Sunday Evening, 8 o'Clock

W. DREAWER

National Theatre

Formerly the Cameraphone 58 HASTINGS ST. W. VANCOUVER, B. C.

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 836, Vancouver, B. C.

PRICE LIST OF SUPPLIES.

Supplies will be furnished Locals by Executive Committees at the following prices:

Charter (with necessary supplies to start Local)	\$5.00
Membership Cards, each01
Dues Stamps, each10
Platform and application blank per 10025
Ditto in Finnish, per 10050
Ditto in Ukrainian, per 10050
Ditto in Italian, per 100	50c

DOMINION EXECUTIVE.

Meeting of August 16th, 1909. Present, Comrades Mengel (chairman), Karme, Kingsley, Morgan, Peterson, Stebbings and the secretary. Minutes of previous meeting approved.

Correspondence dealt with from Ontario and Alberta Executives; Locals Dominion No. 6, N. S.; Montreal, P. Q.; Menzies, Sask., and Organizer Gribble.

No endorsements having been received through any Provincial Executives, of Local Port Arthur's (Finnish) proposition for referendum, the proposition falls through.

Receipts: Ontario Executive, \$30.75; warrant authorized for printing, \$2.00.

B. C. PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE.

Meeting of August 16th, 1909. Minutes of previous meeting approved.

Correspondence dealt with from Locals Ladysmith, Prince Rupert, Sandon, Revelstoke, and Organizer Harrington.

Warrants authorized for printing, \$2.00; postage, etc., \$2.50.

Receipts.

Sandon, stamps	\$5.00
Revelstoke, stamps	2.50
Ladysmith, stamps	5.00
Vancouver, constitutions	1.00
Total	\$13.50

Secretary instructed to write all Locals on approaching Provincial elections.

SOCIALIST PICNIC AT BERLIN, ONT.

Some time ago the Galt Comrades suggested the holding of a joint picnic, and on July 31st, a number of rebels from Toronto, Berlin, Galt, Brantford and Guelph gathered at Victoria Park here, and had a "talkfest," fraternized with each other, exchanged notes and had a general good time.

It was a matter of some surprise, that the crowd was not larger; but it was simply a demonstration of the fact that wage-slaves cannot always manage to do as they would like to, also that railroad fares touch the pocketbook. There was however a gathering of over a hundred of the Comrades; most of them had brought their wives or sweethearts, and the rising generation also was much in evidence.

At 3 p. m. your correspondent had the pleasure of bidding the visitors welcome on behalf of the Berlin Comrades, then called on a few of the guests, and we had the pleasure of listening to some stirring addresses by Comrades Faber, Woodhouse and Stewart from Toronto, Glaspell from Galt, Peters from Guelph, and Fogal from Brantford.

A series of athletic events then followed, and while the Torontonians carried off the prizes in the running races, the Berlin "Dutchmen" showed their staying qualities by easily defeating a team of the visitors at a "tug of war."

Then in the shade of beautiful trees, at tables nicely arranged and spread with good things, a merry hour was spent, and the best of comradeship prevailed.

Right here it must be said that thanks are due to Comrades Martin, Gies, Moorish and others, but particularly to the women, without whose strenuous efforts the splendid success of the picnic would have been impossible.

It was the general feeling, that the picnic will become an annual event, that next year we will be able to gath-

INFORMATION WANTED

Will any of the readers of this paper acquainted with the circumstances attending the death of Frank Crawford or Mouglin, at or near Kamloops, B. C., on or about June 18th or 19th, communicate with this office. He is supposed by his friends to have been employed as a logger or river driver by the Earle Arrow Lake Lumber Co. (the name may be incorrect). His family has received no details, nothing but a telegraphic despatch stating that he was drowned. Those possessing any knowledge of the sad occurrence would confer a favor on the bereaved family by complying with the above request. Write Western Clarion, Box 836, Vancouver, B. C.

A BIT OF HISTORY.

Some one mailed me a pamphlet from Toronto bearing the title, "The Canadian Socialist Party and Social-democratism." The quaint spelling and phraseology, to one acquainted with the Ontario movement, suggested its Finnish origin, and it was no surprise to learn that Port Arthur was its birthplace. Before discussing the subject matter of the pamphlet, I intend to refer briefly to the "tactics" of the Local from which it emanated during the provincial campaign of the summer of 1908, which will show what trusty "managers" this bunch would be for the S. P. of C.

Ontario, in its provincial elections, offers a peculiarly attractive field for Socialist propaganda, inasmuch as no deposit is required to nominate a candidate. Where then were these "revolutionists to blood and death," who declaim that "the Socialist Party must not be a hole and corner movement," who now so vehemently "call on all workers who look for their own and interests of the entire working class"? These wiseacres who prate that "it does pay to begin to learn something from the daily visible changes" did not recognize a golden opportunity, even when their attention was called to it.

Port Arthur was in a peculiar state politically just then. The Conservatives had nominated the mayor of the city as their standard bearer, and the Liberals, disgraced and discredited provincially, had not the hardihood to put up a man in opposition to him. They (the Liberals) did hold a convention to put a man in nomination, but adjourned pending the outcome of a scheme, then under way to a successful termination, had not a few class-conscious trades unionists interfered on behalf of the working class. The Socialists had no intention whatever of putting up a man, or even of taking any part in the campaign. At this juncture there arrived in Port Arthur two members of the Party, John F. Leheney, and the late John T. Mortimer. From Comrade L. T. English they learned of the local situation, of the no-deposit feature, of possible designs on the newly formed Trade Council; the two canvassed with Comrade English the advisability of entering a Socialist candidate. It was determined to approach the Finnish Local and suggest their putting up a candidate. This the Finns would not do, but promised every assistance in their power if the three would get a Socialist to enter the contest. English and the others promised to do their best to effect this. And circumstances developed rapidly that gave the Socialist nomination unusual prominence, and made possible the inauguration of a whirlwind campaign.

The recently formed Trades Council was the nucleus around which the fearful Liberal organization built its hopes, trusting through it to get one of its creatures labor-flavored, and march him to victory under an Independent banner. Presumably under the council auspices, a meeting of independent voters was called and held and a candidate nominated as an Independent Labor man. The man selected was a Mr. Geo. Mooring, a lumber contractor, whose claim to being a working man centered in a feat he claimed to have performed some twenty years before of packing a tool chest on his back from Fort William to Port Arthur; and whose love for the wage-earner was evidenced by a number of suits then pending in the courts against him by employees whose wages had not been forthcoming.

Leheney, who was at the time one of the vice-presidents of the Trades and Labor Congress, had been invited to address the meeting. He refused to make the opening speech, claiming that at a later stage in the proceedings he would be in a better position to make suitable remarks. Mooring was nominated by one trades unionist, seconded by another, and the crowd in the body of the hall uttered no word of assent or dissent. The chairman, Mr. Robt. Ferguson, announced Mooring the unanimous choice of the meeting and again invited Comrade Leheney to make a few remarks, which the Comrade proceeded to do without any hesitation whatever. In unmeasured terms he denounced the frame-up, and rebuked those who undertook, without authority, to speak for organized labor on such an occasion and promised that a genuine labor candidate would be forthcoming before nomination day.

The speech served notice on the tricksters that their game was discovered, and Mooring requested the president of the Trades and Labor Council to call a meeting of unionists to consider a proposition made by him of withdrawing from the contest and turning over his big meeting tent and his organization to any man they might select as standard bearer. President Jim Booker, one of the squarest men in the trades union movement, got Mooring to repeat this offer before other unionists, and agreed to call the meeting. Mr. Mooring came before the meeting and consented to strike the word labor from his title if they decided that he should not bear it.

A decidedly different proposition from his original offer to Booker. Mortimer, English and a number of others turned themselves loose, and with three dissenting votes in a thronged hall, it was decided that 'Mr. Mooring was not a fit and proper person to represent labor.'

After this decision was reached an announcement was made that a meeting would be held in Finnish Hall the following evening to organize an English-speaking Socialist Local and nominate a candidate. The meeting was held, and Leo T. English, a true and tried man, was nominated. Those who know English best know that few men are better qualified to battle on behalf of the proletariat.

Of course the readers assume that the Finnish Comrades were active in bringing about the defeat of the Mooring-Conmee gang in their efforts to use the Trades Council as a labor mask. Well, let me assure them that no efforts of the English-speaking Comrades could impress the Finns with the importance of bestirring themselves. There were union men among them, but they had an excuse to keep them away from each of the two meetings to which I have referred. As social organizers they are unsurpassed, as Socialist organizers they are a negligible quantity.

Now it so happened, opportunely perhaps, that a comic paper issued by the Finns was excluded from the mails at this time, and Jim Conmee, M. P., undertook to have the paper restored to mailing privileges at the request of Comrade English. Whether this had any bearing or not on the actions of the "revolutionists to blood or death," they turned about-face and one morning The Chronicle, a Liberal paper, and, during the campaign, the Mooring organ, announced in scare headlines that "Finnish Socialists repudiate L. T. English."

An investigation on English's part disclosed the fact that some pressure had been brought to bear on the Finns; and that, in effect, what had appeared in the Chronicle was true. He had been repudiated without even being given a chance to be heard in his own behalf. A visit to the secretary's home secured a very liberal translation of the minutes as far as they referred to the action taken. The secretary seemed pained by what had taken place and did his best in the translation to make it appear that there was no repudiation, but there was just the same.

The motives, and characters of "the two strangers from the west" were questioned by the Mooring faction, the wires were hot with inquiries relative to their union and political connections, and their private lives. Is any Socialist Local in receipt of an inquiry telegraphic or other, from the Finnish Port Arthur Local relative to Leo T. English? A commendatory letter from the Dominion secretary was not acceptable to them. Why?

It was a common street rumor that Leheney got \$1000 from the Conservatives to be on hand to throw the hooks into Mooring. Just imagine Leheney around Port Arthur with 1,000 plunks in his jeans! Yet all of these things these live "revolutionists" swallowed greedily. But their English-speaking Comrades were not satisfied that their greenness was more than assumed, and it developed later that the then editor of Tyokansa had been closeted with Mr. Mooring and the Chronicle editor for the greater part of a forenoon, and had furnished them a copy of the motion of repudiation. He translated it for them, thus furnishing the enemy with ammunition to decimate the ranks of the army of which he himself wore the uniform. What the inducement was he, the Chronicle man, Mooring, and perhaps his clique know; but Mooring was very hungry for office and did not appear to consider expense. Perhaps the bad straits into which the comic paper had fallen might have given Conmee an opportunity, nor must we forget what they have written into the pamphlet that "people yield to more marked struggle only on account of immediate interests!"

The editor of Tyokansa told Comrade English in my presence that we were out on behalf of the Conservatives, and had not done right in preventing Mr. Mooring's endorsement by the Trades Council, for he was a better man than the other, and had a good platform. Sure enough! It was loaded with sucker bait. Of one thing I am satisfied that the Port Arthur Local should have then been called on to explain its action and give reasons for their attack on a nominee of the Party. This was not done.

Comrade Kingsley reached Port Arthur on his Dominion tour, and some of the inks were straightened out, but the damage was not fully repaired; the wet blanket was not lifted; and much of the prestige the Party might have gained was lost. And for what? That is the question.

If these be the "tactics of Social-democratism," may an ever-growing proletarian intelligence deliver the Socialist Party of Canada from adopting them.

THE RAMBLER.

MARRIAGES AND APPETITES.

"I attribute the falling off of marriages to the general depression and to the good sense of the young men," said the Rev. F. Ogden, of West Seaton, Eng. "They are wise enough to see that although the church tells they are to be made one in marriage, two appetites cannot be satisfied at the cost of one."

The outstanding feature of capitalist society is profit. One class owns the capital, the other class none, and has therefore to sell itself to the owners of capital. The worker gets a wage, price of his labor power, on which he exists. But as the condition of the labor market forces wages down to the minimum point, he is wise enough to know that he is unable to properly support himself without taking on his shoulders the responsibility of a greater burden. How can a worker contemplate marriage under these circumstances? It must be admitted that for a large part of the working class, this condition holds good. What of a society that forces these circumstances into being? What of a society that builds he towns here and she towns there, such as we have in this Canada of (presumably) ours! What of a church that condones this state of affairs; that tells the workers to be happy and contented with their lot in life—and that all will be well when they have crossed the river of Jordan?

LAURIE, in the Voice.

RESOLUTION.

The following resolution was passed by Local 10 of the S. P. of C.:

Whereas, there may in the future be a possibility of the Socialist Party becoming a breeding ground for professional politicians.

Therefore, in the opinion of the members of Local No. 10 of the Socialist Party of Canada, it is desirable that something definite in the way of an undertaking to do organizing and propaganda work should be obtained from a candidate, receiving a nomination for Parliament, to do work in this direction between sessions of the House.

T. L. BRIGGS,
Secretary Local No. 10,
Ladysmith, B. C.

The Rise of the Proletarian.

"The evolution of the conditions of existence for a numerous, strong, concentrated and intelligent proletarian class goes hand in hand with the development of the conditions of existence for a numerous, wealthy, concentrated and powerful middle class. The working class movement itself is never independent, never is of an exclusively proletarian character until all the different factions of the middle class and particularly its most progressive faction the large manufacturers have conquered political power and remodelled the state according to their wants. It is the inevitable conflict between the employer and the employed becomes imminent, and cannot be adjourned any longer; that the working class can no longer be put off with delusive hopes and promises never to be realized; that the great problem of the nineteenth century, the abolition of the proletariat, is at last brought forward fairly and in its proper light."

The Trading and Shopkeeping Class.

"The intermediate position of the small trading and shopkeeping class between the class of large manufacturers, traders and capitalists, the bourgeoisie properly so-called, and the proletarian or industrial class, determines its character. Aspiring to the position of the first, the least adverse turn of fortune hurls the individuals into the ranks of the second. In monarchic and feudal countries the custom of the court and aristocracy becomes necessary to its existence; the loss of this custom might ruin a great part of it. In the smaller towns a military garrison, a country government, a court of law with its followers, form very often the base of its prosperity; withdraw these, and down go the shopkeepers, the tailors, the shoemakers, the joiners. Thus eternally tossed about between the hope of entering the ranks of the wealthier class, and the fear of being reduced to the state of proletarians or even paupers; between the hope of promoting their interests by conquering a share in the direction of public affairs, and the dread of rousing, by ill-timed opposition, the ire of a government which disposes of their very existence, because it has the power of removing their best customers; possessed of small means the insecurity of the possession of which is in the inverse ratio of the amount—this class is extremely vacillating in its views. Humble and crouchingly submissive under a powerful feudal or monarchical government, it turns to the side of liberalism when the middle class is in the ascendant; it becomes seized with violent democratic fits as soon as the middle class has secured its own supremacy, but falls back into abject despondency of fear as soon as the class below itself, the proletarians, attempts an independent movement."—Marx. "Revolution and Counter Revolution."

Here and Now

By "LEEDS"

Capitalist papers will never tell the workingclass how they can free themselves from the rule of Capital. It is not in their interests to do so. The workers however, are building up a press of their own which stands in their interests and shows the way to economic freedom. This paper is one of them, and if you are a worker with aspirations beyond hard work and poverty all your life it is your privilege to assist by becoming a subscriber and by getting as many of your fellow workers as possible to become readers too. This struggle of the working class for liberty is no child's play. Freedom cannot be given to you, it must be taken and the price must be paid. So begin now by extending as widely as possible the circulation of your paper. The more readers of this paper there are the more votes for Socialism at the coming elections.

"Yours with a determination to keep everlastingly at it," writes Comrade A. M. Oliver from Nelson, B. C. and sends along two yearlies.

Local Gibson's Landing, B. C. donates \$5.00 towards Clarion Maintenance fund, per Comrade Jas. Fletcher, who states that Local 40 considers the Platform of the S. P. of C. to be alright and in no need of amendment.

Comrade Jas. Rintoul, Coquitlam, B. C. sends along his own sub. and also two others.

Any locals wanting that article on "The small business man" for distribution must send in their orders at once. The more the cheaper.

Local Port Moody has \$3.00 to spare for its card and Brandon renews its bundle.

Five yearlies from Port Essington, B. C. per P. Garvie, and also one three year's subscription.

That's going some.

Comrade Gribble rolls in a round dozen of subs. from the towns of Salem and Amherst, N. S., which shows that our Comrade, with the assistance of "Our" Militia is doing good propaganda work. Let 'er come.

Local Cape Breton votes \$5.00 towards the Clarion Maintenance fund and sends it per Comrade H. G. Ross, secretary.

Comrade Harrington has another skirmish, the result is three more readers.

Readers who have not as yet sent in a sub. will help considerably by supplementing the efforts of the regular rustlers with a new sub. occasionally.

Following are the Comrades who sent in one this week:

- A. Friend, Alert Bay, B. C.
- W. Green, Toronto, Ont.
- Monro Porter, Vancouver, B. C.
- A. S. Higgins, Brandon, Man.
- C. L. Austin, Revelstoke, B. C.
- Sam Larson, Lethbridge, Alta.
- F. Perry, Vancouver, B. C.
- E. J. Higgins, Philadelphia, Pa.

If you are interested in your material welfare you will show it by spending a few minutes of your time getting your name put on the voters' list. It will not be very long now before the list is closed, delay is always dangerous.

Some men prominent in the Socialist movement still cling to their pet idea that the wage slave is robbed as a consumer.

If it is in order, we might ask our friends if the chattel slave was also robbed as a consumer.

Workingmen would do well to vote themselves to a position at the safe end of the gun before they get rebellious.

Canada's armed thugs, commonly called soldiers, are doing valiant service for the Capitalist class these days by clubbing unruly workers into subjection. "Shoot to kill" is the order. You never knew of soldiers being used for the purpose of forcing the Capitalists to give higher wages to the workers did you. You must like it or you would not continue voting as you have in the past.

Every local should now direct its energies towards getting ready for the next elections. Every effort should be concentrated towards getting the sinews of war ready and in a widespread propaganda.

SOCIALIST SCHOOL TEACHERS.

If there are any Reds among the rural teachers in Canada, they should send in their names and classes of certificate to the Dominion Secretary, Box 836, Vancouver, B. C.

From Overseas

Edinburgh, Scotland, July 27th, 1909.

What wonders are wrought by modern invention! A few moments' ride in a railway train brings one out of the very centre of the metropolis, with its noise and bustle, into the quiet surroundings of the country. What a relief it was to leave smoke-begrimed London and gaze once more upon green fields and bright meadows. The Scottish express avoids the large cities and consequently the ride northward was an unbroken view of nature, until the banks of the Tyne were reached, where ships, wharves and large industrial establishments form an unsightly, chaotic mass. After a short stop at Newcastle, the train proceeds northward again and soon after crossing the Tweed the heather-clad hills of Scotland reach out on every side. The engineer opens the throttle wide and the train dashes along at great speed, until at last Edinburgh comes in sight.

Ah, Edinburgh! The beautiful! The picturesque! What more can a tired traveller want than to gaze upon thee, with the bright rays of a July sun setting off thy thousand charms to advantage. Perched on the seven hills, castles, universities, and stately buildings blend in a magnificent whole. Truly the Scottish capital is rightly described as the modern Athens, the home of the bard, the seat of knowledge. The main thoroughfares are broad, well kept avenues, lined with handsome buildings, bewitching flower gardens, and elegant stores and shops. Every nook and corner abounds with historic interest, for it was here where ancient kings, queens and nobles led reckless, wanton lives and it was here where blood and tears trickled down the hillsides into the valley below. If the hills could but speak, what a tale each could tell. The history of Scotland could be printed in letters of gold and there would still be enough blood left to print a second and a third edition. What memories crowd in of the past. The calm peaceful streets of the upper town look so fair that the self-satisfied are wont to say: "Thank goodness; the cruel days of the past are over; all is happiness and prosperity now."

How I wish it were so! It is true that those black dungeons in yonder castle no longer contain prisoners of state. It is true that the executioner no longer beheads aristocrats. It is true the clans no longer gather for a border fray. But as ever, cruelty, torture and death are on every side. In the dark, forbidding side streets of "Auld Reekie," where the tourist does not venture. In the damp and gloomy tenements which are owned by lords and dukes who never enter them, lives a vast under-world. As magnificent as is the upper town, so three-fold horrible live these people of the nether-world. Beautiful Princes street exists because of the slum lanes and alleys found here below. A disinherited race, many to whom all hope is gone, inhabits this quarter. This race toils, suffers and dies that a few may live. It gives the best it has, so that a stately grandeur may survive.

Unhappy Scotland! For centuries thou wast torn by internal strife, and now with the blessings of science, art and knowledge at thy command, thy sons and daughters must suffer untold miseries! Truly 'tis the irony of a cruel fate.

Now, as in former days, blood is the price of greatness. But this cannot go on forever, and already the end is in sight. A murmur of protest is rising from the disinherited. It grows louder, then subsides, only to break out again with renewed vigor. They sought to put it down, but it would not, for many of the disinherited are a tireless band of men and women who know not defeat, and day after day they hammer ceaselessly away at the shackles of ignorance and prejudice which bind and fetter their class. Oftentimes in their eagerness for freedom, they outstrip one another, then for lack of collective effort they must halt for a time. But slowly and surely the lessons are being learned, and progress is ever the watchword. A hardy, determined people have set their minds on covering the Seven Hills with the homes of the disinherited. They have resolved to forever

abolish the terrible slums, now their dwelling place. They have determined that haggard men, pale women, and sickly children shall become a thing of the past, and who can gainsay that their efforts shall not be rewarded? True, the battle is an uphill fight, but even the Heights of Abraham were scaled!

Unemployment and low wages are the two grim skeletons which aid the enemy, but even these two have grown so bulky that they are threatening to become useless allies. The municipality reaches out with a begrudging hand and tries to stave off the inevitable day. Private charity adds its curse to the chaos and seeks to stem the coming revolt, but like the fabled Mrs. Partington, who sought to sweep back the in-coming waves with a broom, their efforts are of no avail.

The greatest hope here, like elsewhere, lays with the future generation. These young people are the hopeful sign of the day, for they are beginning to ask themselves why they should have so little while they do all the work. They are no longer satisfied with the slums and rags which have been the lot of their forebears. It is amongst the growing ranks of these where, after viewing the ugly and beautiful spots of Edinburgh, one finds a comforting, true spirit of comradeship that alone can be found in a working class movement.

Like the bright morning sun driving away the mists on loch and moor, so will these, a vigorous proletariat, arise in bonnie Scotland and sweep away the sorrow and misery which now makes beautiful Edinburgh so unsightly.

Yours for the Revolt,
ROBT. E. SCOTT.

GOVERNMENT BILKS VICTIMS OF YUKON BOOSTERS.

One hundred and nineteen working-men, lured to the Territory by misrepresentation, stranded here penniless, with no work in sight, were shipped out of the country Sunday, July 18th, under circumstances that writes the territorial administration down to the level of a dishonest employer who refuses payment to his employees because the latter are in no position to enforce an undisputed contract.

The merchants' and miners' association was an organization of Dawson merchants whose avowed object was to boom the advantages this territory offered working men. When that association could no longer raise the salary of its agent, Arnold F. George, the government was appealed to and it furnished a sum of money, said to be \$500, to send the "Prof." to the Seattle Fair to continue his misrepresentation from the vantage ground of that Exposition.

The "peculiar" genius of that prince of boosters filled the country this spring with destitute men to such an extent that the government was compelled to open at Salvation Army headquarters a soup kitchen. The government furnished the grub; the Army the service.

After spending nearly \$1000 on the kitchen, the authorities found the men work to an average of 20 days each at \$4.00 per day. In addition to this being a reduction of \$1 per day from the going wages for such work, the men were obligated to leave the Territory on the proceeds of this employment. The government secured a through rate to Prince Rupert or Vancouver for \$55 per man. When to this was added an allowance for meals in town here, at White Horse and Skagway; and a deduction from each man to recompense the government for its outlay on the soup kitchen, there was left a balance coming to each man of about \$10. The men obtained no settlement, not even a statement, and being obligated to leave the country, and penniless, had no opportunity to demand and enforce compliance with their original agreement.

Nor is this all. The men were herded to town and shipped out on a White Pass steamer—despite the fact that the local Liberals have been pretending undying hostility to the White Pass Company; despite the fact that through one of the councilmen the steamer Pauline offered to guarantee the same service given by the White Pass for \$45, instead of \$55; and despite the further fact that the men themselves wanted to walk from White Horse to Skagway, thus cutting the White Pass out altogether, to a further reduction of \$20 from the Pauline rate.

It is, therefore, apparent: That these unfortunate victims of a swindle, to which the government was a contributor, not only were defrauded by that government of a \$10 balance, admittedly due; but also, through the power of that same government, those same men were made the victims of a \$30 graft for the benefit of the White Pass octopus.

Moral: "Vote for your masters."
R. J. JOHNSTON.

WHY THE PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY?

(By E. T. Drury)
(Concluded from last issue.)

At the present time there are hundreds of workers, our brothers, sisters, fathers and sons going from town to town, state to state, continent to continent, begging for an opportunity to produce the necessities of their lives. In these places are closed mills, mines, factories and foundries. What prevents them using these to produce for themselves? The capitalist ownership. The owners say, "We will not allow you." As there are more workers than masters, however, they have the power to use them if they so desired; but if they did, what would happen? The owner would call on the police and if they were not powerful enough, the militia and other forces of government: all to protect their property rights against your so-called right to live. I said, "so-called" right to live because you have no rights unless you assert the power to enforce them, as is seen in any strike; the side that wins is always the strongest and by being the strongest is right.

"The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker an ever increasing measure of misery and degradation." Take for instance the improved farming implements; have they lightened the load of the farmer? No, they have made him more slave than ever. Is the iron moulder's life any better because of the improved machinery? No, worse. The unskilled man now competes with him. So we see the rich growing so rich that they find trouble in investing their surplus. They can't spend it all on themselves and we read how they are endowing universities, having public racing stables with retinues of pimps, jockeys and trainers. These are the people, who, we are told, on account of their brains, are now our masters.

The worker, on the other hand, sees his wife and children going to the mill and factory while he hunts for a job. Throughout this so-called Christian civilized world to-day, great armies of unemployed workers are begging for work; armies of men, women and children are in the bread lines accepting miserable charity from their hard-working philanthropic masters. Our daughters and sisters, with every spark of true womanhood crushed out of them, huddled together in the red light districts of every city in the world, sell their souls instead of their labor-power, in order that they may live. Then, too, there are the men of our class in the mining and lumber camps, never knowing what it is to have a home.

The individuals of the class, which, by its ownership of the tools of production, is able to extract profits from us, have their town houses, country houses, horse boats and yachts. They take trips to Europe in the huge ocean liners the working class built, while hundreds of working class families huddle like cattle in the steerage going from country to country to seek a master. While we watch our wives and children either starve or work themselves to death, they revel in luxury. But the workers are awakening; we shall rise in our might directly we, as a class, desire to live.

"The interest of the working class lies in freeing itself from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which you can plainly see the interests of the class that works are opposed to the interests of the class that works us. We want as much of our product as possible. They give us the smallest share they can. The worker who produces is the only one robbed; when a man does not produce, you can't rob him of anything. This robbery is covered by the fact that we are paid wages for what we do, but, on investigating, we find that the worker only receives a portion of what he produces. We know he is only given permission to work on condition that he surrenders all to the owners of the tools. On this the man who is working and the unemployed will agree. The employed man is being robbed while he is working; the unemployed worker is denied access to the tools of production because the robbers don't desire to rob him.

Accomplishing the revolution necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production, into collective or working class property. That is, all property used now to exploit labor must be owned collectively by the workers, who use it, thus making themselves truly free, for when they need necessities, they will have an opportunity to produce them.

"The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for the possession of the powers of government: the capitalist to hold, the worker to secure by political action. This is the class struggle." To-day we see in all struggles between workers and capitalists, the government is used to keep the workers in subjection. The intelligent worker realizes that, in a strike, he is not fighting his boss, but some unemployed

wage-slave, who now takes this opportunity to sell his labor-power; proving that the trade union has been unsuccessful in organizing more workers than there are jobs for. In some cases the court issues an injunction restraining the strikers from picketing. The judge issuing this injunction gets his power from the elected representatives of the people, from the very men on strike. The working class, therefore, organized a class-conscious party in order that it may elect working men to the law chambers to make a new right; to use all the forces of government in their own interests. In doing so they will be enabled to organize all workers, for whether employed or not, they have the same interest. If working, they are being robbed by the capitalist class; if not, it is because they can no longer be employed profitably by this class, who have denied them an opportunity to live. One interest we have—as a class—to be able to get the full social product out of our toil or its equivalent.

The capitalists, alive to their interests, have organized two political parties with different names: In Canada, Grits and Tories; in the United States, Democrats and Republicans, and so in most places. Two parties, standing for capitalism, who for the workers' amusement, call one another thieves, rogues and liars (and in this we will agree with both), but taking good care they are capitalists. Of course, occasionally a trade unionist is nominated who believes that "labor has rights, as well as capital," and who is in favor of some remedial legislation in the interests of the masses. But, to-day, legislation must be in the interest of one class and the only way to act for our class is to understand its position, and stand with it under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering public powers for the purpose of enforcing the economic programme of the working class as follows:

"The transformation as rapidly as possible of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.), into the collective property of the working class." Some say this is impossible, as the capitalist would refuse to hand over these things, even if made public property legally; but it has already been done. To-day the trains would run on time if every shareholder and director died in an hour. All we have to do is to cease paying them dividends and say, "If you want to eat, work." These railroads, as with all other industries, are now operated by the workers, using both brain and hand.

"The democratic organization and management of industry by the workers." This is only doing with industry what we have already done with politics giving the workers a chance to say how things should be run. Of course we realize that even the ballot is denied a number of workers, including our wives, daughters and sisters, but we stand for complete democratic management, by giving all workers, irrespective of sex, a voice. Not because women have a right to this, but because it is in our interest.

"The establishment as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit." This would do away with the factory inspector, pure food inspector, adulterated goods, shoddy materials, poorly lighted and badly ventilated tenements; as these are all products of the profit system. Again, there would never be any overproduction while there was one bare back or one empty stomach.

You will say, "What are we going to do until we accomplished this? Would it not be well to make things brighter?" We reply, "The Socialist Party when in office shall always and everywhere, until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct. "Will this legislation advance the interests of the workers in their class struggle against capitalism?" If it will, the Socialist Party is for it, if it will not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it." This should satisfy every intelligent worker, who realizes, that until we have the power we can't legislate; but as soon as we are powerful enough to legislate at all we can get what we want; the co-operative commonwealth.

In the meantime, it is up to us to organize and strengthen our position in Parliament, so the powers that be will continually throw us reforms in their attempt to satisfy, but let us, like the wolves, devour all we get, and continue in the hunt for the lot. Workers, it is up to you. Join with us and organize in order that we may educate our class and usher in the co-operative commonwealth while we are yet young.

We are in this movement to help ourselves and realize that to do this we must help our class.
Workers, get busy.

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PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to, and support of the principles and programme of the revolutionary working class.

Labor produces all wealth, and to the producers it should belong. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production, consequently all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is therefore master; the worker a slave.

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend their property rights in the means of wealth production and their control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker an ever increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interest of the working class lies in the direction of setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which is cloaked the robbery of the working-class at the point of production. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into collective or working-class property.

The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the power of government—the capitalist to hold, the worker to secure it by political action. This is the class struggle.

Therefore, we call upon all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada with the object of conquering the public powers for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic programme of the working class, as follows:

1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into the collective property of the working class.
2. The democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.
3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

The Socialist Party, when in office, shall always and everywhere until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will the Socialist Party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.

In accordance with this principle the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone.

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